

NAMIBIA — GENERAL

1988

SEPT. — ~~NOV.~~ DEC.

Learn from Namibia's lessons, South Africa told ²²¹

ARGUS 1/9/88
 Political Correspondent

SWA/NAMIBIA had lessons for South Africa, including that political integration did not necessarily lead to other integration.

This was stated by Mr F Gozonguizi, Minister of Information and Justice in the interim government of the territory, when he addressed the Independent Party congress in Stellenbosch.

Other lessons were that:

- Although mutual suspicion and fear could never be eliminated, political logic and economic reality could promote understanding and respect between people.

- Political reconciliation, accommodation and dialogue could go a long way to eliminate suspicions and to allay fears among groups.

- The abolition of institutionalised apartheid did not lead to forced integration.

Cape Times 2/9/88
**'Police, army the
key in (221)
Namibia'**

**Political Correspondent
STELLENBOSCH.** — A Swapo election victory after the implementation of UN Resolution 435 would not necessarily mean it would stay in power in Namibia, the Minister of Justice and Information in the transitional government in SWA, Dr Fanuel Kozonguzy, said yesterday.

Speaking at the Independent Party's national congress here, Dr Kozonguzy said the main consideration determining whether a particular party stayed in power in an independent Namibia was whether the police and the army were on their side.

He said that at this stage both the SWA Territory Force and the police in the territory were dependent on South Africa.

He said: "In the end, South Africa will remain a force to be reckoned with by any government in Namibia."

Accordingly the implementation of UN Resolution 435 would not necessarily bring about peace in Namibia.

He said Swapo might well win a election under Resolution 435 "and draft a resolution in their favour".

However, the key factor in retaining power was where the allegiance of the army and the police lay.

Hotel blast: Swapo denies responsibility

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — Swapo today denied accusations by the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, that it was responsible for the bomb blast at a hotel here last night which killed two people and injured at least 15.

One victim was Mr Andrew Cocker, a writer and farmer of Somerset, England. The other was an unidentified SWA/Namibian.

A Swapo spokesman said in Lusaka today "South African dirty tactics" were to blame for the Continental Hotel blast.

IRONIC

"It is not Swapo's policy to attack soft targets. This bomb attack was aimed at demoralising white Namibians and setting them against Swapo."

In blaming Swapo last night, Mr Pienaar said it was ironic the incident had happened on the very day Swapo was to begin honouring a ceasefire agreement.

The Swapo spokesman said he could not say if his organisation was honouring the ceasefire inside the territory.

"We have said we are willing to implement the ceasefire but

it is difficult to know what is going on. It is South Africa that has failed to respond to our willingness for peace."

PHONE CALLS

An unidentified man last night made two telephone calls to the SWABC studios in Windhoek claiming responsibility on behalf of Swapo's armed wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, for the explosion.

Mr Pienaar said he did not believe the bombing would have any effect on the ceasefire or peace negotiations.

But he vowed those responsible would be brought to justice.

A SWA police spokesman said it was "to be expected" that Swapo would claim the bomb in the Continental Hotel had been planted by South African agents or the "dirty tricks department".

IN COURT

The organisation had made a similar claim in the wake of the Oshakati bomb blast earlier this year in which 27 people were killed.

But a man had been arrested and had appeared in court in connection with the Oshakati blast.

FOR 10 years Namibian independence has been a tide ebbing and receding in the minds of the people of the territory.

When South Africa agreed in principle in September 1978 to the United Nations settlement plan for the vast and sparsely populated territory, the headlines here in Windhoek heralded "Independence in 1980".

But the war in the north in Ovambo continued as more and more landmines were planted on the political front. With the uncertainty a decade ago came an unprecedented flow of capital from the country with whites deciding to relinquish their holdings in favour of bank accounts and alternatives south of the Orange River.

The economy collapsed — as did the Walvis Bay-based fishing industry — as the investors put their blocks of flats and businesses on the market, prompting scores of homeowners to do the same.

However, whether one slates South Africa for dragging its feet on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for free and fair elections, the intervening decade has given the estimated 1.3 million people in the country time to come to grips with one another as equals.

Extensive segregationist laws were scrapped and black faces became more familiar sights in previously "Whites only" facilities. Drinking and watching movies together was one thing but the most significant move was the admission of blacks to a number of schools.

What changed their minds was the discovery that, in the mid-1980s, the people who had left Namibia when the first independence alarms were sounded were trying to come back.

The trickle of expatriates trying to become repatriates became a stream when the political situation worsened in South Africa in 1985. Old faces resurfaced as people convinced themselves that conditions in Namibia were more favourable for investment and that independence would probably not be forthcoming till at least the end of the century.

While those people might be rueing their return in the light of the present initiative, their homecoming served as a considerable morale booster to those thinking of leaving.

Things won't be that bad after independence, will they? However, the cynicism about whether independence is really on the cards is still widespread and many people are adopting a wait-and-see attitude before yanking their funds out of the market and depositing them down south.

Mike Emmett is one of those who do not think independence is lurking around the corner — he has no intention of leaving the country if it does.

Happiness of civil Service vital to future of Namibia

The second article by JIM FREEMAN, who has been visiting Windhoek for the Cape Times.

One of the most respected journalists in Namibia, Brian Jones, explains the cynicism and fatalism of the whites:

"Most of your really conservative people are the farmers from the south, around Gobabis (near the Botswana border) and the Oujjo district (Oujjo is a strong white reactionary area). But they have been there for generations and feel they have no place to go. They do not want to go to South Africa.

"On the other hand there are farmers who have been in Namibia for 20 to 30 years and in their hearts they still see themselves as South Africans," he said. "They will wait and see.

Wholesale

"Where you will see an exodus is among the older, more wealthy people who will leave because they stand to lose everything for which they have spent their lives working."

The fear uppermost in the minds of the South African government, and Swapo as the Namibian government of the future, is not the exodus of farmers but the wholesale departure of civil servants.

Namibia is a Third World nation — one top-heavy with civil servants — but it is a territory with an administration the envy of most other countries in Africa.

If you want an export permit, you don't have to freeze a score of palms. If you need a permit to get into a nature conservation area, the answer is not "mahana".

It is on the civil servants that the economic welfare of Namibia after independence will depend.

The civil service falls under the control of the South African-installed transitional government. No lovers of Swapo, the TG — a grouping of some of the internal parties and alliances — would give its eye teeth to see Pretoria and the world opt for some settlement other than Resolution 435.

Whether they are regarded as sell-outs, cop-outs or drop-outs, the transitional government can in no way be accused of being totally self-centred.

It was thus that, under the leadership of Namibia's white elder statesman Dirk Mudge, the TG wrote to Foreign Minis-



The good life in Windhoek ... Whites hope it will carry on but the period immediately after independence is vital to Namibia's future.

ter Pk Botha last week to wish him well with the independence negotiations.

Uncertainty in the future will mean economic chaos before independence will mean disaster after the elections.

And everyone here knows the period before independence will be the difference between Namibia being the showpiece of post-colonial Africa — or the laughing-stock.

LETTERS

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Aspirin report a headache for heart disease specialists

From Professor G M BERGER (Newlands):

THE item "Aspirin for heart dramatic news — doctor" (Cape Times, August 18) was rank bad journalism by any criterion.

You quote I presume, though, this ja, by no

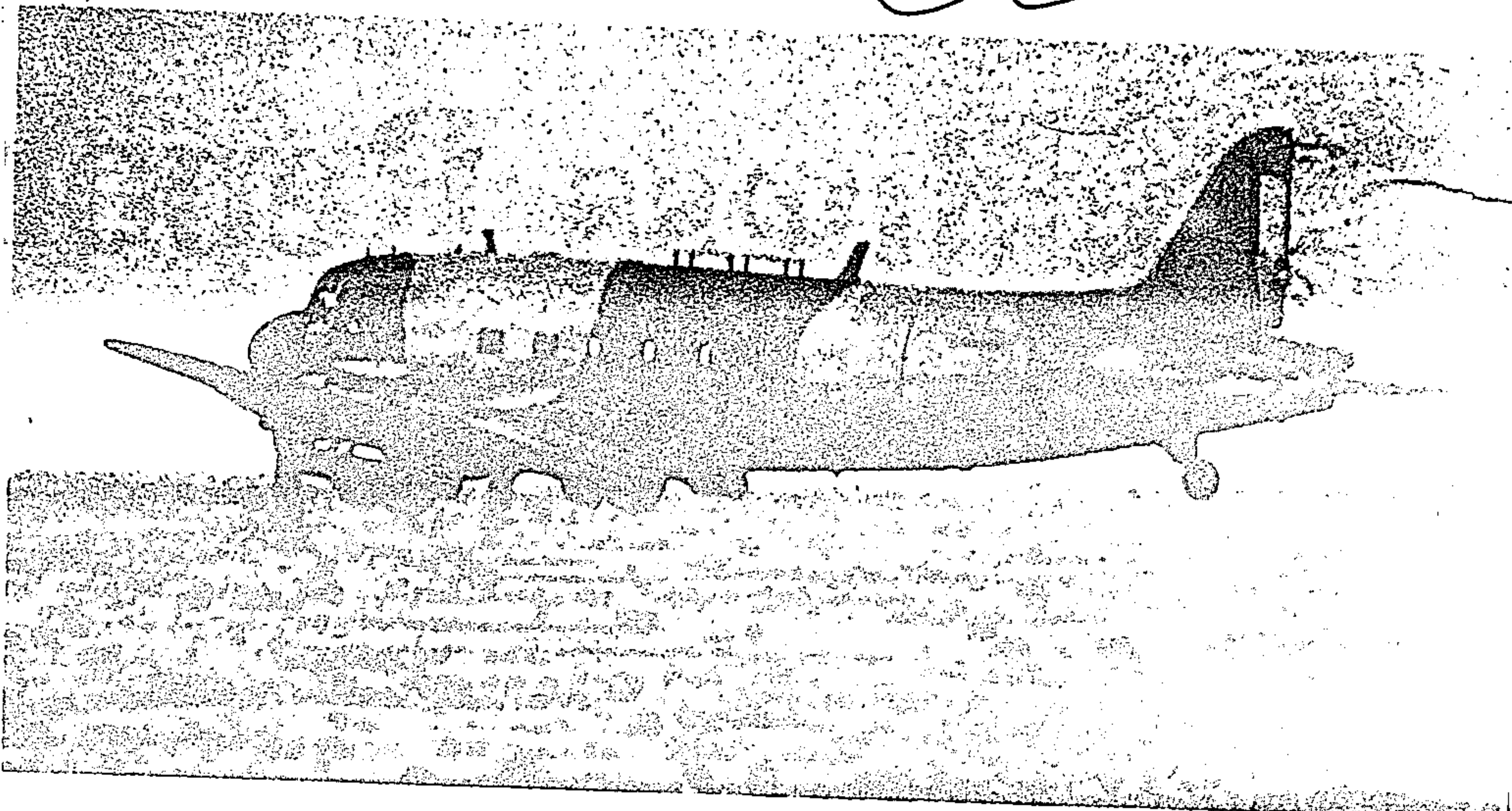
interests of your readers. The statistical association between blood cholesterol levels and the frequency of "heart attacks" is now incontrovertible. The risk starts to increase at levels well within what has been re-

risk of an acute heart attack by virtue of a previous episode or unstable angina. Such treatment should be given only under the supervision of a doctor since these medications have specific risks and there are contra-indica-

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MIRACULOUS ESCAPE . . . Soon after most of its tail was shot off by a missile this Air Force Dakota landed safely in the operational area. This photograph was taken from a helicopter sent to escort it back to base.

Top SADF men were in Dakota 'hit by SAM-7'

Staff Reporter

HIGH-RANKING Defence Force officers and top politicians were in an Air Force Dakota which landed after being hit by a SAM-7 missile over the operational area in 1986, according to an Air Force spokesman.

Because of the sensitive nature of the near-disaster it took until this week before officials would comment on it. The infor-

mation was released to the authoritative publication "World Airnews" only recently after appeals by the Dakota Association, the spokesman said.

He yesterday confirmed that a heat-seeking SAM missile had hit the Dakota's tail, but said it was Defence Force policy not to disclose the date or names of the passengers involved in such incidents.

The Dakota hit by the missile, with Cap-

tain Colin Green at the controls, had picked up the visitors at a base inside the operational area and was half-way back to Ondangwa when there was a loud explosion.

Although the controls were very sluggish, Captain Green was able to keep the aircraft in the air and headed for base.

At Ondangwa Captain Green made an almost perfect landing.

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Snags in time

A halt to US support for Unita may be the key to securing agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

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and thereafter a date for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia. But SA diplomatic sources say the issue is not even on the agenda and is regarded as a matter for bilateral discussions between the US and Angola.

That does not make sense — particularly while Angola clings doggedly to the view that all the Cubans will not leave until the US stops aid to Unita and while SA demands that all foreign forces be out of Angola before there can be independence in Namibia.

An end to US aid to Unita would seem to be the catalyst that could break the deadlock and provide the kind of security which the MPLA needs to give the green light for the Cubans to go home.

Last week's talks in Brazzaville achieved little more than a resolve to talk again at the same venue on Monday, with SA delegation leader Neil van Heerden acknowledging that the gap between the two sides had not narrowed.

It is hard to be optimistic about the chances of success.

The Cuban-Angolan axis is due to present another set of proposals and the chiselling away at the problem of a timetable for Cuban withdrawal will go on. Van Heerden is fond of referring to the question of a timetable as the rockface, an accurate analogy if the rate of progress is anything to judge by.

The one really positive note came from the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, who gave the assurance that whatever the outcome of the talks, the withdrawal of SA troops would be completed by September 1.

That is clearly the only target date that is going to be met.

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Deaths as Windhoek motel

CAP 7/15

2/19/88

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By JIM FREEMAN in Windhoek and
ANDRE KOOPMAN in Cape Town

TWO powerful explosions rocked Windhoek last night, the first killing at least two people and maiming and injuring 17 others.

The blasts came a day after a ceasefire agreement was signed between Angola, Cuba and South Africa and on the day that Swapo voluntarily announced that it would immediately abide by the ceasefire.

The first explosion occurred when a bomb ripped through the ground-floor public bar of the Continental Hotel at 7.07pm, blowing out windows and sending mortar flying across Windhoek's main Kaiser Street.

It was feared the death toll could rise as firemen battled to control the blaze that engulfed a large section of the building.

The second blast rocked the city about 8.30pm when a limpet mine was detonated on the railway line that runs through the centre of the city.

In the hotel blast, two walls collapsed and a car parked nearby was hurled across the street, which was littered with glass and rubble. Police cordoned off the centre of the city while ambulances ferried the dead and wounded to the capital's State Hospital.

A large pall of smoke hung in the air. Hotel staff members described the scene as "absolutely horrifying".

"There were flames and pieces of people everywhere," said a barman.

The Continental has in recent years been a favourite haunt for off-duty policemen and soldiers.

One of the barmaids who collapsed in tears said at least two people had their legs blown off in the explosion.

She said one of the injured in the blast was Mr Wimpy Rusf, the manager of the "Republikein", Windhoek's leading newspaper.

A police spokesman said both the dead were men. There were unconfirmed reports that one was an Australian tourist.

Police said no one was injured in the second blast and damage was minimal.

While Namibian administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar immediately blamed Swapo for the explosions, a Swapo spokesman said from London last night that the movement was caught "completely by surprise" by the twin blasts.

The spokesman said he was "horrified" at the news and that Swapo had seriously undertaken to honour the ceasefire.

Asked whether a "renegade" could have planted the bombs, he said: "Plan is a disciplined force which is, of course, made up of people."

THE seventh round of peace talks aimed at ending the Angolan conflict open in Brazzaville today under the cloud of weekend accusations that both Cuba and South Africa were increasing their military presence in south western Africa.

The talks are expected to decide and seal the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia and set a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

But the question of Cuban troops came under the spotlight at the weekend with reports of an increased Cuban presence by unnamed US sources and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in an Associated Press report.

AP quoted American officials in Washington

Troops build-up clouds Brazzaville peace talks

who said 10 000 Cuban troops had arrived in Angola since the start of the peace negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Though the three countries entered a ceasefire agreement on August 10, Cuban troop strength in Angola is now estimated at 60 000.

US State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley later discounted the AP report.

In Luanda, the head of the MPLA's information and propaganda department, Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, also dismissed the reports as rumours.

However, the Angolan Minister of Defence, Mr

Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedale), told the official Zimbabwean news agency that his government was worried about South African military manoeuvres in northern Namibia.

Meanwhile in South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs said Cuban troop movements in Angola were being monitored.

If Angola and Cuba were sincere in their stated aims at the negotiating table it would not have been necessary for them to build up arms and personnel, the statement said.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said on SABC-TV last night that South Africa found the build-up unacceptable.

But there was no question from any of the sides that today's talks would not go ahead.

The talks today will also decide on the 11 border posts where joint military committees will monitor the progress of the ceasefire that started on September 1.

The 11 frontier posts will provide daily information to two joint centres at Ruacana and Cua-lueque. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

Time 'slipping away' in Namibia talks

ARCC
6/9/88
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By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE November 1 deadline for the start of the United Nations-sponsored independence process for Namibia hinges on the outcome of the Angola/Namibia peace talks which start in Brazzaville tomorrow.

If the date is to be met, Cuba and Angola will probably have to offer an acceptable timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The original deadline for them to table a withdrawal schedule acceptable to South Africa was September 1. This date fell away at the last round of talks in Brazzaville two weeks ago but South African diplomats said then that the November 1 target was still attainable.

Now they say this date is "slipping away" and it will almost certainly be impossible to meet it if an acceptable withdrawal timetable is not offered this week — which seems unlikely.

Flexible

However, diplomats emphasised the date was not critical. South Africa regarded it as a target date and would be "flexible up to a point" in putting the date back.

But there have been conflicting reports about how prepared South Africa is to continue postponing the target dates for the implementation of the whole peace package.

Some reports say that if Cuba and Angola do not offer an acceptable withdrawal timetable in Brazzaville this week, South Africa will present them with a new deadline.

But diplomatic sources deny this report and say South Africa will present no ultimatums.

It is clear that the opposing sides are still far apart on the Cuban withdrawal timetable.

It has become clear that Cuba offered a 36-month timetable in Brazzaville last time, down from its initial position of 48 months.

South Africa found this completely unacceptable. Its official position is that all the Cubans must be out of Angola by the time of UN-supervised elections in Namibia under UN Resolution 435.

Under the present proposed calendar this would be June 1 next year.

However, the possibility of South Africa accepting a limited Cuban presence in Angola after UN elections has been raised. The suggestion of no more than 20 percent of the Cuban force remaining in the country but strictly confined to the north and restricted in other ways, is believed to have been discussed.

South Africa has also shifted its emphasis to a complementary withdrawal of Cuban troops from the Namibian border to balance the withdrawal of SADF troops from Namibia which has to start the moment UN 435 is set in motion.

Shown readiness

Cuba and Angola have shown some readiness to accept this idea but under their proposed 36-month timetable for withdrawal about 40 000 troops would still be in Angola at the time of UN elections — a force unacceptable to South Africa.

The South African delegation to the talks leaves for Brazzaville today, led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and including the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard.

High on the agenda of the talks will be the reported build-up of Cuban troops in the south of Angola in the past few weeks. Unconfirmed reports indicate that the total Cuban troop strength has been increased from about 50 000 to 60 000 with a "shipload a day" of troops and arms leaving Havana.

Diplomatic sources are more cautious about the reports and the US State Department has said the troop movement is just a turnabout of forces.

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**Bishops' Owambo curfew
appeal: Judgment reserved**

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Judgment has been reserved by the Appeal Court here in an appeal by three Namibian bishops and their churches relating to the validity of proclamations on a curfew in the security area of Owambo.

The appellants are Bishop James Hamupanda Kauluma of the Anglican Diocese of Namibia, Bishop Bonafatius Haushiku of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Windhoek, and Bishop Kleofas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia.

They appealed against the decision of a full bench of the Supreme Court of Namibia on January 16, 1987, to dismiss their application for an order to declare section 3 of Proclamation AG9 of 1977 invalid and of no force and effect, and that consequently Orders AG26 of 1978 and AG50 of 1979 were invalid.

— Sapa

'Evidence' of Swapo attacks on soft targets ²²¹

WINDHOEK. — There is enough evidence to show Swapo is attacking civilian targets, says the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

He was responding here yesterday to Swapo's denial that it was responsible for the bomb explosion at a Windhoek hotel last week.

He referred to an affidavit by Mr Leonard Sheehama, 24, who is standing trial on 28 counts of murder and one of sabotage.

The trial arises from an explosion at an Oshakati bank in February.

Mr Sheehama said in the Ondangwa Magistrate's Court that he was a trained Swapo member who had been instructed to attack civilian targets.

Mr Pienaar said Swapo's allegation that South Africa was trying to set up a puppet government in which Swapo would have no say was "totally unfounded".

SA 'to take harder line'

Mr. Botha 7/9/88

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BRAZZAVILLE. — South African fears of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola seem likely to harden positions at the three-sided peace talks on Angola and Namibia which resume today.

The resumption of the talks comes after the suspension of the last meeting without an agreement two weeks ago to give the parties an opportunity to consult their governments.

The various parties' standpoints had been too divergent to make compromise possible.

On the table again when South African, Angolan and Cuban negotiators meet in Brazzaville under US mediation will be the issue of a timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 60 000 Cuban troops in Angola. President P W Botha is expected to take a

tough line today on the continuing Cuban build-up.

Mr Botha will address the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein as the latest round of peace talks get under way.

His speech will come against the background of direct warnings by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, that the continued build up of Cuban troops while the peace talks are going on is "totally unacceptable" to South Africa.

"While we're making serious efforts to reach a peaceful arrangement, the Cubans are bringing in more planes and men," a member of the South African delegation said in Brazzaville.

"We will be seeking an explanation and that will be high on the agenda," said the official, who asked not to be named. Angola

and Cuba have not reacted to the South African allegations.

While the inflow of Cuban troops could be a tactical ploy by Cuban President Fidel Castro, the build-up of his forces in the south of the country in close proximity to concentrations of South African forces just across the border is increasing tensions in the region.

The issue must be cleared if the parties are to go ahead with a UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

Preparation for a UN-supervised election is scheduled to begin on November 1.

Military analysts said Angolan government forces and their Cuban allies may be gearing up for an offensive against Unita.

An Angolan-Cuban offensive against Unita now would take advantage of the departure of South African troops from southern Angola,

which was completed at the end of August and is the main fruit of the negotiations so far.

Unita is not included in the ceasefire which accompanied the withdrawal agreement.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi attacked US mediator Dr Chester Crocker at the weekend, suggesting he was preparing to dig Unita's grave to get the Cubans out of Angola.

Failure in the Brazzaville talks might also lead Swapo to renew its bush war against South African forces.

Swapo has announced a unilateral ceasefire in Namibia. "If there is no agreement... we will go back to the trenches," Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said.

UN chief *Cape Times 7/9/88* agrees in principle, ²²¹ to visit SA

NEW YORK. — UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar has accepted in principle an invitation by President P W Botha to visit South Africa, a UN spokeswoman said yesterday.

The two sides were discussing a date for the visit, she added.

Mr Perez de Cuellar would visit other countries in the region during the trip, she said.

Mr Botha's invitation was extended by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha about a month ago in order to have one-on-one discussions about who will pay for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to achieve Namibian independence and who will pick up the tab, currently being paid by South Africa, to balance Namibia's annual budget.

That Mr Perez de Cuellar has agreed to make the trip is an important development in the ongoing peace process which will be taken further in the Brazzaville talks which open today.

— Political Staff and Sapa

ARGUS 8/9/88

Peace talks bogged down by debate on Cuban troops

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BRAZZAVILLE. — Efforts to find a peace settlement in south-western Africa have become bogged down in a debate over reports of a fresh Cuban military build-up in Angola, diplomats say.

"There seems to be a crisis of confidence building up," one diplomat, who asked not to be named, said yesterday after the first day of the latest round of talks produced little progress.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba — with US officials acting as mediators — failed to make headway on the central problem of setting a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Instead, the diplomats said, the talks in the Congolese capital Brazzaville became distracted by reports of a new build-up of Cuban troops and

military hardware in Angola.

Angola has dismissed the reports as "fantasies". Reports in the US and South African Press alleged the Cuban force in Angola was being raised to 60 000 men from 50 000.

The three parties and the US mediators met for about an hour yesterday after discussing the reports of Cuban reinforcements in bilateral meetings. But the full session was cut short when the South Africans left for separate consultations.

Conference sources said the South Africans were apparently angry about a surprise move by the Angolans and Cubans to raise the issue of Walvis Bay, a port in Namibia.

South Africa claims sovereignty over the strategic port even after Namibia becomes independent under a United Nations plan due to start on November 1.

● A large-scale build-up of Cuban troops and weaponry in Angola would be a breach of the agreements made in New York and Geneva between the various parties involved in the peace initiative, President Botha said in Bloemfontein.

Winding up the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, President Botha said that if reports of such a build-up were correct then there had been a breach of agreement between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other.

He said the link between the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal had been formally recognised, but a fair and realistic balance would have to be found between the time-scale of Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuters.

SA fears a 'fantasy'

Cape Times, Thursday, September 8, 1988 3

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BRAZZAVILLE. — Peace talks on Angola and Namibia reopened here yesterday but rapidly bogged down in debate about South African reports of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola, conference sources said.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, held a series of bilateral meetings in the morning in a bid to clear the air of controversy over an alleged reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent in Angola.

Angola's chief negotiator, armed forces Chief of Staff Antonio dos Santos Franca, dismissed the South African fears as fantasies based on press, not intelligence, reports.

"There's been some disinformation going on... They're going to have to thrash out what is true and what is false about the reported Cuban-build-up," said a source at the talks.

This is the sixth-round of the talks, which began in May.

The negotiators are seeking agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But only days before the talks resumed, South Africa said Cuba had sent into Angola military equipment and 10 000 men in addition to an estimated 50 000 already there.

Talks falter

On new 'Cuban build-up' claim

The US State Department has said there had been a recent increase of Cuban military supplies to Angola but that there was no evidence of a troop build-up.

Contacts were being arranged between Cuban and South African military experts in Brazzaville to study the issue, delegates said.

The debate was preventing negotiators from tackling the issue of the Cuban troop withdrawal and some delegates expressed doubt whether agreement could be reached in time to allow a United Nations plan for the independence of South Africa-ruled Namibia to go into effect as planned on November 1. Only two days have been scheduled for the current round of talks, with the South African negotiating team led by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden planning to leave for home this afternoon.

Many political analysts doubted whether, given yesterday's slow start, this was enough time for the parties to reach an accord.

But General Franca told reporters: "If there are concrete proposals, it's more than enough time."

Angola and Cuba have together formally proposed a 36-month period for Cuban troops to pull out of Angola.

South Africa has been seeking a much shorter period to match the seven-month duration of the UN Resolution 435/78, which includes a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia and a pre-independence election.

Concentrating the minds of the negotiators in Brazzaville is the knowledge that collapse of the talks could threaten a one-month-old ceasefire being observed on the Angolan-Namibian frontier by South African and Angolan and Cuban forces.

Watching but not taking part in the talks in the Congolese capital were the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Moscow's top Southern Africa expert, Mr Vladimir Vasev, and Mr Hidiipo Hamutenya, a senior Swapo member. — Sapa-Reuter

Unita to accept MPLA?

LISBON. — Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, would be prepared to work under Angolan president Mr Eduardo dos Santos, provided democratic elections were held following any peace agreement in the Southern African country, news reports here said yesterday.

"I am prepared to work under orders of Eduardo dos Santos. I would accept a position of second, third, fourth place, it doesn't matter to me," said Dr Savimbi in an interview.

The rebel leader added: "I set one condition — that elections will be realized within a period agreed on by Unita, MPLA, FNLA and other patriotic forces."

"There will have to be a guarantee, respected by the signatories — Unita, MPLA and FNLA, that the elections will be democratic," Dr Savimbi said. — Sapa-AP

Swapo pledged to 'war'

HARARE. — The South West African People's Organization (Swapo) has vowed to intensify the war of liberation in Namibia if a political solution is not found.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in Luanda at the weekend that his organization would make sure that the more than 100 years of suffering, exploitation and oppression of Namibians came to an end.

Mr Nujoma accused South Africa of not having been willing to grant Namibia its independence peacefully, but also expressed hope that the seventh round of talks currently being held in Brazzaville would be successful. — Sapa

Peace talks make slow progress

CAC Times
9/9/88
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BRAZZAVILLE. — Tough negotiations over a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola showed few signs of progress yesterday and a South African negotiator said it looked as though the target date of November 1 for starting to implement a Namibian independence plan would be hard to achieve.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba and their US mediators began a second day of talks in Brazzaville after weathering a complex row on Wednesday over a reported build-up of Cuban troops.

Delegates at Brazzaville were anxious to stress that the peace process was continuing, knowing that a collapse in the talks could threaten the one-month-old ceasefire being observed on the Angolan-Namibian border.

But the slow progress of the negotiations, centred on setting a timetable for withdrawing about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, has cast doubts on whether they can keep to their deadline for implementing the UN plan.

Agreement on a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal is the last major obstacle blocking a regional peace agreement that would incorporate Namibian independence.

Angola and Cuba have proposed withdrawing over three years but South Africa wants a much shorter period, closer to the seven months the UN has envisaged it will take to implement its plan for Namibian independence.

The Brazzaville negotiations with Cuba and Angola were continuing, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Meanwhile, Unita said in Angola yesterday that they shot down a military helicopter and killed 31 government soldiers in recent clashes.

Unita, excluded from the talks, has said it must play a role if lasting peace is to be reached.

The rebels latest communique said 17 soldiers were killed on Sunday in an attack in the northern province of Zaire and 14 died in a clash the same day in the central province of Huambo.

Swapo deputy secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Aaron Shihepo, called on non-aligned countries on Wednesday to exert pressure on Pretoria to ensure it did not deviate from the peace process.

Addressing the conference of non-aligned foreign ministers, he expressed optimism that there was a reasonable chance peace would return to Angola, and Namibia would become independent "sooner rather than later". — Sapa-Reuter

rum

What future may hold for SWA

221

ARGUS 9/9/88

BRENDAN SEERY of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek

IN the high-ceilinged debating chamber of Windhoek's National Assembly, members of the Swapo-dominated "government of national reconciliation" file in to take their seats.

A white farmer-politician from Otjiwarongo wearing a sober collar and tie shares a few muted words with a former political commissar of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia flamboyantly dressed in an African-print caftan.

After bowing their heads in a prayer to God to watch over their deliberations, members settle down to the business of the day.

Mr Speaker says: "I now call on the honourable Minister of Finance to present his Budget for the coming financial year. Mr Mudge ..."

A far-fetched scenario? Not really.

For years Swapo has been portrayed to whites as a Marxist-oriented terrorist organisation which would pursue revenge once in power and wreck the economy in double-quick time through ill-considered nationalisation and expropriation of white-owned land and businesses.

For years Robert Mugabe's Zanu was portrayed in a similar way. Today, Zimbabwe is far from being a financial basket case and social conditions are such that some whites who took the "chicken run" are returning home.

Swapo, as one of the last African "liberation movements" to see its country gain independence, will have had a chance to study at first hand the problems of post-uhuru Africa.

Officials of the organisation make no secret of the fact that they admire what has been achieved in Zimbabwe and that much of what has been learnt there can be applied in SWA/Namibia.

Much of what Mr Sam Nujoma and his lieutenants say is political rhetoric aimed at audiences either at home or abroad. Swapo as an organisation and Mr Nujoma

as a person are less Marxist in outlook than Zanu and Mr Mugabe.

Like Zanu, though, Swapo will also have to tread very warily in its plans to transform society for fear of alienating its major international benefactors, which are overwhelmingly Western countries with all their notions of fair play and private enterprise.

Given these facts and bearing in mind the Zimbabwe experience, what does the future possibly hold in store for SWA/Namibia?

□ □ □ □

● A policy of national reconciliation, similar to that followed in Zimbabwe.

A fractious territory of different tribes and races, SWA/Namibia needs to forgive and forget if it is to get on with the job of nation building after a war.

Mr Nujoma has vowed that there will be no recriminations and, while whites may be fairly safe, black opponents may not be as fortunate, considering that already at least 100 Swapo members are being held without trial by the organisation for allegedly being "South African spies".

An appreciation of the crucial role whites play in the economic life of the country could well make Mr Nujoma go out of his way in the coming months, and after independence, to assure them they will be welcome.

□ □ □ □

The Swapo president must also bear in mind that "spooking" the white community could see them and their millions of rands across the Orange River before he could say "economic disaster".

Appointing whites to key positions (such as finance in the hypothetical case of veteran politician Dirk Mudge or agriculture, as was done in Zimbabwe) could go a long way to calming white fears, as it did after Mr Mugabe took office in Harare in 1980.

● Stricter controls on multinational corporations.

Swapo and its friends in the United Nations Council for Namibia have regularly accused such companies of "raping" the economy and natural resources of SWA/Namibia under the protection of South Africa.

However, Swapo knows well that these companies are the geese which lay the golden foreign exchange eggs. They are thus safe from any attacks in the form of nationalisation, although Swapo would undoubtedly tighten up the current almost non-existent export and import controls to curb practices such as under- and over-invoicing and transfer pricing.

Mr Nujoma has also said the contracts of particularly the mining giants may well have to be renegotiated.

□ □ □ □

● No large-scale nationalisation.

Mr Nujoma has promised this, but has given notice that, in the interests of a more even distribution of wealth, the government would probably move to acquire significant shareholdings in major mining, fishing and agricultural concerns. The First National Development Corporation, the National Transport Corporation, the electricity and water services and the Land Bank are already parastatals.

□ □ □ □

● Redistribution of land.

This will probably take place to a lesser extent than some have feared. According to Mr Nujoma, any land expropriated by the government will be accompanied by adequate compensation for the owner.

However, officials of Swapo say they will not tamper with any white-owned farming land, for example, which is being put to productive use. They make no secret of the fact that they would probably not be as kind to absentee landlords, many of whom have bought land in recent depressed years.

● Increased taxation, both company and personal, to help pay for the expected huge increase in government spending which must accompany a social-orientated programme of reconstruction and re-development.

WINDHOEK. — Five members of a special police counter-insurgency unit were sentenced in the Supreme Court here this week to a total of 100 years imprisonment for murdering two women.

Each was sentenced to 10 years for each murder conviction, to be served concurrently.

The men are Antonius Amunsele, Festus Kavira, Alwendo Angola, Titus Lasarus and Lasarus Onesimus.

According to evidence the victims, Mrs Lina

Five police sentenced to 100 years in jail

CA & Titus 10/9/88
Dawid and Mrs Elisa Filipus, were the common-law wives of an uncle of the five men, Mr Thomas Haimbonde, who died in January last year.

The five suspected the women of causing their uncle's death by voodoo and consulted a witch-doctor, who told them they had to drown the women in a river or an evil spirit would strike

down their families.

The men forced the women to tell relatives at the funeral of Mr Haimbonde that they had been responsible for his death.

But the women told mourners they had given their husband a potion to make him love them more.

After the funeral, the

women were taken to Ruacana where the men bound their arms and legs and tied rocks to their bodies before throwing them in the Cunene River to drown.

The judge said two policemen who had known about the unlawful detention of the two women could have averted the tragedy, but they had not done anything.

He ordered that evidence concerning the policemen, a Lt Nel and a Const Erasmus, be referred to the Attorney-General. — Sapa

APR 15 10/9/88

Four die in border clash with Swapo

WINDHOEK — Two security forces members and two alleged members of Swapo have died in a skirmish with insurgents in northern Namibia, the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said here yesterday.

The shoot-out took place about 15km from Oshakati on Wednesday at 3.30pm when a police special counter-insurgency unit went to investigate reports of Swapo activities in the area.

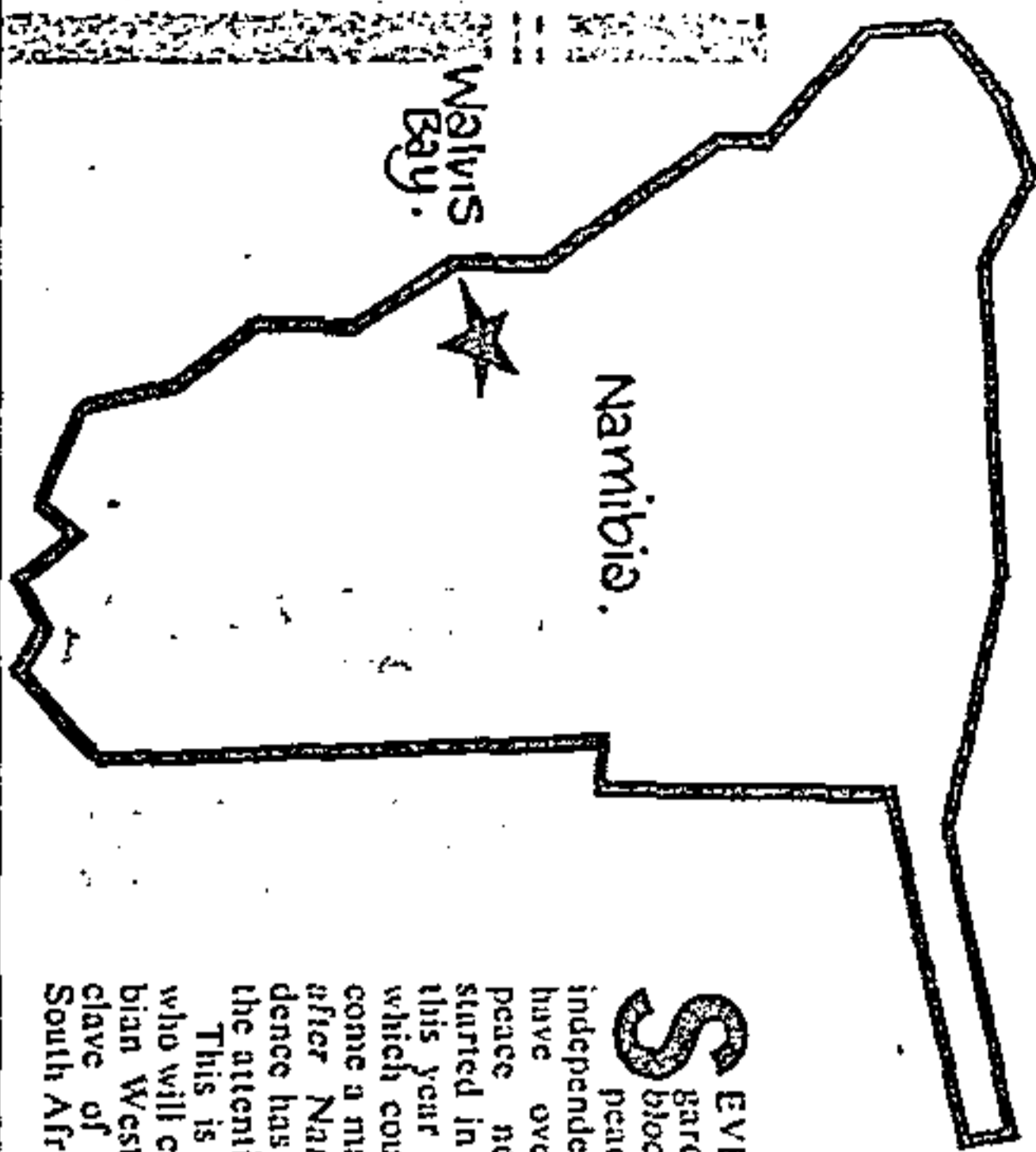
In a follow-up operation, a police vehicle detonated a landmine and the insurgents opened fire on the security forces, the SWATF said in a statement.

In the ensuing fire fight, the two security force members were fatally wounded and two insurgents were killed.

The names of the dead police force members will be announced by SWA Police headquarters in Windhoek.

The SWATF said a senior secondary school near Ombalantu in Ovambo was badly damaged by two bombs on Tuesday night. An office block and a wing of classrooms were wrecked by the blasts about 20 minutes apart.

— Sapa



Walvis Bay: obstacle to lasting solution

SEVERAL issues regarded as stumbling blocks on the way to peace in Angola and independence for Namibia have overshadowed the peace negotiations that started in London in May this year - but one issue which could very well become a major one now and after Namibian independence has not yet received the attention it deserves.

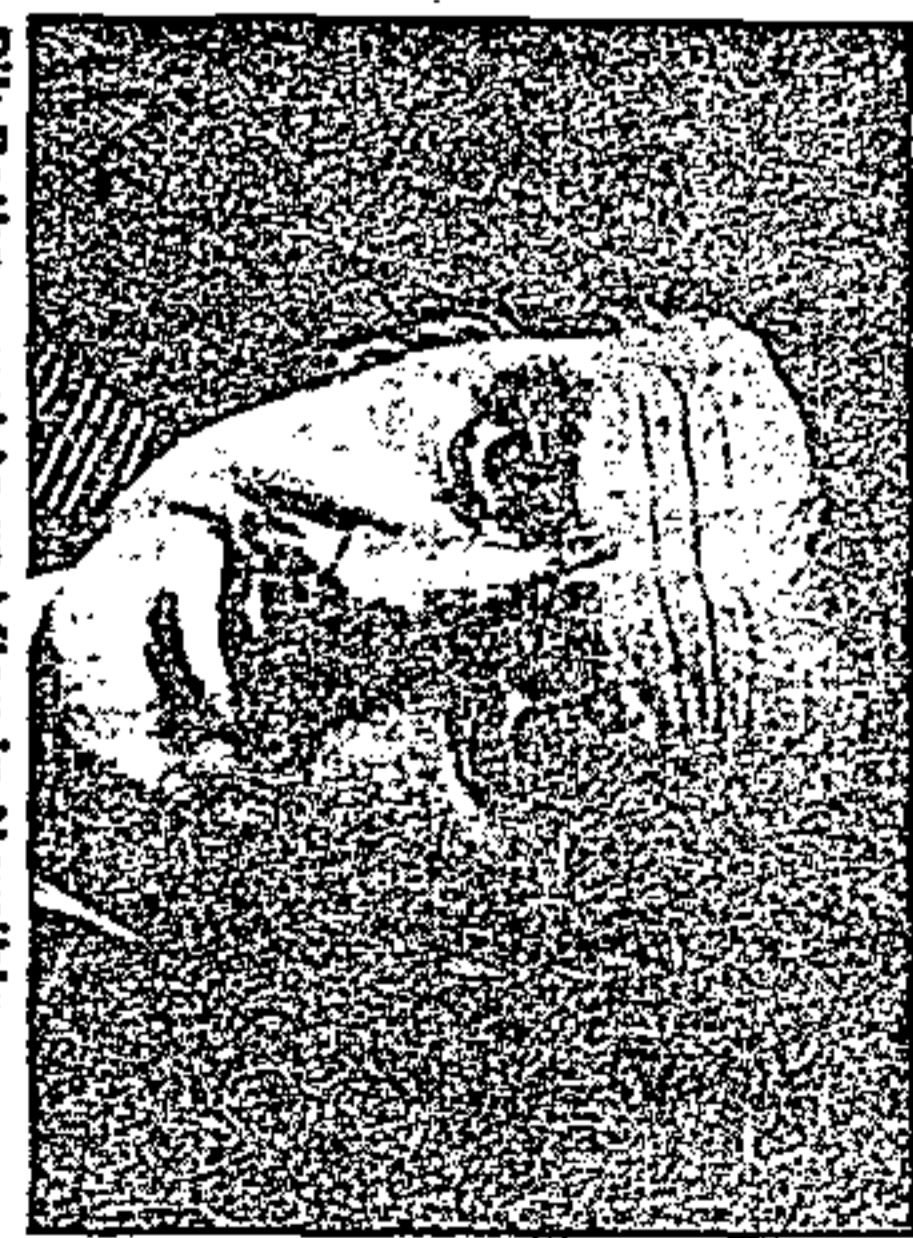
This is the question of who will control the Namibian West Coast port enclave of Walvis Bay - South Africa or the leaders

of an independent Namibia? Other questions that also arise are whether it would be wise to leave this issue until after Namibian independence or to discuss the future of Walvis Bay now - a step which might spare the interested parties a lot of pain later.

Swapo is not insisting on resolving the question of Walvis Bay since in its estimation, the matter has "already been settled" through UN Resolution 435. In terms of this resolution, Walvis Bay is "in fact



Tolvo Ja Tolvo... Swapo will give refuge to ANC.



Pik Botha... not to red flag in Namibia.

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- 07h30-08h45: Registration. Master of Ceremonies: Mr Phil Khumalo, Business Challenge
- 08h45-09h15: Keynote Address: Mr Gaby Magomola, Chief Executive Officer, African Bank. 14h00-14h30: *Indirect Taxes* - Frank Timmins, Partner, Kossel Foinstein.
- 09h15-10h30: Tax reform, the Budget, the White Paper and forward planning: Mr Martin Swood, Senior Manager, Charter Life. 14h30-15h30: Legal implications of trading through companies, trusts, close corporations, partnerships and sole traders: Mr Frank Timmins, Partner, Kossel Foinstein.
- 10h30-10h50: Tea. 15h30-15h50: Tea.
- 10h50-12h00: An overview of business and personal tax: Mr Ernest Mazurak, Partner, Kossel Foinstein.
- 12h00-12h50: The Role of the Businessman in a tax changing environment: Mr Malashoru Malashoru, Director, 15h50-16h15: Panel Discussion. Malashoru Malashoru & Associates.

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The scene for a showdown between Swapo and South Africa is being prepared

look over South West Africa, the government of the Cape Colony, in their scene of the biggest South African naval exercise to date this month, increasing speculation in South African and elsewhere that the South African navy was testing its ability to "protect" the enclave once Namibia becomes independent.

The exercise, called "Magerstompein", which started on Aug 4, was designed to test the capacity to operate far from home ports and logistic infrastructure.

Walvis Bay has been described by many historians as another of the geographical anomalies resulting from colonial rule in Africa.

The bay was seized by the British in 1867 to counter Bismarck's colonial ambitions. When the Germans went ahead and

South Africa was ready to live in peace with its neighbours.

Within the objectives of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference - that of lessening Southern Africa's economic dependence on South Africa - Walvis Bay would certainly feature as a major factor.

The scene for a showdown between Swapo and South Africa in an independent Namibia is being prepared. While all indications are that Swapo will win a general United Nations-supervised election under Resolution 435, SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan stressed in his address to a joint sitting of all three Houses of Parliament that Pretoria's opposition to allowing Swapo to rule in Namibia as long as he and the South African military have any say in the matter. He reiterated

an integral part of Namibia.

The South African deputy Defence Minister, Wynand Breytenbach, on August 29 said Walvis Bay would always be part of South Africa.

South Africa's insistence on retaining Walvis Bay is not new. While still Prime Minister of South Africa, P.W. Botha in September 1982 stressed that Walvis Bay would remain a part of South Africa, but use of the port could be negotiated with a "friendly" Namibian government.

In October 1982, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in Washington in reaction to the question of a Swapo government in Namibia that SA could not "condone the red flag in Windhoek. It simply cannot. It is directly contrary to our interests."

Walvis Bay was the scene of the biggest South African naval exercise to date this month, increasing speculation in South African and elsewhere that the South African navy was testing its ability to "protect" the enclave once Namibia becomes independent.

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South Africa's policy of destabilisation in Southern Africa is internationally well-known and, once Namibia becomes independent, Swapo could easily start a new campaign of destabilisation against a "hostile" government in Namibia.

Indications were given by a senior Swapo official, Andimba Tolvo Ja Tolvo, under its rule it would give refuge to ANC fighters despite Swapo president Sam Nujoma having indicated that Swapo would not allow ANC bases in an independent Namibia.

Tolvo Ja Tolvo, secretary-general of Swapo, also predicted that an independent Namibia would seem to be in armed conflict with South Africa. Speaking recently at a conference on refugees in Oslo, he warned that "the fate of Angola will be transferred to Namibia after it becomes independent". He said he did not believe

what minister Botha said in October 1982.

Said Malan: "It was always our policy to keep Marxism and 'people's democracies' from our front door. We will not turn from this path..."

Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party foreign affairs spokesman, said in reaction that Malan's speech appeared to indicate effort the prospect of a Swapo administration in Windhoek was unacceptable to the South African security forces.

The growing significance of the South African military in domestic and regional policy arenas was recently pointed out by Andre du Pisani, a senior researcher with the South African Institute of International Affairs.

He pointed out that this phenomenon was widely attributed to a series of popular challenges to white minority rule after 1960, growing international isolation of South Africa and decisive shifts in regional power relationships following the collapse of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique, among others. This puts into perspective the utterances of Gen Malan in Parliament.

Against this background, Walvis Bay could become the South African military's stronghold against any hostile government in Windhoek which is in striking distance of the port enclave.

Swapo's Nehova admitted that South Africa's insistence would "certainly" pose a threat to lasting peace in Namibia. - ANC

1/19/88 C Peres

'Painful' choices for Namibia talks

CAFÉ TALKS
12/9/88

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BRAZZAVILLE. — SA, Angola and Cuba, racing to meet a target date for a Namibia independence plan, must choose between compromise or failure if they wish to reach an accord on the key issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Diplomats involved in the latest negotiations in Brazzaville said SA, Angola, Cuba and US mediators had managed to define, but not yet agree on, a compromise over a timetable for a phased withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"We have been able to identify the practical outline of a compromise which will mean for both sides a tough and painful choice," one diplomat, who asked not to be named, said.

SA has demanded agreement on the Cuban departure as the main condition for granting independence to Namibia. The timing of the two events has been the main debating point in six rounds of US-mediated talks.

All sides have agreed that the UN should set in motion its plans on November 1 for holding elections in Namibia and pave the way to independence on June 1, 1989. But the diplomats said failure to agree on a Cuban withdrawal timetable would block the whole process.

Sources at the talks said SA had apparently indicated it was willing to extend the seven-month period it had originally demanded for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Angola and Cuba, who had wanted the withdrawal to be staggered over three years, said they were willing initially to move Cuban forces northwards away from the Namibian border behind the 13th parallel, while the UN-sponsored elections were held in Na-

mibia.

Diplomats said the compromise under consideration was not a simple question of time spans but a whole multi-faceted package involving logistical, military, political and psychological factors.

One diplomat said the November 1 target date was of psychological importance and would remind the parties of a tight but identifiable schedule within which to work. "They know if they let it slide, they may not get it back," he added.

If the November 1 deadline is missed, the one-month-old ceasefire being observed by SA and Angolan and Cuban forces on the Angola-Namibia border could be threatened.

Swapo has also warned that the unilateral ceasefire it has declared in its war against SA would not hold if the date was changed.

Another factor in the conflict is Unita. Washington and Pretoria want Angola to negotiate with Unita but Luanda refuses and has demanded an end to SA and US support for the rebels.

The parties have agreed to consult their respective governments and to meet again in 10 days' time in the Congolese capital.

Angolan and SA negotiators were optimistic about the chances of success. SA delegation chief Mr Neil van Heerden said the talks had made significant progress and Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura said they were in the last stages.

"I think it is encouraging that the parties want to proceed expeditiously with the negotiations," the UN special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said in Brazzaville. — Sapa-Reuter

PW, Chissano in first meeting

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ARGUS 12/19/88

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha and two Ministers are visiting Mozambique today and Malawi tomorrow in what is seen as attempts to bring greater realism to inter-state relations in Southern Africa.

Although there is a deep ideological divide between Marxist Mozambique and South Africa, they are trying to establish better relations in economics, transport and security.

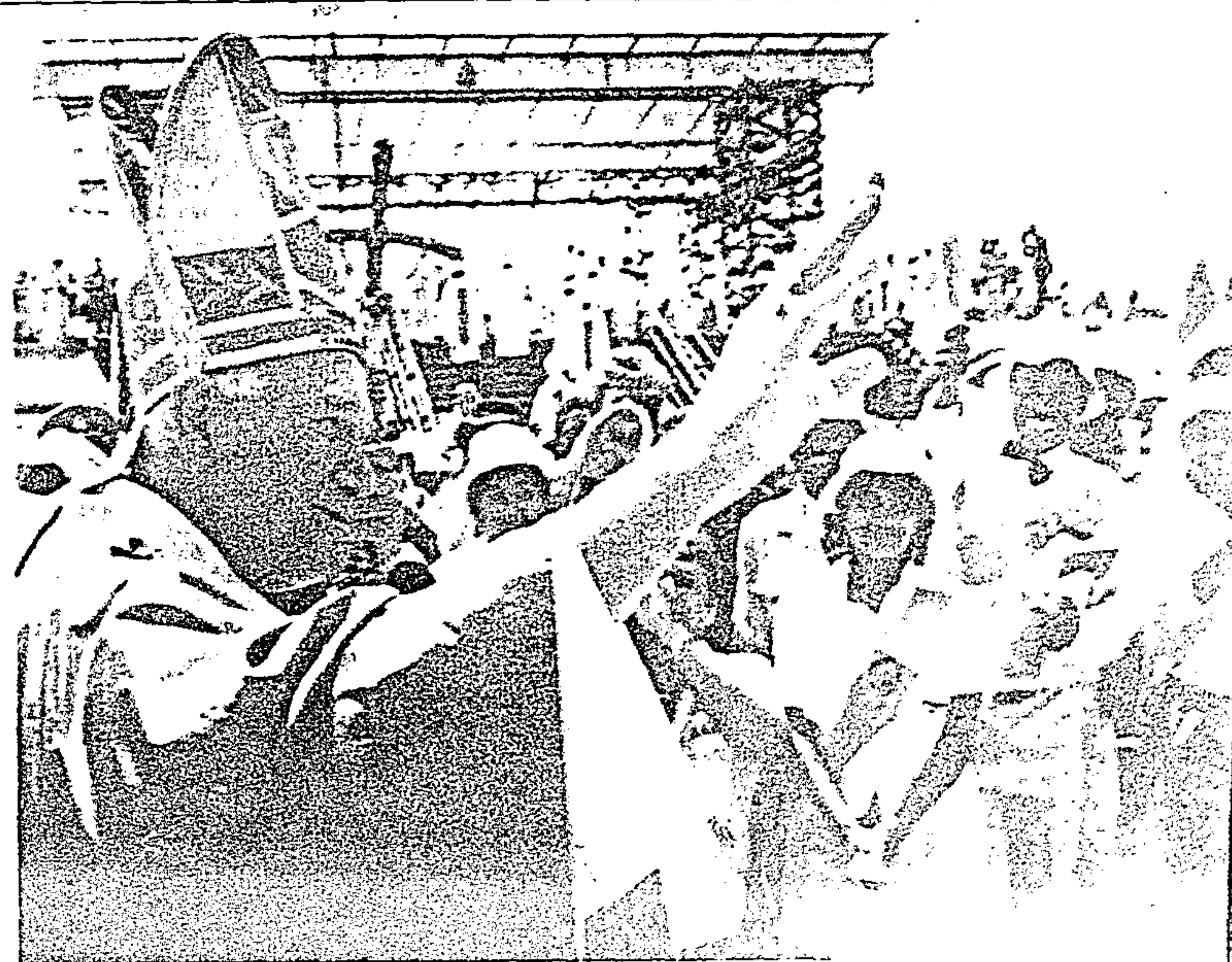
The meeting at Songo, a small town in northern Mozambique near the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme, will be the first between President Joaquim Chissano and Mr Botha.

Talks with Banda

Later today Mr Botha, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will fly to Malawi for discussions with President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. They will return to South Africa tomorrow night.

Today Mr Botha's party will visit Cahora Bassa before the talks with Mr Chissano. The huge Cahora Bassa scheme has been constantly sabotaged by the Renamo rebel movement.

Among the matters to be discussed are plans to revive the joint monitoring commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord to deal with border in-



PAPAL MASS: Pope John Paul II walked through the crowd before the Mass for the 150 000 people at Borrowdale Race Course in Harare, Zimbabwe. The Pope is currently on a five-country tour of Southern Africa. ● Another picture and report, page 3.

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Among the matters to be discussed are plans to revive the joint monitoring commission set up in terms of the Nkomati Accord to deal with border incidents. South Africa may also raise the ANC presence in Mozambique, while Mozambique may express misgivings about help to Renamo from elements in South Africa.

Decisive step

The official Mozambican news Agency, Aim, said in an editorial that Mozambique hoped the Songo meeting would be a decisive step in rescuing the Nkomati Accord.

"It is a further step in the policy of trying to resolve the aggression against Mozambique through dialogue with Pretoria."

South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal recently signed an agreement for the rehabilitation of the Cahora Bassa dam but the agreement still has to be ratified.

It is still not clear how the powerlines linking the dam to South Africa will be protected against rebels.

Delighted

South African diplomats are delighted about the visits, which follow one by an emissary from President Chissano to President Botha. Arrangements for the visits stretched over months.

It is President Botha's first official visit to African states, although he has been to southern Angola to visit troops.

Mr Botha has maintained that he has often received visitors from other parts of Africa but has never given details. At one stage this year there were plans for a visit to Congo-Brazzaville.

According to diplomats, the visit is meant to illustrate a growing realism and a more sober approach in Southern Africa about the role South Africa, as the economic power point of the region, can play.

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SA Media Council for SWA hearing

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AN investigation panel of the SA Media Council is to sit for the first time in Windhoek.

The panel will sit on September 26 to consider complaints lodged with the council against the Windhoek Observer.

The council said in a statement at the weekend that complaints by the Namibian police and, in a separate issue, by members of the public deal with photographs and editorial matter which allegedly contravene the council's code of conduct.

The police complaint relates to photographs published in the Windhoek Observer on January 23 and April 23 on the grounds that the editor did not exercise "due care and responsibility with regard to the presentation of brutality, violence and atrocities".

The public complaint deals with allegedly indecent or obscene material which appeared on June 25 and in subsequent issues.

Council chairman Mr Louis de V van Winsen will preside. — Sapa

Namibia slaps deportation order on illegal SA student

ARGUS 14/9/88 221
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A South African student has been served with a deportation order from SWA/Namibia in what is believed to be the first such action taken under a law promulgated in 1985 controlling immigration to the territory.

Ntsikelelo Mbetha, 20, was fined R500 for contravening the Residence of Certain Persons in SWA/Namibia Act of 1985. Magistrate Mr. Frikkie Truter found that Mbetha, a student at a tertiary educational institution here, had not obtained the necessary residence permit from the authorities in Windhoek before moving to Namibia.

Mr Truter ordered that Mbetha be held in custody until his deportation.

Mbetha said in a prepared statement to the court that he did not recognise the transitional government or its laws.

Uniform campaign

DURBAN. — Mr Ian Master-son of Pretoria has collected 11,000 signatures in support of his nationwide one-man campaign calling for the standardisation of school uniforms. And now he is seeking an interview with President Botha to present his petition. — The Argus Correspondent.

Bugs in embassy

STOCKHOLM. — Sweden has protested to the Soviet Union after finding eavesdropping devices in its Moscow embassy for the second time in two years. — Sapa-Reuter.

SARAH NHENDA was asleep in her hut with her two young daughters when she heard a hammering at the door.

"It is us, the soldiers. We want to sleep with you," the men outside the door said. "Open up or we will break down the door."

"They forced their way in and began talking to me. They said they wanted to sleep with me. I said to them, 'My daughters are here, you cannot do this thing', and they told my daughters to leave," Nhenda said.

"Then they beat my head against the wall. I fell down, then the one soldier grabbed my arms and forced me down on the bed and the other soldier began raping me. They were 'coloured' soldiers.

"They both raped me and then they said to me, 'Now we are your friends, we will visit you again'. But one man left his false teeth behind and I have given that to the police. Now I am scared because the police photographed me pointing to one of the men who raped me, and I fear what those soldiers may do to me."

After the incident, Nhenda crawled out of her hut, shouted to some neighbours and they came to help. She identified the men as those who were guarding the bridge at Ongwediva, the same bridge where our host's brother was wounded and his girlfriend shot dead.

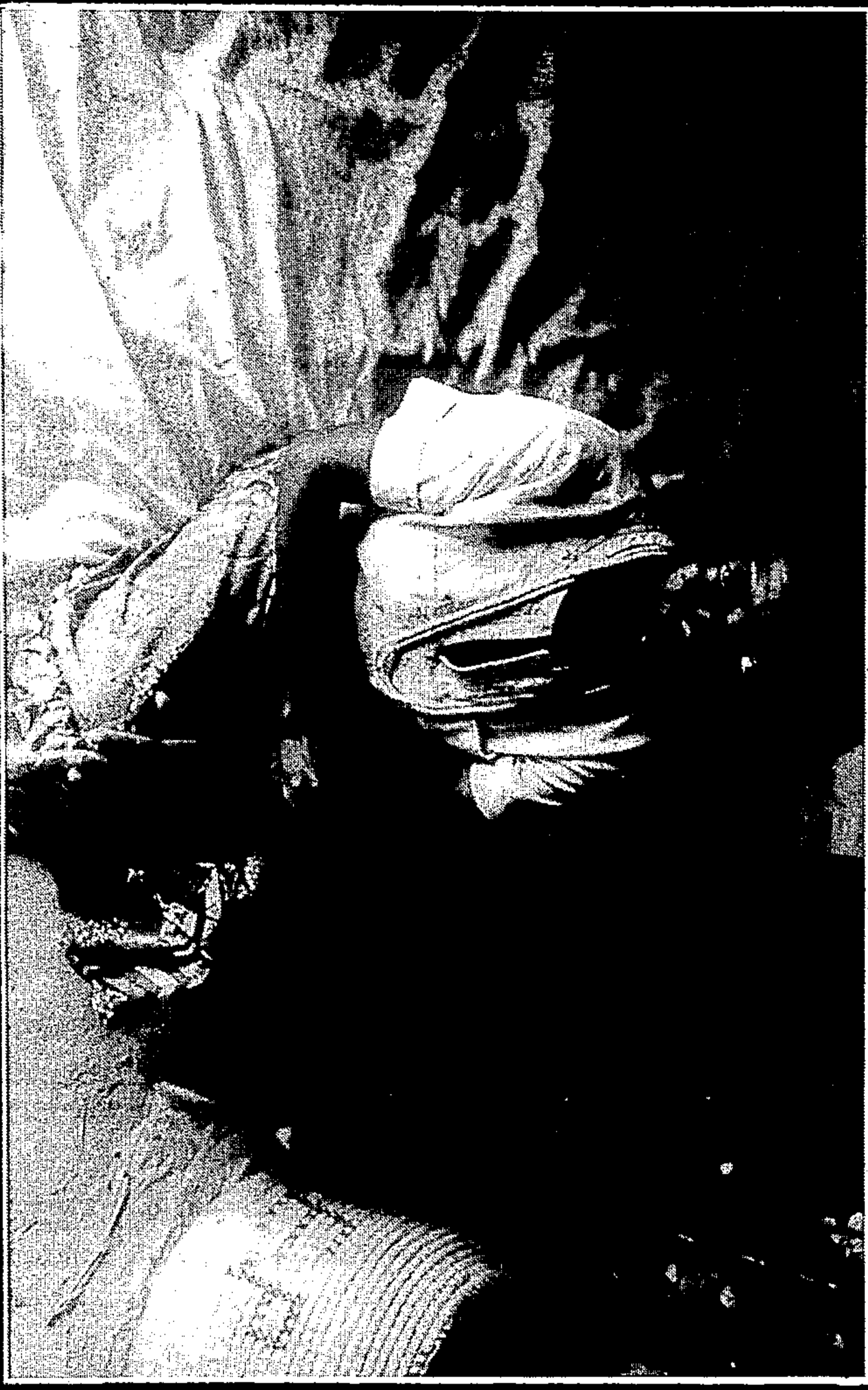
Nhenda reported the incident to the Human Rights Centre, established two months ago by the Legal Assistance Centre, and to Oswald Shivute, secretary to the Ovambo Legislative Assembly and a relentless documenter of human rights violations.

"Since we were established two months ago, we have had more than 50 cases of human rights violations reported to us, all of them allegedly carried out by members of the South African security forces and their Namibian allies," says Andrew Corbett, an attorney attached to the LAC.

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FOCUS: NAMIBIA'S FAR NORTH

An ordinary tale of life and death in the bush



Sarah Nhenda: After the men raped me they hid. Now we've got friends, we will visit you again.

than 20km from the Angolan border, there is a recent battle field. It is just off the main tarred road, a mortar bomb's throw from the Utapi Koevoet and SADF base near Ombalantu. The field is strewn with dozens of exploded shells.

The battle took place on August 18. It was a strange tale but typical of Namibian war stories. Eight Swapo guerrillas came cycling out of the night from the north-east, mortar and rocket launchers strapped to their backs. They set up their weaponry in the field and for 10 minutes bombarded the South African position.

The SADF won't say if there was any damage or injuries but one can see garage doors hanging skew and craters near sand-bagged emplacements.

The SADF and Koevoet laid down a carpet bomb barrage, taking out one civilian, six cows, two huts and a substantial area of open field. The guerrillas packed up their weaponry, leaving the instruction pamphlets (in Russian) behind, and cycled off into the African night — unhurt.

In Ombalantu, there is a traditional Ovambo kraal, built in a maze form to deter unwanted guests from penetrating the inner quarters. The maze did not work against the Casspirs which drove through the outer fence and into the *mahango* field.

On August 13, Evelina Aindaka, 23, was tending bar in her mother's *cica* shop, the ubiquitous pubs which criss-cross the war zones. A young man, she says, rode up on a bicycle, ordered millet beer and drank it outside. Then six Koevoet Casspirs arrived and policemen walked towards the shop.

"Suddenly there was an explosion, the Koevoet men were running, two were wounded or dead, I don't know. There were many shots fired, then the *cica* shop was on fire."

The young man, a guerrilla, died on



He is an ancient dwarf, his face shrunken and scarred. His eyes dart back and forth suspiciously, but he is unable to speak. He is five years old.



Sophia Aindaka: First, her shop was destroyed in a battle. Next, she was beaten by soldiers. Then a Swapo mortar wrecked the hospital she lay in ...

Shivute has more statistics. "Since 1982, when I began monitoring atrocities by the security forces, we have had 916 atrocity cases reported to us. We have brought most of these to the attention of the authorities. So far as I know, there have been five prosecutions. The people are scared to go to the police. They say, 'How can we report this to the police when it is the same police and army who have done these things to us?'"

He has investigated 200 cases of alleged atrocities this year alone. "There was a bad one in early August. At Enkolo, near Elombe, Koo-voet came into a village and they accused a man of helping the Swapo fighters. When he denied this, they beat him up, then they cut off his lips and his ears and then they shaved the skin off his face with a knife.

"When they had finished with this, they shot him dead and they ordered the villagers to bury his body. I have been there, I spoke to the witnesses, and I have reported this to Colonel van Tonder at Oshakati. He has said he will look at the matter."

He tells the story in a matter-of-fact way. This is life and death in the Namibian bush: nobody is surprised by death, nobody is shocked by brutality. The war has been going on for 22 years and people regard the ceasefire as a hollow promise of peace they will only believe when they see the last of the South African soldiers cross the red line and drive south.

There is a deep hatred for the South African and the Namibian armed forces. When Cuban jets bombed Ruacana killing 11 South African soldiers, residents say the local people stood by and cheered.

"When those MiGs came over and dropped their bombs, it was very nice," one man said.

Wherever you look there are victims of war: people with no legs, no arms, eyes missing, others in uniform with the glazed look of men who have killed too many people to

Wherever you look there are victims: people with no legs, no arms, eyes missing; and men with that glazed look of those who have killed too many ...

TONY WEAVER reports from Ongwediva

know the value of human life.

Death is a casual affair, rape is no social stigma, there are bodies under the bushes and the armoured convoys roll endlessly on and on and on.

The military convoys are terrifying: armoured monsters bristling with machine guns, cannons and mortars, casual men perched on their backs contemptuously eyeing the passing civilians.

At one point we drive behind an SADF Buffel. It passes two women. Stones fly from the Buffel and narrowly miss them.

At another point, we come to a cloud of billowing yellow smoke on the main road. A Koovoet Casspir drives off into the distance, laughing men on its back. "They probably threw their smoke canister out for fun," says one of our hosts.

But the detritus of war is no fun. A doctor at Oshakati Hospital took us on a tour of the children's casualty ward. He warns us to be careful not to be seen with camera equipment in the area — "the spies are everywhere, if they know you are here in the war zone, they will arrest you."

Vilho Simon, 10, was playing under a fruit tree when he picked up a strange looking object. It exploded. Vilho was rushed to hospital with his bowels ruptured and his legs lacerated by the leftovers of a military raid. In the next bed lay Simon lipinge, 7, who had a similar tale to tell. He was lucky, only his legs were wounded.

Two more little boys lay in the next room: both were missing a leg. Phillipus Kweyo is 10 and he lay on his

white hospital sheets looking at us with terrified brown eyes, rubbing the stump where once he had a right leg. Phillipus had also been playing with an object but this one was more puzzling. It sounds like a Coke tin.

"We hear this a lot," the doctor says. "Children come in and say they found a Coke or a Fanta and they open it, and it explodes. It seems to be some kind of a sick trap."

Against the next white pillow lies an ancient dwarf. His face is shrunk-en, old and scared. The eyes dart back and forth in mistrustful glances and then move down to where his leg should be. This little old man is five years old. His name is Andreas Kalinga and nothing will move him to talk, his trauma is too deep.

Andreas was asleep in his hut near the Ondangua Airforce Base when a soldier, wanting some excitement, fired off a couple of shots. One of

those tore through Andreas' leg, ripping it off instantly. Another SADF member rushed him to hospital before he bled to death.

On the main road between Ruacana and Ondangua we passed three or four Magirus Deutsch SADF trucks loaded with people. One of our guides said, "Those are the Unita men, women and children, they are all being brought back into Namibia by the South Africans because it is no longer safe in Angola. We have heard there are many Unita now being accommodated in Oshakati."

Shivute confirms this scenario and is worried by it. "We do not need any more terror in this area. There are already enough men here who are carrying guns."

All the talk of peace and ceasefires seems very remote in the heart of the war zone, the dominant noise the rumble of military convoys drowning out the sounds of the African night. The Oshakati doctor was anything

Pictures: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

but sanguine about the prospects of peace: "Of course I want peace, we all want peace, but will we ever get peace? At the moment we are treating between 10 and 15 cases a month of women raped by members of the security forces. We treat civilians all the time, probably most of our cases, who are war victims — alcoholism, venereal disease, rape. These are all war diseases. Where will it end?"

"Even if the war ends tomorrow, pray to God that it does, there are so many people walking around with guns, there are the men who have been in the camps in Angola, there is so much brutalisation. How can peace ever really return?"

We hear endless tales of how the security forces, the "Omakakunya" — bloodsuckers or bonepickers — commit seemingly random acts of terror against the peasantry. It is as if the military and the police realised they could never win the hearts and minds of the people and set about destroying those hearts and minds.

No doubt the Swapo guerrillas are also guilty of atrocities but we come across nobody who is prepared to speak out against "the boys, the fighters". Every family, it seems, has a son or father or husband or cousin who has crossed the border into the camps in Angola.

And we hear more tales of how the security forces, especially Koovoet, drive their vehicles through fields of mahango (the staple crop) and sometimes set them on fire when they suspect a village has been harbouring Swapo guerrillas.

On the road to Ombalantu, not more

his own handgrenade. Some witnesses say two Koovoet men died, others say they were wounded. An airforce helicopter evacuated the casualties but by then the *cucca* shop was destroyed. And, Aindaka claims, the Koovoet men reacted to the incident.

"They beat me up there, then they took me to Uutapi military base. They beat me with fists, they slapped me. There were about 20 of them and they took it in turns. Then they attached two wires to me with clips, and on the other end was a battery. Then they began to shock me. I lost consciousness. They did this three times. "Later they took me to the body of the man who was killed. They made me lie on his dead body. They said he was my friend. I did not know this man," Aindaka claimed.

She says she was taken to Oshakati on the back of a police van with the dead body next to her. She was held for nine days before being released.

Asked by Corbett if she wants to make a claim for damages, she replies: "I am afraid to make a case against Koovoet because then they will come back and take their revenge. I am afraid they will come back to beat me up."

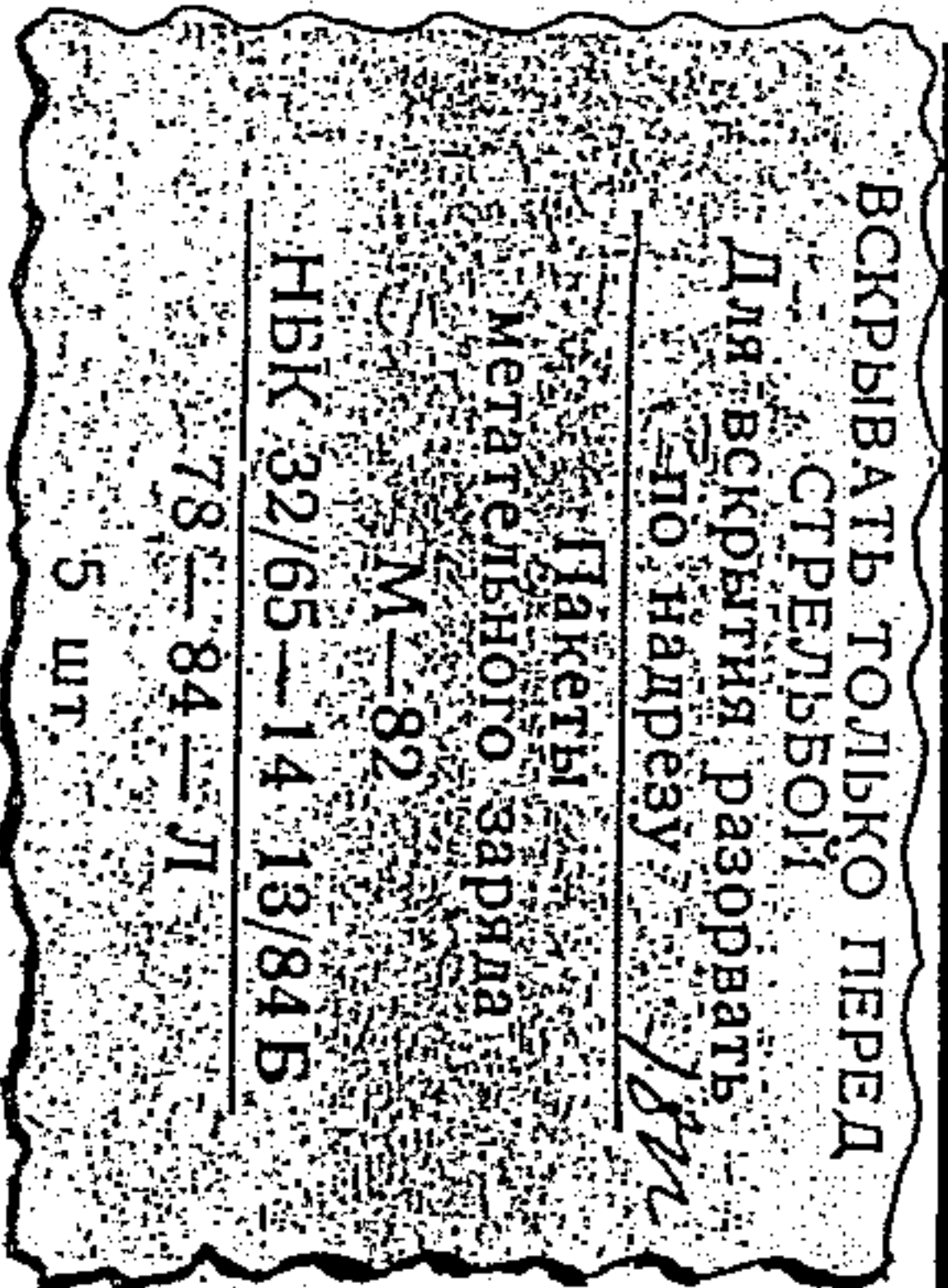
Her mother, Sophia, was not as scared. She returned home the next day to find her *cucca* shop destroyed, her daughter missing and a large part of her mahango field wiped out. Koovoet were waiting for her. She says they beat her on the head with iron bars, causing head injuries, and then broke her arm.

Sophia Aindaka is bringing a civil claim for damages against the police and is determined to press charges.

Her story does not end there. On August 21, she was lying in the Om-balantu Hospital when she heard a loud explosion, then another, and the roof fell in on her.

A group of Swapo guerrillas, again on bicycles, had attacked the Uutapi base. One mortar went astray and demolished the ward next door to her. The nurses are threatening to strike until the military base is removed.

Now Sophia Aindaka lies in her kraal near Ombalantu with a broken arm and head.



“The soldiers laid down a carpet bomb barrage, taking one civilian, six cows, two huts and an open field. Swapo packed their weapons and cycled off, leaving the Russian instructions (left) behind ...”

ВСКРЫВАТЬ ТОЛЬКО ПЕРВА
СТРЕЛБОВОЙ
Для ВСКРЫТИЯ ПОЗВОЛЯЕТ
ПО НАДРЕСЬ
1882
ПЛАКЕТЫ
МЕТАЛЛИЧЕСКОЕ ЗАПЕЧАТ
M—82
HBK 32/65—14 13/84B
78—84—JI
5 шт.

Chikane:

Court ^{Costs 7/15}
upholds ^{17/9/81}
appeal ²²¹

BLOEMFONTEIN. —
The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday upheld, with costs, an appeal by the SWA Cabinet in connection with a notice under Section 9 of the Residence of Certain Persons in SWA Regulation Act.

The appeal was against the judgment of Mr Acting Justice H Hendler on November 12, 1986 in favour of Pastor Frank Chikane, then the general secretary of the Institute of Contextual Theology. The second respondent was the Council of Churches in Namibia.

The application was brought by Pastor Chikane after he was advised at Jan Smuts Airport on May 23, 1986 that he was prohibited from being in SWA.

Yesterday Mr Justice Grosskopf concluded that neither respondent had shown that the Cabinet acted unlawfully. — Sapa

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C. Ross

Swapo man on Idasa stage

19/8

CP Correspondent

THE South African government is no longer going to be able to reverse the mood for change now prevalent among Namibians, according to Anton Lubowski, of the National Union of Namibian Workers, a Swapo affiliate.

Lubowski said Swapo was optimistic that independence for Namibia was not far off and that Swapo was totally committed to peace provided the South African government did not flout the peace agreement.

Windhoek-based advocate Lubowski was speaking on Angola and Namibia this week in Durban.

The meeting, attended by about 1 000 people, also marked the opening of the Durban regional office of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA.

Lubowski shared the platform with Idasa director Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Mark Patrick, who served in Namibia and Angola as a conscript in the SADF.

Lubowski said the financial crisis South Africa faced as a result of sanctions added a lot more pressure.

"Morally, South Africa had found it difficult to justify its incursions into Namibia and Angola," he said.

Slabbert said that, looking back to 1974, he had a feeling of having been abused by the South African government in its statements about a military presence in Angola.

Star 22/9/88

Deportation: Aid offered to Namibians

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Immigration authorities have offered to assist about 130 Namibians to return to this country if they are deported from South Africa under a Group Areas Act prosecution.

The Namibians are all long-time residents of the Cape west coast diamond industry settlement of Port Nolloth.

The town council has laid charges against the group in terms of the Group Areas Act, seeking their eviction from the town.

It is understood that if the Namibians were evicted, then they would have to be sent home. Most of them come from the north of Namibia and went to Port Nolloth and the Namibian town of Oranjemund to work for Consolidated Diamond Mines there.

A spokesman for the Department of Immigration in Windhoek said the authorities here were aware of the case and had offered to assist those people to return to Namibia.

ORDERS

The chairman of the Owambo administration, Mr Peter Kalangula, has accused the authorities in Windhoek of telling the Port Nolloth Namibians that buses would be sent to take them home on the orders of the Owambo administration.

The Department of Immigration has denied Mr Kalangula's allegations.

The trial of the Namibians, taking place in the Supreme Court in Cape Town, has been postponed until October 26.

UN chief's tough task

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar jets into South Africa tomorrow night to boost the process of independence for Namibia.

The world body chief will, however, be confronted by a string of difficult problems to be resolved before the territory can get its independence.

The Department of Foreign Affairs announced last night that Dr de Cuellar would be in South Africa on Thursday and Friday as the guest of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Apart from meeting Mr Botha, Dr de Cuellar will meet Cabinet members, Namibia's Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and members of the territory's transitional government.

Although Dr de Cuellar is visiting South Africa at the invitation of Mr Botha, his decision to come at this stage is believed to be intended to boost the peace negotiations.

Diplomatic sources believe the inability

of the negotiators to produce an acceptable timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will now almost certainly delay implementation of Namibian independence.

It had been agreed earlier that the target date for the start of the plan, embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435, would be November 1 this year.

In terms of Resolution 435, it would mean Namibian elections would be held seven months after that date.

It seems unlikely the negotiations, to resume in the Congo next Monday, will be able to conclude a mutually acceptable timetable for withdrawal of Cuban forces in time for the implementation of Resolution 435 from November 1.

Sources say the UN has not started to make arrangements for the implementation of Resolution 435, making it unlikely that, even if agreement were reached in Brazzaville next week, the world body would be able to start the independence process by November 1.

See Page 6.

De Cuellar visit to SA a boost for Namibian peace

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AKG 20/9/88

PRETORIA. — United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar is expected to arrive in South Africa on Thursday to boost the process of independence for SWA/Namibia.

The world body's chief will, however, be confronted by a string of difficult problems to be resolved before the territory can achieve independence.

The Department of Foreign Affairs announced last night that Dr de Cuellar would be visiting South Africa on Thursday and Friday as the guest of President Botha.

BOOST TO PEACE

Apart from meeting President Botha, the secretary-general will be holding discussions with members of the Cabinet and with Namibia's Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and members of the territory's transitional government.

Although Dr de Cuellar is visiting South Africa at the invitation of President Botha, issued some time ago, his decision to come at this stage is believed to be intended to boost the peace negotiations between South Africa and Angola/Cuba.

Dr de Cuellar hopes to obtain an agreement that will enable the world body to begin its administrative and peace-keeping operations in the territory on November 1, he told correspondents.

Dr de Cuellar said the purpose of his mission was to bring about the most rapid pos-

sible implementation of the security council's 10-year-old resolution which sets out the terms for Namibian independence following UN-supervised elections.

Diplomatic sources believe the inability of the negotiators so far to produce an acceptable timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will now almost certainly delay the implementation of the UN plan for independence.

TARGET DATE

It had been earlier agreed by the parties that the target date for the start of the plan, embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435, would be November 1 this year.

In terms of Resolution 435 that would mean independence elections for the territory would be held seven months after the implementation date, or June 1 next year.

Dr de Cuellar will travel to South Africa with a high-powered team of advisers led by Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, the former UN commissioner for Namibia.

Asked about the probable cost of the Namibia operation for an organisation in deep financial trouble because of the non payment of dues, the secretary-general said he hoped he could bring this in for less than the R1 400-million that has been mentioned in some reports. — Political Staff and The Argus Foreign Service.

Four Swapo shot dead by security forces in Namibia

WINDHOEK. — Security forces in northern Namibia shot dead four Swapo insurgents in separate skirmishes, the SWA Territory Force said.

Some of the insurgents killed in the clashes on Saturday wore the uniforms of the Angolan army, Fapla.

A statement issued by SWATF last night said security forces seized an RPG7, an anti-personnel mine and rifle grenades.

Swapo insurgents carried out a bombardment with 82mm mortars on Eenhana military base but caused no damage, the statement said.

Insurgents tried to bombard the kraal of an Ovambo head-

man 20km west of Etale on Wednesday night, but the mortar bombs were wide of the target.

"Aggression, sabotage and intimidation by gangs of Swapo continue in the operational area in spite of an announcement by the organisation's leadership that it would cease hostilities from September 1," the SWATF statement said. — Sapa.

Soldier killed

DURBAN. — Gunner Sean Ellis, 21, of Durban, has been killed in a military vehicle accident in Namibia. He was the son of Mr and Mrs Denis Ellis of Glenwood, Durban. — Sapa.

Kaunda may mediate for peace

PW in African

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Star



President Kaunda



President Botha

move on Angola

By David Braun
and Gerald L'Ange

Africa's most important leaders are taking the initiative to end the civil war in Angola and give Namibia its independence.

South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to play his full part in these new moves.

The Financial Times in London carries a report from Michael Holman in Maputo today saying that tentative plans are being made for President Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to meet.

This meeting may tie in with a summit meeting of several major African leaders in a new bid to end the Angola civil war.

The summit meeting, announced by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in an interview with *The New York Times*, will be the culmination of many months of intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations among African leaders to take the initiative to restore peace and stability to south-western Africa.

President Mobutu said talks at head of state level had been agreed to by South Africa, Angola, Zaire and "its neighbours". Timing and venue still had to be negotiated.

Unita reconciliation

One possible issue for discussion is a potential mediating role for President Kaunda in efforts now taking place to reconcile the Angolan government and the Unita rebel movement led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, which is backed by South Africa and the US.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, who returned to London today from a 10-day visit to five African countries, replied to a sceptical journalist who raised the "apparent stalemate" in South Africa. Sir Geoffrey suggested that the "mate was not as stale" as his questioner suggested.

Diplomatic sources in South Africa have confirmed that high-level talks have already taken place at the initiative of important African leaders who now believe the time has come for a pan-African approach to resolving the continent's most pressing problems.

Senior South African leaders are understood to have made highly secret visits to various African capitals in recent months, including Kinshasa, and at least one African head of state is known to have made a secret visit to Pretoria this year.

President Botha's own recent official visit to Mozambique and Malawi, and the possibility of one or two more such trips to other African states in the near future, are all related to these developments.

'Heart of the OAU'

The African leaders involved represent a dozen states around Angola and up through West Africa. These also include Kenya, Egypt, Zambia and Morocco and, together, according to a local diplomatic source, they represent "the heart of the Organisation for African Unity".

The Africans want the 50 000 Cuban soldiers in the region to go home. They want the South Africans out of Namibia and they want that territory to get its independence.

Most significantly, the African leaders want the Luanda government to settle its differences with Unita, especially now that the South Africans have withdrawn from Angola.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has substantial support in many parts of Africa.

At a recent celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Congo revolution in Brazzaville, 11 African heads of state are understood to have confronted Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and told him that the time had come for him to start a dialogue with Unita.

The Angolan president is understood to have since written to some of these African colleagues to say he would be in favour of talking to Unita.

President Mobutu is believed to be one of the prime movers behind an African initiative to end the Angolan civil war and get the Cubans out of the region.

De Cuellar

2/19/88
arrives
tonight

Star
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Political Correspondent

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar arrives in South Africa tonight for an intensive two-day round of talks on Namibia's independence.

The UN chief is expected to land at Waterkloof air force base at 10 pm in a special aircraft made available for his use by the government of Spain.

He will be accompanied by the UN special envoy for Namibia, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, and other senior officials.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will meet Dr de Cuellar.

The UN Secretary-General and his party will be staying at the government guest house in Bryntirion in Pretoria as the guests of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Botha invited Dr Perez de Cuellar to South Africa recently in order to discuss preparations for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

IMPARTIAL

Among the items to be discussed are guarantees of the UN's impartiality in the independence process, the estimated R2 billion which will be needed to finance Resolution 435 and the transfer of South Africa's financial obligations.

Dr Perez de Cuellar is to meet Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and leaders of Namibian political parties in Pretoria tomorrow morning.

In the afternoon he will meet South African Cabinet Ministers and in the evening Mr Pik Botha will host a reception for him at the guest house.

Mr P W Botha will meet Dr Perez de Cuellar on Friday morning and the UN leader will leave for Angolan talks in Luanda in the afternoon.

Dr Perez de Cuellar will not be visiting Namibia itself on this trip.

● See Page 11.

NAMIBIA TALKS

The UN and Unita

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar may act as an unofficial messenger for President P W Botha when he leaves for

N JAMBA

tems (that is, Stinger missiles). "Moscow has replaced all the equipment lost by Luanda's forces in the fighting last year and the current Soviet-inspired offensive is a clear sign that both Moscow and Luanda have changed tactics, abandoning the possibility of a negotiated deal with Unita, seeking instead a military solution to the conflict."

Sakhala suggests that the US election was a crucial reason for this changed tactic together with a Soviet wish to be in a strong military position on the ground in Angola before offering any concessions.

He refutes repeated recent reports suggesting that Unita was crumbling in the face of the first peace effort showing real signs of becoming effective. "Unita had fought its bush war for 13 years without US support and with only logistical backing from SA and was capable of continuing as long as necessary," claims Sakhala.

However, observers in Lisbon have noted a number of signals in recent weeks which suggest that the rebels are anything but tranquil about the prospect of being totally abandoned by Washington and Pretoria in exchange for a deal over the Cubans.

Angola towards the end of the week on the next leg of his diplomatic shuttle through southern Africa. Although the UN chief has no mandate from the world body to involve himself with Unita's fate in Angola, it can be expected that he will convey Pretoria's concern about the well-being of their erstwhile ally to Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

Former SA ambassador to the UN, Kurt von Schirnding, who knows the Secretary-General well, says the recent rumours of a troop build-up by the Cubans in Angola, as well as speculation that the combined forces of Fidel Castro and Fapla plan an onslaught on Jonas Savimbi's Unita stronghold, will be brought to De Cuellar's attention. "Other than conveying this message to Dos Santos, I don't think the Secretary General would like to get involved in this matter," says Von Schirnding.

The visit, which was due to start as the FM went to press, should be seen as a positive move, Von Schirnding says. "If he had any doubts about SA's bona fides, the visit would not have taken place. Not too much emphasis should however be placed on the fact that he is missing the opening of this session of the General Assembly — but one can safely say that the Secretary General's visit shows the importance he attaches to the peace process."

Von Schirnding, who now heads the SA Foundation, says SA is very fortunate that a man of such extreme integrity is at the helm of the UN at this time. Von Schirnding was present when De Cuellar and Botha met for the first time in SA in 1983: "I think they have a good understanding of each other," he comments.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Willie Breytenbach says the most important point on the agenda between De Cuellar and Pretoria will be the cost of implementing UN Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence. "SA wants to withdraw from Namibia because of the high costs of administering the country. If the withdrawal means higher costs, it may be better to remain there," he says.

Breytenbach agrees with Von Schirnding that Unita's fate will not be a bargaining point during De Cuellar's discussions with Botha. "Unita has not been included in the peace process in the first instance." Breytenbach has previously warned that this is the weak link in the negotiations.

But, at the end of the day, Angola cannot be detached from the Unita factor, he adds. "Unita will always form part of the fine print of any negotiations about Angola. De Cuellar will have to take notice of this."

A spokesman for the American State Department was earlier quoted as saying that they have no knowledge of a planned full-scale Cuban-Fapla attack on Unita. Breytenbach does not agree: "Although it is difficult to judge the situation from Stellenbosch, I believe the information which is at the disposal of SA. One can speculate that the Americans are busy playing their own little



UN's De Cuellar... SA visit gives impetus to peace talks

game. They may not want to admit that the situation is serious."

Breytenbach says De Cuellar will also have to take notice of the diplomatic breakthrough which has taken place with the current peace talks. "At this stage, no finger can be pointed to SA. On the international political and diplomatic fronts, the past two weeks have been the best SA has had for a long time."

The diplomatic breakthrough may even extend further. The London *Financial Times* reported on Tuesday that tentative plans are being made for Botha to meet Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in an initiative to end the civil war in Angola and give Namibia its independence. The meeting may tie in with a summit meeting of several major African leaders, which was announced in an interview with *The New York Times* by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

A meeting like that, together with the visit of De Cuellar, could give some impetus to the peace talks — which have suddenly seemed to falter in the wake of rumours about an alleged attack on Unita. ■

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AS United Nations secretary-general Mr Javier Perez De Cuellar heads for Pretoria tonight for talks with President P W Botha on Angola-Namibia, intense diplomatic activity in the region erupted on the eve of the resumption of the Brazzaville peace talks.

Speculation continued that a meeting between Mr Botha and a number of African leaders would take place in the next few weeks to discuss the peace initiative.

Mr Botha's office dismissed the reports — in the London Financial Times and the New York Times — as "speculative".

Neither the Department of Foreign Affairs nor the British Foreign Office could confirm that that a meeting was on the cards between Mr Botha and various African heads of state on ways to end the civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia.

Surprise visit

However, South African government sources were not prepared to rule out the possibility of further talks between Mr Botha and other African leaders, particularly after his successful safari earlier this month to Mozambique and Malawi.

Diplomats and officials in London were commenting yesterday on "the great deal of fluidity in the region" and the general desire among African states for national reconciliation in Angola. They said there were a number of visits and discussions taking place.

Observers yesterday noted that Mr Botha had been due to pay a surprise visit to Brazzaville earlier this year when a team of South African diplomats were in the Congolese capital for negotiations about Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence. The trip was eventually called off after the Cubans complained that South Africa

was attempting to extract political capital out of regional peace initiatives.

It is also known that a number of senior African politicians have made secret trips to the Republic in recent years for talks with top government officials.

Pretoria has been using a number of highly successful aid programmes as a means of extending its contacts with states to the north and SA government offi-

To page 3

PWA'S SUMMIT SOON? PEACE

CMC
Final
21/9/88

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SA sheds villain's cloak in Angolan melodrama

For once, South Africa is starting to look like the hero instead of the villain in the Namibian independence saga.

If there is a villain in the play now it is Cuba, despite President Fidel Castro's desperate desire to go down in history as southern Africa's saviour.

Not everyone concerned with the efforts to bring independence to Namibia acknowledges this unusual reversal of roles. President Castro certainly does not.

But if the allegations voiced in some diplomatic circles are true, he is playing a desperately dangerous game that could not only scuttle Namibian independence, but also prolong the search for peace in Angola and spread the flames of war more widely in southern Africa.

Recognition

South Africa's role as the hero is for the time being a largely self-assigned one, but it could well get wider recognition. It will certainly give the United Nations secretary-general something to ponder during his visit to Pretoria this week.

South Africa's claim to the part rests on its having done everything that could reasonably be expected of it in recent months to clear the way for Namibian independence.

Nothing has emerged to challenge the South African assertion that it is genuinely trying now to achieve a solution.

In the negotiations with Angola, Cuba and the United States, the South Africans have not only reaffirmed their intention to give Namibia independence, but have started giving effect to their promise by withdrawing their troops from Angola and setting November 1 as the date for the implementation of the United Nations peace plan set out in Security Council Resolution 435.

Refused

The Cubans have refused, however, to withdraw their 50 000-odd troops in a period short enough to make it impossible for them to influence Namibia's independence election.

"What more can we do?" a senior South African official asked recently, claiming that Pretoria had so far made all the concessions in the bargaining.

Short of agreeing to delay Namibian independence to give the Cuban troops more time to withdraw, it is indeed difficult to see

BY GERALD L'ANGE.

Editor, The Star's Africa News Service

On the eve of the visit to South Africa of the United Nations secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, there seems to be wider acceptance of Pretoria's sincerity in seeking peaceful transition to independence in Namibia.



Mr Pik Botha with Dr Perez de Cuellar during the United Nations chief's last visit to South Africa in 1983.

what more South African can do.

The Cubans, however, have other things on their minds than quitting Angola, according to accounts in diplomatic circles.

Together with the MPLA government in Luanda, they are said to be planning a major offensive against Unita, hoping that in the absence of the South African troops who have protected the rebels in the recent past they can at last destroy or at least neutralise them.

The Cubans, and at least some in the Luanda government, apparently prefer this to the other options open to them, of which there are only two.

Defeat

The one is to try to defeat or contain Unita on their own without the help of the Cubans, which on the face of it would not be possible.

The other is to negotiate a political solution with Unita, which would involve bringing it into the government and sharing power with it.

According to diplomatic sources, the Cubans plan to seal Angola's border with Namibia to try to stop the South Africans from coming back to aid Unita and then to attempt to inflict a crushing military defeat on the rebels.

There would then be no need for the MPLA to come to terms with Unita, a development that would dismay the Cubans because it would make their costly efforts to protect the MPLA seem in vain.

With Unita defeated, the Cuban troops could be withdrawn with honour. But in some diplomatic

quarters there is a fear that they would more likely be sent into fresh adventures in southern Africa aimed at enshrining Fidel Castro as the man who finally defeated the Boers.

Some experts doubt that Unita could beat off an assault by Angolan tanks and aircraft without South African help.

The question is whether South Africa would send its forces to the rescue. The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, hinted last weekend that it might do so.

Accusing the Cubans of using the peace talks as a cover for an effort to eliminate Unita, General Malan warned that they might learn again the lesson they learned at Cuito Cuanavale, where, he said, they lost up to 10 000 men.

The Minister did not say so, but it might reasonably be assumed that at least some of those losses would have been inflicted by the South African forces that were involved in the battle.

The South African Government has strongly suggested in the past that it could not permit Unita to be ousted from south-eastern Angola because this would allow Swapo combatants to infiltrate through the Caprivi Strip and so widen the war in Namibia.

Theoretically, there would be no danger of this under the agreement said to have been reached in Geneva for Swapo's forces to be confined north of the 16th parallel.

But Luanda's respect for this and other parts of the Geneva protocol would be brought into question if

the reported eastward offensive against Unita were to take place and the Cubans were to be involved.

The terms of the Geneva agreement have not been made public — a strange decision in itself — but it is believed to prohibit the Cubans from embarking on hostilities east of the 17th meridian unless they are provoked.

Provocation

However, provocation can easily be engineered and there seems to be a fear in some quarters that this is just what the Cubans would do.

Alternatively, they would simply deny their participation in the Fapla offensive and it would be difficult to prove otherwise.

South Africa would not lightly decide to intervene. It would not have forgotten the international condemnation provoked by its previous entries into Angola. And it would know that the formidable anti-aircraft and other weaponry installed by the Cubans and Angolans in southern Angola would make intervention much more costly than before.

However, the South Africans might well have considerably more open support from African countries than they have had in past interventions.

Some of Africa's most influential leaders are believed to be concerned about the continuing conflict in Angola spreading wider in the continent.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, in particular, is said to be seriously worried, having reputedly been warned by the Angolans and Cubans to stop aiding Unita and having seen Zaire's air space violated by Angolan MiGs.

Reconciliation

A growing number of African leaders appears now to believe that there can be no lasting peace in south-western Africa without reconciliation in Angola between the MPLA and Unita.

Eleven African leaders are said to have confronted President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola at a recent meeting and urged him to get the Cuban troops out of his country and start negotiating with Unita.

Now Mr Mobutu has disclosed that efforts are being made to arrange a summit between South Africa, Angola, Zaire and neighbouring countries to discuss ways to facilitate reconciliation between the MPLA and Zaire.

If it comes off, the summit can only strengthen the roles of South Africa as hero and Cuba as villain.



De Cuellar flies into SA tonight

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar arrives in South Africa tonight for an intensive two-day round of talks on Namibia's independence.

The UN chief is expected to land at Waterkloof Air Force Base at 10pm in a special aircraft made available for his use by the government of Spain.

He will be accompanied by the UN special envoy for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and other senior officials.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will meet Dr de Cuellar.

The UN Secretary General and his party will be staying at the Government Guest House in Bryntirion in Pretoria as the guests of President Botha.

President Botha invited Dr de Cuellar to South Africa recently in order to discuss preparations for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

Among the items to be discussed are guarantees of the UN's impartiality in the independence process, the estimated R2-billion which will be needed to finance Resolution 435 and the transfer of South Africa's financial obligations with respect to Namibia.

Talks with Angola

Dr de Cuellar is to meet Namibia's Administrator General Mr Louis Pienaar and leaders of Namibian political parties in Pretoria tomorrow morning.

In the afternoon he will meet South African Cabinet Minis-

ters and in the evening Mr Pik Botha will host a reception for him at the Guest House.

President Botha will meet Dr de Cuellar on Friday morning and the UN leader will leave for talks with the Angolan government in Luanda in the afternoon.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, will this week review the south-western Africa peace talks.

Mr Shevardnadze, scheduled to arrive in the US capital tonight, will discuss the Namibia-Angola settlement negotiations between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which the US is mediating. The seventh round of those talks is planned for next week in Brazzaville.

● See page 15.

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Perez de Cuellar is a tenacious and effective negotiator

By JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service



Dr Perez de Cuellar

IT will be with a sense of *deja vu* that United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar will arrive in South Africa tomorrow for talks on the SWA/Namibia issue.

The 68-year-old Peruvian diplomat visited South Africa in August, 1983, and held talks with Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, and other South African officials on the SWA/Namibia question.

As had happened so often before with negotiations about independence for the territory, those talks led nowhere.

Dr Perez de Cuellar, who this year has been mediating in the Iraq-Iran war and in the Afghanistan civil war, is coming to South Africa at the invitation of President Botha to discuss the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

UN's man for SWA is still not unemployed

The Argus Africa News Service reports

WHEN Mr Martti Ahtisaari was appointed United Nations special representative for SWA/Namibia in 1978, he told journalists he wished to become unemployed as soon as possible.

But the Finnish diplomat acknowledged in his usual cautious manner that his task of leading the territory to independence would not be an easy one. "It will be a little difficult ... possibly," he said.

Ten years later Mr Ahtisaari still holds the same job and SWA/Namibia is still very much under South African control.

Recalled

During this period there have even been times when he has been recalled to Finland to work at the foreign ministry because there was so little for him to do in connection with SWA/Namibia independence.

He is due back in South Africa tomorrow with United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar for more talks on SWA/Namibia.

Mr Ahtisaari was born one June 23, 1937, in the town of Vipuri, now part of the Soviet Union. He is no stranger to African affairs or South Africa.



Mr Martti Ahtisaari

He was Finland's ambassador to Tanzania from 1973 to 1976 when he was appointed UN Commissioner for Namibia to replace the controversial Sean MacBride. Two years later he was appointed UN special representative for the territory.

He has visited South Africa and SWA/Namibia during previous negotiations and in spite of the difficulties that have dogged them he describes himself as an optimist.

A devout and hard-working Lutheran, the bulky Finn is known for his moderation and discretion.

He is married and has one child.

Once described as "everybody's last choice" for the UN's top post, Dr Perez de Cuellar was appointed to the job in 1982 after Security Council members had become deadlocked over who should succeed Dr Kurt Waldheim as Secretary-General. It was said that he was reading on a beach in Lima, Peru, when he was informed of his selection.

Diplomats say that although he is quiet-spoken and uncharismatic, Dr Perez de Cuellar has proved himself to be a remarkably tenacious and effective negotiator in spite of having undergone heart by-pass surgery in 1986.

Britain's UN ambassador recently said the Secretary-General was "at his best" when involved in negotiations. "It is what he's really good at," he said.

Influential

Other diplomats have praised him for his tactful but firm style of negotiating.

Dr Perez de Cuellar, who comes from an influential middle class family which is descended from the Spanish nobility, studied international law and served as a diplomat in London, Paris, Bolivia, Brazil and Switzerland.

He was the second-ranking official in his country's foreign ministry in 1966 and in that year became Peru's first ambassador to the Soviet Union, an appointment which diplomats said might have helped in 1982 to avoid a Soviet veto during balloting for the UN job.

Perez de Cuellar puts pressure on Pretoria

UN chief expects goodwill from SA

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22/11/88 Star

The United Nations secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has wasted no time in putting pressure on the South African Government to expedite the independence of Namibia.

The UN chief flew into South Africa early today for intensive discussions with senior political leaders, including the President, Mr P W Botha.

He will spend today and tomorrow morning in talks before leaving for discussions with the Angolan government in Luanda tomorrow.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is to host a reception for him in Pretoria tonight.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said on his arrival he was relying on the South African Government's goodwill to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

He made it clear he expected Resolution 435 to be implemented on the November 1 target date originally set by the South African Government.

Mr Pik Botha said in response that the implementation of Resolution 435 would depend on the outcome of next week's round of peace talks between South Africa and Cuba/Angola in Brazzaville.

South African diplomats have in recent weeks been increasingly sceptical that Resolution 435 could be implemented on November 1 because no satisfactory agreement has yet been reached on

By David Braun, Political Correspondent,
and Claire Robertson

the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

According to sources, South Africa is prepared to accept a plan in which Cuba withdraws say 10 000 troops by the date of independence elections for Namibia (seven months after the start of Resolution 435), with the balance being withdrawn over a further period of five months.

But there are less than six weeks to go before November 1 and so far no major arrangements have been made.

The UN plan embodied in Resolution 435 provides for a UN peace-keeping force of about 7 500 troops from various neutral countries to ensure the smooth process of independence.

Sources say the UN has not even started to approach countries which would be required to contribute to the force.

Furthermore, there is the question of funding the estimated R2 billion needed to implement Resolution 435.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said earlier this week that the UN had no financial resources and that it needed either substantial contributions from member states or else loans in order to finance the various peace plans underway in the world.

Dr Perez de Cuellar and his party landed at Waterkloof Air Base shortly before 1 am today.



United Nations chief Dr Perez de Cuellar was greeted at Waterkloof air base early today by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

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SWA groups reject talks with UN head

JOHANNESBURG. — Namibian opposition political parties yesterday rejected a meeting with the UN Secretary-General and criticized him for not scheduling a visit to their territory during a trip to the region.

Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is scheduled to arrive in Pretoria early today, will be in South Africa for two days before heading to Angola to continue talks aimed at resolving the conflicts in Angola and Namibia.

Dr Perez de Cuellar has offered to consult today with leaders of the more than 40 Namibian political parties in Pretoria.

The entire cabinet of Namibia's "transitional government", which represents 17 political parties, plans to meet Dr Perez de Cuellar. However,

the remaining parties have either rejected the offer or given no indication that they plan to attend the meeting.

"If the secretary-general was coming to see Namibians, he should come here (to Namibia)," Mr Danny Tjongarero, spokesman for Swapo's political wing, said in Windhoek.

Swapo has an office at the UN and has contact with Dr Perez de Cuellar's staff.

But other parties said they learnt of Dr Perez de Cuellar's invitation only on radio and television broadcasts.

"The secretary-general should have the proper respect for the Namibian people and invitations should be done accordingly," said Mr Othillie Abra-

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From page 1

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UN visit

hams, leader of the opposition Namibia Independence Party.

Dr Perez de Cuellar, who last visited South Africa in 1983, is scheduled to meet President P W Botha tomorrow to discuss the UN plan for Namibian independence.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis has delayed his departure to West Berlin, where he is to attend the annual meetings of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), to review with Dr Perez de Cuellar how the international community intends to take over the financing of Namibia during the implementation of UN resolution 435.

Mr Du Plessis is now expected to leave only at the weekend for Europe where, apart from attending the IMF meetings, he is expected to hold discussions with a number of SA's foreign creditor banks to review the country's debt situation and the repayment of loans.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's closest adviser, as with his August 1983 visit, will be the UN's Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the Finnish diplomat who since 1976 has repeatedly visited South Africa and Namibia to try to determine an acceptable sequence of disengagement.

Dr Perrez de Cuellar is also accompanied by two of his under-secretaries-general.

They are Mr Abdulrahim A Farah, who is responsible for Special Political Questions, Regional Co-operation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, and Mr Marrack Goulding, responsible for Special Political Affairs. — Sapa-AP and Own Correspondent

UN chief challenges S Africa on Namibia

From DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has wasted no time in putting pressure on the South African government to expedite the independence of Namibia.

The UN chief flew into South Africa early today for intensive discussions with political leaders of Namibia, senior members of the South African Cabinet and President Botha.

He will spend today and tomorrow morning in talks before leaving for Luanda tomorrow for discussions with the Angolan government.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is to host a reception for him in Pretoria tonight.

Dr de Cuellar said on his arrival that he was relying on the South African government's goodwill to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

TARGET DATE

He made it clear he expected 435 to be implemented on the November 1 target date originally set by the South African government.

In response, Mr Botha said that the implementation of 435 would depend on the outcome of next week's round of peace talks between South Africa and Cuba/Angola in Brazzaville.

South African diplomats have in recent weeks been increasingly sceptical that 435 could be implemented on November 1 because no satisfactory agreement has yet been reached on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

South Africa is adamant that it will not be manipulated into a settlement it is



Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar

not happy with, which means that Namibia will not get independence until there has been at least a concrete assurance on the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cubans from Angola.

It is understood that South Africa is prepared to accept a plan in which Cuba withdraws about 10 000 troops by the date of independence elections for Namibia (seven months after the start of Resolution 435), with the balance being withdrawn in the following five months.

Diplomatic sources have pointed out that Namibia will not necessarily gain immediate independence after the elections, because 435 provides for the elections of representatives who will then draw up a constitution.

With November 1 less than six weeks away no major arrangements have so far been made for the implementation of 435.

Cuban pull-out is vital factor

Peace talks may falter on crunch issue

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The substantial progress towards achieving Namibia's independence, made by United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar during his current visit to South Africa, could all come unstuck in Brazzaville next week.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night made it clear that all that stood in the way of Namibian independence now was a satisfactory timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

He told a reception for Dr Perez de Cuellar in Pretoria that progress had been made towards sorting out certain aspects of plans for Namibia's independence.

"If only we can now get a satisfactory calendar for the withdrawal of the Cubans," he said.

Dr Perez de Cuellar told the large gathering of foreign and South African diplomats, business leaders and senior South African politicians that a solution to Namibia's problems appeared closer than ever before.

Wide gulf

He made no mention of the Cuban factor. The secretary-general held lengthy talks with the State President, Mr P W Botha, in the Union Buildings today.

He will leave for Angola later today and will hold talks with senior members of the Angolan government.

The next round of peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, to be held in Brazzaville, will focus squarely on the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal.

South African diplomats are not optimistic that a major breakthrough will be made, as the gulf between the two sides remains very wide.

South Africa wants the Cubans out at least one year after the start of the process for Namibia's independence, with a large percentage of Cubans gone by the time independence elections are held.

Cuba maintains it needs a minimum of 36 months to withdraw its forces.

Failure to reach a satisfactory agreement next week will almost certainly result in the postponement of November 1 as a target date for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for Namibia's independence.

Progress

At yesterday's talks, virtually all parties agreed with the UN delegation that Resolution 435 had to be implemented as soon as possible, although practical implications still had to be sorted out.

After a two-hour meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday, Dr Perez de Cuellar said the discussions were so interesting he had not noticed time had flown.

Mr Pik Botha said a wide range of topics was discussed and that progress had been made.

Some subjects had been reserved for discussion with the State President today.

Mr Botha said Resolution 435 was 10 years old and it had to be taken from the shelf and dusted off.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said the resolution still remained fresh and valid.

After meeting six Namibian delegations he said he was impressed and encouraged by the majority support for the independence of Namibia.

Referring to requests for a pre-independence conference of all the Namibian parties and Western powers, the UN chief said it was an interesting proposal, "but it still has to be discussed with the other parties".

UN chief, Pik happy with *CML-Ting* progress *23/9/88* on SWA *221* peace talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Secretary-General of the UN, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, agreed yesterday that progress had been made during their two-hour meeting on a settlement.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said the 10-year-old UN resolution 435 which maps out Namibian independence was "still fresh and valid. We are all still determined to implement it".

Dr Perez de Cuellar and members of his delegation including special Namibian envoy Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, held appointments with a number of internal political parties and organizations yesterday morning.

He added that both parties were eager to accelerate the peace process.

Mr Botha said that a number of uncertainties had been ironed out during their discussion.

The secretary-general was at pains to stress UN impartiality.

In an interview with the United Party of Namibia, he said the delegation need have no fears about the financing of resolution 435.

South Africa has claimed that the implementation of resolution 435, including the deployment of 7 500 UN troops to secure "free and fair" elections, could cost R1,5 billion.

Conference

Dr Perez de Cuellar also said the UN would not jeopardize a settlement by limiting its supervising staff.

The chairman of Namibia's transitional cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said he was confident after the meeting with Dr Perez de Cuellar that a conference could be organized at which all parties including Swapo would be represented.

The NP of SWA delegation, headed by leader Mr Koos Pretorius, who met Dr Perez de Cuellar with the Rehoboth National Liberation Front, told newsmen after his meeting that he had stressed his party's opposition to a unitary election.

At the end of the morning session, the secretary-general said there was "much more interest in seeing Namibia's problems resolved" than during his last visit in 1983.

He said it was his "moral duty to ensure that when the elections take place they reflect honestly the views of the Namibian people, even those who disagree".

Dr Perez de Cuellar and Mr Pik Botha will meet President P.W. Botha today.

© Angola claims new victories against Unita — Page 2

UN leader attempts to allay fears

6/2000
23/9/88
PETER DELMAR (221)

NAMIBIANS need have no fears about the financing of UN Security Council resolution 435, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar told Namibian political leaders yesterday.

SA has claimed the implementation of UN resolution 435, which includes the deployment of 7 500 UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) forces to secure free and fair elections, could amount to R1,5bn.

United Party of Namibia leader Barney Barnes said Perez de Cuellar gave them the financial assurance during their meeting at Pretoria's Union Buildings on the first day of his two-day visit to SA.

Barnes quoted De Cuellar as saying no party would receive financial or logistical assistance for its election campaign once UN resolution 435 had been activated.

Answer

Perez de Cuellar also gave further assurance that the UN would not jeopardise a settlement by limiting its Untag supervising staff.

An NP delegation member later said his party had not received an answer on who would make up the Namibian budget during the 435 period and whether there would still be a UN presence in the territory after an assembly for the area had been constituted.

However, De Cuellar and SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha agreed yesterday that progress had been made during their two-hour meeting.

Perez de Cuellar said resolution 435 was "still fresh and valid. We are all still determined to implement it".

Botha said several uncertainties had been ironed out during their meeting.

Perez de Cuellar and members of his delegation met several internal political parties and bodies yesterday.

Perez de Cuellar will meet State President P W Botha this morning.

● See picture Page 3

'Real progress' in talks on SWA independence

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23/9/88

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Real progress was made towards achieving Namibia's independence after the first day of talks during United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar's visit to southern Africa.

The UN chief and senior aides had intensive rounds of talks with both Namibia's internal leaders and the South African government yesterday.

Most parties which met the UN delegation expressed their enthusiasm for the speedy implementation of Resolution 435, and Dr de Cuellar said he had been impressed and encouraged by the majority support for the independence of Namibia.

Dr de Cuellar said Resolution 435 was 10 years old, but it remained fresh and valid. "We have all decided to implement it, although there is some detail to be worked out."

"Time flew"

The two-hour talks yesterday afternoon with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and senior government officials appeared to have gone off well, with both parties saying the time "just flew".

Dr de Cuellar, while refusing to give details of the discussion, said he was looking forward to seeing the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Today he has a final important two-hour session with Mr Botha at the Union Buildings. From there he leaves for Angola where he will hold talks in Luanda.

Highlights of the representations by the various internal Namibian leaders in the morning were:

- Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Namibian transitional government Cabinet, said he wanted a conference of all the Namibian parties, including Swapo, as well as the contact group of Western powers;

- Mr Bernie Barnes, leader of the United Party for Namibia, said he wanted the transi-



NAMIBIA TALKS: United Nations Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, left, and the administrator of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, arrive for a meeting in Pretoria.

tional government to hand over all its powers to the Administrator-General immediately until a popular government could be elected;

- Mr Attie Treurnicht, representing the HNP of Namibia, rejected the UN's role in the future of the territory;

- Mr Eben van Zijl, representing the Action National Settlement Group (the only non-political organisation to be represented at yesterday's talks), argued that the strategies for the implementation of Resolution 435 be redefined as conditions had changed since 1978;

- Mr Brian O'Linn, chairman of the National Peace Plan Study Group (NPP 435), expressed full-hearted support

for the implementation of Resolution 435;

- Mr Kosie Pretorius, leader of the National Party of Namibia, who also spoke for the Rehoboth Liberation Party, said although they believed in Resolution 435, they could not accept one-man, one-vote on a universal basis;

- Mr Moses Katjiuonjua, president of Swanu and Minister of Health and Welfare in the interim government, said he was hopeful the peace plan would bring stability to the country; and

- Mr Peter Kalangula, Christian Democratic Action leader, wanted Resolution 435 to be implemented so that "everything else can follow".

Landmine kills schoolboy

WINDHOEK. — A schoolboy, Amtanya Okwanyuma, 10, died and four people were injured in a landmine blast in northern Namibia, the SWA Territory Force said.

The four injured in the blast about 10km from Miershoop in central Ovambo on Monday were Mr Absai Johannes, Mr W Ambangula, Mr W Haitemba and Mr M Kadu.

The SWATF said in a statement yesterday that the vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a Soviet-manufactured landmine with its left rear wheel.

Landmine incidents in Ovambo so far this month showed an increase over September last year. — Sapa.

UN chief 'impressed' by talks

Pretoria Correspondent

23/9/88 Star

The majority of the parties which held talks with the United Nations delegation in Pretoria yesterday expressed their enthusiasm for the speedy implementation of Resolution 435.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and senior aides spent the entire day discussing Namibia's independence, starting with a number of Namibian internal leaders.

Two hours of talks in the afternoon with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and senior South African officials appeared to have gone off well.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said that he was impressed and encouraged by the majority support for the independence of Namibia, and would like to leave South Africa with some concrete results.

He said he had left behind (at the UN) some very serious problems because he thought that the independence of Namibia and the stability of southern Africa had to be a priority.

He was looking forward to his meeting with the State President.

At the morning talks Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Namibian transitional government Cabinet, said he wanted an early conference of all the Namibian parties, including Swapo, as well as the Contact Group of western powers who in 1982 agreed to certain principles for an independent Namibia.

The conference would alleviate the fears of the Namibian people about independence.

Mr Bernie Barnes, leader of the United Party for Namibia, wanted the transitional government of Namibia to hand over all its powers to the Administrator-General immediately until a popular government could be elected.

A dissenting voice was that of Mr Attie Treurnicht, representing the HNP of Namibia, who rejected the UN's role in the future of the territory.

He said independence would play into the hands of Moscow. Namibia should continue to be administered as part of South Africa.

435 is closer than ever — UN chief

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, left for Luanda yesterday after a two-day visit to South Africa confident that a Namibian settlement was "closer than ever".

"This is the second time I am leaving South Africa with hope, but I believe that 435 is now closer than ever," the UN chief said.

President P W Botha said after a two-hour meeting yesterday that he and the secretary-general had agreed on a number of important issues relating to the implementation of UN resolution 435, including the need for continuing assistance for Namibia, UN impartiality and the need for a constitutional and peaceful independence process.

Mr Botha was speaking at a joint press conference at the Union Buildings after the talks, which were also attended by members of the UN's 10-man delegation as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

The secretary-general, Mr Botha said, had undertaken to "endeavour to play a positive role in bringing the various political parties in Namibia together even before implementation of UN resolution 435 commences".

"I have pleaded with the internal parties on many occasions to come together and solve their problems," Mr Botha said.

Several of the internal parties which met Dr Perez de Cuellar on Thursday agreed that such a "unity" conference should be held before the territory's independence.

Mr Botha also announced that a UN technical team would visit South Africa and Namibia "in the near future" to inform itself about the requirements

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De Cuellar clarifies UN's Swapo bias

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JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has said that all 48 of Namibia's political parties and not just Swapo would take part in the territory's political future.

At a joint Press conference here with President Botha, Dr de Cuellar said: "I am the one who has to implement Resolution 435 and it is very clear to me, and I am sure it is very clear to Swapo and to all political parties, that as soon as the process is started there will be no privileges, no differences, no discrimination against any political parties — all will be on the same footing."

The remarks appeared to override a UN resolution which names Swapo as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people at the United Nations. South Africa has frequently complained that the UN is unfairly biased in favour of Swapo.

Dr de Cuellar said he was leaving South Africa "with a feeling of relief".

"We are moving forward in a very serious, very effective manner to implement Resolution 435," he said. The resolution defines the process leading to Namibian independence. — The Independent, London.



Today's talks 'key to Namibia independence'

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NR663
26/9/88

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

THE round of peace talks beginning in Brazzaville today is crucial for the retention of the November 1 starting date for the independence of Namibia.

The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has described these talks as the key to Namibia's independence.

A delegation of South African experts under the leadership of the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will meet their Cuban and Angolan counterparts in the Congo capital for three days.

Diplomatic sources said today that if the talks did not produce an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola it would be highly unlikely that UN Resolution 435 could be implemented from November 1.

At the top of the agenda for today's talks will be reports of a new military build-up in Angola which threatens Unita's headquarters at Jamba, in the south-east of Angola.

The South African Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, said at the weekend that the negative influence of the Cubans in Angola would be discussed in Brazzaville.

Addressing a National Party rally at the Moot commando training area at Roodeplaat at the weekend, General Malan said that the Brazzaville peace talks would revolve round a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

He said there were indications that Cuban and MPLA troops were preparing for a further offensive against Unita.

If this was correct, it would be in conflict with the spirit of the negotiations between South Africa and Angola/Cuba in Ge-

neva, when clear guidelines were laid down for the movement and withdrawal of Cuban forces, he said.

"The Cubans stand in the way of solutions in Africa, and of the handling of African issues by Africans."

He said that Cuba's President Fidel Castro kept his troops in Africa because there was no work for them in Cuba.

General Malan also warned that the SA Defence Force and the South West African Territory Force would continue to search out and destroy Swapo as long as it violated the ceasefire agreement.

Mr van Heerden said last night that if one was talking about peace it did not help if one of the parties was preparing for war.

The main focus of this week's negotiations would be the calendar for the withdrawal of Cubans, he said.

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Koevoet officer flees to Angola

22/1/88

JOHANNESBURG. — A decorated senior officer in the counter-insurgency police unit Koevoet drove his family into Angola in a Casspir to escape charges that he looted canteen funds, police said yesterday.

Inspector Michael Hindengwa, 33, drove the armoured vehicle across the northern Namibian border at Ruacana into southern Angola at the weekend.

Police said the vehicle was fitted with communications equipment but carried no heavy weapons.

Inspector Hindengwa, a veteran of bushland battles who had been awarded a military medal for combating terrorism, was suspected of looting funds from the recreation canteen at Oshakati in northern Namibia.

Police said he fled into Angola with missing funds and stolen liquor.

Authorities are to seek assistance of a ceasefire monitoring group set up between South Africa, Cuba and Angola to have him and the vehicle returned. — Sapa

Cuban terms could stall withdrawal date

CHI Times 28/9/88 (221)

BRAZZAVILLE. — Hopes of starting a South African withdrawal from Namibia by November 1 began to flag yesterday as peace talks dragged on in the Congolese capital.

A member of the American delegation, which is acting as mediator between South Africa on one side and Angola and Cuba on the other, said yesterday that the situation "looks good."

But the South Africans, who have agreed to begin their withdrawal on November 1 if a deal can be reached to get Cuban troops out of Angola, say meeting that target is becoming increasingly difficult.

SWATF continues with curfew

WINDHOEK. — The South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) said yesterday it had abandoned its plan to lift a curfew in Ovamboland because of continued guerilla activity.

The dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in 1981 throughout Ovamboland.

The SWATF announced in August that the curfew would be lifted provisionally during September to see if Swapo guerillas abided by their unilateral offer to observe a cease-fire. — Sapa-AP

"If it proves difficult to keep that date it will certainly not be because of the actions of the South Africans," chief South African negotiator Mr Neil van Heerden said.

The date would be the starting point for a UN-mandated independence plan for Namibia

which calls for South African withdrawal over seven months and elections next June.

The key sticking point in the talks is a timetable for the withdrawal from Angola of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops, as demanded by South Africa before it

grants independence to Namibia.

The Angolans and Cubans are holding out for a three-year withdrawal schedule, while the South Africans are pushing for a much shorter time-frame.

Mr Van Heerden stressed on Monday that progress had been made and the November 1 date "remains on the table."

"Although the other side (the Cubans and Angolans) have remained firm on a calendar which stretches over three years, there have been adjustments in the programme which in a way alters the whole formula," he said. — Sapa-Reuters

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28/2/88

Namibian talks at vital stage

BRAZZAVILLE — Complex negotiations for an Angola-Namibia peace pact entered a third day today as efforts continued to refine a compromise plan formulated by US mediators.

"It's a very important and decisive moment. We're still working and we're on track," said chief US negotiator Mr Chester Crocker.

The main issue in the talks between South Africa, Cuba and Angola is the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, the last major obstacle to a regional peace settlement.

Delegates from Cuba, Angola and South Africa all proposed revisions to a "chairman's report" presented by Mr Crocker.

SUGGESTIONS

Details of the US-formulated document have not been released, but the American side incorporated suggestions from the other parties and had re-submitted the discussion document late last night.

There was no indication the talks were fizzling out, despite suggestions by the South Africans that it would be difficult to hold to the November 1 target date for a pull-out from Namibia unless agreement were reached soon.

Although not formally part of these negotiations, a growing drive for a regional peace conference of southern African states looms as a possible factor in the talks.

However, diplomatic sources said they believed that if Zairean president Mr Mobutu Sese Seko hosted an expected meeting later this week with South African President Mr P W Botha, it was unlikely any other black African leaders would attend at this stage. — Reuter.

Talks go

CAPT TURTLE 29/9/88
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on after

Cuba row

with SA

From PASCAL FLETCHER

BRAZZAVILLE. — The peace talks on Angola and Namibia were on the brink of success last night when delegates brushed aside an earlier row to announce that progress was being made.

The complex negotiations between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other will continue for an unscheduled fourth day today.

The US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, when asked if progress was being made, said: "We think there has been substantial progress, but there is still a lot to do."

His statement revived hopes that the talks being held in the Congo capital could still make headway after an earlier row in which Cuba accused South Africa of blocking negotiations.

The head of the Angolan delegation, General Antonio dos Santos Franca, confirmed that there had been progress after the third day of the latest round of peace talks.

Compromise

The US statement issued after a two-hour meeting between all three delegations and Dr Crocker said the talks, the seventh round since the peace process began in May, would continue today.

Sources at the talks said the parties were still trying to agree on a US-proposed compromise timetable for withdrawing the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, the main obstacle to a settlement.

The compromise document drawn up by US mediators foresaw a two-year withdrawal period for the Cubans, which, if accepted, would mean major concessions by all sides, the sources added.

Yesterday's statement said the parties at the talks continued to demonstrate a constructive attitude at the negotiating table.

Diplomats said the statement appeared to be an attempt to dispel the earlier tension caused by the Cuban allegations which had threatened to upset the already volatile negotiations. Cuban spokesman Mr Alcibiades Hidalgo had described the

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From MARK VERBAN WINDHOEK. — In

spite of diplomatic efforts to bring independence to Namibia, the war between Pretoria's forces and Swapo fighters in the northern regions has not abated.

Last last month Swapo offered to cease hostilities against security forces in Namibia from September 1, on condition that South Africa did the same.

The organisation has not been a party to the ongoing settlement talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the US mediating.

The security forces said in return that they would end the dusk-to-dawn curfew in the North on October 1, if Swapo adhered to the offer of a ceasefire.

Thieves
The army claimed, however, to be unaware of any conditions which were attached to Swapo's offer.

The result has been that soldiers from both sides have been killed in skirmishes since the beginning of this month.

Swapo has been fighting to end South African rule of Namibia for the past 22 years. It now claims that South Africa is not prepared to abide by a ceasefire.

Pretoria says there has been "no drop in Swapo terrorism."
Last week residents of

SWAPO BOOSES ON

northern Namibia reported that heavy fighting between guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) - Swapo's military wing - and members of the security forces was still a daily occurrence.

In one incident since Swapo announcement of a ceasefire, two members of the notorious police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet were killed.

Residents of a small village called Ohupandu in the far north told how a Koevoet patrol had tracked two insurgents during a follow-up operation.

After an apparent tip-off, the police unit cornered the guerrillas behind a thorn bush and opened fire on them.

The PLAN insurgents apparently held their ground and fought back, killing two white koevoet members in the exchange.

The shooting lasted for about 30 minutes, and came to an end when the guerrillas were shot dead.

Villagers said the bodies of the badly shot-up fighters were dumped in a shallow dry water-bed,

and that they were given orders to "bury your Swapos."

Several incidents involving thefts and assaults have also been reported over the past two weeks by residents of the war zone. Less than a week ago seven armed robbers, believed to be members of Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement, broke into a supermarket in northern Namibia to steal goods and cash.

The gang was dressed in camouflage uniforms and spoke Oshiwambo, the main language of the region, as well as Portuguese.

Skirmish

A relative of the supermarket's owner said it was clear from the men's dialect that they were of Angolan origin. She said the thieves forced shop assistants at gunpoint to carry some of the goods to the Angolan border some 3 km away, and were ordered to cross the border.

One of the shop assistants said later: "We were very scared because the robbers threatened to kill

us if we refused to obey them.

"We carried the goods to a place where there were seven bicycles hidden behind some bushes, and we were then told to go back to Namibia and report to the army that Swapo combatants were responsible."

Police who arrived at the scene several hours later said there was no doubt in their minds that Angolan Fapla or Cuban troops were responsible for the robbery.

Many residents believe this not to be the case.

Reporters who have visited northern Namibia this month have witnessed a powerful South African military build-up in the region, with hardware such as tanks being moved to various strategic locations, as well as newly-erected anti-aircraft guns scattered throughout the "operational area."

With the recent South African troop withdrawal from Angola, residents have reported an increase in the number of atrocities against civilians in the north.

and delaying tactics on Pretoria's part.

Political observers who believe that South Africa has no intention of allowing free and fair elections in Namibia, reckon a breakdown in the current round of talks is imminent.

One observer remarked: "If it is true that South Africa is looking for a way out, then it is going to come on the Cuban issue."

"If the Angolan government sticks to a proposed 30-month timetable for a Cuban withdrawal, and Pretoria insists on a seven-month timetable, then what is going to happen?"

A stalemate on this means that Pretoria can attribute a breakdown to Angolan intransigence, and Resolution 435 may never be implemented.

This Thursday the UN plan for Namibia's independence will be 10 years old, and as the UN commissioner for Namibia, Mr Berrit Carlsson, put it last week: "September 29 this year will either be a day of pride, or an international day of shame."

African, Indian workers join hands

DURBAN. — The more than 10 000 South African Transport Services (SATS) workers on strike here since the

29/9/88
women and youths over 16 years to move goods. But the workers remain determined.

There have been conflicting reports about a strike by SATS workers

Marshall Government

Now UN435's all the rage in Pretoria

IN Pretoria yesterday, all sides in the negotiations praised United Nations Resolution 435, the plan for Namibian independence which has for 10 years been the principal sticking point between South Africa and the world.

That it was extolled by visiting UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar was no surprise. But warm words about the plan — which may bring Sam Nujoma's South West African People's Organisation to power in Windhoek — also came from South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and transitional government head Dirk Mudge.

The only dissenting voice was that of the Namibian section of the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Speaking after a two-hour meeting with De Cuellar at the Union Buildings yesterday, Botha said Resolution 435 "had to be taken off the shelf and dusted off a bit".

Earlier in the day Mudge, emerging from an audience with the secretary general at the official government guest house, said he was fully committed to independence in terms of the resolution, though some details "needed to be ironed out".

By SHAUN JOHNSON

None of this means the independence package will be implemented soon — or even at all — but it heralds new urgency in the tug-of-war over the territory.

De Cuellar's visit indicates a new level of seriousness. After arriving at Waterkloof Air Base in the early hours of the morning, he spent the day in consultation with "internal" Namibian leaders representing seven political groups, the territory's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, and a high-powered South African delegation led by Pik Botha.

He meets President PW Botha today before travelling to Luanda to meet the Angolan government.

The foreign minister expressed his appreciation that De Cuellar had "found the time to come to South Africa despite a very difficult programme in New York. It is indicative of the secretary general's serious desire to play a constructive role in achieving peace in Southern Africa."

The UN's top official also seemed pleased with progress made yesterday. He was heartened by the

"patriotic interest" he had encountered, he said, and was convinced positive steps had been taken.

He intimated there had been a change of attitude among leaders he had last met in 1983. "I am impressed that the majority want to see R435 implemented and that encourages me very much," he said.

De Cuellar would not be drawn on the likelihood that 435 would be implemented on the target date of November 1, saying "Let's see the boss (PW Botha) first".

Despite the up-tempo mood among all who shuttled between the guest house and the Union Buildings yesterday, it was clear to diplomatic observers that there are myriad potential stumbling blocks.

The most obvious among these are the issue of alleged UN "bias" toward Swapo and a lack of clarity about who will bear the cost of transition. Internal leaders said they were happy with De Cuellar's assurances on the first point, however, and the second question did not appear to be high on the agenda yesterday.

But a new imponderable was introduced by Mudge, who mooted the

idea of a "conference of conciliation" among all Namibian parties, including Swapo, before the transitional process begins.

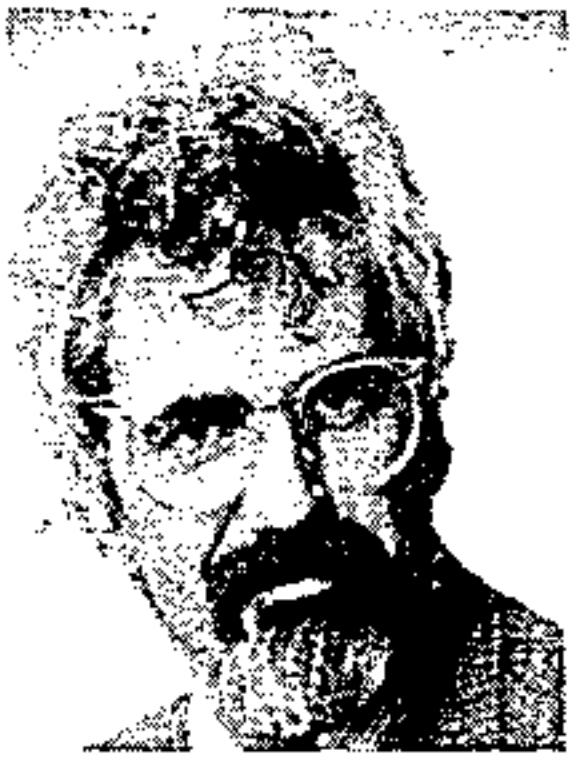
Mudge said this idea had been well received by De Cuellar, but the secretary general seemed circumspect. Reservations were expressed by Ovambo leader Peter Kalangula and representative of the "NPP435" pressure group.

Diplomatic observers said Mudge may be using the idea of the conference as a stalling mechanism, although he hotly denied this, saying the conference was necessary so that Namibian parties, and not the UN, would be responsible for an independence constitution.

He also stressed the need for the "Western Contact Group", which drew up a set of independence principles in 1982, to reiterate and underwrite that agreement. Principles included a separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, an agreement that decisions of a constituent assembly required a two-thirds majority, and a guarantee that there would be a bill of rights and no retrospective criminal charges.

The rules of that Resolution

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Peter Vale is Research Professor and director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said it had to be taken "from the shelf and dusted off." UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar called it a "young child." Both statements appear to reveal a little about how the two sides regard UN Security Council Resolution 435, which stands at the centre of the search for Namibian independence.

The cost factor, raised by Pretoria, seems not to be significant. A trilogy of peace-keeping operations — of which Namibia is the least explosive — has renewed interest in the UN and De Cuellar is an outstanding chief executive who has inspired widespread international confidence. So, despite its recent cash flow crisis, the organisation's stock seems set to take off.

A dearth of statistics on — or, indeed, analysis of — Namibia's economy complicates any idea of how things really stand on the country's own stock. A superficial assessment suggests that any new government's survival will depend on garnering wide external support, while not alienating the country's economy from its SA base. Prosperity depends on taking the Botswana-Lesotho-Swaziland route, rather than the Mozambican one.

But such considerations seem secondary to more pressing political hurdles which take the form of security issues — like the question of UN impartiality, which can retard the implementation of R 435, and the Cuban factor.

Given the 40-year-old squabble between the UN and Pretoria over Namibia, it's perhaps not surprising that the two sides should be worried about the impartiality of the other. However, impartiality is a two-way street as De Cuellar surely reminded Botha.

He will also have pointed out the many

checks and balances in the resolution itself. For example, while the UN General Assembly recognises Swapo as the "sole, authentic representative of the people of Namibia," R 435 changed the tenor of this recognition by pressing for elections. In other words, Swapo's claim would have to pass the litmus test of elections.

As important, a 1982 supplementary agreement to "strengthen and refine" R 435 provided that the decisions of the Constituent Assembly would have to be taken by a two-thirds majority. The 1982 agreement not only enshrines a Bill of Fundamental Rights, but includes protection from arbitrary deprivation of property without just compensation. It also provides for "periodic and genuine" elections and an independent judiciary. Small wonder that many argue that almost half of the constitution for the independent state seems to have been agreed upon before the Constituent Assembly begins its deliberation.

SA retains a strong stake during the seven-month period leading to the election of the Constituent Assembly. The Pretoria-appointed Administrator General administers the country and conducts the elections. True, the latter has to be to the satisfaction of the Secretary General's special envoy. But Pretoria's real power lies in the law and order field for which the SAP (including the notoriously effective Koevoet) will be responsible.

The SADF presence will be reduced to 1 500 troops within 12 weeks after agreement. In addition, all local militia, including commando units and the South West Africa Territorial Force, will be disbanded. Individuals with firearms will, however, be able to retain them.

Unarmed Swapo members will be allowed to return through designated entry points to participate in the political process, while UN peace-keeping soldiers — the blue berets — will be responsible for monitoring Swapo bases outside the country. The blue berets will also be responsible for monitoring the electoral process itself.

Thus, although 10 years old, the rules of R 435 seem as intrusive of those of lawn

tennis, offering guarantees to both sides in what is certain to be a difficult and very emotional time.

But R 435 has another saliency: it is the only internationally recognised formula to take Namibia towards independence. However painful it must be for Pretoria to admit it, only the UN can confer legitimacy both on the process leading to the election of a Constituent Assembly and, thereafter, independence itself.

This raises the question of the Cubans, who are not part of the process which led to R 435 but who have become a factor in the equation at the insistence of Pretoria.

Here too, an impartial umpire would concede that the Angolans have legitimate security concerns and, whether Pretoria likes it or not, the Cubans protect these. One of the great ironies, as US Ambassador Don McHenry, an architect of R 435, pointed out in Windhoek a fortnight ago, is that SA's policy in southern Angola has made Luanda more, not less, dependent on assistance from Havana.

In turn, however, SA views the Cubans as a threat both to Namibia and, over the long term, to SA itself.

Can a deal be struck?

One suggestion is the possibility of a longer timetable for Cuban withdrawal than Pretoria may have wished — say, 24 to 30 months.

In the immediate foreground, however, SA might want all Cuban forces to be moved out of striking range — say, north of the Benguela railway line. From this distance they would have little direct influence on the transition process in Namibia and be a mite too far to influence the election.

There are strong suggestions that a package of this kind would be acceptable to Foreign Affairs, but the military might find it more irksome to accept risking the family farm at this stage.

The real question is over political will and whether, if Pretoria decides to kibosh the process again, she has the wherewithal to replay the conflict of the 10 years during which R 435 was gathering dust in the library at Foreign Affairs.

man for the Western Cape Regional Services Council said last night that the road had been closed from about 4.30pm yesterday after it became slippery in the rain.

Swapo demo dispersed *Cape Times 30/9/88 221*

WINDHOEK. — Riot police with batons and quirts dispersed a group of about 100 members of Swapo's Youth League demonstrating outside South West Africa House here yesterday, police said. Yesterday was the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435.

No action against strikers *Cape Times 30/9/88*

DURBAN. — Thousands of SATS workers who streamed back to work yesterday here and at Richard's Bay at the end of a nine-day strike have been assured that no disciplinary action will be taken against them.

Solidarity service *Cape Times 30/9/88*

A CHURCH service will be held in Port Nolloth's Anglican Church at 10am tomorrow in solidarity with about 350 members of the community who face forced removal, the Surplus Peoples Project said yesterday.

Bruising for Windhoek demos

DOZENS of people were injured, some seriously, when vanloads of armed police moved in on a small crowd of students and Swapo supporters demonstrating outside the South African administrator-general's house in Windhoek yesterday.

Less than 100 students and members of Swapo's Youth League had gathered outside Louis Pienaar's house in the capital's Leutwein Street to mark the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

The demonstration, marked by freedom songs and placards demanding the immediate implementation of the UN plan, had been underway for half-an-hour when police arrived.

Armed with handguns, whips and batons, police jumped from the back of several vans and charged the crowd. People scattered into the busy street in an effort to escape injury, but dozens sustained bruises and weals

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek

across their faces and bodies.

One of those who came away drenched in blood was Nigel Wrench, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Southern Africa correspondent.

Wrench was standing near the crowd with his microphone when a policeman broke away and began whipping him with a quirt. A shaken Wrench said: "The police gave absolutely no warning. Suddenly one of them began lashing out at me with his rubber whip for no reason."

Several demonstrators were thrown into the back of vans but were released shortly after.

Journalists who witnessed the incident said the demonstration had been "peaceful from the start. There was only violence when the police moved in," said one.

W/Maul

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Botha's push-me pull-you summit gamble

*The hand of friendship
in Zaire. The toughest
line yet in Brazzaville*

PW BOTHA'S "push-me-pull-you" diplomatic thrust into Africa today is finely poised.

The South African state president is about to depart for Zaire and his first-ever summit with President Mobutu Sese Seko — in what is widely thought to be the precursor of a top-flight gathering of southern and central African leaders.

At the same time, his negotiators at the Brazzaville peace talks have reportedly adopted their hardest line yet on the issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola: to the extent that the entire peace process appeared on the brink of collapse this week.

Botha's sudden flurry of visits to neighbouring states — for the first time in his 10 years of power — is seen as a way of strengthening South Africa's position in the tripartite talks on Angola and Namibia.

A Zairean official in Kinshasa confirmed Botha will fly to Mobutu's country home at Gbadolite, in north-western Zaire, tomorrow.

By next week he will have met face-to-face three African heads of state in the space of a month — and put across his view of the talks.

And, if a sub-continental summit does flow from the Mobutu meeting, Botha is likely to add Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Botswana's Quett Masire and even Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the list which already includes Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

Pretoria's longed-for role as regional "peacemaker" would be boosted by such developments.

They are clearly linked to — and even hinge upon — the United States-mediated peace process in south-western Africa. Nevertheless, the South African government is seen to be trying once again to seize the regional initiative.

Earlier South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha pre-empted the Angolan and Cuban negotiators by announcing November 1 as the target date for Namibian independence.

If it is indeed brinkmanship, on Wednesday the South African strategy in Brazzaville came close to going too far. So incensed were Cuban delegates by what they called "immoral, unrealistic and unacceptable" South African demands for a Cuban withdrawal, that they broke with diplomatic etiquette and issued a stinging public attack.

Cuban representative Alcibiades Hidalgo said Pretoria's delegation, led by chief negotiator Neil van Heerden, had brought the talks to their most critical stage and were effectively "blocking an agreement".

He accused Pretoria of seeking to mollify an increasingly influential

International diplomacy, Pretoria-style: the UN's De Cuellar meets SA's Botha

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix white right-wing at home before South Africa's municipal elections.

However, by late yesterday the talks were back on track — apparently rescued by a US proposal which would give the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops two years to withdraw from Angola. US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker was apparently instrumental in the intervention.

The Brazzaville session, which was to have been the seventh and final round in the talks, has not reached any agreement on the details of the withdrawal, however.

This means a date for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 in Namibia has not been achieved, and it is virtually certain the November 1 target will be missed.

Diplomats in Brazzaville are sure the talks will be adjourned again — much to the disappointment of the superpowers who hoped independence

●To PAGE 2



Peace prize for peacekeepers

THIS year's Nobel Peace Prize has gone to the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces — the troops which could make an appearance close to South Africa in the course of the Namibian independence process.

The blue-helmeted members of the UN forces have patrolled conflict regions around the world for decades. Nobel Committee representative Egil Aarvik said yesterday he hoped the award would help them in their difficult tasks in the future.

Team of 20 experts leaves for Namibia

Star 1/10/88

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NEW YORK — A team of 20 United Nations experts left this week for Namibia to survey the territory prior to implementation of a UN plan for independence, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said.

The announcement came as the Security Council met on the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435, its Namibian independence plan, and adopted a statement calling upon South Africa to grant the territory independence.

Council President Pierre-Louis Blanc read out the statement calling on South Africa "to comply, at last, with these resolutions and to cease its illegal occupation" of Namibia.

The statement noted recent progress toward peace in south-western Africa on the part of Cuba, Angola, and South Africa, which have a tentative agreement that Cuban troops will leave Angola and South Africa will free Namibia.

The council also noted "the expressed readiness

of the South West Africa People's Organisation to sign and observe a ceasefire agreement with South Africa", as expressed in a document signed August 17.

"The members of the Security Council urge the parties to display the necessary political will to translate the commitments they have made into reality in order to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and peace and stability in the region," the statement said.

Mr Perez de Cuellar told reporters: "This week I have sent 20 men to Namibia to start preparing the ground for our operation."

"I think it is an excellent sign that they are leaving when we have received this recognition from the Nobel Committee," he added, referring to the Peace Prize award to the nearly 10 000 UN peacekeepers.

The team includes some military experts from UN peacekeeping units in the Middle East, who will survey airports

and other facilities with military or security applications.

South Africa has told the UN it is ready to begin implementing Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, a one-year transition plan for Namibia's independence, on November 1.

The plan called for the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) of 7 500 military observers and 2 000 civilian support staff to oversee elections for a national assembly at a cost estimated at \$700 million (about R1,75 billion), Under-secretary-General Murrack Goulding said.

The future of the plan depends on compromise on Angola's and Cuba's plan to withdraw about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa insists the Cubans must leave in one year, the same timetable as Pretoria has for granting Namibia independence. So far the Angolans and Cubans have insisted the withdrawal of their troops will take three years. — Sapa-AP.

UN officials fly in to size up Namibia 221

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — A 23-member United Nations technical team arrived in Windhoek yesterday on a two-week mission to study the Namibian infrastructure and identify possible logistical problems in the deployment of its transitional assistance group (Untag) as envisioned in the Resolution 435 peace plan.

Groups of curious Namibians were at the air-

port when the UN team arrived on an SAA flight from Frankfurt.

The team — led by the director for administration and management, Mr Cedric Thornberry — was met at the airport by an official of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Thornberry told reporters at the airport that the arrival of the team was the result of talks last month in Pretoria between UN Secre-

tary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and President Botha.

The UN team will look at the Namibian infrastructure, with particular emphasis on transport, medical and accommodation facilities.

A number of officials of the UN's High Commission for Refugees will also try to identify problems in the exercise to repatriate tens of thousands of Namibian exiles before independence.

WINDHOEK — Namibia is heading for internationally-recognised independence on a tide of confidence in its economic future.

Sanlam, Old Mutual and a Windhoek-based company, Olthaver and List, are investing more than R120m in separate shops and offices projects in the Namibian capital, while CDM is poised to announce a R25m investment in a new Windhoek company to sort and value the diamonds it mines.

In its latest economic review, the SWA Building Society reports the property market in Windhoek remains buoyant and is likely to rise sharply when Resolution 435 is implemented.

435 sparks wave of optimism in Namibia's economic future

The transitional process would "bring a host of ambassadors, diplomats, consuls, peacekeeping personnel and others desperately seeking accommodation at any price", says the review.

SWABS figures disclose the price for an average house was R168 000 in May this year compared with R70 000 in May 1982, and further increases are expected.

Bryan O'Linn, chairman of a group

of professional and business people pressing for implementation of 435, believes the post-independence outlook is favourable.

He said international investment and expertise would be available to support the economy which would be able to exploit its resources without sanctions, boycotts or motives to keep secret its hidden resources.

Independence would also provide a

much-needed major boost for Namibia's fishing industry.

Sea Fisheries Director Jan Jurgens said independence would grant Namibia jurisdiction over the richest hake resource in the world, estimated at about R2bn annually.

A sovereign Namibia would be able to declare a 200 nautical mile fishing zone off its coast, and also be entitled to raise levies on concessions issued to other countries for fishing in its territorial waters.

As a non-independent country at the moment, foreign trawlers ignore Namibia's fishing rights with impunity. — Sapa.

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Namibians sceptical that SA will grant independence 221

People inside Namibia were enormously sceptical of South Africa's intentions regarding the latest round of negotiations on the country's independence, a leading Namibian academic told a Pretoria meeting yesterday.

"Nothing new has happened — we have had the ceasefire, visits from Untag and the secretary general of the UN, rounds of negotiations before," said Professor Brian Harlech-Jones, Dean of the faculty of Arts at the University of Namibia.

"Namibia is simmering on the edge of frustration and impatience," he said, pointing out South Africa's poor record on the issue of Namibian independence.

"But perhaps this time the situation in South Africa has deteriorated so much that the background is different."

"At the moment there is no doubt that South Africa is still attempting to retain possession of Namibia."

Executive member

Professor Harlech-Jones is an executive member of Namibia Peace Plan 435, an interest group seeking to promote the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

In his address at an SA Institute of International Relations meeting he judged South Africa's involvement in Namibia on three counts: its possession of the territory, economic aspects, and "ideological patterning".

South Africa's attempts to maintain possession of the country were a dismal failure, and Pretoria was living on borrowed time, he said.

South African involvement in Namibia had been astoundingly successful economically. The coloniser had gained access to diamonds, fish and beef provided by Namibian resources and worked by Namibian labour.

Namibia's classic colonial economy was tied intensely into the SA economy

By **CLAIRE ROBERTSON,**
Pretoria Bureau

A Namibian academic claims that there is nothing exciting in the latest moves on Namibia.

to the extent that "it would be possible for South Africa to starve Namibia to death. All tinned and most fresh vegetables come from the south".

Namibia's economic dependence on South Africa "will be the thorniest and most sensitive problem facing the independent government — which everyone knows will be at least Swapo-led."

The question of ideological patterning was less clear cut, said Professor Harlech-Jones.

Apartheid and colonialism imposed enormous suffering on the Namibian people, who were forced into a cycle of decline as South Africa was forced to use increasingly repressive measures, particularly in northern Namibia where 65 per cent of the population lives.

This caused increasing alienation from apartheid and the colonisers.

And the national liberation movement, headed by Swapo, had enjoyed fairly free access to the international community, being recognised by the general assembly of the UN as the true representative of the Namibian people.

"Suffering and despair may be more easily borne when redress is not at hand ... but the people of Namibia have some hope for redress. They know it will come."

However, this ideological patterning could be successful in the sense that the many black and white Namibians who had benefited from apartheid "may be used as a fifth column by South Africa to destabilise independent Namibia".

There are enough of these people to be

"an extreme security risk" if South Africa were to attempt destabilisation rather than acting as a responsible regional power, he said, pointing out that in Namibia's case the "ex-colonial power will be just across the river".

The propaganda onslaught in Namibia was "enormous", he said, and there were fears of a right-wing backlash.

"There is every evidence the South African security establishment is controlling this. Should they seek to sabotage the process, they would be able to. Any uproar would result in no (go-ahead) for a free and fair election being issued by the UN."

Professor Harlech-Jones had said in his address that Namibian independence would provide an excellent model "for the same path South Africa will have to walk".

Reason for failure

Asked later whether this alone would not be a reason for the SA Government to attempt to prevent it from succeeding, he said "Yes".

As to the so-called Cuban threat of 60 000 troops in neighbouring Angola, Professor Harlech-Jones said: "Their presence has not affected Zambia, Zaire or Botswana. Why should it affect Namibia?"

"The Cuban effect on the Namibian issue is minimal except that South Africa has made it so.

"There seem to be white fears that 60 000 Cuban troops will swoop across the border, across the Etosha pan ... but it should be borne in mind that it is accepted by the world that Namibia is under UN protection," he said.

South Africa had an extremely poor record on Namibia, but an excellent chance to establish its international reputation and credit-worthiness by acting in good faith during the negotiations, he said.

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He said the three men, Mr Nathaniel Maxuillili, Mr Gerry Ekandjo and Mr Gefael Kameeta, wanted to attend a consultative conference due

Swapo men barred from Lusaka talks

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Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma left Lagos yesterday to return to his base in Luanda after receiving a pledge of more Nigerian aid from the military government.

Hopes for Namibian independence, in line with

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In an interview with Nigerian television, Mr Nujoma opposed any further meetings between South Africa and black Africa. Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, hosted South African President Botha last weekend.

"First Botha must clear his house before he can come out and talk with the independent African countries," Mr Nujoma said. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Pik lashes out at Zambia's Kaunda

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday accused the President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, of making irresponsible and opportunistic statements to deflect attention from his own problems.

Mr Botha was reacting in an interview to the statement by the Zambian leader that he would not be prepared to meet the State President, Mr P W Botha, in Lusaka.

Dr Kaunda is reported to have said there would be no meeting with Mr Botha until he had kept his promise of withdrawing all his troops from Angola and Namibia and stopped interfering with Mozambique and respected the Nkomati Accord.

Mr Botha earlier this week renewed his call to meet southern African leaders to discuss peace and development in the region.

Mr Pik Botha said: "Dr Kaunda knows his economy is on the brink of collapse. It is sad that the country's economic disintegration should continue to afford Dr Kaunda the opportunity to endeavour to draw attention away from his own dilemma.

"The longer he delays in giving serious attention to the development of his people by making irresponsible statements, the greater will be the price Zambians will have to pay to get back on their feet."

Mr Botha's reaction to Dr Kaunda's statement follows criticism levelled at Zimbabwe and Botswana yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

General Malan told the Cape National Party congress in George that those two countries were continuing to allow the use of their territories to launch a vendetta against South Africa.

FAMILY ANNOUNCEMENTS

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FAMILY ANNOUNCEMENTS

Confidence running high in Namibia

Star 7/10/88
221

WINDHOEK — Namibia is heading for internationally recognised independence on a high tide of confidence in its economic future, according to latest building surveys.

Sanlam, Old Mutual and a Windhoek-based company, Olthaver & List, are investing more than R120 million in separate shop and office projects in Windhoek.

Another company, CDM, is poised to announce an investment of R25 million in a new Windhoek company to sort and value diamonds produced in Namibia.

Production at CDM's alluvial diamond diggings at Oranjemund totals one million carats a year of the 90 million carats produced worldwide, but the Namibian yield comprises 98 percent high-quality gemstones, compared with about 20 percent in the rest of the world.

In its latest economic review, the SWA Building Society (Swabs) reports the property market in Windhoek remains buoyant and is likely to rise sharply when United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is implemented to take Namibia to independence.

Housing demand

Demand for housing exceeds supply and steep increases in building costs continue to underpin property prices in a sellers' market still prevailing after the announcement of the eventual implementation of UN Resolution 435.

"There has not been any sudden increase of houses put up for sale, although, as far as buyers are concerned, there seems to be an illusion that prices may drop," the Swabs review says.

The transitional process would bring a host of ambassadors, diplomats, consuls, peace-keeping personnel and others desperately seeking accommodation at any price."

According to Swabs figures, the price for an average house was R168 000 in May, compared with R70 000 in May 1982. Further increases were foreseen.

The country's main exports are mining products, but a lack of skills, capital, enterprise, small production runs and sanctions have deprived it of a manufacturing industry.

Mining and agriculture ac-

count for more than 90 percent of the exports, while imports, mainly from South Africa, range from comestibles to durable capital goods.

In his budget speech this year, the Minister of Finance in the Transitional Cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) expanded by 2,9 percent to R2,972 billion last year.

He pointed out that the total value of exports has risen without interruption in the preceding four years to a level of R1,993 billion in 1986, but fell back visibly by nine percent to R1,81 billion last year.

"This disappointing export performance resulted exclusively from a drop in mineral exports of almost 20 percent," Mr Mudge said.

Conversely, larger disposable incomes pushed up imports by 16,5 percent last year, which reduced a record trade surplus of R546 million in 1986 to R97 million last year.

"This setback is the price the economy has to pay for faster growth," Mr Mudge said.

"There is no doubt that our economy is moving through a very dynamic and healthy phase."

Mr Mudge presented a total budget of R1,945 billion, of which South Africa's contribution was pegged to the R308 million of the previous year.

Revenue accrued to Namibia from the Southern African Customs Union increased from R350 million last year to R392 million this year.

After independence, Namibia's economy is expected to continue for a long time to be closely linked with South Africa's, whose manufacturing industry is geared to markets many times the size of the tiny consumer community in the territory.

The establishment of border posts and other measures after independence will allow for the stricter monitoring of Namibian imports through South Africa, which could increase the territory's share from the Customs Union if the new sovereign government in Windhoek remains a member of the union.

Independence will be a much-needed boost for Namibia's fishing industry, a massive resource long denied the territory.

The Director of Sea Fisheries, Dr Jan Jurgens, said recently independence would grant Namibia jurisdiction over the richest hake resource in the world, estimated at about R2 billion annually.

A sovereign Namibia would be able to declare a 200 nautical miles fishing zone off its coast, and as a member of the International Conference of South East Atlantic Fisheries (Icseaf), the country would be entitled to raise levies on concessions issued to other countries for fishing in its territorial waters.

As a non-independent country at the moment, foreign trawlers ignore Namibia's fishing rights with impunity.

"Independence is the best thing that could happen to the fishing industry," Dr Jurgens said.

The post-independence outlook for the economy is favourable, says Mr Bryan O'Linn, chairman of a group of professional and business people pressing for implementation of the UN settlement plan.

"A mixed economy will probably be maintained for the foreseeable future in which the best qualities of private enterprise will be blended with those of socialism," he says.

Social justice

"A so-called Marxist economy is unlikely in the foreseeable future, although a balance will be struck between economic productivity and social justice for all.

"International investment and expertise will be available to support the economy."

Mr O'Linn says provided relatively correct relations are maintained with South Africa, constructive socio-economic aid could be forthcoming from Pretoria.

"This latter course should be encouraged, in the interests of both Namibia and South Africa."

Namibia after independence would for the first time really be able to exploit its resources without boycotts, sanctions or motives to keep secret its hidden resources.

"If Namibians work hard and avoid the pitfalls of most independent African states, they can look forward to a better future," Mr O'Linn says. — Sapa.

SWA women not Star 7/10/88 (221) licensed to hunt

WINDHOEK — In the macho South West African world of braaivleis, beer, biltong and rugby, it's a case of "Annie you don't get your gun" — that is, if you want to become a professional hunter and have the misfortune of being born female.

This year, two women penetrate this bastion of male chauvinist privilege, only to be turned down by Windhoek's Department of Nature Conservation, which issues professional hunters with licences.

A slightly uncomfortable department official, Mr Constant Hoogkamer, was grilled on the subject on television news.

Yes, he admitted ruefully, the fact was that no women could become professional hunters. It was the law. Even the new amended hunting regulations, which were promulgated earlier this year, specifically exclude women.

Observers here point out that Namibia's Bill of Fundamental Rights is supposed to outlaw all forms of discrimination.

Top Swapo men are denied travel papers

NR 645
7/10/88
221

LAGOS. — South African authorities in Namibia have barred three leading nationalists from attending a meeting in Lusaka on the territory's future, a spokesman for their movement said.

"We heard yesterday that they have been formally refused their travel documents. We expect many more prominent people to be stopped from travelling," Mr Herman Ithete said. The three, Mr Nathaniel Maxuilili, Mr Gerry Ekandjo and Mr Gefael Kameeta, wanted to attend a conference in Zambia on Sunday.

"This meeting is the first of its kind of such magnitude. It involves everybody, including traditional chiefs, businessmen and lawyers, coming together to chart the future of the country," Mr Ithete, Swapo's Lagos-based representative for West Africa, added.

FOUNDER MEMBER

Mr Maxuilili is a founder of the movement and its acting vice-president. "We are not sure how far the racist authorities will go to stop others travelling to the conference," he said.

Meanwhile, the transitional government of Namibia has invited Swapo to Windhoek for talks on the future of the country.

The chairman of the cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in a statement the cabinet would guarantee the safety of Swapo leaders if the organisation accepted the offer.

The statement indicated that the cabinet wanted to discuss matters relating to independence and the establishment of a Namibian constitution. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

US talks open on Namibia peace

RR645
7/10/88

The Argus Foreign Service

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WASHINGTON. — South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiators are due to meet in New York today to tackle differences remaining after seven rounds of talks aimed at independence for Namibia.

A principal problem is the gap that remains between the parties on a timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Informed sources here said the Angolans were sticking to 30 months after first wanting four years, and the South Africans had eased their initial demand that all Cubans leave the country within seven months.

"They are still some distance apart," said a well-placed source, who would not specify South Africa's current offer.

"Negotiations have now narrowed the whole thing down to the bone," the source said. "The test of Cuban willingness to leave cannot be far off now."

Another South African concern is: how many Cuban troops will be left in Angola after independence?

May keep 27 000

One estimate puts it at 27 000 Cubans still there after the execution of UN Resolution 435.

A third South African concern is how far the remaining troops will be north of the Namibia border in the run-up to an independence election.

It is understood that the Angolans and Cubans have shown a willingness to shift the Cuban forces northwards but not enough to satisfy the non-Swapo parties who fear that a looming Cuban presence nearby would inhibit free and fair elections in Namibia.

A fourth sensitivity on the South African side, a source said, was the future of Unita, which South Africa and the United States have aided.

It is believed that the South African government would find it difficult to abandon Unita to the mercy of Angolan and Cuban forces supplied with huge quantities of Soviet weapons and equipment.

"Full-scale wipe-out"

"We just don't see peace emerging if there is a full-scale wipe-out going on," a source said.

"It will be a lot more difficult to reach finality on a settlement calendar simply because of the realities on the ground if the process of harmonisation between Unita and the MPLA is not started."

It understood this has not, however, become a South African pre-condition for Namibian independence. But South African negotiators Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, and the deputy director-general, Mr Herbert Beukes, who arrived here on Wednesday, were able to read a New York Times interview with Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr dos Santos was reported as saying that Unita could not last long without large-scale South African intervention.

His comments apparently aggravated South African concerns for an accommodation of Unita in some sort of internal deal on national reconciliation. A start to MPLA-Unita talks would, at least, improve conditions for the Namibian negotiations.

6 injured as blast rocks office block

CHM 7/10/88
7/10/88
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Six people were injured — one seriously — when a limpet mine exploded at the Tembisa municipal offices yesterday afternoon and a grenade blasted a police single quarters in Windhoek last night, according to police spokesmen.

East Rand police spokesman Lieutenant Willie Meyer said the limpet mine blast occurred at 1.23pm and caused damage estimated at R8 000.

Lt Meyer added that the injured were in the Tembisa Hospital. Police are still investigating.

SATV reported last night that the seriously injured person — a woman — was fighting for her life.

And a South African-made grenade exploded outside local police single quarters in Katutura township last night, police said.

They said a man had been detained for questioning.

No casualties were reported and damage was minimal.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two incidents of arson and an assault on a woman took place on Wednesday night, according to the police unrest report.

At Soweto arsonists damaged a high school. In another incident in the area, a woman was injured when she was assaulted by a group of students.

At Fredville, in Natal, arsonists damaged a private house.

At KwaThema, on the East Rand, a bus was damaged when a petrol bomb was hurled at it.

Namibia talks at vital stage

11/10/88
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The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Hard decisions lie ahead for South Africa, Cuba and Angola in the next few days following intensive talks between them here as they neared a decisive juncture on whether or not Namibia would have independence next year.

Negotiators headed home yesterday after three days of informal but intensive meetings at a central Manhattan hotel which clearly did not achieve as much as they had hoped.

The parties and US mediators of the five-month drive for peace described the talks, which had been intended to ensure a successful conclusion in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville later this month, merely as "useful". But a senior US diplomat was adamant they all remained steadfastly committed to the November 1 target date for the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for SWA/Namibia.

"The biggest choices and decisions are now smack in front of the parties," said a top US official. His view fitted with that of a South African delegate who said: "The going is difficult, of course. We are in the last phases. It is no surprise that the nearer the end the more complicated and slower the progression."

He said there would, therefore, be another informal session between the four countries before the crunch meeting in Brazzaville at a date still to be set.

Cuban troops

"There is still work to done," said one delegate, explaining the need for further informal talks. "The reason for that is the feeling that the next time in Brazzaville will be a meeting of which there will be high expectations and all parties will want to have done the preparatory work."

"The idea is that Brazzaville will be a meeting at which things will be finalised."

It did emerge at the talks that South Africa and Angola had narrowed the gap on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country. A US official said the parties were "more or less agreed" on the last Cuban leaving between 24 and 30 months after the independence process starts in SWA/Namibia.

The Angolans initially wanted four years, and have reduced that to 30 months. South Africa at first offered seven months for total withdrawal, but has since shifted "a good way upwards" of that, a source said.

Another area in which the US mediators have been searching and jockeying for compromise is the question of how many Cuban troops will still be in Angola at the time of SWA/Namibia's independence, and how far north of the territory's border with Angola they will be deployed.

While the American mediators are insisting the November 1 milestone is still in place — and all parties are publicly confirming that commitment — it appears highly unlikely to be met with less than three weeks to go. Some delegates are privately sceptical that UN monitoring forces can be mobilised and landed in Namibia by the target date.

"It is my feeling all parties are beginning to say: How long can we maintain this fiction (November 1) which is increasingly unattainable?" said one delegate.

Untag lists its needs

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Star 10/14/88

The United Nations is advertising for the supply of equipment in expectation of the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 in Namibia.

The advertisement, placed in South African newspapers, called for "expressions of interest" for the bulk provision of a wide range of products and services.

These include petrol, petrol tanks and pumps, construction equipment, office furniture and equipment, accommodation, rations, catering services and supplies, commissary supplies, electrical and communications supplies, septic tanks, sanitation and cleaning supplies, welfare and recreation supplies and vehicles for purchase and rental.

UN FORCE

The advertisement said the UN was inviting "expressions of interest" in connection with the possible implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 and the placement of the United Nations Transitions Assistance Group (Untag) in Namibia.

Interested parties were asked to obtain further information from Mr Allan B Robertson, of the UN, at Room 1204, Kalahari Sands Hotel, Windhoek, from October 4 to October 13, between 9 am and 5 pm, or at (061) 36900, Ext 330.

'Final two minutes' in talks on Namibia

986
Tanks
10/10/88
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From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The countdown to Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola has begun in earnest after three days of intensive "informal" talks here between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, according to participants.

"We are in the final two minutes," said a key negotiator, using a metaphor from American football referring to the closing moments of a tightly contested game.

The parties are in broad agreement that the next round in Brazzaville, which could come within a fortnight, should be the last and that from it should emerge a pact.

The council's permanent members are to act as guarantors of the agreement and the UN is expected to play an important role in verifying the redeployment and departure of the Cubans.

In addition, the MPLA appears to be yielding to mounting pressure from frontline states to seek an accommodation with Unita.

The chairman at the talks, the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, told the media in New York that everyone involved was interested in reaching an agreement as soon as possible so that the seal could be placed on the agreement at the next scheduled meeting in Brazzaville.

Dr Crocker added that all the parties continued to aim for November 1 as the target date for the implementation of the peace plan.

According to Sapa, the leader of the South African delegation, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said he believed all the parties were prepared to settle their differences. — Sapa

Namibia's

221

future ties

Star 11/10/84

Pragmatism and political realism will make it imperative for any future government in Namibia to have cordial relations with South Africa, the Namibian Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Ludwig Helu, said at the "Development '88" seminar.

With the advent of Namibian independence anything between 50 000 and 80 000 refugees would return with heightened expectations, and this might strain his country's fledgling economy.

An economic partnership with South Africa was therefore a must, and whichever government came to power after the elections would have to face that reality, said Mr Helu.

Other relevant considerations were that the country's only seaport, Walvis Bay, would remain under South African control for some time and that the rail and road transport networks were integrated with the Republic.

Namibia peace group boycotts Swapo talks

WINDHOEK — A number of members of the Namibia Peace Plan 435 Pressure Group (NPP 435) decided to stay away from the Lusaka meeting with Swapo's leadership as a gesture of protest at the exclusion of the Ovambo Executive Committee chairman, Mr Peter Kalangula.

The meeting, with a number of political leaders and individuals from Namibia, is due to end in the Zambian capital today.

In a statement published yesterday, the chairman of NPP 435, Mr Bryan O'Linn, said Mr Kalangula and Mr Frans Ndongo of the Owambo Administration were invited by NPP 435 to attend the Lusaka meeting after consultation with the Swapo leadership in Namibia.

Swapo's acting president, Mr Nathaniel Mxuilili, advised the NPP 435 there would be no objection to Mr Kalangula's presence at the meeting.

After Mr Kalangula had al-

ready travelled to Windhoek from Ondangwa for the departure to Lusaka, Swapo informed NPP 435 that neither Mr Kalangula nor Mr Ndongo would be welcome at the conference but the two would be invited to talks with Swapo later this month.

Mr O'Linn said it was decided that he and the vice-chairman of NPP 435, Professor Christo Lombaard, would not go to Lusaka "as a sign of protest".

A Windhoek attorney, Mr Peter Koepp, went instead on behalf of NPP 435 to assist people invited by the group at the request of Swapo.

Mr O'Linn said NPP 435 believed genuine support for the United Nations settlement proposal in SWA/Namibia had to form the essential basis for unity and reconciliation in the territory.

NPP 435 would continue contacts with Swapo and others, he added. — Sapa.

LUSAKA. — A senior member of the South West Africa People's Organisation said yesterday that his movement wanted to eliminate discrimination in an independent Namibia and favoured a socialist path of development.

Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, secretary-general of Swapo, was speaking to reporters at the end of a two-day meeting in Kabwe, north of Lusaka, between Swapo leaders and a Namibian delegation, including politicians and white professionals.

The meeting discussed the political and economic future of Namibia after elections under a UN independence plan to go into effect on November 1.

"As a liberation movement, we believe in the socialist path of development," Mr Gurirab said.

He added that Namibia under South African rule had been "languishing under capitalism and apartheid that has brought poverty to our people".

"I don't think we would like to perpetuate that system," he said. But he stressed that it was too early to say exactly what policies a Swapo government in Namibia would implement. Swapo is widely expected to win the elections.

Speaking of the task that will face the newly elected government, Mr Gurirab said: "It will be the duty of the government to open up society for all Namibians.

"The political system that emerges would be one that looks into discrepancies in Namibia," he said.

Mr Gurirab noted that 55% of Namibia's land was now in the hands of a white minority. — Sapa-Reuter

(221)
CMT TIMES 11/10/88
**Swapo:
Socialist
path for
Namibia**

Blaze at offices ⁽²²⁾

WINDHOEK — Arsonists set fire to the offices of the anti-government newspaper *The Namibian* causing extensive damage, editor Gwen Lister said yesterday.

She told reporters police had confirmed the fire was started by arsonists who smashed a window to enter the ground floor editorial office in the capital, Windhoek. 12/10/88

The Namibian, a weekly, has been strongly critical of South Africa's control of the huge desert territory. — Sapa-Reuter. *Gwen Lister*

Nov 1 target date for 435 unlikely to be met

Four-party talks draw closer to a conclusion

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By Peter Fabricius, Political Staff

At least one more preliminary meeting will have to be held before South Africa, Cuba and Angola formally get together in Brazzaville to sign two vital agreements to bring independence to Namibia and end the Cuban military presence in Angola.

And the November 1 target date to begin the Namibian independence process now seems unlikely to be met, say South African diplomatic sources. They say the heads of the negotiating delegations from the three countries will probably need to meet again to thrash out a few more problems before the formal documents are signed.

The first document will be a bilateral agreement between Cuban and Angola on a timetable for total withdrawal of Cuban

troops from Angola.

The second will be signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola and will notify the UN secretary-general of an agreed date for the start of the implementation of Namibian independence under UN Resolution 435.

The SA sources cautioned against over-optimism about the result of the meeting among the SA, Cuban and Angolan heads of delegations in New York last week.

New options

According to American sources, they reached "broad agreement" on the question of a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal.

However SA sources said the reports were "speculative and premature", adding: "There was not that much to write home about from New York. But there has been

movement and realisation on the other side of new options about numbers and dates of Cuban troop withdrawals. This might be satisfactory to the SA Government."

This is understood to mean that the Cubans and Angolans have come to accept Pretoria's position that a significant pullout of Cuban troops to the north of Angola has to start as soon as the Namibian independence plan under 435 is set in motion.

South Africa now considers this more important than a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola before UN-supervised elections — that is why it is now prepared to accept a two-year calendar for eventual Cuban withdrawal.

According to American sources, Cuba and Angola have abandoned their original insistence on a four-year withdrawal timetable and will now accept 30 months.

This still leaves a six-month difference between the Cuban and South African positions to be negotiated.

The SA sources said the next preliminary, heads-of-delegations meeting could take place in Brazzaville.

However they pointed out that the November 1 target date for Namibian independence was unlikely to be met. The SA, Cuban and Angolan negotiating teams were still aiming at this date, but the UN would probably find it impractical to implement it at such short notice, they said.

The major problem for the UN would be moving in 7 000 peacekeeping troops so quickly.

The preliminary meeting of the delegating heads could not take place before next week, they said. The head of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, was in Zurich to attend the meeting between President Botha and SA ambassadors in Europe.

See Page 11.

'Namibia will be communist state'

ST 12/10/84 ✓ By Neil Lurssen

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WASHINGTON — Peace negotiations are heading towards a communist state in Namibia and no guarantee that the Soviets and the Cubans will get out of Angola, a former senior Reagan official has warned.

"If Unita were defeated, there would almost certainly be a resurgence of Soviet bloc, Cuban, Libyan, Angolan and now Swapo-Namibian support for the pro-Soviet ANC and a dramatic expansion of its war for the control of South Africa," Mr Constantine Menges, special assistant to President Ronald Reagan for National Security Affairs from 1983 to 1986, says in a report to be published this week.

"With the major democracies isolating South Africa because of apartheid, the ANC could ultimately take power."

Mr Menges's warning is to be published in *Policy Review*, a journal of the conservative Heritage Foundation, one of Washington's most prominent thinktanks. On Friday, Mr Menges is to hold a meeting to explain why he has taken a gloomy view of the Angola-Namibia talks.

In the *Policy Review* article, Mr Menges blames the US State Department which, he says, took over the control of US foreign policy towards Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan following the departure of CIA director, Mr William Casey and Defence Secretary Mr Caspar Weinberger.

UN-supervised elections in Namibia, he says, would probably produce a pro-Soviet dictatorship presided over by Swapo, and Unita would then be trapped between the two Soviet allies — the MPLA and Namibia.

Namibian whites meet Swapo leaders in Lusaka

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AP 645 13/10/88

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — More than 180 Namibians, including white businessmen, farmers and local politicians, have returned to Windhoek after a four-day visit to Lusaka, where they held discussions with the exiled leadership of Swapo.

Many of the delegates at the talks were members of the internal wing of Swapo.

Swapo spokesman Mr Anton Lubowski said in Windhoek that the talks had been "a great success" as far as his organisation was concerned.

He said the white visitors were impressed with the demeanour and attitude of the Swapo leadership, and the two sides discovered much common ground in intense discussions on the economy of Namibia, political plans and the current peace plan.

Mr Lubowski said the visit was an "eye opener" for some of the white businessmen who, he claimed, discovered that their aims were similar to those of Swapo.

"Collaborator"

"They found that it is only in the way we want to get there that we differ," he added.

Referring to the rejection of Owambo Administration chairman Mr Peter Kalangula's application to join the conference, Mr Lubowski said Swapo still felt that Mr Kalangula was a "collaborator in the system".

If the Owambo Administration chairman fully supported the implementation of the UN's Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia, he should resign as soon as possible and denounce what was happening in the northern war zones of his territory, added Mr Lubowski.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from New York that the United Nations will be ready by November 1 with troops for its military role in Namibia's transition to independence.

But sources say that many more candidates are still needed for the civilian back-up in the operation.

"The question of the composition of the UN Transitional Assistance Group on the military side has been discussed at length with the parties," Mr Francois Giuliani, the secretary-general's spokesman said, adding that it would be ready to go.

He declined to give details, but a dozen countries are said to be acceptable to South Africa as contributors of troops to a UN force of about 7 500.

About 2 000 civilians are expected to be needed for the joint administration that the United Nations would set up with South Africa in the transition period.

CMT 1415 13/10/88 221

Swapo hosts pow-wow on future SWA

is to i- in y k- ts a-

HARARE. — More than 200 Namibians from inside and outside the country are meeting just outside the Zambian capital to plan the future of the territory.

According to the Swapo secretary for information and publicity, Mr Hideo Hamutenya, the three-day consultative conference was being attended by internal and external leaders of the organisation and a large contingent of white Namibian businessmen, professionals and academics, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reports.

Mr Hamutenya is reported by the Namibian Press Agency (Nampa) to have said the conference was organised to discuss recent developments regarding the independence of Namibia, Ziana said.

"The discussion will particularly focus on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 whose centrepiece is free, fair and democratic elections under UN supervision and control.

"Swapo deemed the necessity of such a conference at this crucial mo-

ment in order to explain and sensitise participants on requirements of the electioneering process in which Namibians are expected to decide overwhelmingly in favour of independence and against South African tutelage," said the Nampa report.

The conference takes place against the background of the arrival in Windhoek last week of the first contingent of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which consists of 7 500 troops and about 2 000 civilians and police officers.

Meanwhile, Swapo has condemned the arson attack on the offices of the weekly newspaper The Namibian, saying it was the work of "South African agent provocateurs aimed at intimidating and paralysing that independent weekly newspaper".

The Namibian had been critical about Pretoria's "reign of terror in the occupied territory", Ziana reports.

The paper's offices had been frequently attacked by South African agents and its editor, Ms Gwen Lister, detained by the colonial police, said Swapo, according to Ziana. — Sapa

SWATF commander describes recent troop movements

Cuban division 'on Namibian border'

By Craig Kotze

An entire Cuban division — called the "Namibian Army" and consisting of formidable infantry, armour, artillery and missile forces — is deployed directly north of the Namibian border, claims South West African Territory Force commander Major-General Willie Meyer.

He was speaking to newsmen on Tuesday at a briefing in Oshakati aimed at sketching the southward movement of Cuban forces towards the Namibian border before and after March, and their current deployment.

The briefing was attended by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuis, other senior officers and personnel from the Department of Foreign Affairs. General Meyer said the Cuban force was deployed at Cahama and further to the south in the Angolan Fifth Military Region, where South African and Cuban forces clashed this year.

He said the "Namibian Army" consisted of three infantry regiments, a tank regiment and an artillery regiment. An anti-air defence missile equipped with ground-to-air missile systems was also deployed in the area.

After South African troops withdrew from Angola, Cuban/Angolan/Swapo combined forces redeployed further south in tactical-group strength to form brigade strongholds in Cahama, Tchipa, Ruacana — right on the Namibian border — Humbe-Calueque and

the area east of Xangongo, he said.

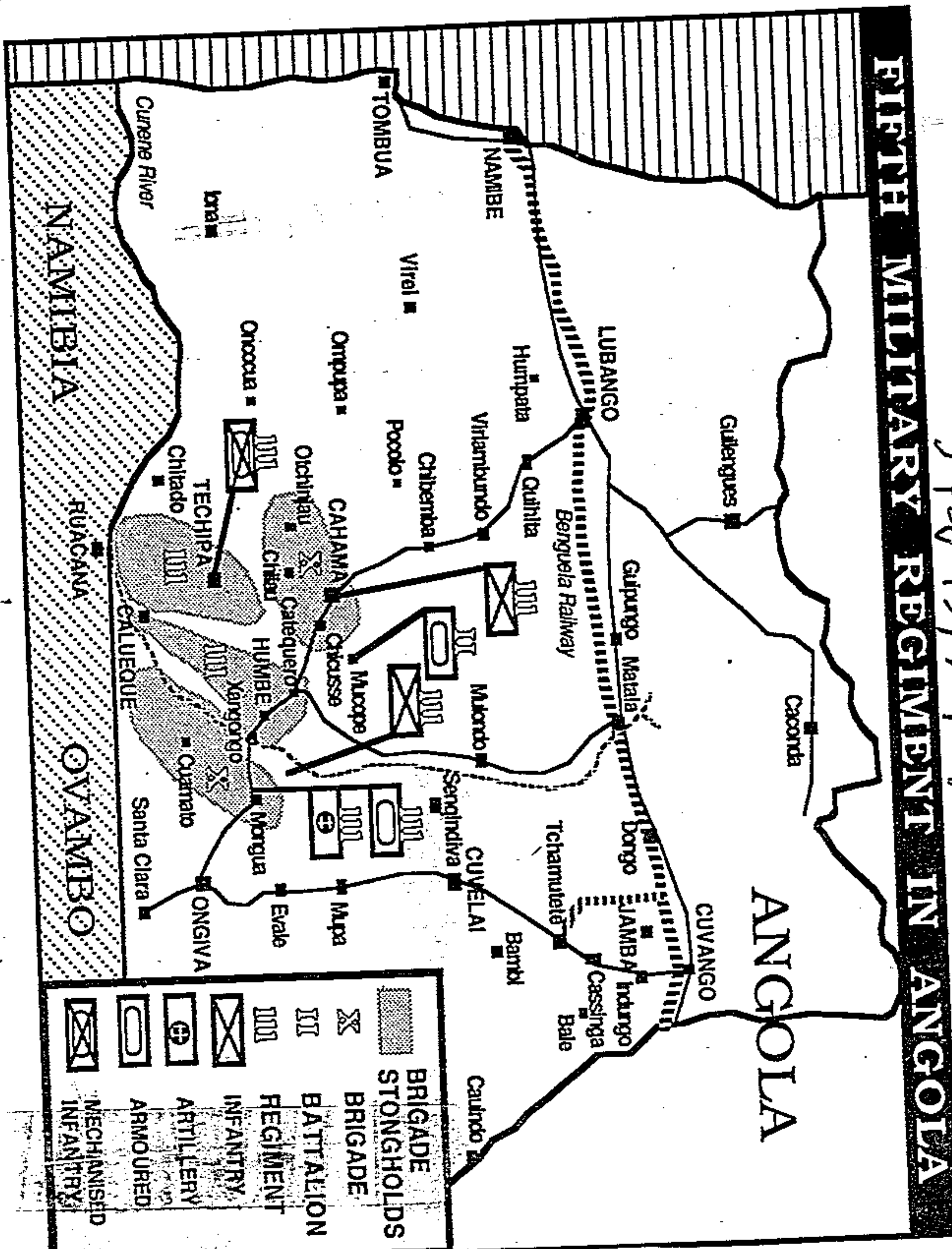
The Cuban deployments before March were given as: headquarters at Lubango, together with a Cuban regiment; and Cuban regiments at Chivemba, Matata and Jamba.

General Meyer said all activities had been restricted to the deployment areas and no offensive operations had taken place south of them.

The first line of defence was formed by Fapla forces, which deployed a brigade at Cahama, Mulondo and Techamutete, and had tactical groups at Xangongo and Ongiva and Cuvélai as forward posts.

On March 21 the southward advance of the Cubans began with the following developments.

- On March 21 the first Cuban regiment deployed at Xangongo 100 km north of Ruacana on the Namibian border.
- During the same period the Cubans at Jamba redeployed at Cuvélai, and a new regiment entered Jamba.
- Cahama was strengthened by an other regiment, including an anti-air defence battalion.
- Cubans started rebuilding airfields at Cahama, Xangongo and Matata.
- In June the Cuvélai Cuban regiment deployed at Xangongo, together with the 35 Fapla brigade. At this stage, combined Cuban/Angolan/Swapo tactical forces were deployed at Tchipa, Chiscuse and Rotunda, he said.



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Swapo accused of breaking ceasefire

STW 13/10/88 By Craig Kotze

(221)

Swapo activities in northern Namibia have increased despite the September 1 ceasefire agreement, the South West African Territory Force says.

Since Swapo undertook to observe the ceasefire agreement, 277 of its fighters have been inside Ovambo, the SWATF reports, adding that 20 had been killed and four captured in clashes.

Swapo units were stationed within five km to 15 km north of the Namibian border, centred at Naulila with deployments further south.

Their operations also increased before September, with 89 reports of Swapo presence involving 349 fighters — and 37 incidents.

The statistics were released to military correspondents in Oshakati, Ovamboland, on Tuesday.

The briefing was attended by Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, SWATF chief Major-General Willie Meyer, and foreign affairs personnel.

The Angolan MPLA government had agreed it would urge Swapo forces to remain north of the 16th parallel.

General Meyer said the 37 incidents reported involved 72 Swapo fighters and were broken down into two standoff bombardments, six cases of sabotage, eight mine detonations, 19 skirmishes with security forces, two cases of theft from the local population and one of murder.

Saying there were "no indications" that Swapo intended honouring the ceasefire agreement, General Meyer identified headquarters and major concentrations of Swapo fighters and Cuban troops south of Quiteve.

Swapo was concentrating on politicising the Ovambo population, with the central theme being the implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

Their activities included abducting schoolchildren, intimidation of security force members and the establishing arms caches inside Ovambo, General Meyer said.

UN probes troop placement

WINDHOEK. — Boring people with boring jobs. This is how Mr Cedric Thornberry describes his United Technical Team presently in Namibia.

The 23-member team drawn from 18 countries arrived in Namibia several days ago to research logistics and facilities available for the arrival of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG).

Thornberry, the UN's Director of Administration and Management, said the visit followed talks between UN Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar, and State President P W Botha, in Pretoria.

Thornberry said the terms of reference was to update existing information on the availability of facilities in Namibia to cater for a group as large as UNTAG.

Several members of the team had left in SADF transport for the war-torn regions of northern Namibia.

At the conclusion of the visit, two members of the team would possibly travel to Pretoria to finalise logistics.

"Back at the UN, we will report to the Secretary-

General so that he can finalise the emplacement of UNTAG here prior to independence elections."

His team would liaise closely with the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar.

The group has apparently met many businessmen and the chief of police, General Dolf Gouwus.

In the north the group will apparently be looking at landing facilities for large aircraft, the availability of medical supplies and examine possible border entry points for the return of tens of thousands of Namibian exiles.

They will also be investigating the logistics for the development of UNTAG troops in the north.

It is believed that accommodation will be a crucial issue, particularly in the northern areas, since South African troops will not be withdrawing but are to be restricted to their bases.

The team has already placed advertisements in several local newspapers seeking "major suppliers capable of fast delivery of very large quantities" of goods ranging from stationery to vehicles and petrol.

However, even with the arrival of this United Nations team, many Namibians remain sceptical about independence.

The plight of this South African colony appears to have once again drifted from the international spotlight in the wake of the seventh round of talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in Brazzaville.

This is the third time in ten years - since resolution 435 was adopted - that UN personnel have visited Namibia to prepare for UNTAG's arrival and independence elections.

One member of a pro-independence group said he hoped that the UN team in the country at the moment would see the "real" situation for themselves.

"The authorities and the South African-appointed interim government in particular have not done a single thing to prepare the country and its people for independence."

He added that civilians in the north were still being harassed, beaten and killed. "Little has changed."

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Smith

13-19/10/88

Swapo (221)

kills 3 in ceasefire breaches

By Craig Kotze

Swapo breaches of the ceasefire agreement in northern Namibia since September 1 have resulted in three security force deaths and eight injuries, according to statistics released by the South West African Territory Force this week.

In addition, Swapo activity also resulted in the death of an Owambo and the wounding of another two in a landmine incident.

Telephone poles have also been favourite targets, with more than 23 being hit. One tap was also sabotaged in the drought-stricken area on September 9.

Twice, on September 20 and 25, Swapo broke into local shops and looted the contents, R3 000 in cash and stocks and then alcohol and food.

But the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) has paid a heavy price for their limited success. According to the SWATF, 20 members have been killed and four captured since September 1.

Of those captured, one was presented to military correspondents gathered in Oshakati in Ovamboland for a briefing by SWATF chief Major-General Willie Meyer and South African Defence Force commander General Jannie Geldenhuys.

Zacharia Martin (22), also known as "Jackson", was arrested on October 9 and was said to have participated in three missions inside Ovamboland — two sabotage missions and one ambush.

He said through an interpreter that Swapo was ready for elections and would not carry on fighting if it lost. He said Swapo fighters were promised that if UN Resolution 435 was implemented, they would be brought back to Namibia.

Security force losses included a member of 101 Battalion who was abducted on September 17 and murdered by Swapo seven kilometres north of Oshikango.

NEWS NEWS NEWS



Daniel Tjongarero

It is now becoming accepted that the South West Africa People's Organisation holds the most radical views in Namibia in the context of the "ideal economy" for Namibia after independence. The important role that Swapo will play in Namibia's independence elections makes it necessary for every voter to take note of Swapo's views on the economy. Our special correspondent questioned Mr Daniel Tjongarero, acting deputy chairman of Swapo, and Mr Anton Lubowski, secretary of the National Union of Namibian Workers, which is affiliated to Swapo.

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C. Press
16/10/88

SOcial justice is the underlying principle on which Swapo's economic approach is based. A larger measure of social justice than presently must prevail in an independent Namibia. This means a more just distribution of wealth. Although Namibia has a total population of only 1,5-million to 2-million and while the country is rich in natural resources, a large portion of the population still lives in absolute poverty. The unemployment rate is extremely high. Considering the country's natural wealth nobody should live in dire poverty.

Swapo has never said it intends to implement a Marxist system. Swapo's people are not dogmatic. Therefore no system will be forced on the population. An economic system unique to Namibia and suitable for its specific circumstances will be worked out.

Large scale nationalisation of mines, farms and business undertakings is not being considered. Negotiations will have to take place with the mines and large companies to reach agreement on how larger portions of the wealth they create can be re-invested to the benefit of the population, rather than allowing it to flow out of the country. Similar negotiations with potential foreign investors will have to take place to determine how their investments can be applied to the benefit of both the investor and the inhabitants.

In this regard Swapo has taken note of the advantages and disadvantages of economic decisions made by other African countries like Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Namibia uses the same monetary unit as South Africa and it is therefore very easy for inhabitants to take money out of the country. This causes a huge headache. Unless the SA Reserve Bank assists the territory in one or other manner it would be nearly impossible to prevent the outflow of wealth before independence. This process can only be

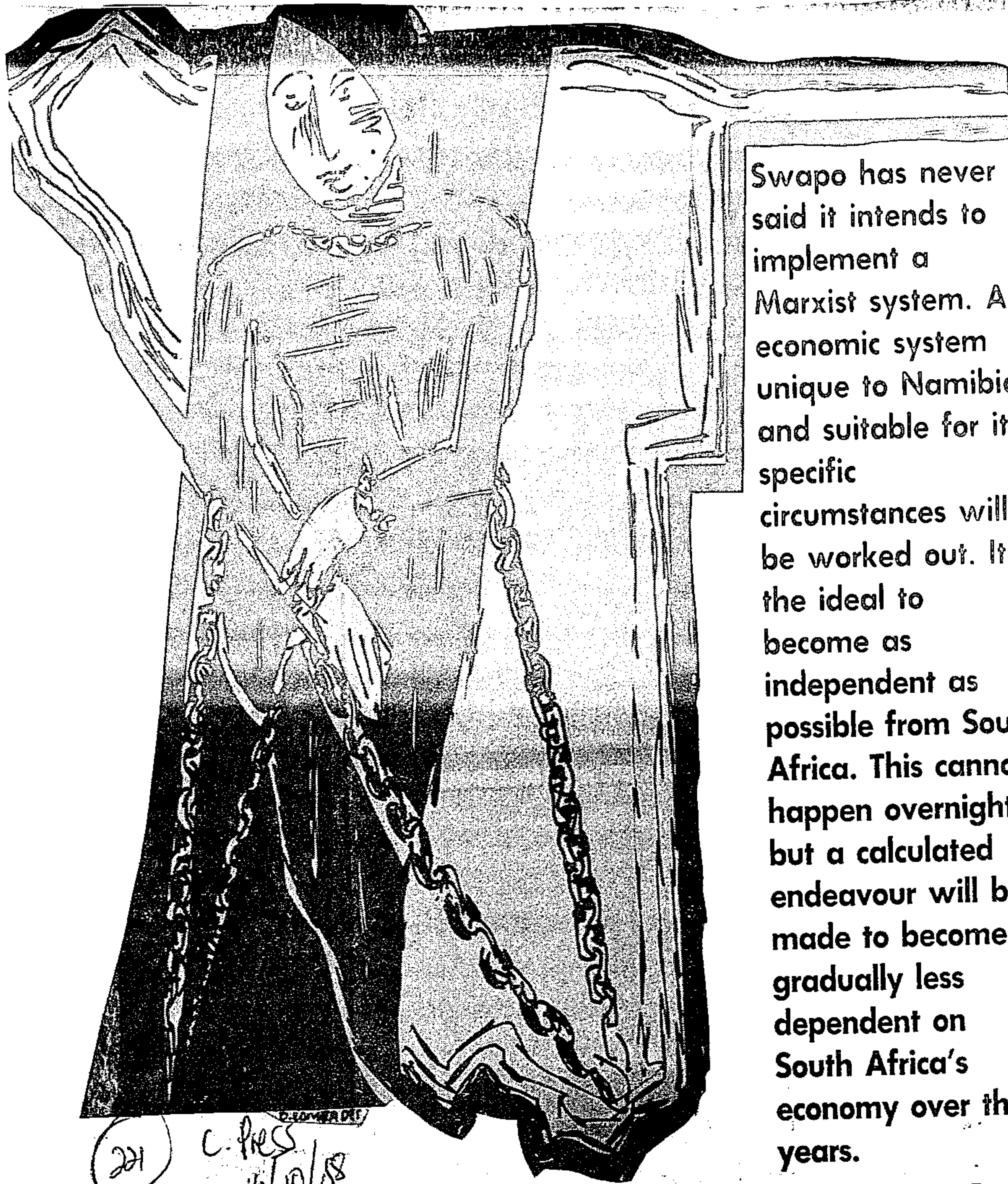
prevented if South Africa and the United Nations can reach agreement on it.

It is the ideal to become as independent as possible from South Africa. This cannot happen overnight, but a calculated endeavour will be made to become gradually less dependent on South Africa's economy over the years.

Because Namibia is virtually being governed as a fifth province of South Africa, the territory is forced to enter into certain business transactions which could be negotiated more advantageously elsewhere after independence. For example, the territory has to sell its meat to South Africa. After independence other markets will be investigated to ensure the best prices possible. Namibia is, for example, compelled to buy its sugar from South Africa. After independence the country can shop around for other producers to determine if sugar cannot be imported more cheaply.

The territory needs development aid. We expect that the Scandinavian countries will lend or donate large amounts after independence. This was said by Sweden's prime minister in a recent Press statement. It is also known that West Germany has earmarked large amounts for development aid. The German government is only awaiting independence. It would be no problem to obtain development aid from overseas, because Namibia has been an international point of contention for too long and too many countries have expressed themselves in favour of the independence of the territory over the years.

Namibia is probably the country which is the best prepared for independence and about which the most was written and to which the most attention was given in respect of the political and economic structures after independence. It is therefore better prepared for independence compared to



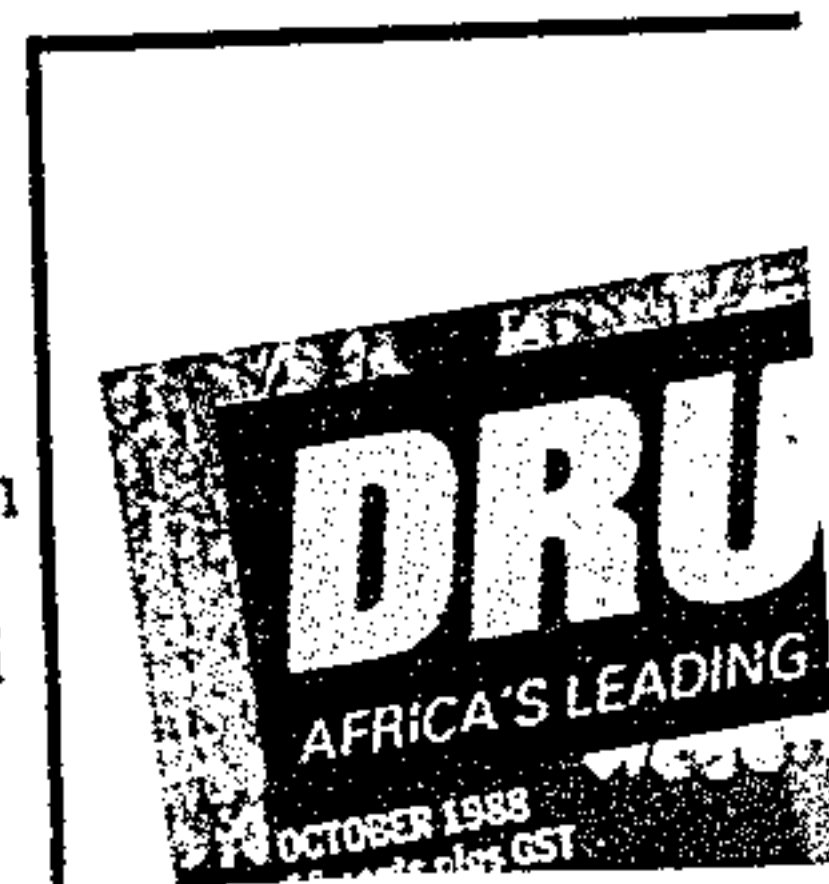
Swapo has never said it intends to implement a Marxist system. An economic system unique to Namibia and suitable for its specific circumstances will be worked out. It is the ideal to become as independent as possible from South Africa. This cannot happen overnight, but a calculated endeavour will be made to become gradually less dependent on South Africa's economy over the years.

Removing the economic shackles that bind the dependent territory

all African countries. Many books and research material, containing guidelines for the government, have been published on social and economic structures for the country after independence.

The territory's economic and administrative structures must be in order on independence day. A repetition of the occurrences in countries like Angola and

Mozambique must be prevented. In those countries the Portuguese who withdrew removed valuable goods and information while leaving those countries helpless. In this respect, engineers who were employed by the municipalities even removed municipal plans and the new officials did not even know where to find the underground pipelines in the cities and towns.



16/10/88 C. Press

221 C. Press 16/10/88

PEOPLE'S PRESS

Voting dilemma

I WRITE as a white reader of *City Press* who is concerned about the future of our country.

You have been unable through your newspaper to call for a boycott of the October 26 municipal elections, but you have certainly not advocated participation in the elections.

I hope you will be able to tell me what you would advocate for white readers, whose position may be slightly different to that of black readers.

As you are no doubt aware, in white wards in many parts of the country there is a real possibility that the Conservative Party will make great gains.

This possibility may not be so great in Johannesburg, where the city is likely to end up being governed by the same people who now govern – a coalition of the National Party and other like-minded conservatives such as independent ratepayers.

Recently an NP leader in the city threatened that all wards which voted for Progressive Federal Party candidates would automatically be declared "open" areas.

I personally favour open areas and would have no qualms about my own area, Yeoville, being officially declared open.

However, many progressives feel quite strongly that they shouldn't vote, and if they do stay away from the polls it is possible that a party other than the PFP will take the ward. The PFP's losses in the last general election bear witness to the power of the stayaway from the polls by progressives.

Is it possible for our black brothers to give us whites some guidance on the election issue? – Quandary, Yeoville.

We at *City Press* believe in the right of individuals to make their own choices. – Editor

Back to the laager

I AM a resident of Bellevue East, a suburb near Hillbrow in Johannesburg. The building in which I live has a number of black and coloured residents who live amicably together.

I am very concerned about the imminent passage through Parliament of the trio of Group Areas Bills which, I believe, will destroy the kind of peaceful co-existence we have been experiencing.

We fear for the future of our area if the Group Areas Amendment Act is legislated, which provides for the summary eviction of "illegals". If Bellevue is not declared open under the Free Settlement Areas Bill – and it seems unlikely – the majority of residents in our building will be turned out.

Why reverse a process that has occurred naturally and set back good race relations another 40 years? – Concerned, Bellevue.

Clear the picture

I THINK the "Big Bucks" soccer tote is a great idea, but I have some problems in trying to play the game.

I think that since you published more detailed explanations of how the game is played, I have got the hang of it, but my problem is that the pictures published are so small it is almost impossible to know in all cases even vaguely what is happening.

Not only are the pics very small they are in some cases also quite indistinct.

Could not half of them be published in a larger format in each of your two weekly editions? – Hopeful Tote Fan, Johannesburg.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Write to:

PO Box 57473 Springfield 2137

221
C.Press
16/10/88

Much aid will be needed for a boom

Special Correspondent

NAMIBIA can be an independent country within a year of the implementation of United Nations' Resolution 435 on November 1, 1988 provided things go according to plan.

The majority of the about 1.5-million inhabitants of Namibia are probably looking forward to this day. During the seven years after the approval of Resolution 435 by the UN Security Council in 1978

the territory's economy declined continuously until the per capita income was approximately 20 percent lower in 1985 than in 1977.

The possibility of imminent independence has recently caused growing expectations among Namibians that the process will also lead to an improvement in the quality of life.

In fact, expectations rose so high that Dirk Mudge, Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Transitional Government, warned Namibians against unrealistic high expectations during his budget speech in June this year.

Observers agree that a strong and continuous financial injection will considerably improve the chances of an economic upswing in Namibia. But where will the money come from?

The approximately R1.75-billion needed to implement Resolution 435 and the development aid which will have to be drawn from overseas to strengthen the territory's infrastructure are minor problems.

The biggest problem facing the economy is the huge amount of money the new government will need in every financial year to

Share of different sectors in the Gross National Product (GNP) in 1986 (present prices).

	R million % of GNP
Agriculture	186 6.3
Fisheries	35 1.3
Mining	1 061 36.1
Manufacturing	131 4.5
Construction	65 2.2
Electricity and water	53 1.8
Transport and communication	217 7.4
Trade and hotels	328 11.2
Property	187 6.2
Government services	532 18.1
Community services	54 1.8
Other	83 2.8
	2 937 100.0

Source: Department of Finance

balance its budget. Should the government have to borrow money to finance its running expenditure, it will only be a matter of time before Namibia is confronted with debt problems similar to those in other countries in the Third World.

There is no indication yet that the South African government, the local capital market and the Southern African Development Bank will continue to make money available for Namibia's budget and for the development of its economy.

Contrary to the opinion of many critics, the new government will not be able to curtail its expenditure after independence. And Namibians will expect of the new government to spend more on education, medical services, housing and other public services.

Informed sources in Jo-

hannesburg's financial markets say about R237-million (or 7.5 percent of the expected GNP) has been borrowed from South Africa's largest trading banks during the current financial year. If the SA Government's assistance to the Namibian budget and the loan of R80-million from the Southern African Development Bank had not been approved for the current financial year, the transitional government would have been compelled to borrow 24 percent of the expected GNP during this year.

This compares badly with the International Monetary Fund's norm of five percent of the GNP. Should a new government wish to increase its expenditure even further after independence it will have to receive considerable assistance from overseas.

Anton Lubowski, secretary of the National Union for Namibian Workers, which is affiliated to Swapo, does not foresee any problems.

FIXED INVESTMENTS DECREASE ANNUALLY

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Present prices	432,1	414,5	352,9	314,4	357,8	400,9
1980 prices	377,2	309,8	230,5	187,5	185,8	175,0
% change against the previous year	-13,4	-17,9	-25,6	-18,7	-0,9	-5,8

Source: Department of Finance

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Anton Lubowski, secretary of the National Union for Namibian Workers, which is affiliated to Swapo, does not foresee any problems.

The international community has been campaigning for the independence of Namibia for so long that it will see to it that the required money will be provided," he said. Should the international community live up to that expectation and provide money for the development of the infrastructure and other development projects, including budget assistance, Namibia's economy will flourish gradually.

New fixed investment in a number of sectors will be a pre-condition for growth.

Most of the profits made until now by large undertakings in Namibia (especially the mining industry) were taken out of the country, rather than being invested internally. In the 1986/1987 financial year a record R329-million was taken out of Namibia. Should it have been invested locally (for example in the mining industry) the total fixed investment would have been nearly doubled during that year.

The fishing industry will benefit from independence - provided that large amounts of money are invested in new trawlers and equipment.

After independence Namibia will be able to enforce an internationally-recognised fishing zone of

200 nautical miles along its coastline.

Presently, foreign fishing trawlers don't even heed the zone of 13,5 nautical miles and they trawl fish along the Namibian coastline to an annual value varying between R1.2-billion and R2-billion.

Such an amount will boost the Namibian economy considerably. In such an event the fishing industry may even surpass the mining sector as being the largest sector in the economy.

According to the annual review of Action National Settlement in Windhoek the contribution to the economy by the agricultural sector can be enlarged by improved use of the northern part of the country, which has the largest agricultural potential. Presently, agricultural activities in this area are limited mainly to communal subsistence agriculture.

"This system will have to be reformed and upgraded to ensure that the valuable agricultural land in this part of the country can be utilised to the optimum," wrote Eben van Ziji, chairman of ANS.

He does not say it, but such a process of reform of the communal system will need time and money.

The only sector which should boom without large investments after independence will be the tourism industry provided that the country's political life remains stable.

Although Namibia's economy has the potential to boom after independence, it will still face many problems and obstacles.

Facing up to the harsh facts

Special Correspondent

Independence for Namibia becomes more of a reality. Namibians have to face up to the harsh facts of underdevelopment. Here follows some:

- In 1986 the total population of Namibia was estimated at between 1.2-million and 1.5-million.
 - About 60 percent of the black population is illiterate.
 - Last year unemployment was estimated to be 15 percent.
 - The figure for infantile mortality is 155 per 1 000 considerably higher than the rest of Africa.
 - There is a huge gap in the per capita expenditure on medical services between the population groups. In 1984 an average of R234 per individual was spent on whites compared to about R 80 per individual on others.
 - There is a dire shortage of qualified black teachers.
 - There is a huge gap between the per capita expenditure on education between whites (R1 210 per pupil) and other groups (R232 per individual was spent on black education in 1981).
 - Should the norm of 35 pupils per classroom be adhered to, about 50 schools, housing 600 pupils each, will have to be provided in the northern areas of the country alone.
 - Fifty percent of the population exist on a subsistence economy, contributing only five percent to the GNP.
 - Between 1977 and 1985 the GNP has declined annually. In 1985 the GNP was 20 percent lower than in 1977.
 - After 1980 real fixed investment declined in seven consecutive years.
 - The majority of the people in Namibia live below the breadline. In 1983 it was estimated that a family of six in Windhoek needed R301 per month to remain above the breadline. At that time the average income per family was only R98.
 - The economy is subject to variations in international prices for agricultural and mining products.
 - After independence a foreign debt burden amounting to about R1 billion (about 33 percent of the expected GNP for 1989), will hang like a sword over the head of the new government.
- Source: A report published last year by The Economist Intelligence Unit.

NP pair to quit Namibia Assembly

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — Two members of Namibia's white Legislative Assembly, Mr Thinus Blaauw and Mr Frans van Zyl, say they will resign next month.

The men are considered verligte members of the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and have been leading lights in attempts to move away from the party's hard-line policies over the past two years.

The men said they did not believe they had a role to play in the assembly as it was currently constituted. They announced

they would continue to work with the Action National Settlement grouping of ousted NP-SWA figures. (221)

The NP-SWA decided at a recent congress that it would expel all those of its members who maintained links with the ANS. star 17/10/88

The assembly's term expires at the end of November, but is likely to be renewed by South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar if there are no imminent moves towards the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan.

UN troops ready for Namibia

221

Star 13/10/88

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — The United Nations will be ready with troops for its military role in Namibia's transition to independence by November 1, according to an official UN spokesman.

But other sources say that many more candidates are still needed for the civilian component of the operation.

"The question of the composition of the UN Transitional As-

sistance Group (Untag) on the military side has been discussed at length with the parties," Mr Francois Giuliani, the secretary-general's spokesman said.

He declined to give details, but a dozen countries are said to be acceptable to South Africa as contributors of troops for a UN force of about 7 500.

Close to 2 000 civilians are expected to be needed for the joint administration that the UN would set up with the Republic

in the transition period.

While November 1 remains the target date for the start of the UN operation, with only three weeks to go there are fears this may not be attainable.

Asked about reports that South Africa, the United States, Angola and Cuba might gather in Brazzaville on October 20 for another and possibly final round of talks before a settlement, Mr Giuliani would only say: "I understand it will be this month."

We're quitting, say two Windhoek MPs

STW 18/11/84 The Star's Africa News Service 221

WINDHOEK — Two members of Namibia's white Legislative Assembly, Mr Thinus Blaauw and Mr Frans van Zyl, say they will resign next month.

They are considered verligte members of the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and have been leading lights for the past two years in attempts to move away from the party's hardline policies.

They said they did not believe they had a role to play in the assembly as now constituted.

They announced that they would continue to work with the Action National Settlement grouping of ousted NP-SWA members, including former Cabinet Minister Mr Eben van Zijl.

The NP-SWA decided recently that it would expel all members who maintained links with the Action National Settlement.

The Legislative Assembly's term expires at the end of next month, but is likely to be renewed by the South African Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, if there are no moves towards the UN Namibian independence plan.

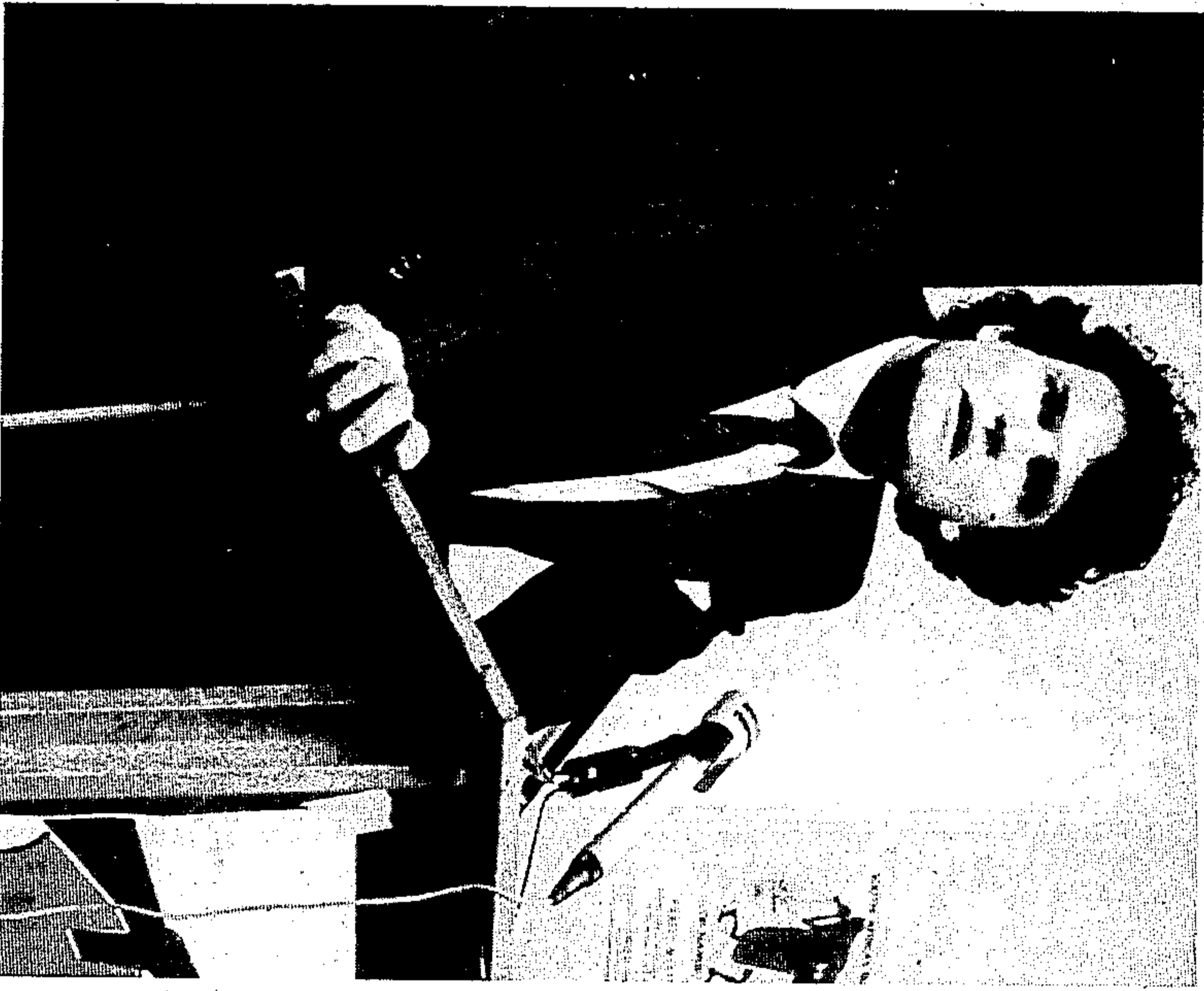
TWO years ago Anton Lubowski struggled to find five white Namibians to meet Swapo's exiled leadership.

Last week, he took 40 white farmers, businessmen and academics in a group of 180 people to meet the movement's leaders in Lusaka.

"Resistance and awareness inside Namibia have increased in favour of independence. This is one of the factors which have made me confident of a settlement," said Lubowski, who in 1984 became the first white to publicly admit membership of Swapo.

In Cape Town to attend a conference, he said: "I believe South Africa does not have much choice but to settle. They are negotiating with their backs against the wall.

Internal resistance
"Internal resistance has increased tremendously in the past year, through the trade union movement and the youth league."
Lubowski is a member of the Bar in Windhoek. He is also finance



Anton Lubowski

Why PW

80 000 exiles in the wings

ABOUT 80 000 exiled Namibians are waiting to return home to help run the country once it achieves independence, says Windhoek advocate Anton Lubowski.

Lubowski, who returned from a meeting with Swapo's external wing in Lusaka last week, said the movement was confident of majority support and of being able to run the country.

"Swapo has people trained in many spheres and professions, including doctors, civil servants and lawyers. The world has been helping us train these people," said Lubowski.

"If the worst comes to the worst, we will have to turn to our friends in the international community to help us.

Education system
"It will also depend on whether people in present positions are prepared to stay.

"Of course, the system of Bantu Education inside the country has left many people untrained." **Namibia's total**



Swapo's Sam Nujoma

economy for Namibia. "There will not be wholesale nationalisation, but a redistribution of wealth based on fair justice.

"We are reluctant to be specific because we don't know what is going to be left."

The process of nationalisation would depend on the elected representatives of the people.

"We will have to decide when we get into power. But it will have to be based on scientific research and on what will benefit the people." Swapo believed Namibia should be a

unitary state, with freedom of speech and association.

"We will have fair and free elections and the constitution will have to be written by a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly.

"Whether Namibia will become a one-party or multi-party state will depend on the elected representatives," Labowski said.

"We will have to make these decisions after the elections." "I have no doubt that Swapo will win an election with at least a two-thirds majority of the popular vote."

secretary for the National Union of Namibian Workers.

"The attitude of whites has changed. They see no alternative to independence. The present stalemate is depressing them," he said.

"I can back this up with facts, like the interest in our Dakar-type tours, and that only 55 percent of whites registered when the interim government tried to hold elections recently, even though it was made a criminal offence not to register."

Lubowski feels that May's superpower agreement on peace in Namibia is an important factor.

"This agreement is backed by the European Economic Community countries. There is no division in the world on independence for Namibia."

The cherry on top, he said, was South Africa's inability to win the war in Angola.

"They could never break

must settle

through Cuito Cuanavale. When the Cubans came down to Southern Angola in February, the whole ball game changed."

Another factor had been the moral and psychological effects of the war on South Africans.

"The 143 young people who refused to be conscripted had an effect. There must be many more who feel like them."

The war had increased South Africa's economic crisis.

"They have a R50-billion foreign debt. They don't have the money to repay this."

"This crisis shows that the international sanctions and disinvestment campaign had an effect."

The United States presidential campaign had played a role in the negotiations.

"The South Africans will try to make a deal under Reagan, rather than Dukakis."

"They can stall but in the end they will have to push it through."

"Even if Bush comes in, they are not sure that he would support them to the same extent Reagan did."

Namibia's interim government had failed.

Puppets failed

"The puppet administration failed to gain recognition. It was the last card they had to play. They are unable to find people to fulfill government posts."

Lubowski believes that if there is no Namibian settlement, there will be "total economic warfare, not only sanctions".

"The whole mood inside the country has changed and the world wants

Namibian independence.

"There has been a snowball effect. They can't turn back now."

"Proof of this can be seen in PW Botha's safaris. He is touring the world on the back of Namibia. If it had not been for the Namibian negotiations, they would have been even more isolated."

"They are trying to use us to get credibility."

"Swapo is adhering to an informal ceasefire agreement. We were, and still are, prepared to sign a formal ceasefire agreement but South Africa did not want this."

"We enjoy more international support than South Africa. We will never break the ceasefire agreement and disappoint the international community which has supported us so much."

population is between 1.5 to 2-million, less than South Africa's biggest township, Soweto.

"Namibia is unique because it has been run as a fifth province of South Africa."

"It's independence will be like cutting Transvaal off from the Cape."

"We even have the same currency. We may just get independence and find that there's not a single cent left. But we would still have to pay salaries at the end of the month."

"I don't think we will be dependent on South Africa. We may not be able to cut off immediately but we can be independent."

"We have so many resources, like uranium, the fishing industry and copper. We should be able to cover our budget and provide enough food and income for everyone."

Lubowski said Swapo planned a mixed

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20-26/10/88

Dr Ben Africa's son missing

By CHRIS STEYN



MISSING
Nathan Africa

THE SON of Rehoboth politician Dr Ben Africa has mysteriously disappeared from an Athlone house.

Police have launched an intensive search for Nathan Africa, 19, who has been missing since Monday.

Mrs Mathilda Swart, his landlady for the past three years, says his disappearance was inexplicable. Mrs Swart said he left their home in Lawrence Road with only his autobank card.

Mr Africa is a matric pupil at Spes Bona Secondary School in Athlone.

Dr Africa, former vice-president of the Turnhalle Alliance, is at present the leader of the Rehoboth Baster Vereniging (RBV) in Namibia.

Anybody who knows the whereabouts of Mr Africa is asked to call the Athlone Police at 637-8050 or 637-5898 or Mrs Swart at 696-6655 or 637-3409.

SA sticks to Nov date for UN plan on Namibia

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The date set by South Africa for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, November 1, is still officially "on the table", Foreign Affairs spokesmen said yesterday.

They said this would not change unless there was an official declaration to the contrary. But other sources believe this date — only a week away — agreed on in August by SA, Angola, Cuba and the US as the date to start independence procedures is not feasible.

The implementation of 435 hinges on agreement on a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola which has not yet been reached.

The Department of Foreign Affairs would not comment on speculation from UN sources that representatives of the US, Cuba, Angola and SA are to meet for talks in Geneva this week on the issue of Namibian independence.

A UN source closely involved in the diplomatic effort said it now seemed unlikely that the November 1 date could be met. January 1 was said to be more realistic with no assurance that this target could be attained either, Sapa-Reuter reports.

The UN source said possible talks this week would be preliminary to a return to the negotiating table in the Congo capital of Brazzaville.

Sapa reports from Windhoek that a transitional cabinet member in Windhoek has criticised SA and its admin-

istrator-general for not playing "open cards" with the territory.

He said the transitional government, which had to dissolve upon implementation of Resolution 435, should be given sufficient notification to enable the national assembly to give a final account of its work.

Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi said the people of Namibia did not know what was going to happen on November 1 or what would happen afterwards if 435 was not implemented.

For the transitional government to continue to function normally it was essential to know how long it would still be responsible for the administration of the country, he said.

It was "quite probable" that Swapo would win UN-supervised elections, even if only by the absence of a cohesive political opposition, Mr Kozonguizi said.

He said unfortunately for Namibia, neither Swapo nor any other organisation would be able to rule in peace without SA's actual or tacit support.

Swapo's information and publicity secretary Mr Hidipo Manutenya said in New York on Friday that Swapo was still "cautiously optimistic" that SA would still implement 435 despite uncertainty over when it would start.

He said Swapo never considered November 1 as a "magic date" for implementation of 435.

Swapo guerillas are observing a ceasefire in their war against SA's continued rule of Namibia.

Police seize new Namibia film ⁽²²¹⁾

By Janet Heard

Star 24/10/88

just been completed, producer Mr Kevin Harris said.

The master copy of the documentary film, "Namibia, No Easy Road to Freedom", was seized by the security police in terms of the media emergency regulations in Johannesburg last week.

Two security policemen seized the film on Thursday afternoon under regulation 9 (2) of the media emergency regulations.

The film, which scans the history of the South African occupation of Namibia, and the effect on its people, had

Mr Harris (38), who co-produced "Witness to Apartheid", said no reasons were given.

CAPE TOWN 25/10/88
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Cops seize Namibia video

JOHANNESBURG. — Security police, acting on information received from a vigilante, seized a documentary film on Namibia in Johannesburg last week, its producer, Mr Kevin Harris, believes.

Mr Harris, a freelance filmmaker from Parktown, said security police seized the master version of a 58 minute video entitled "Namibia: No Easy Road To Freedom" in terms of the emergency regulations.

He said police seized the recording from the video facility house where he had left the recording for copies to be made of it last Thursday.

Mr Harris's firm of attorneys were investigating possible steps.

It is believed to be the first time

that police seized a film in SA while it was still in its production stage.

Mr Harris said the circumstances in which it had been seized was "Of some concern."

He had left the studio after he had worked on the film for a couple of hours on Thursday morning when he received a call from the managing director who said that the security police had arrived and were demanding "The film about Namibia."

"It is quite clear somebody at the facility house was unhappy by what he had seen and took it upon himself to call the security police. Now we have a situation of individuals embarking on vigilante operations."

Sapa

Army base blasts 'not a result of sabotage'

WINDHOEK — An unstable pyrotechnical smoke grenade which caught fire spontaneously in a munitions magazine was the cause of a series of explosions that rocked Grootfontein military base in northern Namibia, according to the preliminary findings of a South African military board of inquiry.

The South West African Territory Force (SWATF) said in a statement in Windhoek yesterday that the possibility of sabotage had been eliminated as a cause for the fire, which began at 6.45 am on Sunday.

A soldier was slightly injured in the incident.

The SWATF statement said the fire was detected early, but guards in the base could not control the flames and when some of the ammunition started exploding the immediate vicinity was evacuated.

Fire-fighters began to douse the flames at about 10 am after three sections of the depot for unused ammunition had been damaged. — Sapa.

... .. two hold

Bomb accused 'kept safety rings'

WINDHOEK — A self-confessed Swapo insurgent, Mr Paulus Andreas, kept the rings of safety pins pulled to activate a car bomb as proof that he had been responsible for a blast that wrecked a multi-storeyed parking garage here, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Andreas and a co-accused, Mr Stefanus Nghifikwa, earlier pleaded not guilty to charges of sabotage in connection with the blast on July 16 last year.

Mr Andreas acknowledged he had been responsible for the detonation of the bomb placed in a suitcase in the boot of the car, but said he had at all times acted under orders as a fighter of Swapo's military wing, the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan).

Mr Nghifikwa denied he was an accomplice of Mr Andreas or had conspired with him to bomb the parking garage.

Letter

A state witness, Mr Matheus Mudjanima, said in evidence yesterday that he had received a letter from a Mr Johnny Hashoonga of Plan last year, instructing him to house Mr Andreas and co-operate with him when he arrived in Katutura township outside Windhoek.

The letter said Mr Mudjanima would be held responsible if Mr Andreas got into trouble with the authorities.

A car was brought to his house last year with instructions that he should not tamper with the vehicle because it contained explosives.

On the evening of the blast Mr Mudjanima drove from Katutura to Windhoek while Mr Andreas and another man followed him in the car containing the explosive.

He drove them back to Katutura after they had parked the car in the garage adjoining a shopping complex, the court heard. — Sapa

Top Soviet official (221)
ste 26/10/87
meets Swapo chief (277)

The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, has met Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma in the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam, reports the Africa News Organisation.

No details of the talks were given but observers note that Mr Adamishin has been directly involved in behind the scenes diplomatic contacts on the peace talks between Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States.

The talks are now

centred on the question of Cuban withdrawal from Angola and diplomats have expressed scepticism that UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia can be implemented from November 1 as previously agreed.

Mr Adamishin also met Foreign Minister Mr Benjamin Mkapa.

A statement said the two sides had highlighted the necessity of joint efforts at creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. — The Star's Africa News Service.

I kept proof
Star 26/10/88
of bombing,
221
says accused

WINDHOEK — A self-confessed Swapo insurgent, Mr Paulus Andreas, kept the rings of safety pins pulled to activate a car bomb as proof that he had been responsible for a blast that wrecked a multi-storeyed parking garage in Windhoek, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Andreas and a co-accused, Mr Stefanus Nghifikwa, earlier pleaded not guilty to charges of sabotage in connection with the bomb blast on July 16 last year.

Mr Andreas acknowledged he had been responsible for the detonation of the bomb placed in a suitcase in the boot of the car and that he had endangered public safety and property, but said he had at all times acted under orders as a fighter of Swapo's military wing, the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia.

Mr Nghifikwa denied that he was an accomplice of Mr Andreas or had conspired with him to bomb the garage.

A witness for the prosecution, Mr Matheus Mudjanima, said in evidence yesterday that he had received a letter from a certain Mr Johnny Hashoonga of Plan last year, instructing him to house Mr Andreas and co-operate with him when he arrived in Katutura township outside Windhoek.

The letter stated Mr Mudjanima would be held responsible if Mr Andreas got into trouble with the authorities.

On the evening of the bomb blast, Mr Mudjanima drove from Katutura to Windhoek while Mr Andreas and another man followed in a car with the explosives hidden in the suitcase in the boot.

He drove them back to Katutura after they had parked the car in the garage.

Later that night a bomb exploded.

The trial continues.

(22)

6/dec 27/10/88

November 1 still implementation day — Namibia govt

WINDHOEK — Namibia Administrator-General Louis Pienaar has reaffirmed SA's commitment to November 1 as the date for implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435, concerning the territory's independence.

Pienaar said it would not be SA's fault if other parties involved in the peace process were not ready for implementation of the UN settlement plan. If the other negotiating parties experienced problems with November 1 as

implementation date, they should put forward an alternative proposal. Still facing negotiators is the complicated question of how to maintain a balance of foreign forces in Namibia and Angola in the run-up to independence for the territory.

In terms of UN resolution 435, SA has to reduce its troop strength to 1 500 men confined to two bases — at Oshivelo and Grootfontein — within three months of implementation of the UN peace plan.

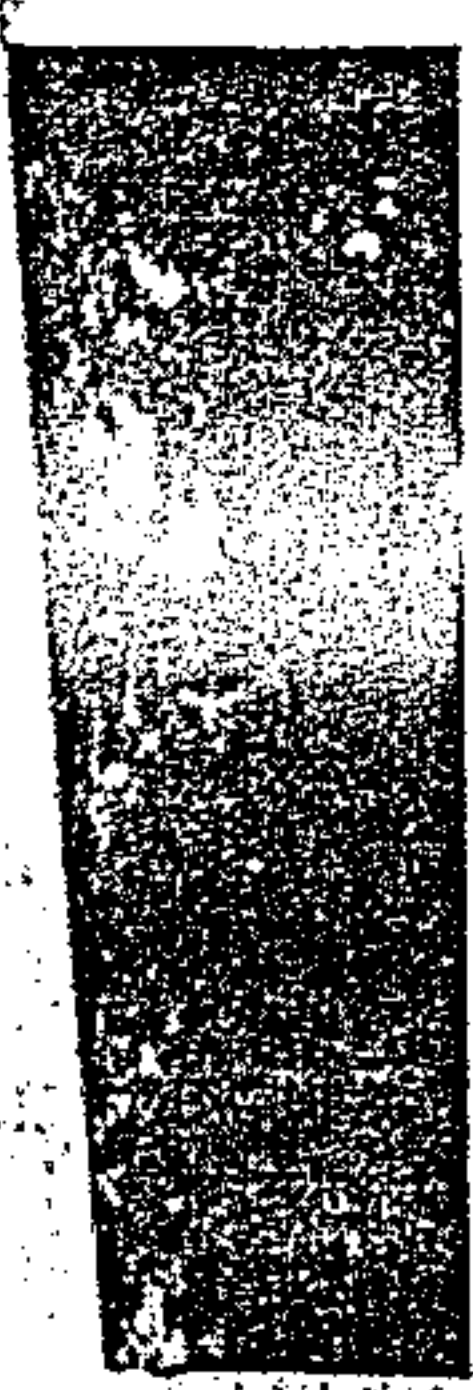
At the same time the SWA Territory Force has to be dissolved, and four months later all remaining SA forces must pull out completely from Namibia.

MPLA policy of war is "bankrupt"

US reaffirms

IT

Stock system lifts clothing sales by 700%



would begin with the redeployment of Cuban forces further north of the Angolan-Namibian border upon implementation of UN resolution 435.

SA requires the Cuban withdrawal from Angola to be more or less parallel with the pull-out from Namibia of SA forces, as stipulated by the resolution.

It is not known when the parties will meet again to resume negotiations in Brazzaville, the main venue for the peace negotiations — Sapa.

Angola, Namibia peace 'soon'

^{SJS 22/12/84}
LISBON — A senior Angolan official said yesterday an agreement was imminent to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts, the official news agency Angop reported. "The four-party talks are in their final stage," Energy and Oil Minister Pedro Van-Dunem was quoted as saying. — Sapa-Reuter.

(22)

UN chief calls for speedy SWA solution

Argus 221
28/10/88

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, calling independence for SWA/Namibia long overdue, has said that everything possible must be done to speed up a settlement.

He told the UN Council for Namibia yesterday that he was already proceeding with preparations to implement the Security Council's plan for the transition to independence through UN-supervised elections, but he gave no details.

An advance team of UN experts returned to New York last week after a three-week visit to the territory to assess what would be needed when the UN moved in.

Linkage issue

Dr Perez de Cuellar, who was taking part in an observance of a Week of Solidarity with "the people of Namibia and their liberation movement", Swapo, spoke of his talks in Pretoria last month with President Botha, who, he said, had given him an assurance of South Africa's commitment to implementation of the UN plan.

The Secretary-General made no mention of linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

and a proposed settlement, but said he confirmed to the President of Angola while he was in Luanda that South Africa had completed its own troop withdrawal.

Also addressing the council, the Rev Jesse Jackson, apartheid foe and former candidate for the presidency, called for an uncoupling of the issues of Namibian independence and the war in Angola.

He said insistence on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola before Namibian settlement was a ploy. "... South Africa's tactic cannot be taken seriously," he added.

Exhaustion

In Washington President Reagan's chief national security adviser, General Colin Powell, said peace might be at hand for Angola and similar regional trouble spots simply because exhaustion had set in after years of brutal but inconclusive conflict.

"Statesmen have finally shown the wisdom to draw appropriate conclusions, and the decisiveness to act on those conclusions," said General Powell in addressing the National Press Club.

Trying to suppress Unita "was costing the regime's Soviet backers something like a billion dollars a year in weaponry with no productive result", he said.

Namibia: Reagan steps in

cm 7/15 28/10/88
Own Correspondent 221

WASHINGTON. — The US administration is placing such a high priority on obtaining funds from Congress for implementation of the UN Namibia independence plan that President Reagan has intervened in person.

Both Mr Reagan and his national security adviser, Mr Colin Powell, phoned Senator Jesse Helms, the senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, begging him to release the \$110 million the administration is seeking.

Both were rebuffed. Mr Helms bluntly told the president he would lift his objections to the request only if personally asked to do so by Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Democratic Senator Dennis Deconcini, head of the bipartisan pro-Unita Senate Angola task force, earlier eased his opposition to funding the UN plan after Mr Powell warned that if they did not, Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola could be delayed.

SA ready for new SWA talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African diplomats were preparing to leave for Geneva yesterday, for another round of international talks aimed at reaching agreement on January 1 as a new date for the implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Hopes that implementation would start today failed to materialise when Cuban and Angolan negotiators did not respond to a US draft agreement submitted at talks in New York early last month.

A statement is expected from the Americans today on why that target date could not be reached.

Diplomatic sources indicated yesterday that the South African negotiating team was waiting for a response from the Angolan and Cuban teams before heading for Geneva for the next round of talks. Some members have apparently already left for the talks.

The US mediators tabled the draft agreement at the conclusion of the New York talks on October 9. The various parties were asked to respond to the US draft, known as a "synthesis paper".

South Africa responded favourably before the October 13 deadline, but the Cuban and Angolan

From page 1

representatives have still not reported back. Diplomats believe they may be awaiting the outcome of the US presidential elections next Tuesday before responding.

The draft agreement is believed to include January 1 as the starting date for the implementation of Resolution 435, with elections scheduled for August 1.

The UN has indicated that it will need at least six weeks to get its Untag transitional peace-keeping force in place. This would mean that if the new date for the implementation of 435 is to be reached, all sides have only two weeks in which to come to an agreement.

The draft agreement, made after extensive discussions between all parties, includes a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola over a two-year period. The Cubans previously insisted on withdrawing their estimated 52 000 troops over 30 months.

It is believed the latest US offer includes a stipulation that 4 000 troops should withdraw from Angola before the implementation of 435, considerably fewer than the 10 000 to 12 000 SA originally insisted on.

South Africa previously called for the repatriation of an additional 15 000 Cubans who arrived in Angola since the start of the peace initiatives in May.

According to local sources, the draft provides for half of the Cuban troops to leave Angola by the date set for Namibian elections, with the balance being withdrawn to the 13th parallel north of the Angolan-Namibian border in two stages.

Under the plan, about three-quarters of the Cuban forces will be withdrawn a year after the elections with the remainder withdrawn over the following year.

The Angolan government's ongoing war with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement appears to remain the main stumbling block to a Cuban withdrawal and a regional settlement.

Cuba cannot be seen to be selling out the MPLA government and the Angolans in turn are concerned about containing Unita without the Cuban forces.

According to Sapa, South African sources say there is ground for hope that the negotiations will resume because of the active interest displayed by the Soviet Union, whose influence on Cuba is believed to be strong enough to bring them back to the negotiating table.

Angolan president Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos is currently making a visit to Moscow where the negotiations are likely to be discussed.

US National Security adviser Mr Colin Powell said in Washington last Friday that a diplomatic agreement to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts was near. — Sapa-Reuter

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Havana could hold key to success of new commission

CAT 11/15
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The November 1 deadline set for the start of implementation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council — providing for Namibian independence — has proved to be unrealistic. Differences remain unresolved between South Africa, Angola and Cuba about the timing of the departure of the Cuban forces from neighbouring Angola. But a joint military monitoring commission has begun to operate. Defence Correspondent WILLEM STEENKAMP reports.

THE establishment of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission has evoked a feeling of *deja vu* among South African observers, particularly those who served on its ill-fated predecessor, the Joint Monitoring Commission of 1984.

In some ways the JMC of 1984 and the JMMC of 1988 closely resemble one another. In other ways they do not — and the greatest difference is that whereas the failure of the 1984 model was a setback for regional peace, the failure of the JMMC would be a catastrophe.

The 1984 JMC was set up after an historic South African-Angolan meeting, sponsored by the United States, at Lusaka in February of that year. Its aim was to ensure that a large part of southern Angola was cleared of all "foreign presences", meaning specifically South Africans, Cubans and Swapo insurgents.

It did not work. The South Africans did not abandon their support of the Unita insurgents — being Angolans, the latter did not fall within the ambit of the JMC, and the fine distinction was good enough for Pretoria — and the Angolans did not try very hard, if at all, to prevent Swapo activities in the designated area.

Hiatus

In hindsight the JMC could not have worked, the fatal defect being the same one that plagues the present peace negotiations: the on-going war between Luanda and Unita. The South Africans supported Unita because it prevented large-scale Swapo infiltration into the border area, and the Angolans supported Swapo mainly because they needed the insurgents' manpower to fight Unita.

In the end the JMC fizzled out and things went back to normal. Swapo insurgents trickled southwards, South Africans operated north of the border and Unita and the MPLA regime carried on with their struggle. Virtually the only ones to benefit were the South Africans, who took advantage of the temporary hiatus to carry out some vigorous counter-insurgency sweeps south of the border which reduced Swapo activities almost to a standstill.

The JMMC of 1988 is infinitely larger in scope. Its role, as defined by the Geneva Protocol, is to monitor for and prevent three types of violations:

- South African movement north of the international border.
- Cuban/Angolan movement south of the border.
- Swapo activity south of the so-called "Quiteve line", which runs east-west along the 16th parallel.

Delegations

As with the old JMC, it consists of two national contingents, South African and Cuban/Angolan, camped in close proximity but each with its own logistic and medical support organization.

Six-man delegations which meet every morning at 10 to discuss such things as domestic logistical and procedural arrangements; common working procedures; the mounting of joint patrols; alleged violations; and the functioning of the various monitoring posts, of which 11 are being constructed from the Epupa falls in the west to Bagani military base in the east.

The ground rules are that delegates must achieve consensus on violations. If they cannot, the matter must be sent to the regional military commanders (who meet routinely once a week), and if it still resists consensus it is referred to the third level, the GOC

South West Africa Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, and his Angolan opposite number who commands 5 Military Region, who meet once a month, alternately on Angolan and SWA/Namibian soil.

Clarification

That is the theory of it. How well it is working in practice is not always easy to discern, thanks to the participants' (and particularly the South Africans') great caution about obstructing the overall peace negotiations.

It certainly works as regards clarification of minor misunderstandings, as when a small South African border-patrol force recently briefly crossed the Outline (the actual border demarcation) into Angolan territory.

Their JMMC delegation promptly admitted it, adding there had been no hostile intentions; it had been a mistake caused by the fact that the Outline was indistinct in the area concerned. This was unreservedly accepted.

Things are less clear when it comes to actual violations. I am told that while the Angolans/Cubans have not claimed any as yet, the South Africans have reported at least five violations by Swapo members, some wearing Cuban or Angolan uniforms, who were shot or captured and found to be carrying evidence that they had originated north of the Quiteve line.

JMMC-level consensus could not be reached on whether they were, in fact, violations, and the matter was then referred to a higher level: as far as I know it has not yet been resolved there either.

Integrated

I have been told that one reason for the difficulty in reaching consensus is that, as in 1984, the Angolans either cannot exercise full control over Swapo movements or do not wish to do so — the explanation being the same one, namely that they cannot dictate to Swapo because it is an independent movement.

This excuse did not hold water then and does not hold water now, because Swapo exists by Luanda's grace: it is logistically integrated with the Angolan structure and thousands of its members serve full-time in the Angolan army.

The real reason, it would appear, is the same as in 1984: Luanda cannot see its way clear to clipping Swapo's wings while the insurgents are helping them to fight Unita.

If this is the case, it would seem that monitoring of Swapo violations will not really be feasible unless some sort of ceasefire is arranged between Luanda and Unita. A failure to reach such an agreement could seriously affect the functioning of the JMMC — and the entire peace process.

As one official told me recently in an unguarded moment: "If we can't monitor Swapo, what is going to happen with the 50 000 Cubans in Angola?"

The key to it all might be the Cubans. Reports reaching me indicate that the Cubans completely dominate the Angolans in their dealings with the South Africans, both on the JMMC and at the international meetings — hardly a surprising phenomenon, considering general Cuban "kragdadigheid" and the fact that without them the Angolan government would be seriously menaced by Unita and also unable to prevent South African incursions into its southland.

So perhaps the key to a really successful JMMC should be sought in Havana rather than Luanda, Windhoek or Pretoria.

Revised target date for start of Namibian independence

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Star 1/11/88

BY DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent

Attempts to reach a peace settlement between South Africa and Angola/Cuba have failed to make today's deadline for the start of the independence process of Namibia. As a result, diplomatic sources revealed last night, it has been agreed a new target date should be set at January 1.

The new Namibia end-of-year deadline gives the three countries involved a breather to come to an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, failing which the target date may have to be postponed for another month or two.

The United Nations needs six weeks to put together the 6500-troop peace-keeping force required to monitor the independence of Namibia. The world body must know by the middle of this month if it is to be ready for a target date of January 1.

A South African negotiating team is ready to fly to Geneva to resume the peace talks with a view to meeting the amended target date.

The United States is to announce later today that no agreement between the parties in the south-western Africa peace talks had been reached so that UN Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the process of independence for Namibia, could not be started as planned.

The parties earlier this year agreed in Geneva to set November 1 as the target date for the start of Resolution 435 in the hope that an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola would be reached before that date.

The statement to be released in Washington will say that at the time of setting November 1 as a target date all the parties realised the issues involved were complex and they affected the vital interests of each country.

Thorny issue

Although no agreement had been reached before today, the US is proceeding in the search for a satisfactory settlement with vigour while all the parties remain committed to negotiations, the statement will say.

Diplomatic sources said South Africa has in effect met the November 1 deadline, but Cuba and Angola have stalled on further talks on the thorny issue of Cuban withdrawal.

A top level SA team will fly to Geneva should Cuba and Angola signal they are ready to resume negotiations.

According to sources, SA has agreed to be flexible with regard to a compromise of Cuban withdrawal proposed by the US two weeks ago.

Cuba and Angola have so far failed to respond, other than to say that South Africa's approach is "interesting".

The compromise proposed by the US breaks Cuban withdrawal into three phases.

The initial phase, prior to the implementation of Resolution 435, would provide for the immediate withdrawal to Cuba of 4000 Cuban troops as a signal that Cuba is serious about pulling out of the region.

Second phase

The second phase, in the seven-month run-up to independence elections in Namibia from the implementation date of Resolution 435, would provide for the withdrawal of 3500 Cuban troops a month, as well as a movement of all remaining Cuban forces in the region to north of the 15th parallel by March 1 (assuming a start date of January 1 for Resolution 435).

At the moment, in terms of the Geneva Protocol and in return for SA's withdrawal from Angola, the Cuban armies are positioned north of the 16th parallel.

In terms of the US proposal, 50 percent of all Cuban troops currently in Angola must be back in Cuba by June 30, one month before the elections (August 1), while those remaining in the country must be north of the 13th parallel (roughly, the Benguela railway line).

The tempo of withdrawal of 3500 a month must be maintained in the four weeks before the elections and in the five months after elections so that one year after the start of Resolution 435, 75 percent of all Cuban forces must be back home.

Of the roughly 14000 Cubans remaining, 4000 must be withdrawn over the next six months and the last 10000 over the following six months.

All Cubans must be out of Angola by the end of 24 months after the start of Resolution 435.

Sources said last night that if Cuba and Angola continued to stall in responding to this proposal, there would be little point in continuing the peace talks.

A complete stalemate could be considered to have been reached in that event.

Worse than that, the agreement to cease hostilities in Angola could start to come under pressure, particularly as Swapo has thus far completely ignored its pledge to the UN Secretary-General that it would respect the ceasefire presently in force in the region.

Namibia date set at Jan 1 as SA waits

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By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — January 1 has been set as the target date on which the independence process of Namibia will begin, after talks on a peace settlement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba stalled.

The implementation of UN Resolution 435 was due to begin today had the parties been able to agree to a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops, but Cuba and Angola failed to react to US compromise proposals.

A top-level South African negotiating team is standing by to fly to Geneva immediately should Cuba and Angola decide to resume talks.

According to sources, the South African delegation, under the leadership of the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, has made reservations on a flight to Europe every day for the past several days.

There are growing suspicions, however, that the Angolans and Cubans are stalling further talks until next Tuesday's US presidential election.

If Mr Michael Dukakis is elected, the Angolans know the US will cut support for Unita and recognise the MPLA gov-

ernment. There will also be less pressure on Cuba to withdraw from Angola as a prerequisite for the implementation of Resolution 435.

The United Nations needs six weeks to put together the 6 500-troop peace-keeping force required to monitor the independence of Namibia. The world body must know by the middle of this month if it is to be ready for a target date of January 1.

According to sources, South Africa has agreed to be flexible with regard to a compromise on a Cuban withdrawal proposed by the US two weeks ago.

The compromise proposed by the US breaks Cuban withdrawal into three phases.

Movement of troops

The initial phase, prior to the implementation of Resolution 435, would provide for the immediate withdrawal to Cuba of 4 000 Cuban troops, as a signal that Cuba is serious about pulling out of the region.

The second phase, in the seven-month run-up to independence elections in Namibia, would provide for the withdrawal of 3 500 Cuban troops a month as well as a movement of all remaining Cuban forces in the region to north of the 15th parallel by March 1 (assuming a starting date of January 1 for Resolution 435).

In terms of the US proposal, 50 percent of all Cuban troops now in Angola must be back in Cuba by June 30, one month before the election (August 1), while those remaining in the country must be north of the 13th parallel (roughly the Benguela railway line).

The tempo of withdrawal must be maintained in the month before the election and in the remaining five months so that one year after the start of Resolution 435 75 percent of all Cuban forces will be back home.

All Cubans must be out of Angola by the end of 24 months after the start of Resolution 435.

The US is pressing on with its mediation in spite of the missed deadline. "We're working very actively on this whole process," said a US State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman.

● In Windhoek, Namibia's six-party transitional government expressed disappointment that the proposed date would not be met, reports Argus Africa News Service.

The government's Cabinet chairman, Mr Andreas Shipanga, said the people of Namibia were "tired" of the continuing uncertainty and changing of dates, and had a genuine desire for self-determination.

Top SA team standing by for Namibia talks

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A top-level South African negotiating team is standing by to fly to Geneva immediately, should Cuba and Angola decide to resume talks to bring peace to south-western Africa.

Because agreement has not yet been reached, in spite of a series of meetings,

the target date for starting the implementation of the Namibia independence plan terms of United Nations Resolution 435 — which had been set at November 1 — has had to be extended. Diplomatic sources have revealed that January 1 next year has been agreed.

According to sources, the South African delegation under the leadership of Foreign Affairs Director General Mr Neil van Heerden has made reservations on a flight to Europe every day for the past several days.

Two advance members of the team have already left for Switzerland.

Disappointed

Namibia's six-party transitional government is disappointed that the proposed target date for implementing Resolution 435 will not be met, says the government's Cabinet chairman, Mr Andreas Shipanga.

Mr Shipanga remarked that the people of Namibia were tired of the continuing uncertainty and changing of dates, and had a genuine desire for self-determination. The Minister also warned that uncertainty about the future could have an adverse effect.

Mr Shipanga's views on the implementation of Resolution 435 are not shared by all his colleagues in the six-party coalition. The National Party of Namibia and the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party have both stated clearly that they are opposed to the UN plan.

Political Correspondent
and
The Star's Africa
News Service

In diplomatic circles, there are growing suspicions, however, that the Angolans and Cubans are stalling further talks until next Tuesday's US presidential election.

If Mr Michael Dukakis is elected, the Angolans know the US will cut support for Unita and recognise the MPLA government. There will also be less pressure on Cuba to withdraw from Angola.

The failure of the Angolan/Cuban delegation to respond to the latest proposals by the US for the withdrawal of Cuban forces has resulted in today's deadline for the start of Resolution 435 being postponed.

The US has offered a compromise proposal which involves the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola over a 24-month period from the start of Resolution 435.

Cuba, Angola stall on US draft (22) 5/10/88

Parties seek new date for start of Namibian plan

SA DIPLOMATS were yesterday preparing to leave for Geneva for another round of international talks aimed at reaching agreement on January 1 as a new date for the implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Hopes that implementation would start today failed to materialise when Cuban and Angolan negotiators did not respond to a US draft agreement submitted at talks in New York early last month.

A statement is expected from the Americans today on why today's target date could not be met.

Diplomatic sources indicated yesterday the SA negotiating team was waiting for a response from the Angolan and Cuban teams before heading for Geneva for the next round of talks. Some members have apparently already left for Switzerland.

The US mediators tabled the draft agreement at the conclusion of the New York talks on October 9. The various parties were asked to respond to the US draft, known as a "synthesis paper".

SA responded favourably before the October 13 deadline, but the Cuban and Angolan representatives have still not reported back.

Diplomats believe they may be awaiting the outcome of the US presidential elections next Tuesday before formally responding.

The draft agreement is believed to include January 1 as the starting date for the implementation of resolution 435, with elections scheduled for August 1.

The UN has indicated it will need at least six weeks to get its Untag transitional peace-keeping force in place. This would mean that if the new date

PETER DELMAR

for the implementation of resolution 435 is to be reached, all sides have only two weeks in which to come to an agreement.

The draft agreement, made after extensive discussions between all parties, includes provision for a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola over a two-year period. The Cubans previously insisted on withdrawing their estimated 52 000 troops over 30 months.

It is believed the latest US offer includes a stipulation that 4 000 troops should withdraw from Angola before the implementation of resolution 435, considerably fewer than the 10 000 to 12 000 SA originally insisted on.

Two stages

SA previously called for the repatriation of an additional 15 000 Cubans who arrived in Angola since the start of the peace initiatives in May.

According to local sources, the draft provides for 50% of the Cuban troops to leave Angola by the date set for Namibian elections, with the balance being withdrawn to the 13th parallel north of the Angolan/Namibian border in two stages.

Under the plan, some 75% of the Cuban forces will be withdrawn 12 months after the elections, with the remainder withdrawn over the following year.

The Angolan government's ongoing war with Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement appears to remain the main stumbling block to a Cuban withdrawal and a regional settlement. Cuba cannot be seen to be selling out the Marxist MPLA government and the Angolans in turn are concerned about containing Unita without the Cuban forces.

Hope for Namibia settlement soon

We're not to blame for hitch, says Pik

SKR 2/11/88 (221)

Pretoria Bureau

The failure of all parties involved to meet yesterday's deadline for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 was not South Africa's fault, according to Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

Hinting that an Angolan and Cuban delay in responding to a compromise proposal was to blame, Mr Botha said in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday that any delay in achieving independence for Namibia could not be attributable to South Africa.

"Despite the complex and difficult negotiations ... South Africa firmly believed that November 1 was a realistic and achievable date, provided all parties were prepared to adopt realistic positions in their approach to the negotiations," the Minister said.

"South Africa has consistently shown a constructive spirit in all the negotiations over the past few months.

"We do not believe that the complexity ... was the only reason for the lack of agreement."

South Africa believed that enough progress was made at the informal consultations in New York last month to have allowed agreement to have been reached by the target date, he said.

"It was decided in New York that the parties should respond within three days to a compro-

mise proposal put forward by the United States as mediator.

"South Africa has, within the time limit, indicated that it was prepared to be flexible as far as the latest proposal was concerned.

"As of today, Angola and Cuba have yet to make up their minds," said Mr Botha.

The two main issues to be resolved are the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the implementation of the UN plan leading toward the independence of Namibia.

● The official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said he expected the the independence plan for Namibia to begin before the end of January.

● From Lusaka it is reported that Swapo is still hopeful that a settlement on Namibian independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola can be reached by the end of the year.

A senior official, Mr Hage Geingob, said yesterday that his organisation was still maintaining a two-month-old ceasefire in its guerilla war against South Africa's military occupation of Namibia.

● Alan Dunn of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the United States is pressing on with its mediation of regional peace talks between South Africa, Cuba and Angola for a start to an independence process for Namibia.



Namibia: 'Significant differences' remain

ARGUS 2/11/88

WASHINGTON. — Significant differences remain on a peace settlement for Southern Africa, the United States says.

As Cuba, South Africa and Angola missed yesterday's target date for achieving agreement, State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman expressed confidence that an accord will be reached, but declined to suggest when that might happen.

He said the negotiating parties, South Africa, Angola and Cuba, had moved to close the gap between their original positions on the last remaining obstacle to an accord — a timetable for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola.

"Substantial progress has been made at narrowing differences on a withdrawal calendar. However, there are still some significant differences to be resolved," Mr Redman said.

He confirmed that the US had put forward "several ideas" that might form the basis of a compromise.

Sources in Johannesburg said one of these calls for removal of 4 000 Cuban troops before the independence process be-

gins, of 36 000 troops in the first year of independence and the remaining 12 000 in the second year.

"We are confident that a settlement will be reached because peace in Southern Africa is an idea whose time has come," Mr Redman said.

He refused to blame any party for the failure to reach agreement by the November 1 deadline but noted that Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union are "conferring actively on their next steps in the negotiating process".

Pointed fingers

Pre-empting any pointed fingers, and pointing a few of his own, South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday said South Africa was not the cause of delay.

South Africa regretted that a settlement had not been achieved by yesterday, he said, and did not believe that the complexity and degree of difficulty of the negotiations had been the only reason for the lack of agreement.

Other South African sources said government negotiators were ready to fly to Geneva for what could be a final bar-

gaining session after hearing Cuba's response.

They said Cuba appeared to be awaiting the outcome of the US presidential election before giving the green light that could see an agreement signed as early as November 14. Cuba and Angola would expect more support from Democrat Mr Michael Dukakis than from Republican Mr George Bush for their battle against Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, who now fight with US weapons. — Sapa-Reuters.

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ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

Bear squeeze needed

The November 1 implementation date for UN Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence has passed without response from Cuba and Angola on Cuban troop withdrawal. So at this stage in the south-western Africa peace search, it seems all hope rests with the Soviet Union to break the deadlock. That is the feeling in diplomatic circles, as Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden is on standby for the final phase in the talks.

As the *FM* went to press, Van Heerden and his team were waiting to hear from US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker on whether there had been any response from the other two parties. Pretoria had informed the American mediator about its flexibility towards the American "synthesis" paper produced after the recent New York talks.

It is also understood that US Secretary of State George Shultz asked his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze to exert pressure on Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos to respond positively to the American paper.

After an initial lukewarm approach to the peace talks, the Soviets now seem keen to become actively involved in the process. Crocker has confirmed their willingness to co-operate.

The Soviet factor has injected new hope that a solution may still be found. The Soviets are, the Americans believe, the only ones with enough clout to bring the Angolans and Cubans to heel.

The American paper proposes that 50% of the Cuban troops be out of Angola by the

proposed Namibian election day of August 1 1989. For the balance, the move north would continue in two stages: reaching the 15th parallel by April 1; and re-deployment north of the 13th latitude, near the Benguela line, on June 30.

The proposal calls for a high rate of withdrawal until 12 months after elections ("D plus 12" in the negotiators' shorthand), in which case there would have been a 75% Cuban withdrawal. Of the remainder (approximately 14 000 troops), 4 000 should be withdrawn by the end of the following six months after elections, with the last 10 000 leaving in the last six months of the two-year plan.

Diplomatic circles say the Angolans and Cubans initially rejected these proposals, saying that was not even a basis to take home to their respective governments.

US sources say SA responded positively within three days. However, it soon became clear that neither Angola nor Cuba was able to deal with the US plan. Various reasons were advanced, but according to Western diplomats it is quite clear that the position of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement plays an important part in their reluctance.

Unita's position, as Stellenbosch's Willie Breytenbach warned when the talks began in May, is the weak link in the chain. While SA has made it clear that it has invested in Unita, it has also said it is not tied to the movement forever.

A reasonable basis to terminate the relationship, which will have to include a survival guarantee for Savimbi's people, would be acceptable to SA, diplomatic sources suggest. The message to Angola and Cuba is clear: if Unita is annihilated, it will not be possible for SA to continue with any talks.

SA is adamant about Unita's position.

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There can be no peace in the region unless a compromise is reached between the MPLA government and the rebel movement. SA diplomats feel that Savimbi is not dogmatic about his position in a future Angolan government. He wants free elections — which are not part of the MPLA agenda, they add.

Swapo's continued hostilities over the Namibian border are also a matter of concern to SA. They are causing a lot of friction and diplomats say even Angola has become embarrassed by them. At present SA is monitoring the situation and any further hostilities will be raised during the next round of talks. If there appears to be no solution, SA is said to have contingency plans. ■

Kaunda keen to assist ²²¹ in Namibia

Star 4/11/88
The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has expressed concern over the delayed implementation of the UN plan for Namibia's independence.

Speaking at a press conference here, Dr Kaunda said his country was keen to offer assistance with other nations in connection with Resolution 435 "which has run into difficulties".

At the conference, which followed his re-election as president, Dr Kaunda also announced a new "budget-cutting" Cabinet, cutting the number of his Ministers from 21 to 16.

The president retained, however, his most senior advisers. His son Wezi was also appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of State for Home Affairs.

TOP TRIO RETAINED

The most important change was at the Defence Ministry. General Malimba Masheke moved to head the Ministry of Home Affairs and his place was taken by Mr Lavu Mulimba.

The top three members of the government below Mr Kaunda — Unip secretary-general Mr Grey Zulu, Prime Minister Mr Kebby Musokotwane and Secretary of State for Defence and Security Mr Alex Shapi — all kept their posts.

So did Finance Minister Mr Gibson Chigaga, Foreign Minister Mr Luke Mwananshiku and the Central Bank governor, Mr Francis Nkhoma.

Namib protest 'a laughable failure'

WINDHOEK — Attempts by radical elements to foment unrest across Namibia on November 1 — in protest against the postponement of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 — were "a laughable failure", says the SWA Police.

A police spokesman said anti-government organisations had exaggerated a few incidents in order to "make political propaganda".

Swapo news agency Nampa reported from Luanda that thousands of demonstrators had taken to the streets of Otjiwarongo, Outeeeee, Outjo, Otavi and Grootfontein on Tuesday to demand the immediate implementation of the UN peace plan.

The agency said "South African troops" used teargas and fired rubber bullets to disperse dem-

onstrators on a number of occasions, and that one soldier had been severely injured when he was beaten by the crowd.

The police spokesman said Tuesday's demonstration in Grootfontein — a major South African military base — had involved about 250 people, many of whom were drunk.

When police called on

the crowd to disperse, they began throwing stones which damaged three police vehicles. Police then fired teargas to break up the crowd. At no time were soldiers or any army units involved, added the spokesman.

He said a soldier of the SWA Territory Force, who was on leave and on his way home, had been badly beaten by the crowd, who also beat up a black woman.

Talks on Namibia still go on

WASHINGTON — Talks on the future of Namibia are "very much continuing", Mr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said yesterday.

In an interview with Voice of America radio, he said that even though the November 1 target for a negotiated settlement had passed, consultations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa had taken place in past weeks.

"All sides ... have reiterated their commitment to bring the negotiations to a rapid and successful conclusion." — Sapa.

'SA troops massing in Namibia'

HARARE. — South Africa has started a military build-up along Namibia's northern border with Angola, say reports reaching here.

According to Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, a Namibia Press Agency (Nampa) dispatch from Windhoek said: "Reports from the north indicate South Africa has in recent days deployed about 50 000 troops along the frontier with Angola.

"Observers note that the heavy concentration of troops in the north and the non-implementation of Resolution 435 on November 1, coupled with bogging down of the quadripartite talks, indicate sinister South African motives in ongoing efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian conflict."

Asked for comment, an SADF spokesman said: "The Defence Force does not comment on such a poor attempt at disinformation."

Promised aid

● Nampa also reported that a delegation of international youth has just completed a two-week visit to Swapo's provisional headquarters in Luanda, Angola. Members pledged material assistance, especially scholarships, to schoolchildren who have fled Namibia to join Swapo in Angola, the report said.

● And in Washington, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said talks on Namibia's future were "very much continuing". He told Voice of America radio that "all sides in the talks have reiterated to us their commitment to bring the negotiations to a rapid and successful conclusion". — Sapa

Singing, chanting as Maggie meets Lech

GDANSK. — Huge crowds of singing, chanting Solidarity supporters gave British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher a noisy welcome here yesterday and union leader Mr Lech Walesa called her "fantastic".

They cheered, sang and chanted "Solidarity, Solidarity" as Mr Thatcher and Mr Walesa laid a wreath of red and white roses at a monument to workers killed in an anti-communist uprising.

In an emotional climax to her three-day visit to Poland, Mrs Thatcher was almost mobbed as she plunged into a crowd of tens of thousands who welcomed her in the Baltic port city where the banned union was born in 1980.

"I am very grateful that fate let me get to know such a fantastic Mrs Prime Minister," Mr Walesa told reporters.

"It has been for me a very moving visit ... We have had very interesting and very wonderful talks,"

Pick 'n Pay 'not always cheapest'

JOHANNESBURG. — TV1 should get suppliers to state their side of the retail pricing argument, the president of the Housewives' League, Mrs Lyn Morris, said yesterday. She denied that League surveys had shown Pick 'n Pay to be consistently cheapest.

Mrs Morris was reacting to Thursday's "Network" TV debate between Mr Clive Weil of Checkers and Mr

Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay about pricing in the retail sector.

Mrs Morris denied a claim by Mr Ackerman that League surveys showed "Pick 'n Pay prices were always the cheapest".

"Checkers has been challenging strongly and it and the other chains have in fact beaten Pick 'n Pay on occasions," she said. — Sapa

New worry in Namibia

Abduction of children rises

Star 7/11/88

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By Sara Martin

A recent upsurge in abductions of schoolchildren in Owamboland — allegedly by Swapo — is causing concern for Security Forces in Namibia.

Senior intelligence officers at Oshakati, at a press briefing last week, said that the number of schoolchildren missing since the ceasefire on September 1 has increased considerably.

Enticement over border

An unconfirmed figure of 430 people have left Owambo in the last few months — 75 percent of them believed to be children.

"The Swapo insurgents are using school boycotts in the area as a ploy to entice the children to cross the border into Angola," said an intelligence officer.

"Swapo is seeing the chance to politicise the children and make them believe that liberation is near."

In Owambo, no child will be able to write their final year examination this year because of the school boycotts here.

Two girls were enticed across the border on the pretext that they could sit exams in southern Angola. When the two girls arrived at Ongiva, they were horrified to find the town in ruins, and returned disillusioned.

"They were the lucky ones. Very few of them come back because of fear of intimidation," said the intelligence officer.

One of the main factors behind the school boycott in Namibia is believed to be the positioning of the schools near the SA military basis.

"Ironically," said the officer, "the schools were deliberately built near the bases to protect the children. Now they want them moved."

Seven schools destroyed

Since June, seven major schools in the area have been burnt down.

"The population of Owambo is in total disarray," said the officer. "They don't know what to expect."

"They are told that if Resolution 435 for the Independence of Namibia is not implemented shortly, they will escalate the war. If they don't win the election they won't stop the war."

Bins take trouble

Hopes to

Namibian leaders warn against rabble-rousing

Star 9/11/84

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The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Windhoek's Transitional Government has warned that it will not tolerate political rabble-rousing, whether it comes from left or right-wing extremists.

The government said in a statement issued in Windhoek yesterday that it would order a full investigation into a recent meeting held in Windhoek by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, with a view to

taking "appropriate steps" against people inciting others to act against public order.

Mr TerreBlanche was reported as telling members of his thousand-strong, whites-only audience that they should resist the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 settlement plan. They should also be prepared to fight as their forefathers had done.

The Transitional Government statement — signed by Cabinet chairman Mr Andreas Shipan-

ga — said the sort of "irresponsible and offensive behaviour" alleged to have occurred at the AWB meeting would invite a response "from the other side" and lead eventually to a "vicious circle of intimidation and violence".

Reports in the anti-government newspaper, *The Namibian*, noted that while security police were in evidence with their video cameras every time Swapo held a meeting, they were conspicuous by their absence at the AWB meeting.

Monitoring the peace — in five languages



Angolan and South African members of the JMMC, wearing the distinctive orange oversleeves used by all personnel of the commission, near Epupa Falls in Angola. A South African Puma helicopter, which makes regular trips to the eight monitoring posts, is in the background. ● Picture by: Dirk Heinrich

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — While the diplomats negotiate in Geneva and other foreign capitals for a political solution to the conflicts in Angola and Namibia, the soldiers are entrusted with keeping the peace on the ground.

The Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) formed to supervise the ceasefire along the border has set up eight monitoring posts with 22 South Africans and 22 Angolans or Cubans based at each.

The South African, Angolan and Cuban members of the commission meet regularly with the venue alternating between Angola and Namibia.

As at least five languages are spoken by those involved in the monitoring process, interpretation has become important.

The South Africans usually speak Afrikaans among themselves and use English to communicate with the Angolans and Cubans who, in turn, speak Portuguese and Spanish among themselves. In communicating with the local tribespeople, Herero is spoken.

Relations between the two sides at the monitoring posts are believed to be cordial. But both the SADF and the Department of Foreign Affairs have maintained an official silence on whether any violations of the ceasefire have been brought to the attention of the JMMC and, if so, whether any action has been taken to stop the violations.

The South West Africa Territory Force has reported several clashes with Swapo forces in northern Namibia since the South African forces withdrew from Angola in September and the ceasefire went into effect.

Namibia pre-independence Budget blues

Star 9/11/88

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WINDHOEK — No details have yet been released about the talks between Mr Dirk Mudge and Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and his experts, but there is sure to have been little comfort for the men from Windhoek.

Even though the November 1 target date for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 has slipped by, Pretoria maintains independence for Namibia will come, and that the territory should begin to stand on its own feet financially, or be helped by the international community.

According to South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, Pretoria will have provided budgetary assistance totalling R5 000 million to Namibia during the financial years 1980 to 1990. This figure excludes the millions spent in fighting the bush war against Swapo.

Calling the shots

Mr Mudge and Dr Jones will no doubt have been told at their talks in Pretoria about what, if anything, South Africa will contribute for Windhoek's 1989/90 Budget. This year, the direct South African subsidy was held at the 1987/88 level of R308 million.

This figure represents only 17,6 percent of the Windhoek Budget, and compares with a South African component in direct aid of 35,3 percent as recently as the 1986/87 accounts.

Pretoria also calls the shots as far as the Namibian slice of revenue

BY BRENDAN SEERY
The Star's Africa News Service
Namibian Finance Minister, Mr Dirk Mudge, and his top money man, Dr Johan Jones, returned home from talks in Pretoria this week with a king-size headache — how to balance next year's Namibian Budget.

Little cash, comfort expected from SA

from the Southern African Customs Union is concerned. For 1988/89, the South Africans raised the amount due to Namibia by R42 million to R392 million.

Even assuming South Africa sticks to the same amounts it gave Windhoek last year — and that seems unlikely — Mr Mudge and Dr Jones will again have to perform some fancy financial footwork to make ends meet.

The 1988/89 Budget here showed a massive predicted deficit of R774 million — down incredibly from the previous year's R150 million surplus. Financing this year's deficit left the Windhoek administration borrowed almost to the hilt.

It is unlikely, too, that some fairy godmother from the international community will come up with a financial transfusion — at least not until official independence.

For 1989/90, Mr Mudge and Dr Jones will also need to find huge injections of money for salary increases for civil servants.

would probably be considerably higher if the country was independent and operated its own border posts and customs system.

Also the Windhoek financial planners have to contend with the wasteful legacies of apartheid — the 10 separate "ethnic" administrations, which between them will consume R447 million (often corruptly and inefficiently) during 1988/89.

Independence would also, hopefully, trim the current spending by the Windhoek authorities of about R500 million annually on the police and SWA Territory Force.

Those considerations, unfortunately for Mr Mudge, will be in the backs of the minds of Namibians when he is forced to tell them next year they will have to tighten their belts. One way of raising money would be to boost GST from the current level of nine percent.

Messengers

Another would be to raise rates of income tax, which are currently slightly lower than in South Africa. Whatever Mr Mudge and his financial advisers choose to do, they will not be popular as the messengers who bring the bad news.

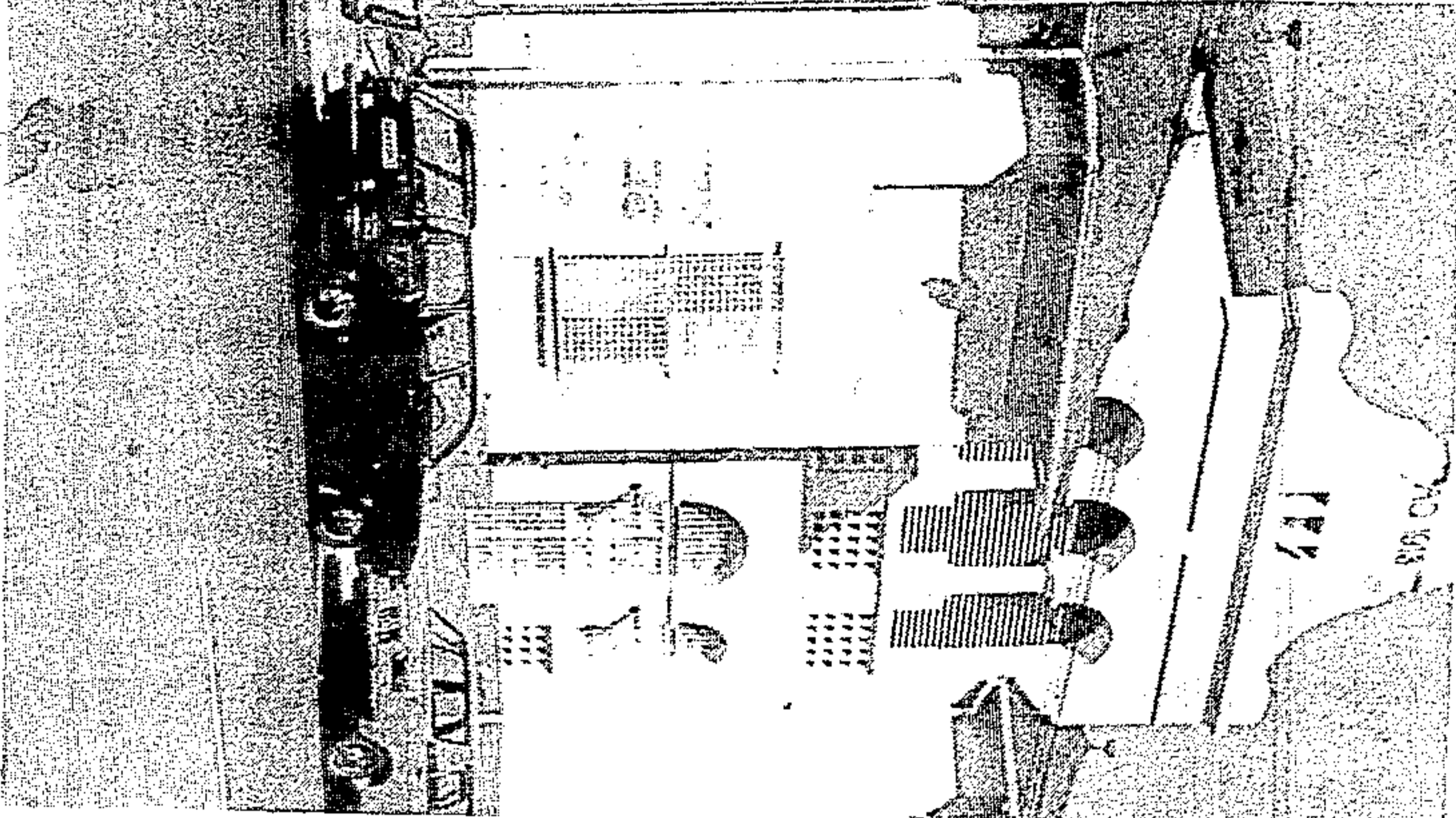
And popularity, or a positive public image, will be vital in the months ahead, as Mr Mudge hits the 435 election campaign trail as leader of the anti-Swapo Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, and tries to convince Namibians that he, and not Sam Nujoma, can find the road that will lead them to the Land of Milk and Honey.



Mr Barend du Plessis ... not much to give.



Mr Dirk Mudge ... looking for more funds.



The Turnhalle, Windhoek. Mr Mudge must now convince members.

9/10/88
Churchmen (221)

appeal dismissed

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Appeal Court here yesterday dismissed, with costs, the appeals of three bishops and their churches in Namibia against the dismissal of an application that curfew provisions in Ovambo were invalid.

The churchmen are: James Hamupanda Kauluma (Anglican Diocese of Namibia), Bonafatius Haushiku (Roman Catholic Church Diocese of Windhoek) and Kleofas Dumeni (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia). — Sapa

Appeal for safety after Zambezi shooting

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — The chairman of the
Cabinet in Windhoek's government, Mr
Andreas Shipanga, has appealed to
South Africa and Botswana to "give se-
rious consideration" to improving the
safety of Namibians fishing in the sen-
sitive Zambezi river border area be-
tween this territory and Botswana.

The Minister's appeal comes after an
incident in which one Namibian was

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killed and two others went missing
after coming under fire from a Bo-
tswana Defence Force patrol.

According to two survivors, the Bo-
tswana soldiers fired on the Namibians
for no apparent reason.

A spokesman for the South African
Department of Foreign Affairs in
Windhoek said an official report of the
incident had been handed to the Bo-
tswana authorities yesterday.

Swapo threat to
resume bush war

Step 10/11
HARARE — Swapo secretary-general, Mr Ad-dimba Toivo ya Toivo, said yesterday Swapo would resume the bush war against South African rule in Namibia if an independence plan for the territory did not begin by January 1. — Reuter.

'Final' SA-Angola talks begin in Geneva

CAPE TOWN 11/11/88
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From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Delegations from South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States arrived here yesterday for what could be the final round of talks before the signing of an agreement to end hostilities in southern Angola and bring independence to Namibia.

Chief mediator Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State, was locked in talks with his Soviet counterpart Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

US officials believe the Soviets might now be prepared to exert pressure on the Cubans and Angolans to accept a US synthesis paper which sets January 1 as the target date for the beginning of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia.

The South Africans also believe that having hedged their bets at the beginning of the talks, the Soviets are now prepared to play a more influential role, now that a settlement is in the offing.

Although the South African delegation is unhappy with certain aspects of the synthesis paper, it has indicated that it is prepared to be flexible about it.

It has not yet been made public whether the US has received a response to the paper from the Angolans and Cubans, but the fact that the South Africans, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, are here is an indication that there has been some movement on this question.

The South Africans have made it clear that without a substantive response from the other sides it will be difficult for them to attend further talks.

The synthesis paper, which will form the basis of the discussions which get under way today, calls for the withdrawal of 4 000 Cuban troops before January 1.

During the implementation of Resolution 435, SA troops in Namibia will be reduced to 1 500, based at Oshivello and Grootfontein, within three months.

To ease understandable SA fears as a result of this, the paper provides for the withdrawal of Cuban troops at a rate of 3 500 a month. In addition all Cuban troops are to withdraw north of the 15th parallel by March 31, 1989 and north of the 13th parallel, just south of the Benguela railway line, a month before August 1, which is the target date for elections. By this formula half the Cuban troops will have left by the time of the Namibian elections.

After the elections, the paper says, 75% of the remaining Cuban troops should be withdrawn in the first year and the rest in the following year.

The Cubans and Angolans have not made public the reason for their delay in responding to these proposals, but it is believed their main concern is for Angolan security.

Diplomats also believe the Cubans and Angolans were waiting for the result of the US elections in the hope that Mr Michael Dukakis, who had pledged to stop aid to Unita, would win.

Namibian 'ethnic' road closes

22) The Star's Africa News Service ^{Star} 11/11/87

WINDHOEK — The Cabinet of the transitional government voted yesterday not to renew the terms of office of the territory's 10 "ethnic" administrations.

The system was installed by South African decree in 1980, and has been renewed by proclamation by Pretoria's Administrator-General ever since.

This time, if the Administrator-General follows the Cabinet recommendation and does not renew the terms of office, then the various ethnic groups will have the option of holding elections.

There have been no general ethnic elections this decade and in some cases, ethnic administrations were simply appointed. Mr Mudge said, however, that ethnic elections would immediately fall away if the UN Resolution 435 peace plan is agreed upon.

SA 221

Soviet rift at

Star 12/11/84
SUE LEMMAN

GENEVA — The Angola/Namibia peace talks appear to be on track here, despite some early differences of approach between the Soviets and the South Africans.

Yesterday the South Africans were downplaying reports of a rift between them and the Soviets over remarks by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

At a press conference on Thursday night, Mr Adamishin stressed that he believed the gaps between the parties could be bridged in this round of talks.

But South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is leading the South African delegation, said Mr Adamishin had often criticised South Africa for not pulling out of Namibia.

South African officials made it clear yesterday that bilateral talks were going ahead and they expected joint talks to follow.

Mr van Heerden met US mediator Dr Chester Crocker early yesterday.

He said he was keen to hear from Dr Crocker whether the Angolans and Cubans had responded to the US "synthesis paper" on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal. The paper was issued after the last round of talks in New York in October.

The South Africans have said that they are "perplexed" at what they see as a lack of response from the other side. American sources have indicated that a response has been made, but are not saying what it entails.

Dr Crocker was also expected to meet the Angolan and Cuban delega-

tions yesterday, and a plenary session of all the parties is expected to follow.

Robin Drew reports from Harare that the Swapo secretary-general, former Robben Island prisoner Hermann Toivo ja Toivo, has said that a free Namibia will follow a socialist programme — but that this would take a long time to implement, as the territory's economy was so tied to South Africa's.

He said a Swapo government would work towards freeing the economy from South Africa and distributing the land to its rightful owners — the Namibian people.

His views were given in an interview in Harare with *The Herald*, which quoted him as saying: "We will negotiate agreements with the multinational companies — who are illegally exploiting Namibian resources — to train our people."

"In reality, all those who went into Namibia in defiance of Resolution 435 will have to pay reparations."

"These reparations may be in the form of their agreeing to train our people. If they don't agree, they can leave the country."

On the land question, he said a Swapo government would have to acquire land to the best of its ability.

"We have farms which are owned by foreigners, some of these lying idle or under-utilised. But we are not going to nationalise the land."

Mr Toivo ja Toivo is in Harare attending a meeting of east and southern African parliamentary officials.

SWAPO

Peace talks on track, says Crocker

From SUE LEEMAN

The Argus Foreign Service

GENEVA. — The Angolan-Namibian peace talks are on track and could be reaching a "decisive point", according to US mediator Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker told a briefing of journalists that the Americans agreed with the assessment of the Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, that agreement could be reached now.

Referring to the long-awaited plenary session which had just been postponed, Dr Crocker said all the parties preferred working at a bilateral level, "because when you reach an end-game you don't do it in a plenary session."

He said the US had made no proposals in Geneva but had simply relayed each side's position to the other.

He said there was a definite indication from all the parties that they were willing for a settlement — but not at just any price.

There had been a narrowing of differences on three fronts: what would happen between now and the start of Namibia's transition to independence, the extent of Cuban withdrawal and the "rate and rhythm" of withdrawal at various points.

"It is an objective fact that we have never been closer to an agreement. But if people de-

side they cannot go the extra mile you will see a rapid change of atmosphere."

● Attempts to set a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola are set to run into a fourth day here today amid signs that some progress is being made.

Another scheduled all-party discussion was postponed at the last moment last night and is now set for today.

But American sources said the delay was not to be considered an ominous sign.

Common ground

It was Dr Crocker's wish to hold further bilateral meetings with the individual parties before getting them round the table. It is believed he wants to make sure there is as much common ground as possible before starting a joint session.

The Cubans and Angolans had earlier told Dr Crocker of their response to the compromise proposals tabled by the Americans after the last round of talks, in New York in October.

Dr Crocker communicated their position to the South Africans, who have responded in turn.

The South Africans are understood to have seen the Angolan-Cuban response as something on which further constructive negotiating can be based. Sources said the talks were still very much "in motion."

Savimbi launches hit-and-run offensive

The Argus Foreign Service

LUANDA. — The Angolan rebel group Unita has launched a new offensive as the peace talks in Geneva continue.

Unita has perhaps most to lose from the talks, and in the past few months Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas have demonstrated their ability to strike in almost any part of Angola.

Last week a bomb in the second city, Huambo, killed three people and severely damaged two factories. Cubal in the coastal province of Benguela was also attacked, official sources said, and a number of people were abducted.

HEAVY LOSSES

Even the area around Luanda is apparently unsafe. Diplomats say Funda, a few kilometres from the capital, was the scene of heavy government losses in a Unita ambush two weeks ago.

They quoted witnesses who saw truckloads of dead and wounded government Fapla soldiers coming back from Funda.

Official sources are playing down the Funda attack, but ministers admit the difficulties of dealing with Unita, given the continuing support for Savimbi from Washington and Pretoria.

The "fantoche" (puppets), they say, are putting on a show to keep their backers mindful of their importance and guarding against a deal that would leave them on the sidelines.

Since the departure of their South African allies in September, Unita's plans to establish a "liberated zone," either around Jamba in the south-east, or Quimbele on the Zairean border, appear to have been shelved. Instead, small guerrilla bands have spread throughout the country, attacking and then melting into the bush.

Namibian exam papers leaked

The Star's Africa News Service

(22)

Star 14/11/88

WINDHOEK — Examination results of thousands of Std 8 pupils across Namibia have been cancelled after the discovery that question as well as answer papers were stolen and sold to candidates.

All Std 8 pupils at schools controlled by the Department of National Education have had their exam results cancelled and will sit for new tests.

Die Republikein newspaper reported yesterday that the papers had been taken at an advanced stage in the printing process and that copies were being sold to pupils for between R15 and R52. Memoranda for those marking the papers had also been stolen.

Department of National Education officials first learnt of the theft through an anonymous tip-off. After the exams had been written, they noticed that answers in some candidates' papers exactly matched those given in memoranda to markers.

The department said in a statement that all Std 8 exam results had been declared void and that planning was under way to have the tests rewritten before the end of this term.

The possibility could not be ruled out that there had been an "organised attempt" to penetrate the department's security systems. The matter was in the hands of the police, it said.

Fourth day for Namibia talks

221

APR 7 1988
14/11/88

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — The four-nation peace talks under way here enter an unscheduled fourth day this morning as the delegations gradually edge towards a possible agreement that will bring independence to Namibia.

At this stage it seems highly unlikely the target date of January 1 for the beginning of the implementation of Resolution 435 will be reached, but the word from the US and Soviet mediators was that all parties were showing flexibility.

The SA delegation, led by the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, learnt for the first time late on Saturday afternoon what the Cuban and Angolan response to proposals put forward by the US mediators in New York was.

The South Africans had responded three days after the New York talks, saying that they were prepared to be flexible towards the proposals which call for 4 000 Cuban troops to be withdrawn by January 1 and half the present strength to be out of Angola a month before August 1, the target date for Namibian elections.

Mr Van Heerden warned there was still much ground to cover, but the fact that the South Africans have agreed to extend the talks by a further day is an indication that the Cubans and Angolans have shown some degree of flexibility towards the proposals.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin said before the talks that the differences in positions over Cuban troop withdrawals was not that great. He was "cautiously optimistic" that an agreement could be reached here.

Hopes kept alive at Geneva talks

CAN TWS 15/11/88 221

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — The South African delegation to the peace talks here last night cancelled plans to leave for home amid indications that the other parties were prepared to concede ground on Cuban troop withdrawals.

The apparent concession keeps alive hopes that agreement can be reached here to bring independence to Namibia.

The leader of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, said after meeting US chief mediator Dr Chester Crocker that his delegation would be working throughout the night. He would provide no further details as to what had persuaded them to stay.

However, an SA spokesman said the fact that the parties were hard at work was an indication that progress was being made.

"We have received an indication that progress can be made. That's why we are still here."

The SA delegation also met the Cubans and Angolans yesterday to discuss the verification of Cuban troop withdrawals and UN Resolution 435.

After Dr Crocker said on Sunday night that agreement had never been

closer, Mr Van Heerden yesterday morning dampened optimism by saying they had received little else besides "optimistic characterisations" and "upbeat prognoses" from the Cuban and Angolan camps.

Mr Van Heerden said he had booked to leave later in the day and would do so unless it seemed that concrete progress could be achieved.

But soon after he had spoken, a US official said the situation had changed and the talks were still on course.

Later Mr Van Heerden confirmed that the South Africans had cancelled their bookings. He would not say why, but given his earlier statements it would appear likely that the Cubans and Angolans had conceded ground.

The SA delegation leader said in the morning that he was frustrated because the talks had made very little progress since they had arrived here.

"We are ready to deal but we don't need optimistic characterisations, we need substance. We don't need these upbeat prognoses."

SA officials said the Cubans were past masters at putting out indications that settlement was near while delivering very little at the actual talks.

UN'S 435 is 'full of gaps' ^{Stevenson} 221

The UN Resolution 435 is a mysterious document in which numerous concessions to South Africa have been hidden, warns US lawyer Ms Elisabeth Landis.

THE HAGUE — The UN's Resolution 435, which outlines the requirements for Namibian independence, is "full of gaps and is a very mysterious United Nations document in which numerous concessions to South Africa have been hidden".

This warning was issued by American lawyer Ms Elisabeth Landis, a former legal assistant for the Namibia Commission at the UN.

Discussing details of Resolution 435 at a public meeting in The Hague recently, Ms Landis said the vaguest parts of Resolution 435 were the lack of details concerning the registration of voters; the position of Walvis Bay and the requirement that South African soldiers would have to "withdraw to SA territory" during the election.

"Supposing South Africa withdraws its troops, could this be done to Walvis Bay? That would mean that 100 000 South African soldiers are based in Walvis Bay, in the middle of Namibia, and only an hour's flight away from any spot in Namibia."

She said when visiting Namibia with a UN team in 1978, she noticed South Africa was registering voters — but not alphabetically.

"How could one check whether or not someone was registered on non-



What will happen to the 30 000 SWATF members in Namibia? asks Ms Elisabeth Landis.

alphabetical lists? And moreover, the South Africans were saying anyone born in Walvis Bay would not be eligible to vote as it wasn't part of Namibia."

Ms Landis also questioned the presence of 30 000 SWATF (SWA Territorial Forces) members, who are under the control of the SADF.

"Could these men also be withdrawn since they are practically all Namibians?"

"And what about Koevoet and other special troops, are they considered South African troops? Should they be returned there or ordered to remain at their bases in Namibia? Would they become part

of the existing police force and maintain law and order during the elections? What kind of elections will those be, when those kind of people (Koevoet) will be in the vicinity. Resolution 435 does not clearly state any of these details."

Ms Landis said Resolution 435 also did not provide any kind of power to the special UN representative — and he would not be able to prevent or withstand any trouble during elections.

She claims the Western Contact Group and South Africa have a large number of "secret agreements" with one another — some of which have circulated at the United

Nations as official documents.

"South Africa said it would accept Chananian soldiers as United Nations peacekeeping forces, but not Nigerians, for instance."

She had seen other "less official" documents at the UN which dealt with the demilitarised zone between Angola and Namibia.

"Finally we were also told that there were secret agreements between Swapo and the United Nations as well."

Her final conclusion was that Resolution 435 was "a totally mysterious document. Nobody really knows what it does and everyone is in the dark about its intent."

GENEVA — The SA delegation to the peace talks cancelled plans last night to leave for home amid indications that the other parties were prepared to concede ground on Cuban troop withdrawals, thereby keeping alive hopes for agreement on Namibian independence.

After chief mediator Chester Crocker said on Sunday night agreement had never been closer, SA delegation leader Neil van Heerden dampened optimism by saying they had received little else besides "optimistic characterisations" and "upbeat prognoses" from the Cuban and Angolan camps since arriving here.

Hopes of agreement on Namibia remain alive

MIKE ROBERTSON

Van Heerden said he had booked to leave later in the day and would do so unless concrete progress could be achieved. But soon afterwards a US official said the talks were still on course.

Later Van Heerden confirmed the South Africans had cancelled their bookings. He would not say why, but given his earlier statements it seemed the Cubans and Angolans had conceded ground.

Namibian Nats talk of Botha 'guarantees'

221 The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, has given the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) a guarantee that South Africa will intervene at any stage "before, during or after" the Resolution 435 implementation process if it appears that any of the parties involved are breaching the terms of the UN peace plan.

The party's deputy leader, Mr Jan de Wet, told a meeting in Keetmanshoop last night that the guarantee had been given by Mr Botha when representatives met him in Pretoria at the time of the visit of the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Mr De Wet was quoted by SWABC radio news as saying Mr Botha had assured the people of Namibia that the Republic would step in if it appeared also that the democratic process was being subverted.

Mr De Wet said President

Botha had "guaranteed" that South Africa would immediately halt the Resolution 435 process if it appeared there were any incidents of violence or intimidation.

The NP-SWA leader said his party had also been assured by Mr Botha that the guarantee also held if there was any failure to honour the agreed timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

Mr De Wet's remarks were made at a meeting before an election today to fill a vacancy in the Keetmanshoop constituency of the white Legislative Assembly.

Polling also takes place today in Tsumeb, where there is also a vacant white Assembly seat.

The only parties contesting the election are the NP-SWA and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). Both parties are campaigning on a platform of opposition to the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 independence plan.

Endorsement likely at Brazzaville

Namibian peace plan deal struck

(221)
Bldg
16/11/88

GENEVA — Delegations to the peace talks yesterday accepted a draft agreement on Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola which, if approved by governments, would lead to independence for Namibia.

A wave of excitement swept through the hotel where the talks have been taking place when SA delegation leader Neil van Heerden said it was conceivable enough ground could be covered to produce a document which governments would formally endorse at the final round in Brazzaville.

As the delegations gathered in the hotel for their first plenary meeting, the first indication that a breakthrough had been achieved came when staff delivered eight bottles of champagne for the diplomats to toast their success.



● VAN HEERDEN

The parties agreed to take a document home for their governments' approval. The document outlines new US proposals for the redeployment, and staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Cuban delegation leader Carlos Aldana, asked about his country's troops in Angola, said: "We are ready to bring them home. It is time."

"We are satisfied. It has been a laborious and intense process. With a constructive will we are moving towards Brazzaville."

MIKE ROBERTSON

Van Heerden, who left immediately to catch a plane home, said that "depending on the reaction of governments this could open the way to a final round in Brazzaville. The Brazzaville meeting would be more in the way of a formal signing sort of round".

Stressing always that everything was subject to the approval of governments, Van Heerden said the Brazzaville signing would be followed by a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola to provide for Cuban troop withdrawals.

SA, Cuba and Angola would also sign an agreement to "put into formal language what we have been negotiating about for the past eight or nine rounds".

Once those agreements had been signed the parties would notify the UN secretary-general, who would set a date for the implementation of UN resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia.

Van Heerden said it had been decided not to set dates, as unless it was 100% certain these dates could be met "you keep running into your own failure and it leads to disbelief, pessimism and scepticism".

It was a measure of the sincerity of all parties that they could agree not to set a date, but to work towards one as soon as possible.

He said: "If I were to characterise these talks I would say the one outstanding element in this round was the appar-

● To Page 2

Delegations strike deal over Namibia

ent sincerity and seriousness with which all parties approached them."

The timetable and rate of Cuban troop withdrawals put forward by the Americans at the last meeting in New York had been superceded.

"But the basic format remains the same. We have done some fine tuning to narrow the gaps. All of this is embodied in a final document put forward by the Americans which represents their best shot at all the things which we, the Cubans and Angolans have been saying."

Van Heerden said the document had already been conveyed to Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. It would go to the full Cabinet for approval.

He was sure the document would be dealt with expeditiously as he and SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys had kept in

close touch with their ministers, who were briefing the rest of the Cabinet.

Angolan delegation leader Antonio Dos Santos Franca Ndalú said the "experts" attending the talks were happy with what had been achieved, but government approval was necessary before it could be called an agreement".

□ Sapa reports from Pretoria that Pik Botha said no conclusion could be made at this stage on whether what happened in the Geneva talks would be acceptable to government.

He said: "It is also not possible to indicate at this stage when government will make public its position with regard to the latest proposals."

"There are serious and complicated implications at stake."

(221) Bldg
From Page 1
16/11/88

Exam paper theft: former education official held

220
SW/6/11/68

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — A former official of the Department of National Education in Windhoek has been arrested in connection with the alleged theft of exam papers, which has caused chaos in the year-end nationwide exams.

The man, who is said to have worked in the sorting and distribution section of the department, is understood to have at first taken the papers and given them to family and friends.

However, the papers, and some revision and marking memoranda, found their way on to the black market, where they were selling to pupils for between R15 and R50.

The Department of National Education has cancelled all the results of Std 8 examinations, which were completed recently, and has ordered a total re-write by all pupils.

Officials in the department's Windhoek headquarters are reported to be working day and night to have an estimated 1,5 million pages of examination questions ready for November 21, when the tests will be re-written.

A police spokesman said the arrested man was still being questioned and he is expected to appear in court soon.

Behind talks boreal through

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The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

IN spite of having to gain final approval of the draft text from their governments, there is no doubt that the delegates to the Angola-SWA/Namibia peace talks in Geneva feel they have "broken the back of the negotiations".

This is the view of Christopher Powell of the BBC in a comment on the agreement on a framework for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"A dozen bottles of champagne were drunk to celebrate the completion of the provisional accord," he said. "The negotiators had much to be grateful for because since this round of talks began in May, they have whittled down the number of suggested time scales for the pull-out of Cuban troops from over 40 to just one."

However, he quoted an American official as warning that there was still much work to be done on the details of the accord. For instance, no date had been set for the start of the Cuban troop withdrawal or the granting of independence to SWA/Namibia.

South Africa's chief negotiator, Mr Neil van Heerden, speaking on BBC radio, explained why. "We are leaving that to see how we progress with the final agreement. And that will then automatically be determined in the final round."

No details of the agreement have been made public, but it is likely to have been based on a time scale suggested by the United States. This provides for a Cuban troop withdrawal phased over two years. Achieving the compromise

had not been easy, as the head of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, explained through an interpreter. "It has been very laborious, sometimes very tense. We cannot say it has been an easy job."

All three delegations were cautious about predicting the political response of their governments. But if the draft text is accepted, there will be one more meeting in Brazzaville, Congo, to complete the details and to sign a formal and binding agreement.

The way could now be open for significant changes in Southern Africa, according to Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern African correspondent, reporting from Johannesburg.

"If the agreement is ratified, it could mark the beginning of the end of any significant involvement in the affairs of Africa by Cuban forces who, for the past decade, have propped up the beleaguered Angolan government and intervened in other countries' disputes.

"The provisional agreement also demonstrates the resolve of Mr Gorbachev to extricate the Soviet Union from costly, unrewarding commitments in regional conflicts. Officials from Moscow were in the wings both in Geneva and at previous discussions.

"In addition, the way now lies open for the independence of Namibia, Africa's last colony.

"Only a few months ago the likelihood of South Africa surrendering the territory, its final buffer zone, was thought impossible. But the cost, human and economic, of holding on to this sparsely populated desert country has begun to tell."

The package agreed by the negotiators in Geneva has something for everyone, says Michael Holman of the Financial Times, in a lengthy article on the background to the breakthrough.

"If it is ratified by the respective governments, Cuba will be able to claim that its force played a decisive role and its men will go home with honour. Angola will be closer to the peace it desperately needs. South Africa will

lose a colony but will claim it forced the Cubans out of Southern Africa.

"Swapo will almost certainly win office, although its authority will be severely constrained by economic dependence on South Africa. The US will take credit for a diplomatic triumph."

Only two groups will have misgivings, he adds. "The African National Congress is likely to have its guerrillas excluded from both Angola and Namibia, and Unita will lose Pretoria's military support under the deal."

Pressures from the super-powers, the growing cost of the war in northern SWA/Namibia and southern Angola, and the existence of a UN plan for SWA/Namibia's independence agreed in principle almost a decade ago, all

played their part, says Holman.

Holman says the prospect of tougher Western sanctions against South Africa may recede as Britain and the United States will doubtless use the settlement to argue that negotiated change is shown to be possible.

"And should the settlement be followed by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the detained ANC leader, Mr Botha will be better equipped to pursue his diplomatic forays into black Africa."

The news about a Cuban withdrawal from Angola coincided with confirmation in Moscow that Mr Gorbachev will be going to Havana next month immediately after a visit to the United Nations in New York and just before going to Britain.

Key political and military events in Angola and SWA

KEY political and military events in negotiations for peace in Angola and independence for SWA/Namibia:

April 6, 1987: American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker meets Angolan Interior Minister Alexandre Rodrigues in Brazzaville resuming contacts suspended for 15 months.

July 14-16: Dr Crocker and Angolan leaders in Luanda discuss southwestern Africa, independence for SWA/Namibia. United States says Angola has no new proposals.

August 1: Angola and Cuba offer flexibility over Cuban withdrawal. August-September: Angolan offensive against Unita rebels.

September 8-10: Dr Crocker in Luanda discusses SWA/Namibia independence, Cuban withdrawal.

September 13: South African forces join Unita to halt Angolan offensive at Lomba River.

January 15, 1988: Cuban and Angolan forces claim to repel South African assault on strategic south

Angolan garrison of Cuito Cuanavale. January 29: Cuba joins United States-Angola talks in Luanda.

February 1: United States says Angola accepts idea of total Cuban withdrawal.

March: Cuban troops move south toward SWA/Namibia.

March 10: Angola and Cuba propose phased Cuban withdrawal.

May 3: South Africa, Angola and Cuba open peace talks in London with Dr Crocker mediating.

May 13: South African Foreign Minister Pk Botha holds talks with Angolans in Brazzaville.

June 2: President Fidel Castro confirms Cuban troops close to SWA/Namibia border. Western diplomats estimate Cuban strength in Angola reinforced to 50 000 from 40 000.

June 24: Mr Pk Botha leads South Africans to stormy negotiations in Cairo. Angola and Cuba reject Pretoria's proposals.

June 27: Fighting near South African-defended Caluque Dam just inside Angola.

July 13: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with United States mediating, agree principles at New York meeting for South African and Cuban withdrawal from Angola, SWA/Namibia independence.

August 5: Negotiators in Geneva agree ceasefire in southern Angola, South African withdrawal by September 1, set November 1 as target to begin implementing United Nations blueprint for SWA/Namibia independence.

August 26: South Africa, Angola and Cuba fail to set timetable for Cuban withdrawal at Brazzaville meeting.

August 30: South African troops leave Angola.

September 9: Negotiators in Brazzaville fail to agree timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

September 21-24: United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar holds talks in Angola and South Africa.

September 29: American-mediated talks in Brazzaville reported favouring compromise on Cuban withdrawal timetable.

October 1: Parallel summits. President P W Botha meets President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire; presidents of Angola, Gabon and Congo meet in Congo. Luanda rules out power sharing with Unita.

October 2: United Nations officials in SWA/Namibia to study logistics of organising elections in proposed November 1-June 1 transition to independence.

October 7: Angola, Cuba and South Africa hold informal talks in New York.

October 20-29: Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visits leaders of Communist China, North Korea and Soviet Union.

November 1: Target date for starting SWA/Namibia independence passes without agreement. — Sapa-Reuters.

Cubans

Cubans will

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CAPE TOWN 16/11/88 (221)

Champagne toast to a new accord

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Champagne corks popped as Cuba, Angola and South Africa met with United States mediator Dr Chester Crocker at a hotel here yesterday after the delegations accepted a draft agreement on Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola.

The agreement could lead to independence for Namibia.

At the end of five days of intensive talks on the timing of a Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence, SA delegation leader Mr Neil van Heerden said it was conceivable that enough ground had been covered here to produce a document which governments would formally endorse at the final round in Brazzaville.

The parties agreed to take the document — which outlines new US proposals for the redeployment, staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops — home for their governments' approval.

'Formal signing'

Asked about his country's troops in Angola, Cuban delegation leader Mr Carlos Aldana said: "We are ready to bring them home. It is time."

Mr Van Heerden said that "depending on the reaction of governments", this could open the way to a final round in Brazzaville. "The Brazzaville meeting would be more in the way of a formal signing sort of round."

The Brazzaville signing would be followed by a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola to provide for Cuban troop withdrawals.

SA, Cuba and Angola would also sign an agreement to "put into formal language (what) we have been negotiating about".

'Best shot'

Once these agreements had been signed, a date will be set for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia.

"We have done some fine tuning to narrow the gaps. All of this is embodied in a final document put forward by the Americans which represents their best shot at all the things which we, the Cubans and Angolans have been saying," said Mr Van Heerden.

In a statement the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said it was not yet possible to say whether the agreement reached in Geneva would be acceptable to the South African government. "There are serious and complicated implications at stake," the statement said.



Martti Ahtisaari



Chester Crocker

Namibia deal

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Formal recognition of the Geneva agreement by the South African, Cuban and Angolan governments was necessary before United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibian independence could be set into motion, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special envoy to the territory, said last night.

Mr Ahtisaari said the UN would require at least two months after that agreement is signed to prepare its forces.

The most recent estimate of the cost of implementing Resolution 435 was \$600 million (about R1 440m), which the UN planned to raise by a separate appeal from development funds.

Mr Ahtisaari said the UN would only be charged with supervising elections for a constituent assembly. South Africa would be responsible for administering the elections.

Resolution 435 stipulated that it would take seven months from the beginning of implementation to the constituent assembly elections.

● Chief US mediator Dr Chester Crocker said that following the Brazzaville meeting a package of interlocking agreements was envisaged.

He said the US had been in regular contact with the Soviet Union throughout the meeting here — a contact he described as being "very constructive".

It had brought about a situation where the parties had now agreed to submit a single timetable for their governments' approval.

(621) 8/2009 17/11/88

TRAVELLING to the airport on the day he clinched a draft agreement which could bring independence to Namibia, South African delegation leader Neil van Heerden sat clutching a bunch of fresh basil. His lap was covered with salt that had spilt when he offered to hold a reporter's tape recorder.

The salt and basil were presented in jest to Van Heerden by correspondents who, recalling his frequent use of a "recipe" analogy to characterise the state of play in the negotiations, offered to provide the vital ingredients themselves rather than spend another day in the world's third most expensive city.

If, as Van Heerden says, the give and take on timetables, rate and rhythm of Cuban troop withdrawals provided the final touches to the "recipe" to be presented to the South African, Angolan and Cuban governments for approval, the first and most crucial ingredient — all parties agree — was the change in Soviet foreign policy brought about by Mikhail Gorbachev.

UN special envoy to Namibia Martti Ahtisaari, who has witnessed more negotiations on the future of south-western Africa than most, says "the decisive factor here was the support of the Soviet Union".

For the first time, he says, an African issue was discussed by superpowers at summit level and from that flowed agreement to try and work together to solve regional issues.

Van Heerden's deputy, Herbert Benkes, agrees. The Cubans and Angolans, he says, bristle at any suggestion that the Soviets can tell them what to do. He believes, however, that influence is exerted not by crude "arm-twisting" but in more subtle ways.

Chief mediator and US Under Secretary of State Chester Crocker — who has continually stressed the close working relationship he has had with Soviet observer Vladilen Vasev — says the superpowers have during the process learned how to deal with regional issues.

A recipe at last for independence for Namibia?

MIKE ROBERTSON in Geneva

But as Ahtisaari points out, even superpower influence is limited, and for the process to have got as far as it has all parties will have to have been persuaded that they are getting something positive out of it.

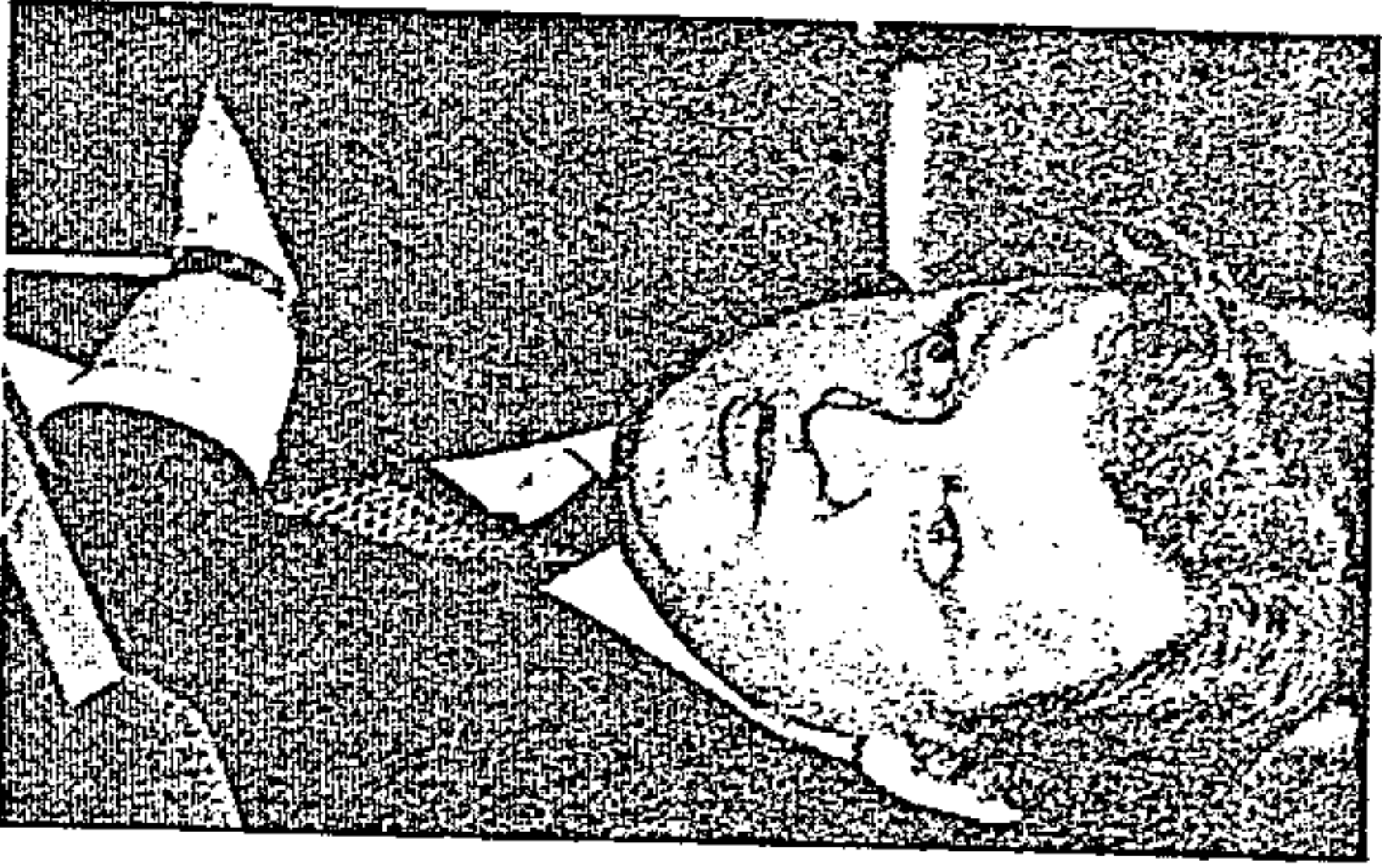
For SA, the decision to embark on the negotiation process can almost certainly be traced to the military setback at Cuito Cuanavale and the growing realisation that the once all-conquering SADF had overstretched itself.

A decade of war had produced in that FAPLA an army which could not easily be discounted. For the first time the death toll amongst SA troops began to reach significant proportions.

With sanctions beginning to limit the growth potential of an already inefficient economy, hard questions began to be asked about the country's ability to wage a costly war, even if ending it meant providing ammunition for SA's extreme right.

Angola, a potentially rich country, has long seen its economy in perilous decline. A British diplomat based there for several years observes that, apart from the army and the oil fields (run by American companies), little else works.

But developing FAPLA into a not insignificant fighting force costs money, so does maintaining 50 000 Cubans; and Soviet support does not



□ AHTISAARI... "decisive factor was support of the Soviet Union"

run to allowing Angola to get away without prompt payment for the sophisticated radar equipment, anti-aircraft batteries and MIG fighter jets that have enabled it to stand up to the South Africans.

If this draft agreement is approved by the governments, the MPLA still has to face the threat posed by Jonas Savimbi's Unita, an enemy which — even when it loses its South African support — the ruling party in Luanda cannot hope to defeat.

The MPLA's fear that it will not be able to cope with Unita once the Cubans are withdrawn provided the last real stumbling block to potential agreement being reached here.

However, its delegation — led by army Chief-of-Staff Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca — appears to have decided that the benefits of ending hostilities with SA outweigh this negative factor.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin says the Angolan government wants a political solution to its internal problems and has taken significant steps in this direction.

Although the African initiative to bring about internal settlement is not believed to have made much progress so far, the fact that the Angolan delegation agreed to a timetable for Cuban withdrawal here is an indication that the MPLA is prepared to show at least some seriousness in coming to an arrangement with Unita within the period it takes for the Cubans to leave.

Understanding what has motivated the Cubans to come so close to agreement is more difficult. The war in southern Angola is a pet project of Fidel Castro, who is believed to be in regular contact with his commanders there.

Cuba certainly will not welcome the prospect of resettling and finding jobs for 55 000 battle-hardened soldiers at a time when its economy is growing at a rate of just 1.4% (1987).

However, African leaders are becoming increasingly outspoken in their opposition to the Cuban presence in Africa — Kenya being the latest. This pressure from the Soviets and the tantalising prospect of being able to claim a large amount of credit for having brought independence to Namibia have combined to persuade Havana to go this far.

Another factor which cannot be ignored is the role played by Crocker, who after eight fruitless years, finally perceived an achievable goal in sight. Although he inspires little affection, Crocker is thought by all parties to have been a determined and effective mediator.

The negotiators, too, have got to know each other as the talks have progressed and, as Van Heerden says, this has resulted in a "willingness to see the other side's point of view and not always stand on a hard and fast quid pro quo".

A final factor was probably the election of George Bush. The Angolans and Cubans stalled in replying to the New York compromise proposals awaiting the outcome of the US elections. But with a Bush victory and the knowledge that there would be no change in the US policy of supporting Unita, they realised agreement here represented the best deal they could get.

The whole process has come a long way since the first round in London, when South African and Cuban and Angolan troops were still staring down gun barrels at each other.

Much could still go wrong, but if the governments show the same flexibility as their diplomats, the recipe produced on November 15, 1988, in Geneva could turn out to be a historic one which changed the course of events in Southern Africa.

Winds of scepticism fan Namibia

WINDHOEK. — Namibians have been warned not to be "too overtly optimistic" about independence after this week's tripartite agreement on Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The Geneva talks ended this week with the proposed agreement being taken back to the respective governments for approval.

Swapo's foreign affairs secretary on the home front, Mr Niko Bessinger, said here this week that it was now up to the governments of

South Africa, Cuba and Angola to demonstrate the political will to respond favourably to the proposals.

"One must accept that all technical and logistical issues have been resolved to the satisfaction of the negotiating technical teams," he said.

"According to their reports, implementation of Resolution 435 could now be realised.

"However, the final decision and agreement to be reached and

endorsed will be effected by politicians in the three capitals closely linked to the talks. As a result, interference at a political level cannot be ruled out."

The chairman of the interim cabinet in Namibia, Mr Andrew Mafjila, said he felt optimistic that Resolution 435 would be implemented soon.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has already said it was impossible for the South African government to say

whether or not the Geneva proposals would be acceptable.

"There are serious and complicated implications at stake,"

If Havana, Luanda and Pretoria agree to sign the proposed terms for staged withdrawal of the 50 000 Cubans in Angola, senior government officials will meet in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville to sign an accord.

There is no indication when this could take place.

221 South Africa 19-23/11/88.

Swapo: no comment by Pik

star 18/11/84

221

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night he was not prepared to comment on proposals by any individual party as far as independence for Namibia was concerned.

He was reacting to a statement released from Luanda earlier saying Swapo was prepared to declare a ceasefire in the territory.

"In terms of the present negotiations there is already a ceasefire in existence, and all matters concerning the question of Cuban withdrawal from Angola as well as the settlement plan for SWA/Namibia form the subject of these negotiations," he said in a statement to Sapa. "I am not prepared to comment on proposals of any individual party."

Swapo has announced that following

an agreed timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola it was ready to sign a formal ceasefire with South Africa to end the war in Namibia.

Swapo's information secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said the organisation, which has been observing a unilateral truce since September 1, was ready to "translate the existing truce ... into a formal ceasefire".

He added that the world was now waiting for the South African Government to keep its word to give independence to Namibia.

"Swapo is ready to assume the reins of power in Namibia through free, fair and democratic elections in the coming year," Mr Hamutenya said. — Sapa-Reuters.

Angola — What peace really means

by STANLEY UYS in LONDON

THE champagne corks popped in Geneva this week, but the sceptics will believe the news of an Angola/Namibia peace settlement when they see it. There have been too many false dawns already.

Assuming though that this time the miracle really has happened and that a settlement now is only a matter of time, what will the implications be for South Africa — both for its internal and regional policies?

Withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will have profound consequences. The Cubans will have little to show for their 13-year presence in Angola. Their boast that they would not leave until apartheid itself had been defeated has been quietly buried.

Their protection, too, of the MPLA government against Unita will not endure. When the MPLA and Unita finally face each other in elections, Unita will secure its share in the Luanda government. The MPLA, urban rather than ruraly based, does not have the extensive population catchment areas that Unita and (to a lesser extent) the other rebel movement, the Bakongo-based FNLA, have.

Angola will at last be recognised diplomatically by the United States, and inevitably it will be drawn more deeply into the Western financial system, as it becomes increasingly eligible for Western loans and aid. If, in addition, it then also has a Unita element in its government, Cuba will have nothing to crow about. All this will be highly satisfactory for South Africa.

Cuba's role not only in Angola but in Africa generally has been a macho one. Castro's purpose has been to enhance his standing, particularly in the Third World. For 13 years he succeeded, particularly this year when he pinned the SADF's ears back in southern Angola, but once Castro's troops leave, the gains will dissipate rapidly.

Castro, too, has been forced to accept what he said he would never accept — the principle of linkage, that there could be no independence for Namibia without total Cuban withdrawal. For Pretoria this is a considerable diplomatic achievement.

But the wider implications of an Angolan/Namibia peace settlement pose problems for Pretoria. Africa is now more receptive to President Botha than it has ever been, because he is engaged in peace talks that affect the whole of Southern Africa directly, and the whole of sub-Saharan African indirectly. The peace talks provided Botha with the cover for his recent sojourns into Black Africa.

A peace settlement in Angola/Namibia is incompatible with what is known as South Africa's policy of "destabilisation" in the region: gains accruing from the former will be cancelled by the effects of the latter. What a peace settlement will do, therefore, will be to force Pretoria to choose a more definite course between war and peace.

This is not as difficult as it seems. Pretoria has its "understanding" already with all its neighbours, with the exception of Zimbabwe, and to a lesser extent Zambia. Zimbabwe, unfortunately, might well become the turbulent focus of South African regional relationships in the post-Angola/Namibia period.

Similarly, if there is a settlement over Angola-Namibia, the effect will be to force Pretoria to choose a more definite course in its internal policies. Most analysts agree that if elections are held next year in Namibia, Swapo will win them. This means the flamboyant Sam Nujoma will be installed as president. Just think of the motorcade through Windhoek.

The impact on conservative whites in South Africa will be electrifying at a time when the right-wing is in the ascendant. If President Botha agrees to a settlement in Namibia, therefore, he will be taking on the right-wing in a full frontal confrontation. He will burn his bridges, forever, with them. Appeals to Andries Treurnicht for Afrikaner unity will no longer be even theoretically possible.

An Angola/Namibia settlement, therefore, could be the catalyst to force President Botha to make the emotional break with the white right-ring that he has shirked making so far. It will then be pointless for him to straddle the twin-track policies of reform and counter-reform as he has done so far.

The impact of Namibian independence on blacks in South Africa probably will also be fairly dramatic, just as the independence of Mozambique was in 1974. Again, this could be a catalyst for further reform. Giving Namibia its independence and releasing Nelson Mandela are pointless if Pretoria is not prepared to face the consequences as well.

A peace settlement in Angola/Namibia will change the whole scene in southern Africa. Negotiation, conciliation, reform — these will become Pretoria's only real options. Perhaps, for these reasons, a settlement will come later rather than sooner — the popping of champagne corks in Geneva may have been premature — but it's inexorable.

Governing South Africa, with one eye on reform and the other on the right-wing, will become a contradiction in terms now: the latter would simply nullify the former. In a way, therefore, an Angola/Namibia settlement will be a moment of truth for President Botha's government. Redrawing the political map, internally and regionally, is the only course left to it. All the other options are closed.

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Double death
for former

SWATE men

WINDHOEK. — The Supreme Court here on Thursday imposed the death sentence twice on two former members of the SWA Territory Force, Jacobus Hugo and Stefanus Madjiet, for killing a Mariental farmer, Mr Willem Thirion, and a farmhand, Mr August Bikeur.

Hugo was sentenced to a further 11 years and six months for robbery, and Madjiet to 11 years and two months.

Hugo said they had gone to Mr Thirion's farm on April 29 to conclude a diamond deal.

An application for leave to appeal was refused. — Sapa

Windhoek Observer fined

copy 7/12/88 21/1/88
THE Namibian newspaper the Windhoek Observer has been fined R2 000 for contravening the Media Code of Conduct. *221*

The first complaint, emanating from the SWA Police, concerned presentation of brutality and violence, relating to the publication on January 23 of photographs of rocket attack victims in the Oshakati area; on April 23 of three photographs of the body of a Mr Franz Gilge of Windhoek; and on April 30 of the naked body of Miss Vanessa Koki of Omaruru.

The second count against the Observer embraced about 50 complaints from various parts of Namibia and concerned the publication of obscene or lascivious matter. — Sapa

Mudge confirms right-wing fear of 'another Zimbabwe'

976 Times
22/11/88
221

THE Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's Dirk Mudge did not impress the assortment of conservative congressional staff members who assembled to hear him in the Senate Treaty Room last Friday afternoon. One went so far as to compare him, to his face, with a man who has jumped off a skyscraper and halfway down finds consolation in the fact that he has yet to hit the ground.

That was Senator Orrin Hatch's Michael Pilsbury, a firebreather who was sacked from the Pentagon back in 1985 and nearly prosecuted for gloating to a reporter that the CIA had begun arming Unita.

The rest of the audience enjoyed his mot and chuckled approvingly. It included at least three members of Senator Jesse Helms' heavy brigade, Jim Lucier, Cliff Kiracofe and Phil Christenson plus the lonely voice of reaction on the House Africa subcommittee staff, Saul Singer. And, of course, the relentlessly energetic Riva Levenson of Black, Manafort and Stone, the Unita lobby. A broader tranche of opinion had been invited, but it did not show up.

Mudge seemed only dimly aware of whom he was addressing and spent a lot of time defending himself against the Left's slander that he is a complaisant lackey of Pretoria. The present company might have preferred him if he had been, so this was a waste of breath.

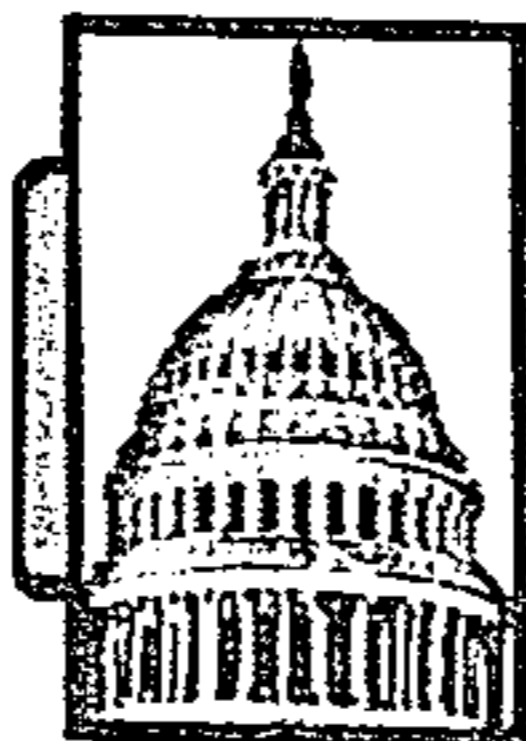
He then spoke earnestly of how his country would soon be independent and how he would do his best to put together an effective parliamentary opposition to its inevitable new Swapo government. Which was exactly what his listeners did not want to hear. They were looking for an Ian Smith circa 1965. Instead, their worst fear — "another Zimbabwe" — was being confirmed.

Politely, but firmly, the Namibian noted he was "not concerned about your problems". The game finally was up and there was nothing he and his fellow internals either could or would do to alter it. An all-party conference before UN Resolution 435 went into effect might be nice, but the world would not end if there wasn't one. "Nothing," he said in summary, "could be worse than prolonging the agony."

Regrettably, many in the room that afternoon seemed determined to do just that.

Panel

The previous day, the same crowd had spent its lunchtime at the Heritage Foundation listening to a panel discussion on the Geneva breakthrough.



Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER

The panelists were Ambassador Herman Cohen, the National Security Council's senior Africa specialist and a participant in most of the talks, Unita Washington representative Marcos Samondo and Constantine Menges, late of the CIA and the NSC during the Irangate mess, and currently a colleague of Jeane Kirkpatrick at the American Enterprise Institute.

Cohen (who incidentally is now a favourite to succeed Dr Chester Crocker) did his accomplished best to defend the settlement, stressing in every way he knew how that Unita was not going to be abandoned. The deal in no way precluded outside support for the rebels, and the US would veto any effort by the UN Security Council to amend that as part of the "enabling resolution", putting the agreement into effect.

The Cubans had agreed not to engage Unita once the settlement process was under way and, besides, would be so far north and west of Dr Jonas Savimbi's heartland before the next dry season that any assault would be implausible. Considering they were the only force in the region that could pose any serious threat to the rebels, surely even the most die-hard fan of the Reagan doctrine had to see merit in their withdrawal.

Samondo saw it, albeit with hesitation. Menges did not: the whole thing was a "major mistake". SA would find it far more difficult to arrest the implementation of 435 — an international obligation — than would the Cubans to renege on what, effectively, was nothing more than a



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pact between two Marxist regimes, itself and the MPLA. The South Africans who negotiated the deal were soft-headed. The only hope was that the "realists" in their government would call it off in time.

Geneva

In the unhappy event that Pretoria heeded his warning, Menges suggested starting entirely from scratch: first, force MPLA to expel the Cubans immediately and implement the 1975 Alvor Accords calling for free and fair elections. That done, let some non-UN entity organise elections in Namibia.

Which, Menges continued, would almost have certainly have been George Bush's policy had not Crocker sneaked off to Geneva "the day after the election" on November to force the president-elect's hand with a fait accompli. In short, it was all part of the State Department's ongoing conspiracy to betray the US to the godless Communists.

By this stage, the groupies were positively salivating. William Pascoe, Heritage Africa analyst, demanded to know whether Bush was aware of what was happening. Cohen pointed out that the vice president was a member of the national security council and

had been fully briefed. "Oh really," shot back Pascoe, suddenly sounding like Senator Edward Kennedy at the Democratic convention in Atlanta, "how many NSC meetings had Bush attended where the subject had been discussed? Where was George?"

As the meeting broke up, the analyst eureka-ed to a colleague that here, before our very eyes, was the first State Department "end-run" of the Bush administration.

Across the room, an even stranger scene was being played out as Menges intoned a dire warning to SA military attache, Colonel Fred Rindel: if SA accepted the deal, the conservatives would see to it that Congress enacted further sanctions by next August.

How the colonel took this was unclear. I asked him whether he shared Menges' view of the agreement. He replied, enigmatically, that as a sol-

dier ne restricted himself simply to listening. Perhaps he was merely being diplomatic. But as a soldier, he might usefully have shown a little anger. There is after all a certain impetuosity in an American armchair warrior threatening to punish SA for no longer wishing to fight his crusade with its lives and treasure in its own balliwick.

I like to think, however, that in keeping his counsel, the attache was merely treating Menges with the contempt he deserves, and that by the time this is published, P W Botha and his Cabinet will have done the same.

Assuming this is the case, it remains to be seen whether the hard Right will try to hamper the settlement as it proceeds. They have various levers at their disposal. Senator Helms can be expected to try and block US funding for the UN transitional assistance group and may well exert a little blackmail by holding up the nomination of Crocker's successor — as he did with Crocker himself seven years ago when he went to the extraordinary lengths of enlisting Transafica and the pro-sanctions Left as his accomplices.

Dr Savimbi's acceptance of the deal at the weekend is unlikely to lessen conservative criticism. The Mengeses of this world seem perfectly capable of declaring him a sell-out too. Instead the focus will be on how the State Department and the SA Department of Foreign Affairs hoodwinked everyone into accepting a Marxist government in Namibia.

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NO sympathy as Mudge looks to peace in Namibia

22/11/88

SIMON BARBER in Washington

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Mr ANDREAS Shipanga . . . Cabinet Minister in Windhoek.

'KILLINGS IN SWAPO CAMPS'

Sowetan 221
23/11/85

WINDHOEK — A Cabinet Minister, Mr. Andreas Shipanga, claims that Swapo is killing opponents in its camps in Angola and Zambia in advance of the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 independence plan, and that the situation is causing great concern in the human rights

Sowetan Africa News Service

organisation. Amnesty International.

Mr Shipanga, who has just returned from a visit to Europe, during which he spoke to Amnesty International in London, claimed the organisation had contacted Swapo on a number of occasions

recently to express its concern about the allegations.

Replied

According to Mr Shipanga, Swapo had not replied to the telephone, telex and telegram calls made to it by the organisation.

Mr Shipanga himself had dealings with Amnesty International in the mid-1970s, when the organisation took up his case when he was being detained in Zambian and Tanzanian jails after he fell out with his fellow Swapo leaders.

After his release from jail, he made his way back to Namibia, formed

the Swapo-Democrats Party and is a staunch opponent of Swapo.

Now Minister of Mines in the Transitional Government in Windhoek, Mr Shipanga claimed also that the latest killings in Swapo camps would be raised soon with the UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar.

Britain, United States and Swapo welcome first steps

Namibian peace pact hailed

Star 23/11/88

The South African Government's acceptance of the Geneva agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and the start of the Namibian independence process has been warmly welcomed by the United States and British governments and by Swapo.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced yesterday that the South African Cabinet decision to accept the Geneva agreement had been conveyed to the US government and that a formal protocol would be signed within the next week or two, probably in Brazzaville. Angola and Cuba have also announced their acceptance of the agreement.

However, South Africa's Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, warned in Niger yesterday that a peaceful settlement for Namibia would not automatically signify an end to the terrorist threat to the Republic.

"The reality is that talks do not signify peace," said Mr Breytenbach.

Details of the pact were given last night by South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Verification process

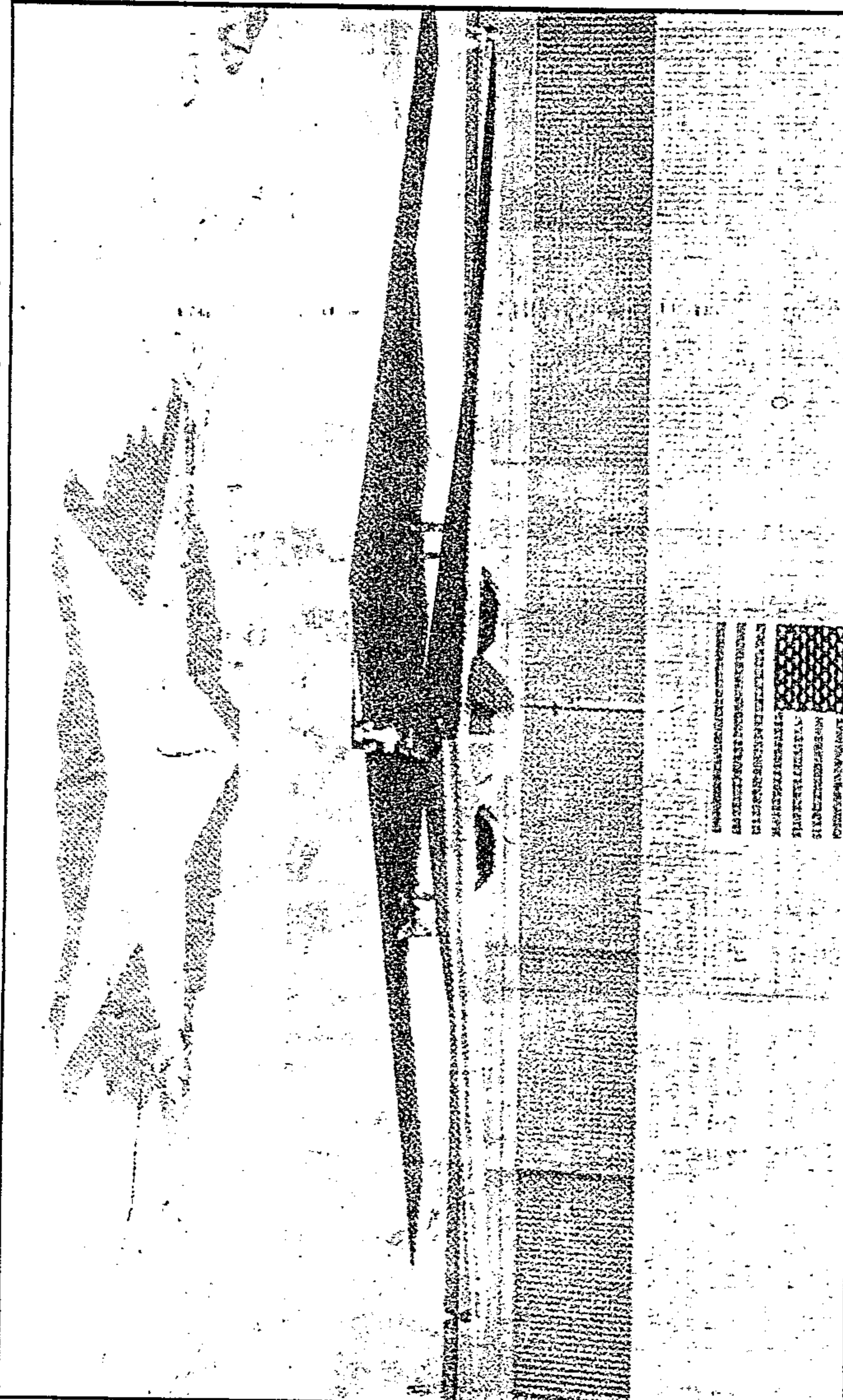
He said the agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola would stretch over a total period of 27 months, and would see half the estimated 52,000 Cubans out of Angola by the time Namibia goes to the polls in the election held in terms of UN Resolution 435.

He made it clear the official verification process would have to be strictly adhered to if the whole peace and independence exercise was not to be jeopardised.

Welcoming the agreement, US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said: "The way is now clear for the completion of the negotiations and the signing of the interlocking set of agreements the parties have agreed to conclude."

A British government spokesman said: "That is what the British government was looking for and sees it as a significant move forward. It is to be welcomed and is a triumph for American diplomacy."

Unveiled a sinister-looking bomber called Stealth



Secret no more... the radar-proof B-2 bomber went on display for the first time at Palmdale, California, yesterday. The black and grey bomber will "survive well into the 21st century", according to the Air Force Chief of Staff.

PSA R2,4-m in the red

'Flying wing'

or two, probably in Brazzaville. Angola and Cuba have also announced their acceptance of the agreement.

However, South Africa's Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, warned in Nigel yesterday that a peaceful settlement for Namibia would not automatically signify an end to the terrorist threat to the Republic.

"The reality is that talks do not signify peace," said Mr Breytenbach.

Details of the pact were given last night by South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Verification process

He said the agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola would stretch over a total period of 27 months, and would see half the estimated 52 000 Cubans out of Angola by the time Namibia goes to the polls in the election held in terms of UN Resolution 435.

He made it clear the official verification process would have to be strictly adhered to if the whole peace and independence exercise was not to be jeopardised.

Welcoming the agreement, US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said: "The way is now clear for the completion of the negotiations and the signing of the interlocking set of agreements the parties have agreed to conclude."

A British government spokesman said: "That is what the British government was looking for and sees it as a significant move forward. It is to be welcomed and is a triumph for American diplomacy."

The news was warmly received by Swapo's London office. Buoyant local representative Mr Jacob Hannai said: "We are not surprised, because we have been fighting all along and this is the fruit of the liberation struggle."

But he did say the organisation's celebrations would only begin once independence had actually been achieved.

Mr Botha said at a press conference at the Union Buildings yesterday that the "hard nut" of the long negotiation process for Namibian independence had at last been cracked. But he stressed there was still "a lot to be done".

Unita view

He said South Africa would ensure that the other side fulfilled its side of the bargain before anything more was done.

Mr Botha said it was possible that Namibia could be independent by the end of 1989, but would not say whether this was probable.

Pretoria envisaged three structures for verifying the withdrawal of troops:

- The UN Transitional Assistance Group, which would comprise military and civilian components and would monitor the election process in Namibia.
- A new monitoring group, probably supervised by the UN, to monitor the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.
- A third umbrella group to supervise the other monitoring bodies. It would consist of South African, American, Soviet, Angolan, Cuban and UN elements.

General Malan was asked if SA would withdraw troops from Walvis Bay under the plan.

He said that, under 435, SA troops would withdraw to "South African territory" but would not say if this included Walvis Bay.

- The president of Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, said the AAM was encouraged by the news, but the international community must ensure Pretoria "does not renege on its undertakings". — Political Staff-The Star's Foreign News Service-The Star's Africa News Service.

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The Public (PSA), which is a public service trust. Bank of South Africa (BSA) has been established in Pretoria.

The PSA has been established in Pretoria. The PSA has been established in Pretoria.

The PSA has been established in Pretoria. The PSA has been established in Pretoria.

Until last year the PSA investment commission was established in Pretoria.

The PSA has been established in Pretoria. The PSA has been established in Pretoria.

Fun

Money earned from the sale of the village of the Harm

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SA accepts plan for SWA and Angola Cubans

AKG 5
03/10/88

By PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff

221

THE government has agreed to the Geneva agreement for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced in Pretoria yesterday that the Cabinet's decision had been conveyed to the United States government and that a formal protocol would be signed within the next week or two, probably in Brazzaville, Congo.

Mr Botha said at a press conference at the Union Buildings that the "hard nut" of the long negotiation process for SWA/Namibia independence had at last been cracked but emphasised also that there was still "a lot to be done".

He said the South African negotiating team was in New York to discuss the very significant matter of procedures for verifying and monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Botha would not say if disagreements over these verification procedures could still undermine the settlement, but he emphasised that South Africa would sign no "blank cheques". South Africa would ensure that the other side fulfilled its side of the bargain before signing anything.

Mr Botha confirmed that Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita resistance movement, had visited Pretoria yesterday to meet President Botha, himself and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, to discuss the Geneva agreement.

Dr Savimbi had welcomed the agreement as being essential to peace and stability in Angola — provided that the procedures for verifying

the withdrawal of Cuban troops were adequate.

Mr Botha said no date had yet been set for the start of the process of implementing United Nations resolution 435 for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops, but he thought the speculated date of January 1 was too early.

It was possible that the territory could be independent by the end of next year but he would not say if this was probable.

Mr Botha said South Africa envisaged three structures for verifying troop withdrawals:

- Untag — the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group — consisting of military and civilian components, which would monitor the election process in SWA/Namibia;

- A new monitoring group, probably supervised by the UN, to monitor the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola under the Geneva agreement; and

- A third umbrella group which would act as a form of "super appeal court" to supervise the other monitoring bodies consisting of South African, American, Soviet, Angolan, Cuban and UN elements.

Mr Botha said that once the protocol had been signed the UN Security Council would have to pass a resolution to implement it.

General Malan was asked at the press conference if South Africa would withdraw troops from the enclave of Walvis Bay under the settlement plan.

He said that under UN resolution 435 South African troops would withdraw to "South African territory" but would not say if this included Walvis Bay.



The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, accompanied by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, announcing South Africa's approval of the peace plan for SWA/Namibia and Angola.

SWA SAYS YES

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23/11/88

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Namibia on road to freedom after 73 years

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE South African government, in a dramatic announcement, last night declared that it had accepted an internationally-negotiated peace plan for Angola and Namibia.

The agreement, if it is eventually implemented next year, will be the beginning of the end of 73 years of South African rule over Namibia. It will also end the civil war in Namibia which has been waging over the past 22 years as well as pave the way for peace in Angola which has been racked by civil war since it gained independence from Portugal 12 years ago.

'A long, long road'

The accord — scheduled to be signed within the next two weeks at Brazzaville — will enable 50 000 Cuban troops to withdraw from Angola over the next 27 months, and allows for Namibian independence. This means that the hard nut that had to be cracked has been cracked, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said at a news conference last night in Pretoria.

Mr Botha added: "A major and very important step has been taken — a long, long road." The peace agreement, the product of many months of hard negotiation in different parts of Africa, Europe and North America between South Africa,

Angola, the United States and the Soviet Union, will have far-reaching consequences in Southern Africa and the rest of the world. Last night, the acceptance of the peace accord was widely welcomed in the rest of the world. In Washington, the US State Department said South Africa's acceptance of a schedule for Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola cleared the way for the signing of a peace agreement for Southern Africa.

'Signalled acceptance'

"With this step all three governments involved in these talks have signalled their acceptance of the Geneva understandings," the State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said. "The way is now clear to completion of the negotiations and the signing of the interlocking set of agreements; the parties have agreed to conclude," he said.

The Brazzaville meeting was needed so the parties could edit and approve what Mr Redman called "detailed documentation".

However, at last night's press conference Mr Botha warned: "There is still a lot of work to be done, discussing the implementation of this process."

South Africa still did not know if the required funds from the United Nations were available to pay for the implementation of the Namibian independence plan, he said.

Mr Botha said he could not disclose details of the timetable, but, he

Two pages

UN urges final SWA settlement

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday urged the parties to reach a final settlement for Namibia.

His statement, issued through a spokeswoman, came after South Africa had confirmed its acceptance of United States-mediated proposals setting a timetable for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Pretoria had made this a condition for implementation of a 10-year-old independence plan for the South African-administered territory of Namibia, embodied in Security Council Resolution 435.

Angola and Cuba had previously confirmed their acceptance of the troop-withdrawal proposals. Tentative agreement was reached in Geneva last week after months of negotiations.

"The secretary-general is glad to note that all the parties to the quadripartite talks have now confirmed their agreement to the decisions reached in Geneva last week to facilitate a settlement in south-west Africa," the UN spokeswoman said.

"The secretary-general urges all the parties to redouble their efforts to achieve a final settlement in order to facilitate the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia," she concluded.

The next step is expected to be the signing ceremony at Brazzaville, the Congolese capital, where some of the negotiations took place. — Sapp-Retover



SETTLEMENT REACHED . . . Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and South African's chief negotiator at the Angola peace talks, Mr Neil van Heerden, at the press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

Call-trips 23/11/85

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FORD



From page 1

stressed that the with-
drawal of Cuban forces
north of certain paral-
els would be monitored.
Troops would be with-
drawn on a monthly ba-
sis.

Mr Botha said the Un-
ita leader, Dr Jonas Sa-
vimbi, told him and the
Minister of Defence,
General Magnus Malan,
in Pretoria yesterday
that if the Cuban troop
withdrawal was proper-
ly monitored, the accep-
tance of the proposals
would contribute to
peace and stability in
the region.

Peace would not be
achieved unless there
was national reconcilia-
tion inside Angola, he
said.

Asked whether the ac-
ceptance meant that
"everything would be
downhill from here", Mr
Botha replied: "Nothing
is ever downhill."

January 1 was not a
feasible date for the
implementation of Reso-
lution 435, he said, but it
was up to the parties to
change this date and
agree to an implementa-
tion date.

There would ultimate-
ly be three parties in-
volved in the Angola-Na-
mibia peace process,
namely Untag, to moni-
tor the Namibian elec-
tions, a second body to
monitor the withdrawal
of Cuban forces, and a
joint committee proba-
bly consisting of South
Africa, the US, the Sovi-
et Union, Angola and
Cuba.

This committee would
function as an overall
umbrella or "appeal"
body to which the viola-
tion of anything could be
reported.

Mr Botha said he did
not have any faith in the
UN in general, but the
South African govern-
ment had faith in the UN
Secretary-General, Dr
Perez de Cuellar.

Mr Botha's caution
should not be ignored:
12 years ago, in 1976, the
then US Secretary of
State, Dr Henry Kis-
singer, came to Pretoria
in the first Western at-
tempt to encourage a set-
tlement in both Namibia
and Rhodesia.

Various peace plans
have foundered since
then.

March 1 new starting date

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

IMPLEMENTATION of a Namibian independence plan and the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola over 27 months could begin in March.

Following the South African government's announcement that it had agreed to sign a peace agreement, foreign affairs sources today confirmed March as the new starting time for the independence plan.

Earlier, November 1 and then January 1 had been set as target dates.

A formal protocol embodying the agreement — reached after months of hard bargaining between South Africa, Angola and Cuba with the US acting as the mediator — will be signed in Brazzaville in the next week or two, but the main details are leaking out.

The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, has confirmed that the Cuban withdrawal will stretch over 27 months and that half of the estimated 52 000 Cubans will be out of Angola by the time Namibians go to the polls in the elections called for in United Nations Resolution 435.

An initial 3 000 Cubans will have to be out of Angola by the time the implementation of the UN plan begins. This will be quid pro quo for South African withdrawal of troops from Angola.

After this there will be a phased withdrawal of Cubans northwards.

Three months after the start of the UN plan they will have to be at the 15th parallel, 240km north of the Namibian border. After six months they will have to be at the 13th parallel, about 400km north of the border.

Twelve months after the start of the plan 75 percent of the Cubans will have to be out of Angola. The remainder will have to leave in the remaining 15 months.

Technical talks about the verification procedures are still being held in New York and there could be American as well as Russian involvement in the monitoring of Cuban withdrawal.

Besides a UN monitoring body there will be a "super commission" consisting of the United States, Russia, South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which will serve as an appeal body while the peace process is being implemented.

No clarity on Savimbi

There is no clarity about the position of Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement and it is unlikely that this will be dealt with in any peace agreement.

In terms of the timetable for Cuban withdrawal they will eventually fall back to positions north of Dr Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

Dr Savimbi had talks in Pretoria yesterday with President Botha, Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan — but he did not speak to journalists.

At a Press conference Mr Pik Botha said he had welcomed the agreement as being essential to peace and stability in Angola, provided that the procedures for verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops were adequate.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, welcoming South Africa's nod to the timetable of Cuban troop withdrawal, said: "With this step, all three governments involved in these talks have signalled their acceptance of the Geneva understandings."

Asked what details still had to be thrashed out, Mr Redman said a comprehensive settlement would involve a complex, interlocking set of agreements. "Detailed documentation needs to be edited and approved."

"The parties need to reduce to writing understandings on the steps each will take before implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435."

From London it is reported that the British government has welcomed South Africa's approval of the peace plan.

"US triumph"

A spokesman at No 10 Downing Street said it was a significant move forward and "a triumph for American diplomacy".

The news was warmly received by Swapo's London office. Local representative Mr Jacob Hannai said: "This is the fruit of the liberation struggle."

The Labour Party's spokesman on Southern African affairs, Mr Donald Anderson, said he hoped the development would be extended beyond the border of Namibia.

● SA accepts plan for SWA, page 21.

Business boom spin-off for Western Cape

Staff Reporter

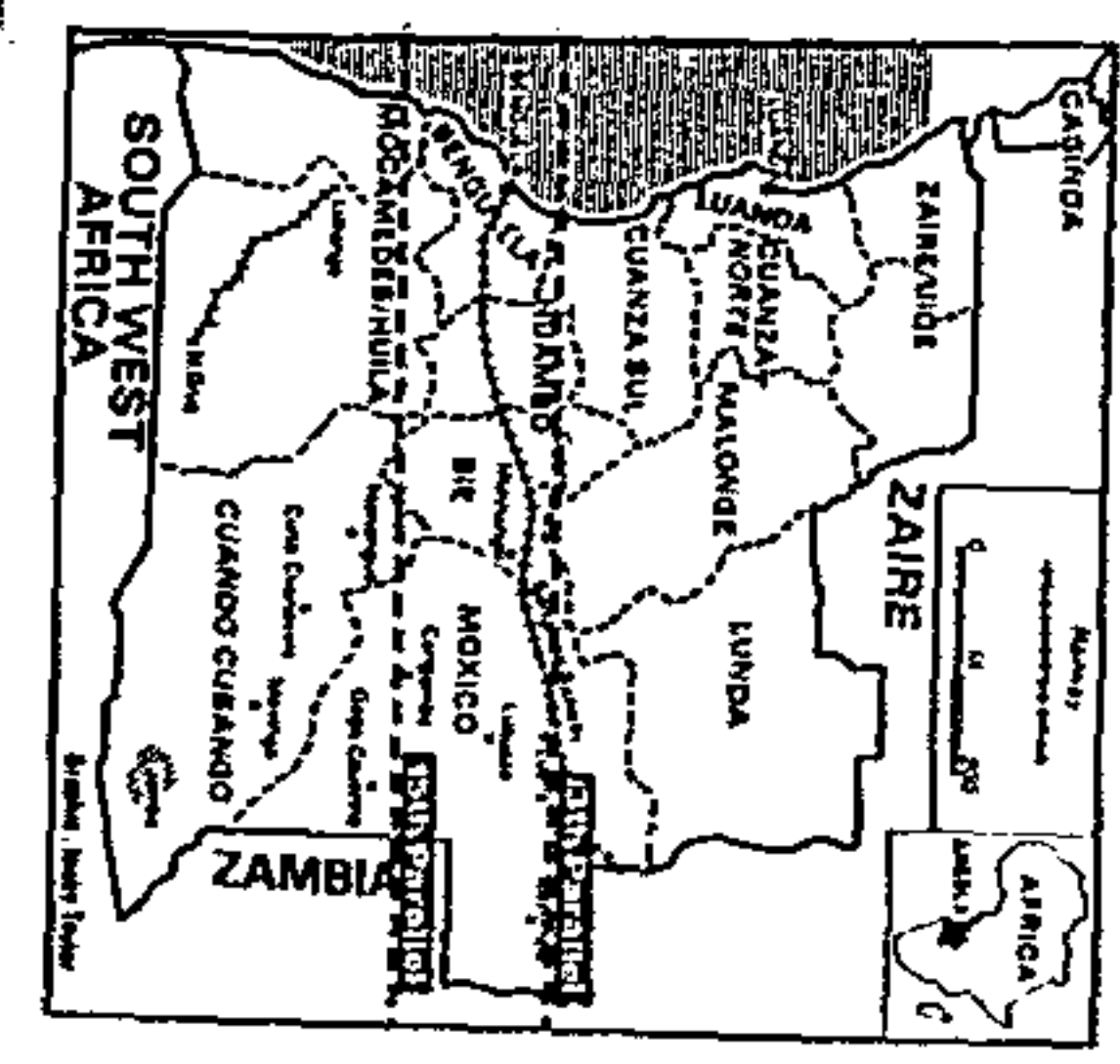
WESTERN Cape business is set for a boom when the independence process begins.

The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), consisting of nearly 10 000 troops and officials, will move in to monitor proceedings and will need huge supplies.

Untag has already advertised for "expressions of interest" from businesses in Cape Town capable of fast deliveries of large quantities of a host of commodities and services including food, fuel, building materials, electrical and communications equipment, prefabricated buildings and tents and a wide range of vehicles.

Cubans Will have 27 months to quit

Rec'd 23/1/88
221



Peace in Namibia?

Malan still shady about Walvis Bay

THE South African Government has accepted the Geneva agreement for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced yesterday that the Cabinet had approved the plan and had informed the United States government of its decision.

He said at a Press conference at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, yesterday that a formal protocol would be signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola over the next two weeks, probably in Brazzaville.

The agreement has already been ratified by the Cuban and Angolan governments which means that in principle it will go ahead. Mr Botha said that the "hard-nut" of the long process of negotiating a Namibian settlement had now been cracked.

But he stressed that "a lot still had to be done". He said that at the

moment a South African team was in New York discussing a very important element of the settlement — the procedures for verifying and monitoring the timetable for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola.

He was not prepared to say if disagreements about these procedures could still undermine the settlement. But South Africa was not prepared to "sign a blank cheque. We will sign as we become sure that the other parties will pay their dues," he added.

Savimbi

He confirmed that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had met President Botha, himself and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the Geneva settlement.

Dr Savimbi had "welcomed" the settlement as vital for the stability of Angola, Mr Botha said. But he added that Dr Savimbi had stressed that adequate verification of Cuban troop withdrawal was a critical factor in the process.



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN

"He told us if the process unfolded, then timetable was genuinely the agreement would adhere to and troop contribution to stability movement was monitored and peace in Angola," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said no date had been set for the twin processes of Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal to be set in motion, but that the speculated date of January 1 was probably too early.

He said it was possible that Namibia could be independent by the end of next year, but would not say if this was probable. Mr Botha said South Africa envisaged three structures for verification.

- Untag — the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, comprising military and civilian elements to monitor the civilian procedures leading to elections in Namibia;
- A new structure probably under UN supervision to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola according to the timetable agreed to in Geneva;
- And a new joint commission consisting of South Africa, the United Nations, the Soviet Union, the United States, Angola and Cuba which

would act as a "super appeal court" overseeing the whole verification process on both sides of the border.

Asked if South Africa thought Untag would be impartial, Mr Botha said that UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar had already assured President Botha that it would be completely impartial and that South Africa had "enough faith in Dr de Cuellar to believe he would meet this commitment."

Walvis

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan was asked at the Press conference if South Africa intended withdrawing its troops from the South African enclave of Walvis Bay as well as Namibia itself.

He said the troops would be withdrawn "to South African territory" according to the dictates of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence, but would not specify if this included Walvis Bay. Mr Botha said the position of the South West African territorial force and the special

police unit Koevoet during the Namibian independence process had still to be "ironed out" during further discussions.

He said after the signing of the first protocol the United Nations Security Council would then have to convene to pass a resolution to implement it.

Mr Botha would not say if South Africa would continue to provide military assistance to Unita after the signing of the protocol. "But naturally our relations of friendliness and good neighbourliness will continue," he added. The precise terms of the Geneva agreement have not been publicised. But it is widely believed they include a large-scale withdrawal of Cuban troops northwards from the Namibian border during the first three months of the pre-election period specified by UN 435, with a further withdrawal to north of the Benguela railway line during the next three months and complete withdrawal from Angola after 27 months.

SOWETAN, Thursday, November 24, 1988

PEACEMAKERS AT LAST

221 Pretoria to shed off a big load

Sowetan SOUTH Africa has approved a peace plan that includes independence for Namibia and hopes to reap political and financial rewards by shedding the territory it ruled for decades in defiance of

the United Nations.

But officials said there could also be a price to pay over Tuesday's approval of the US-mediated accord that calls for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, as well as Namibian independence.

Far right-wingers, preparing for a possible early general election, could use it as ammunition to accuse the Government of President P W Botha of handing diamond and uranium-rich Namibia to "communists" and undermin-

ing national security, one official said.

The plan, already endorsed by Angola and Cuba, sets a timetable for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola over a 27-month period and would give Namibia independence from four decades of rule by white-run South Africa.

Announcing South Africa's decision in Pretoria, Foreign Minister, P. W. Botha, said the plan would be contained in a document to be signed in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville in the next week or two.

"This means that the hard nut that had to be cracked has been cracked," Botha told a news conference.

According to a senior official, South Africa is hoping the peace pact — unthinkable a year ago — will help to improve Pretoria's international image badly tarnished by condemnation of its apartheid policies of racial segregation. — Sapa-Reuter.



End to Pik's long struggle in sight

AK645 24/11/88

1221

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

TWENTY-five years ago a junior 31-year-old third secretary at the South African embassy in Bonn, West Germany, returned to this country to be attached to the section of the Department of Foreign Affairs dealing with the South West African question.

The preliminary objection to South Africa's continuing mandate of the territory had just been lost at the World Court at The Hague in the Netherlands and a start was being made on the appeal.

It was the initial immersion of Mr Roelof Frederik Botha, better known as Pik, in what was to be a long and arduous diplomatic struggle — a struggle that now appears to be reaching an end with the major hurdles in the SWA/Namibia and Angola peace negotiations overcome.

As a lawyer Mr Botha was attached to the departmental legal team which supported the group of top advocates who were to present the South African case. The advocates included the retiring Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, and the former chief of Nasionale Pers, Mr Dawid de Villiers.

Mr Botha's function was to help with research. The main reason given by Ethiopia to support its argument that the mandate for the territory should be removed from South Africa was that racially discriminatory policies were being applied.

South Africa set out to prove that although there was racial separation, there was no discrimination, comparing every facet of life from hospitals to schools in the territory with those of other countries in Africa and the rest of the world.

In 1965 he went with the South African team to The Hague to help present oral evidence on the case.

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In July the following year Mr Botha was present when the World Court ruled in favour of South Africa with the president of the court using his casting vote when the judges deadlocked seven for and seven against.

As he was to put it later in language that has been typical of him since, "all hell broke loose" at the United Nations. South Africa was accused of all sorts of malpractice, including bribing the judges.

In 1966 Mr Botha was appointed chief legal adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs and the following year he was also made head of the South West African and United Nations sections of the department.

With his appointment to head the desk he started a long association with the United Nations, having to travel to New York every year for the start of the sittings of the General Assembly from the third Tuesday in September until Christmas.

In 1969, after being promoted to the number two post in the department as under-secretary and when it was confirmed that he was to be the next Ambassador to the United Nations, his career suddenly switched directions.

It was the height of the row over whether Maoris could be part of an All Black team and whether the children of black diplomats could go to white schools, with the Herstigte Nasionale Party splitting from the National Party on the issues.



The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha ... hurdles overcome.

The Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, opted for an early election in 1970 and Mr Botha was offered what was considered the tough seat of Wonderboom in the Transvaal held by an HNP rebel, Mr Willie Marais. In spite of predictions that he would lose, Mr Botha was returned with one of the largest majorities in the province.

Although he left the department, he was retained as a consultant and was admitted to the Bar as an advocate starting a practice.

While still an MP he was appointed the South African government Agent to the World Court (virtually ambassador) in 1971 after a renewed application was made to declare South Africa's continued presence in SWA/Namibia illegal. A new panel of judges was on the Bench and the decision of the previous Bench was reversed.

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However, Mr Botha's first foray into politics was cut short in 1974 when Mr Vorster appointed him Ambassador to the United Nations.

It was at this stage that he really caught the eye of the public in South Africa with his aggressive debating style — an approach he has since maintained. That year he became the last South African ambassador to address the General Assembly before South Africa's credentials were withdrawn.

He was there when Angola was granted independence and South African troops entered the country for the first time, pushing to the outskirts of Luanda before being withdrawn. It was also the first time that South African troops clashed with the Cubans.

In 1975 the post of Ambassador to the United States was added to his duties.

At the time Swapo was stepping up its incursions into SWA/Namibia and South Africa was under fire for launching raids against Swapo bases in Zambia.

Mr Botha had to address repeated sittings of the United Nations Security Council on the issue as well as on South Africa's continued presence in SWA/Namibia.

In his dual ambassadorial role he played a major part in arranging for Mr Vorster to meet the American Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, in Europe as well as organising some of Mr Vorster's African contacts with the new African detente policy.

In 1977 Mr Vorster announced that Mr Botha, who with the advent of television had become one of the best-known figures in South Africa, appearing almost nightly on the news, was the new Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa to win the Westdene by-election and take his seat in Parliament.

Since then he has been at the helm of negotiations to achieve independence for SWA/Namibia starting with the visit of the British Foreign Minister, Dr David Owen, and representatives of the so-called Big Five, which led to a negotiated settlement for an independent SWA/Namibia enshrined in what is commonly known as United Nations resolution 435 of 1978.

But attempts to implement the resolution came unstuck at a conference in Geneva in January, 1981.

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Later in the year, however, South Africa achieved a major coup when the United States accepted linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the implementation of resolution 435.

A whole new ball game started but South Africa still faced the threat of total sanctions from the United Nations because of her continued presence in SWA/Namibia and because of repeated raids into Angola.

In February, 1984, with South African troops well inside Angola, the Lusaka agreement was signed by Mr Botha which resulted in the gradual withdrawal of South African troops under a Joint Monitoring Commission of Angola and South Africa.

But hopes that the Lusaka agreement would lead to greater things failed and by mid-1985 the agreement was in tatters.

A South Africa military unit was ambushed in the Cabinda enclave with the capture of Captain Wynand du Toit souring relations even more. (Mr Botha played a key role in his later release in an involved prisoner swap.)

Last year South Africa re-entered Angola in force to support Unita. This in turn sparked a major Cuban build-up and a situation where all sides faced heavy losses.

Mr Botha was once again back in the thick of negotiations which led to him being able to announce on Tuesday that the "toughest nut has been cracked" and that South Africa had accepted the peace proposals.

Although there is still some distance to run as one of the world's longest serving Foreign Ministers and the one person who has probably had more to do with events in the south-western Africa region than any other, he must have made that statement with some relief.

Ironically, sanctions which were originally threatened against South Africa for holding on to SWA/Namibia were never implemented for that reason.

Namibia promised

24/11/88

European capital

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

VENTURE capital from Western Europe, mainly from West Germany and Scandinavia, has already been promised for Namibia after independence, the president of its Chamber of Mines, Mr Bob Meiring, said yesterday. He thinks it possible that South African companies will be able to set up manufacturing operations there with easier access to export markets.

And he believes the deep-sea white fishing industry will have "tremendous potential" when an independent Namibia is able to protect its territorial waters.

Mr Meiring said the tourist industry was already booming and certain to grow. Mining and agriculture offered long-term possibilities for investment.

Multi-million-rand developments

Major SA companies, looking ahead to a time when an independent Namibia will attract foreign investment and be free of sanctions, have been moving in for some time.

The Old Mutual, Sanlam, Southern Life, Barlows, OK Bazaars, Gold Fields of SA — which has now set up a separate listed company, Gold Fields of Namibia — and Protea Hotels are among them. Pick'n Pay is among companies hoping to move in. Joint managing director Mr Hugh Herman said yesterday: "We would be very happy to have a store in Windhoek."

Old Mutual and Sanlam are both building multi-million-rand shopping and office developments in the centre of Windhoek — a definite vote of confidence in the country's economy in the long term.

"The difficulty is to find a site in Windhoek. They are hard to come by. We have been pursuing various possibilities for the past 18 months," a spokesman for one of the companies said.

Mr Jan Calitz, executive director (investments) of Southern Life, said he was "very positive" about the Namibian economy. Southern, which has major pension funds and individuals among its

clients there, had been "constantly watching the situation in Namibia and considering investment propositions".

Among other investments it had taken shares in Goldfields of Namibia. "After independence, Namibia will offer a window on the outside world."

Mr Meiring said the business community in Namibia was "looking forward to independence with a certain amount of relief because it will get us out of the limbo we have been in for years. There is great excitement about our prospects. This country has a tremendous potential which has not been realised because of uncertainty by investors."

There was some concern about the form of government that might be coming. But he believed "the harsh realities of the African economic climate have been realised by the liberationists" and there would be a realistic economic policy.

He was confident that there would be foreign investment. There was already a strong West German presence in Namibia "and we know of quite a lot of venture capital ready to come in. We have quite a lot of interest from Scandinavia."

Discussing investment possibilities, Mr Meiring said the tourist industry was already growing.

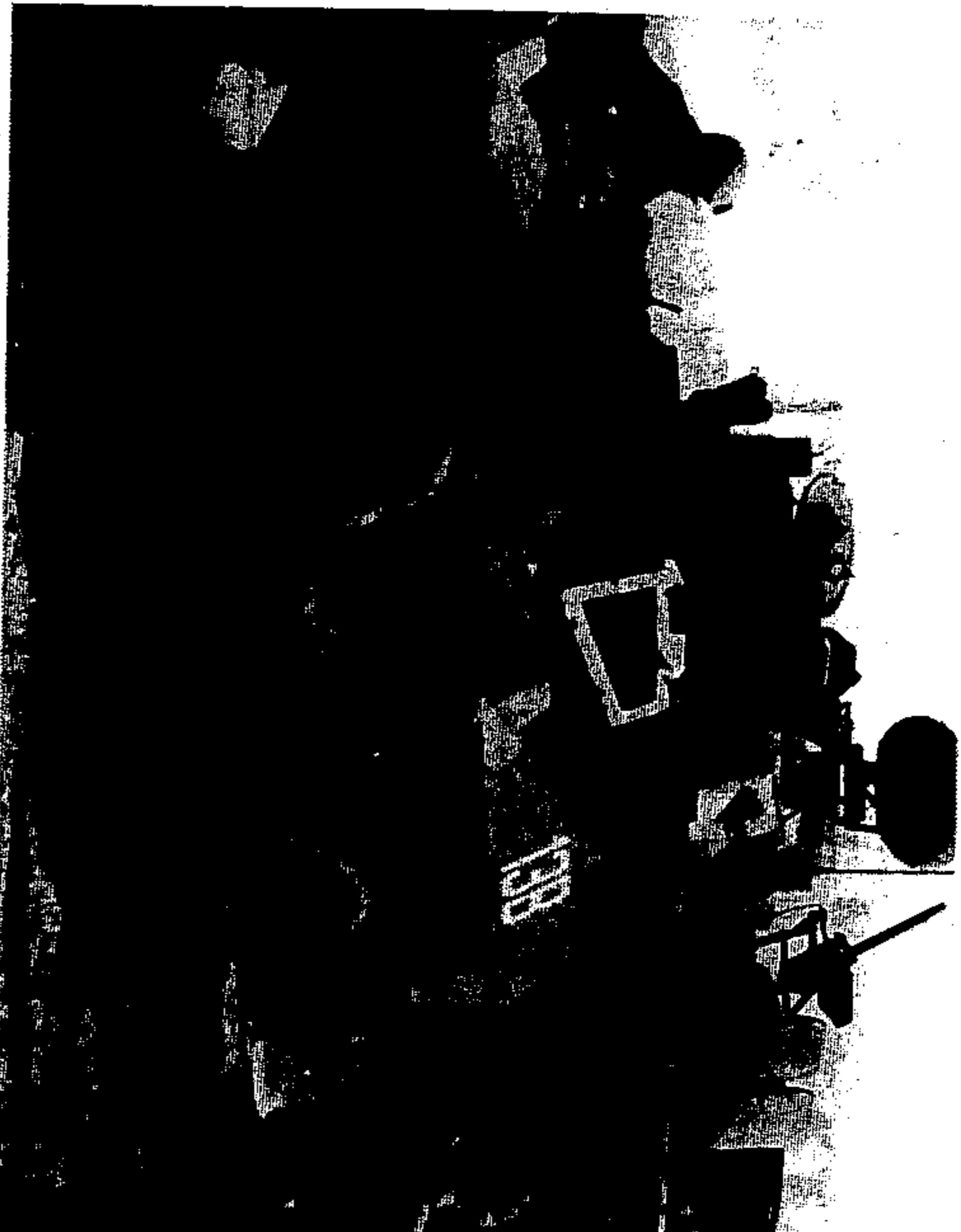
'Devastation of our resources'

Agriculture had long-term possibilities "specially if we can utilise the great rivers of the north". Mining was a high-risk, long-term investment. But the deep-sea fishing industry would quickly offer good returns.

"There are fleets from all over the world taking two million tons of white fish out of our waters every year. I cannot find words to describe the international devastation of our resources."

"There have been factory ships based permanently off Walvis Bay for years."

"After independence we shall have international standing and be able to protect our territorial waters as other countries do. At present we have no international standing and the administrator is regarded as a representative of an illegal regime."



ACTION STATIONS ... Could it soon be "all aboard and home thousands of South African troops based throughout Namibia?"

Namibians cynical by now

By JIM FREEMAN

IN Windhoek's streets and in the Namibian capital's numerous coffee bars yesterday, the subject of independence dominated conversations — much as it has done over the past 10 years.

The reaction to South Africa's agreement on the 27-month timetable of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola as a preamble to UN-supervised elections was cynical.

"We'll believe it when we see the blue helmets of the UN peace-keeping force walking down Kaiser Street," said one journalistic old-timer over coffee and a *Käsebrötchen* (cheese roll). Since late 1978, the press has writ-

ten about the impending implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on innumerable occasions.

But while the Namibian people have become relatively inured to the cry of "Wolf", they still live in certainty that the country will gain its independence "some time or other". Namibia's Transitional Government of National Unity has throughout the independence negotiations been unusually terse in its statements.

Last night, the general secretary of the largest grouping within the TGNU, Mr Johan de Waal of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said he "welcomed any progress in the direction of the implementation of Resolution 435".

435: How it will affect the SADF

Defence Correspondent

A TOTAL withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia in the event of a settlement — especially if the withdrawal is rapid — could have profound but not necessarily immediate effects on the military machine.

Fifteen years of border warfare have had a definite effect on the SADF's shape, size and methods and it would have to adapt to a situation where it is involved in a near-war rather than a war situation.

Aspects likely to require adaptation — painful or otherwise — are:

● **Manpower.** There would not be a flood of returning servicemen. The border force has been localised to the point where the South West Africa Territory Force — now 30 000 strong — supplies about 75% of the "bayonets" (fighting effectives) in the operational area.

A withdrawal would mean, however, an end to the two-month camps by means of which several thousand Citizen Force conventional troops have been kept along the border to counteract the Cuban build-up in southern Angola.

The ones likely to suffer most are the considerable number of Permanent Force officers and men, some of senior rank, now serving in SWA/Namibia. They would lose their operational allowances and income derived from letting out their homes in Pretoria and elsewhere while living cheaply on the border.

The biggest problem, however, would be to find suitable posts for them — and particularly for the large number of young majors, commandants, colonels and brigadiers whose advancement has been accelerated by the war, because, unlike World War II, these promotions are not temporary but substantive.

A special problem concerns 32 Battalion, a regiment of expatriate Angolans, and SWATF's two Caprivi-based Bushman battalions, all of which are said to have been told that they would withdraw along with the SADF to prevent reprisals. They would probably be stationed in similar territory, possibly along the Mozambican border.

● **Conscription.** The border war was the direct reason why in 1977, national service was extended to 24 months and CF non-continuous service was increased. However, a withdrawal is unlikely to lead to an immediate reduction in the duration and extent of either type of service, and in fact in October this year I was told by a top defence source that no such reductions were planned.

One reason for this is the comparative speed with which the withdrawal has become a concrete possibility. Because military personnel planning is long-term in nature, it would take much time and replanning to adapt to the new situation.

Once the situation has stabilised, however, it would be difficult to justify keeping national service at two years and CF non-continuous service at 720 days — or, in fact, calling up the lowest medical categories.

● **Defence spending.** Spending might drop to some extent, but not very much, since the day-to-day military cost of the border war is estimated at between R1 million and R2 million a day, a minor part of the defence budget, which ran to over R8 billion in 1987/8.

It is likely the money saved will simply be diverted to important existing defence projects such as the development of a high-technology fighter aircraft and a variety of missiles.

Alternatively, it could be used for urgent projects which have had to be neglected because of the lack of funds, such as the building of submarines and the extensive rebuilding and refitting of the two frigates SAS President Pretorius and SAS President Steyn.

● **Defence posture.** For the first time in a long time the SADF would be confined within its own borders; and barring a certain amount of internal security duty the SADF would revert to its main role of securing South African soil against aggression.

What is likely is that several new ground and air bases will arise along the country's north-western borders, or existing bases will be expanded.

An uncertain future faces the air, sea and naval base at Walvis Bay, which would become the SADF's farthest remaining outpost. Some day it might be handed over to its neighbour, but in the short term it would remain strategically important.

All this is likely to happen gradually, in step with developments in SWA-Namibia — till suddenly the day will come when "up north" will mean Upington instead of Oshakati.

ward bound" for the

Picture: JIM FREEMAN

Some US analysts oppose plans

By BARRY STREEK

SOME right-wing United States commentators were opposed to the agreement reached in Namibia and Angola and they wanted South Africa to go on fighting to satisfy their own extreme ideological needs, the director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barrett, warned yesterday.

He also said that, on the face of it, the election of Mr George Bush as the next president would not bring much change in US policy in Southern Africa.

Professor Barrett, who spoke at an SAIIA meeting in Cape Town, said there were dangerous voices being raised on the right in Washington.

"Some commentators and politicians, apparently for ideological reasons, do not welcome agreements or compromises with governments and parties associated with the Soviet Union.

"Only capitulation by the other side is acceptable."

They were therefore opposed to the agreement reached in Namibia under the auspices of Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

"It must be hoped their attempts to influence Mr Bush and Mr James Baker (the new US Secretary of State) do not succeed."

There was also the danger that they could try to influence people in South Africa to oppose peace settlements, but the temptation to be aligned with groups on the American right-wing would be resisted "because they are no more interested in the people of Southern Africa than those of the extreme left in the US".

The Border War — has a decade gone to waste?

ART-7615 24/11/85

By GERALD SHAW

SOUTH AFRICA'S withdrawal from Namibia and its military disengagement from the region are events of momentous significance, although this is only slowly dawning on South Africans.

Assuming that all goes according to plan, South Africa will for the first time in a decade be free of "the Border" and a huge commitment of men and material resources across its frontiers.

The impact, proportionately, could be comparable with the American experience in getting out of Vietnam and it promises to be greatly beneficial, economically and otherwise.

For 10 years much of South African life in the white community has revolved around its young men going to "the Border".

Conscription into the armed forces to combat the insurgency of the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) in Namibia and in Angola — and to fight on the side of the Unita rebels in that war-ravaged country — has loomed large.

The South African cross-border presence was on the point of escalating into a mauling military conflict against a well-equipped and powerful opponent when Pretoria decided to call it quits.

Has this been a wasted decade, in which huge resources have been squandered across the border to no good purpose? Resources which could have been usefully deployed at home?

It was not only a matter of the SADF's own massive logistical costs, fighting with greatly extended lines of communication. The tally to be picked up by the South African taxpayer also includes covert support to Dr Jonas Savimbi, supplying and resupplying the Unita rebels with weaponry and the material sinews of war.

When the SADF took over Unita a decade and more ago, it had all but disintegrated. Pretoria built it up into a formidable force, presenting a serious threat to Luanda and, in so doing, drawing the Cubans ever more deeply into the sub-continent.

The Angolan involvement was kept secret from South African taxpayers for much of the time — and so the people of this country may never know precisely how much this indulgence of Pretoria's strategic enthusiasms has cost them.

In keeping someone else's civil war going, Pretoria helped reduce southern Angola to a wasteland, rendering thousands upon thousands destitute and homeless.

But what was it all about? What was the whole exercise supposed to achieve?

Initially, the aim was to make life difficult for the forces of Swapo, who were based on Angolan soil and were infiltrating over the border into Namibia to pursue their campaign of insurgency against the South African administration of that territory.

By backing Unita, Pretoria hoped to bring pressure to bear on the MPLA government in Luanda to withdraw its support from the Swapo guerrillas. And by devastating southern Angola and turning it into a no man's land, it was hoped to deny Swapo its infiltration routes.

At one point the SADF seemed to bestride Southern Africa like an imperial colossus, holding sway far beyond its borders, wielding its power through the Renamo rebels in Mozambique and Unita in Angola and extending its clandestine arms far and wide in the region.

While eventually abandoning Renamo, which is now running out of control and devastating Mozambique, the Pretoria government came to regard Unita's battle as its own. The SADF's strategy sought to win a share for Dr Savimbi in the Luanda government. As South African backing to Unita increased, Luanda turned to Cuba to step up its military assistance — and the stage was set for a dangerous confrontation on the Namibian border and in central Angola.

As succeeding intakes of young men were conscripted into the SADF, the justification they were offered for their involvement in Namibia/Angola was the "total onslaught" and the need to keep communism at bay.

But what had caused Swapo to take up arms in the first place? And why was South Africa involved anyway?

SWA/Namibia is not South African soil. It is a former German colony which South Africa was asked to administer on behalf of the world community after World War I. After World War II, the UN took over supervision of these so-called mandated or trustee-ship territories, which one by one were led to independence.

Eventually only South West Africa remained under trusteeship, while representatives of the indigenous people of the country petitioned the UN year after year for their country to be removed from South African control and led to independence — as had been envisaged all along.

When the UN and the West failed to persuade Pretoria to bow out, Swapo launched its guerrilla campaign for Namibian independence.

The Pretoria government had at first played for time, hoping to incorporate SWA but eventually conceding its international character and, in Mr John Vorster's time, finally agreeing to Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, providing for Namibian independence. But then the SADF-dominated Botha government came along. The chance to settle the dispute under Western diplomatic auspices was frittered away in favour of achieving military victory over Swapo.

The SADF counter-insurgency campaign in Namibia was stepped-up from year to year and eventually as many as 30 000 troops were believed to be engaged. The war dragged on, although Swapo seemed pretty well knocked out, militarily speaking.

Yet Pretoria had bitten off more than it could usefully chew — and the prospect of a Swapo government in Windhoek no longer seemed so fearsome anyway.

Was it all worth it? And what will be the effect of withdrawal in South African politics? Talk of the "total onslaught" will fade, although some die-hard cold war zealots still cast Zimbabwe as a communist menace to South African security and no doubt will continue on this theme.

Sullivan on

Sanctions

Washington/AS

It will greatly increase pressure from renewed sanctions attempts, says the chairman of the Conservative Caucus based in Virginia.

Addressing Cape Town Press Club's lunchtime meeting yesterday, he said: "Contrary to conventional wisdom which holds that pressure against South Africa will decrease following the government's announcement that it will implement UN Resolution 435, it will vastly increase."

"Your United States friends have lost heart. If you don't mind having a communist terrorist threat on your northern border, then they aren't going to mind either."

"Great job"

American conservatives had beaten sanctions attempts in 1988 because for the first time there was a pro-South Africa constituency operating in the US.

It was no longer a "free ride" for Republican senators to vote against South Africa.

He paid tribute to the business community, especially Mr Raymond Ackerman, who did a "great job" on American television by saying the way to fight apartheid was to create greater economic opportunities.

The greater awareness of the "terrorist" nature of the African National Congress had also played a part.

Mr Phillips said American conservatives were "totally against United Nations supervised elections" in Namibia because the United Nations was an "extension of the Politburo".

Admonishing the South African government, he said it was

"never too late to get out of a bad deal".
"Concessions do not bring peace."
"It is the strength of South Africa that has kept it free from the Soviet embrace."

Amnesty fears over 'SA spies' held in Angola

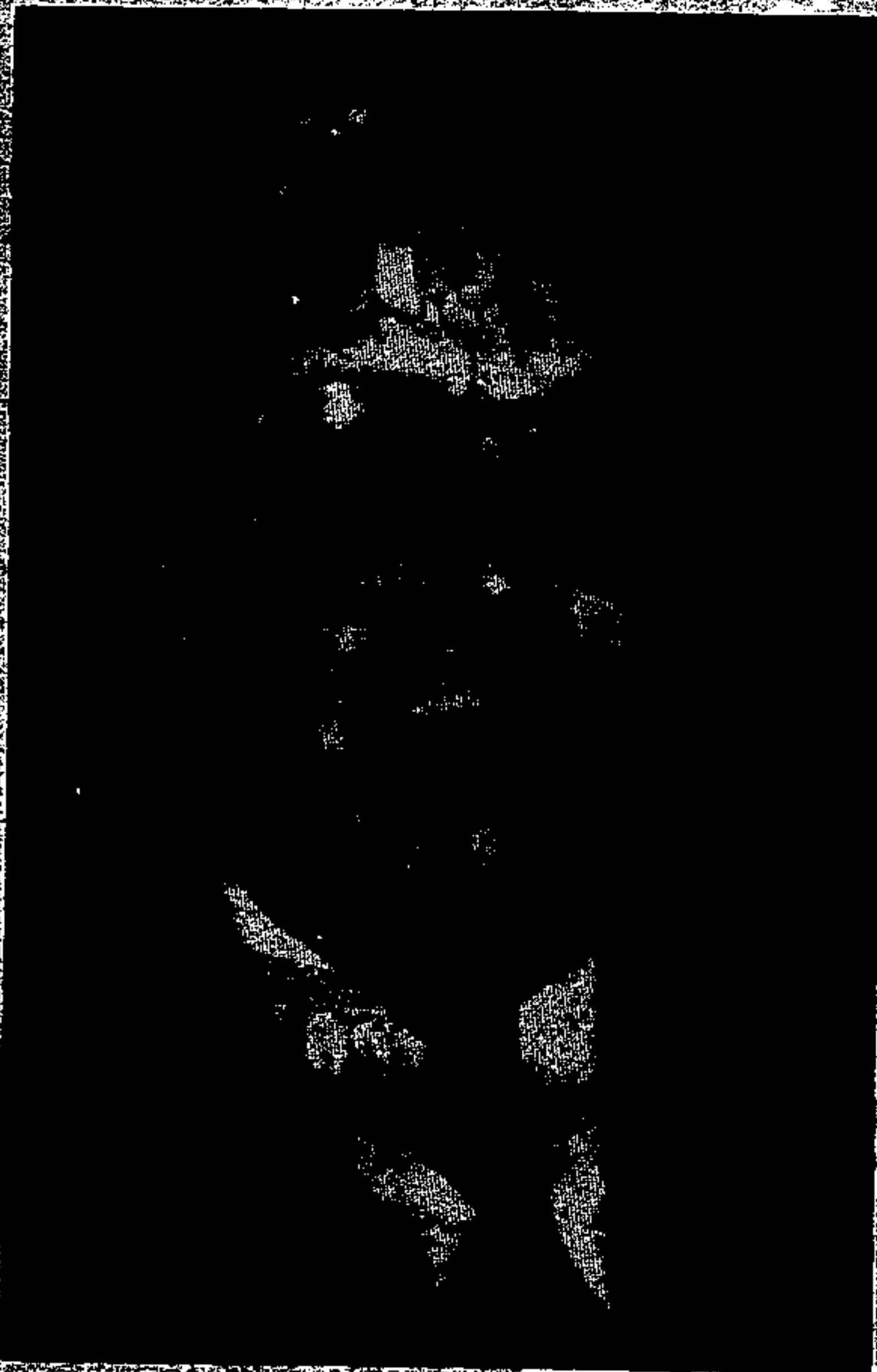
AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL said in London on Tuesday that it had been concerned for some time from reports that Swapo was holding a number of prisoners in Angola, whom it said were "South African spies".

But a spokeswoman added that the human rights organisation had not received any information to date to corroborate this.

While we oppose torture and killing of prisoners by anyone, and if it comes to light that this is indeed the case we would be prepared to interview anyone who received any information to confirm that it has occurred.

The spokeswoman said the organisation had not contacted Swapo about the reports, and had no intention of raising the matter with the UN secretary-general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, at this stage because it did not have enough information.

The spokeswoman was commenting on a recent visit to Amnesty International in London by Mr Andreas Shipanga, founder of the Swapo-Democratic Party, and now Minister of Mines in the transitional government in Namibia.



UN Secretary General Mr Perez de Cuellar.

If he had said that Amnesty International had made telephone calls, and had sent telex messages and telegrams to Swapo and had received no reply, this was incorrect.

She said the primary reason for Mr Shipanga's visit to Amnesty International had been to thank the organisation for the action it had initiated on his behalf when he was detained in

Zambia and Tanzania in the 1970s.

During the meeting, Amnesty International's concerns about Namibia were discussed, said the spokeswoman. These had related to detention without trial, torture, and other human rights violations.

Mr Shipanga that human rights abuses had been alleged at a camp in Zambia, but gave no details — Sapa.

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being thrashed out by technical teams in New York.

Mr. Doak and both Akiy were also expected to sign an agreement with Angola and Cuba on January 15. If agreement has been reached on the verification mechanism and other outstanding issues concerning Cuban troop withdrawals.

March 1 is being suggested now as the most likely date for implementation.

● Talks on monitoring Cuba's page 7.

HNP sees uncertainty and unrest in Namibia

Political Reporter
The Government's acceptance of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence would pave the way for economic uncertainty and political unrest, according to the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) Mr Jaap Marais.

Mr Marais said it would also lead to a massive propaganda campaign in support of "revolutionary and terrorist movements".

The conclusion to be drawn from the agreement would be that yet another white government had lost the war against a terrorist organisation at the conference

table, Mr Marais said in a statement.

He dismissed Pretoria's claim that the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was a victory.

"The issue at stake was SWA. For that struggle thousands of young lives have been sacrificed and billions of rands spent. What sense do these sacrifices make if hostile powers succeed in tearing SWA away from SA and subject it to communist rule?"

For as long as South Africa had ties with SWA-Namibia, "the enemy" would be kept away from South Africa's borders, he added.

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Provisos to Angola peace

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24/11/88

LUANDA. — A senior Angolan official has said Angola will not lay down arms until the independence process for Namibia has begun and Angola's security is guaranteed.

The official Angolan news agency yesterday quoted Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, the government's chief spokesman, as saying that a UN independence plan for the South African-ruled territory was the central factor in a US-mediated peace process involving South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Meanwhile, Unita yesterday vowed to continue its guerilla war despite the peace accord. Unita condemned Angola's refusal of direct negotiations. It pledged to continue the guerilla war until the Luanda government holds talks with their leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa-
Reuter

● Special reports, pages 8 and 9

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From SHAUN JOHNSON JOHANNESBURG. — Southern Africa's best-known mirage — Namibian independence — looks set to becoming real by the end of next year.

This week's flurry of subcontinental diplomatic activity has left even the most intractable sceptics thinking the unthinkable: that the Pretoria government might just be serious this time.

The reasons being given are straightforward; it is believed that Pretoria has accepted that the costs of not going along was simply too great to bear — economically, militarily, and diplomatically. One analyst summed it up in the phrase "desperation born of realpolitik".

It is believed that even the drawbacks for Pretoria — above all, white right-wing accusations of "selling out" — do not constitute a pill too bitter to swallow.

Within the space of a few days Angola, Cuba and South Africa have accepted the terms of a Geneva "understanding" on the regional peace plan, hinging on the timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola at the invitation of the Luanda government.

In addition, a South African technical team is in New York continuing the tripartite, United States mediated talks, and Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi has left Pretoria after a "satisfactory" briefing from State President PW Botha.

Observers across the political spectrum agree that the peace plan seems now to be under genuine starter's orders, after innumerable botched attempts.

According to Alan Begg, an editor at the Johannesburg-based South African Institute of International Affairs — an organisation which makes it its business to monitor trends in the peace process — "there is now reliable information that in principle, Namibian independence is all over but the shouting."

Seriousness

He says there is "obviously a fair amount of important detail still to be sorted out — like timing, practical arrangements, and the future of Unita — but the energy with which the South African team is now pursuing the peace plan is an indication in itself of a new level of seriousness.

Some observers wisely sound notes of caution to those who hope to see a President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek in the very near future.

But, as Rand Afrikaans University's Professor Deon Geldenhuys comments: "There is a very strong gut feeling around that Pretoria has come to the commitment to see this thing through."

And, he adds, "it is unthinkable that the Cabinet, the State Security Council, or whoever takes the final decision, should have come to this conclusion without recognising the possibility — even probability — of a Swapo victory in independence elections".

Professor Gerrit Erasmus of Stellenbosch University concurs with the "strong impression that this time round we are nearer to a solution than ever before".

"There seems to be a pattern whereby South Africa is genuinely working very hard on getting a settlement," he says.

"The Department of Foreign Affairs has been given quite a lot of scope — and its people are staying on a long time in Geneva."

It's for real!

Begg points to the fact that the Cubans appear to have agreed to a pullout timetable which is some distance from their original proposal — thus showing themselves to be serious about compromise.

While Erasmus thinks the January 1 "take-off date" for the beginning of the independence process is unrealistic (he does not believe, for example, that the Untag monitoring forces are sufficiently prepared),

Begg says it could still be the target date of the talks. Foreign Minister Pik Botha hinted this week that February is more likely.

There is now strong speculation in diplomatic circles that a treaty will be signed after talks reconvene in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville.

It is thought the signing ceremony will take place in January and, pending a UN Security Council meeting, Untag will begin to be mobilised.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar is on record as saying Untag could be in place in Namibia within a six-week period.

None of this means, of course, that Swapo will be given a free ride to power once a deal is finally struck.

There are still cautionary notes emanating from the South African negotiating team — and the "impartiality" of UN supervised elections is a recurring, ominous

refrain. Indeed, there are still observers who while optimistic about the chances of complete disengagement in Angola, are not quite so sure about South African withdrawal from Namibia.

"There have been strong indications that Savimbi might be prepared to accept less than a central position in a reconciled Angolan administration.

But even with all the speculative optimism, there is still one rumour which will be to the taste of the pessimistic; some believe elements of the military are arguing for one final push to shift the balance of power before a deal is made.

The truth of this will surely be known within the first month of 1989.



Unemployed Crossroads squatter Lahama Ngonyama shows off an x-ray of his injuries. He was awarded an out-of-court settlement of R18 000 from the Minister of Law and Order. PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Shock case only tip of iceberg

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE conviction of a 14-year-old schoolboy for raping his seven-year-old sister is only the tip of the iceberg of child abuse in Mitchells Plain, according to social workers.

The schoolboy was found guilty of rape in the Mitchells Plain regional court last week.

His 44-year-old father, charged with the same crime, has pleaded not guilty.

This is the latest in a series of child molest cases to rock the country. Hundreds of cases are being investigated.

The Tafelsig teenager admitted raping his sister twice in September. He will be sentenced next month.

In Mitchells Plain alone more than 75 cases of child abuse, including about 35 of rape, have come before the same court in the past four months. Many more are still being investigated.

The cases have been for rape, sodomy, indecent assault and child neglect.

"About ten cases are referred to me every week," said Mr A Weber, an executive member of the South African Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect.

NEWS BRIEFS

ANC accused plan to appeal

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC member Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim was convicted of high treason in Pretoria's Palace of Justice this week along with fellow accused Anton Mandla Maseko.

Simon Dladla was found guilty of terrorism. Defence counsel Advocate HK Naidoo said they would file an application for leave to appeal. The case was postponed to January 9 next year.

Concern at lawlessness

THE Western Cape Traders Association have expressed "deep concern" at the state of lawlessness on the Cape Flats and have called on police to step up security.

A Mitchells Plain supermarket owner's 21-year-old son, Mr Achmat Parker, was shot dead this week while trying to defend his father during a hold up at their Beacon Valley shop on Monday.

Police spokesman Attie Laubscher said police "can't be everywhere".

Endorsement for ANC talks?

THE South African Soccer Federation, meeting in Durban this weekend, is expected to endorse its executive's recent talks with the ANC in Lusaka.

The 50 delegates from 20 affiliates expected to attend the meeting at Curries Fountain will also discuss on what basis talks with other soccer organisations will take place and a next round of talks with the ANC.

Trevor Manuel plea dismissed

A SUPREME Court judge has dismissed an application by UDF leader Trevor Manuel to declare his detention unlawful.

Manuel was detained in September shortly before the Anti-Apartheid Conference. This and the October election were given as reasons for his detention.

He was released in July this year after two years at Victor Verster as one of the Western Cape's longest-serving detainees.

WPCC

Sfer 25/11/88

Malan warning of false security

Namibia peace 'is not end ⁽²²¹⁾ of terrorism'

Resolution of the conflict in Angola and Namibia would not necessarily stop terror attacks on South Africa, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned today.

While he welcomed the peace initiative in Namibia, General Malan said: "The reality is, however, that this process is not the end of terror attacks."

Speaking at a police passing out parade in Pretoria, General Malan said the possibility of Resolution 435 being implemented in Namibia in 1989 was now fact.

He said the SADF, which he described as a peace force, was part of the process that made this development possible.

"The South African Defence Force has taken into account this

possibility and its subsequent withdrawal from the area. We will honour the spirit and content of the agreement."

However, he warned against being lulled into a false sense of security following past successes by the SADF and SAP against the South African Communist Party-African National Congress alliance.

"The aim of the terrorist onslaught is to gain political power ... with this in mind terrorists are being used by the forces of evil to deliberately and systematically commit murder, maim defenceless people, blackmail and intimidate."

The security forces would stand firm and be on the alert against this onslaught, he said.

Doubts about Namibia polls

By Zenaide Vendeiro,
Education Reporter

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Opinion-makers and politicians in Namibia fear that Swapo will continue its violent struggle, much like the Irish Republican Army, if it loses the UN-supervised elections, according to a survey carried out by researchers at the University of the Orange Free State.

The UOFS team, consisting of Professors Pieter Coetzer, Henk le Roux and Danie Jacobs, spent two weeks in Namibia last month conducting interviews.

They found that many opinion-makers and politicians were doubtful and uneasy about the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

FAVOUR SWAPO

On the UN peace-keeping force, they were of the opinion that some countries which had offered to send troops, such as the Soviet Union and Indian, would in a "subtle and covert way" favour Swapo.

Namibian politicians were also sceptical about the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and said that a large number of Cuban troops had been in Angola for 10 years or more and were already entitled to Angolan citizenship.

The greatest headache of politicians, however, was the outcome of the UN-supervised elections. Moderate Namibians were realising that they had no choice but to join hands and form a united front against Swapo, said Professor Coetzer.

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Swapo hits at SWA 'braaivleis' Russia praises SA over accord

LUANDA. — Swapo said yesterday that South Africa was trying to crush its guerilla forces in Namibia while courting civilians ahead of UN elections.

Swapo's information secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said South African forces were waging a campaign of intimidation and inducement to turn Namibians against Swapo. "They are organising barbecues and free drinks to try to win over the hearts and minds of the people."

He described as "rubbish" South African claims that Swapo guerillas were staging cross-border attacks from Angola in violation of the ceasefire.

In Pretoria an SADF spokesman replied: "The facts of Swapo's terror activities against the local population in SWA-Namibia since 1 September 1988 make nonsense of Mr Hamutenya's claim that Swapo is continuing to observe their so-called unilateral ceasefire." — Sapa-Reuter

MOSCOW. — The Soviet Union has hailed South Africa's acceptance of an accord recognising Namibia's independence and credited the United States with helping to negotiate the pact.

South Africa announced its acceptance on Tuesday of a US-mediated plan that calls for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and the granting of independence to Namibia after 73 years of South African rule.

"The Soviet Union welcomes the reaching of accord on a settlement of the conflict in South-West Africa and wishes the talks to be successfully brought to a positive conclusion," said Foreign Minister spokesman Mr Gennady Gerasimov.

Mr Gerasimov said the tentative settlement offered hope for stability in all of Southern Africa. — UPI

NAMIBIA

W/E 26/11/88

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

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What SWA settlement means for SA: MONEY!

NAMIBIAN independence promises huge benefits to South Africa in economic, political and military terms — but it remains to be seen what, if anything, the ordinary taxpayer will gain from it.

The immediate prospect is that South Africa will be relieved of a multi-billion-rand millstone around its neck if the independence plan is implemented successfully.

Public money poured into SWA/Namibia from year to year over decades can, after independence, be diverted for use inside South Africa. It has been suggested the money is urgently needed for housing, welfare and health services, education and other fields hit by drastic cuts in state expenditure.

In addition, there is a prospect that the big cost of South Africa's military presence and op-

erations in the Namibia/Angolan region will be reduced and at least some of it diverted for more productive uses than warfare.

Politically, the Namibian settlement brings to an end — on paper, at least — 73 years of South African rule in the territory which culminated in a 22-year civil war and a stormy era of international disputes, condemnation, sanctions and threats over continued "illegal" occupation by South Africa.

It releases South Africa from the responsibilities and hazards of continuing, in effect, its role as the last of Africa's colonial powers in the face of mounting world criticism and hostility.

EVEN before Namibian independence, early economic benefits are expected in the Western Cape when the independence process begins. A minor boom is expected among businesses that are to help in meeting the requirements of nearly 10,000 troops and officials of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

Untag, which is to monitor the independence process, has already advertised that it will need fast deliveries of large quantities of commodities and services from the Western Cape, including food, fuel, building materials, tents, vehicles and electrical and communications equipment.

Meanwhile Namibian independence promises improved investment opportunities for South African businesses. Some major South African companies have been moving in for some time, and others are planning to move in. Most of the companies have set their sights on the time when an independent Namibia will attract foreign investment and be free of sanctions.

There are signs that venture capital will flow to the territory from abroad after independence. Such capital is already reported to have been promised from Western Europe, mainly from West Germany and Scandinavia.

At some stage — probably after Namibia's independence — South Africa is to be finally relieved of its enormous financial burden from

assistance to the territory — totalling about R1-billion a year just to keep it going.

Budgetary assistance alone is officially estimated at R5-billion during the financial years 1980 to 1990.

This figure excludes what has been spent in fighting the bush war against Swapo in northern Namibia and on the battles in Angola — an additional cost estimated to have run at R10-million a day at the height of the war.

A MAJOR problem facing an independent Namibia is the cost of social reconstruction after the withdrawal of troops.

For this task huge foreign aid will be needed to restore services and to relocate population, according to Mr Andre du Pisani, a researcher of,

the SA Institute of International Affairs.

He says an estimated 400,000 people in the northern area are now dependent on the military forces for jobs, income, social services, medical care and other needs.

An added burden for the territory is a large population of war refugees, many from Angola. In the military field, another possible benefit for South Africa is the prospect of relaxing military service requirements if lasting peace is achieved, and making more manpower available for this country's internal needs.

However, the signs are that there is unlikely to be a big drop in South Africa's overall defence spending. Money saved as a result of the end of the war is expected to be diverted to other defence projects.

Settlement: 'Suicide on the instalment plan'

by JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Correspondent

JUST when the country seems set to appease her leftwing enemies in the United States, her more conservative friends now pose a danger.

Two influential and well informed political commentators came to this identical conclusion in speaking at separate functions in Cape Town this week.

Mr Howard Phillips, described as one of the best known political analysts in the US, and who has been a personal friend of President-elect George Bush for many years, told the Press Club that the implementation of Resolution 435 for SWA/Namibian independence would, ironically, increase pressure for sanctions.

He said the anti-SA tide started to turn this year with the awareness that the best way to fight apartheid is through creating greater economic opportunity.

American politicians now also realise that being anti-SA is "no longer a free ride". The country's enemies have not been converted, but potential friends have been converted into actual friends.

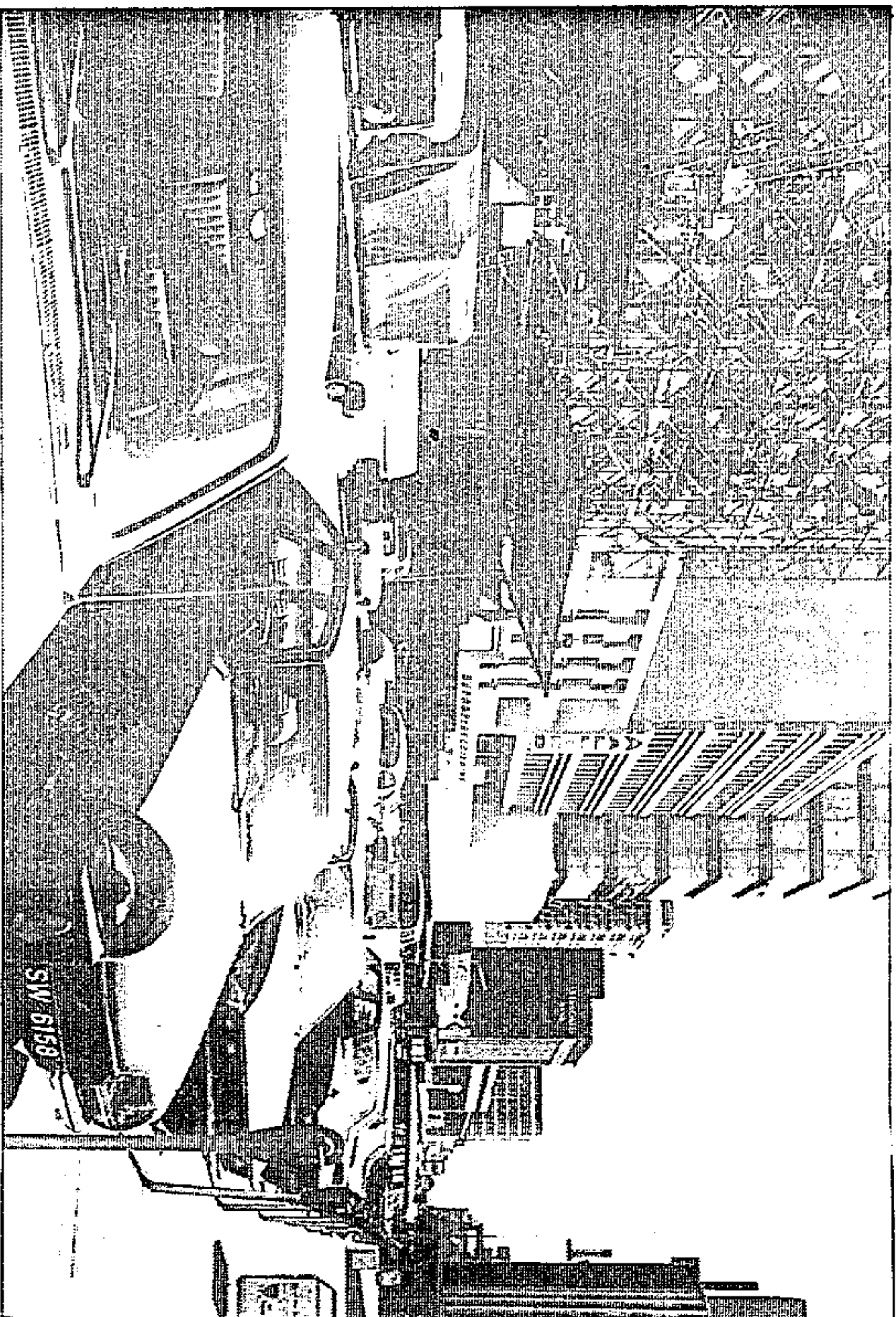
"For the first time our own forces have been rallied and put into the field," as evidenced in the opposition to sanctions measures.

In 1985, for example, 48 members of the House of Representatives voted against sanctions. This year the number had risen to 180 when the measure was put to the vote again.

But the risk of sanctions is now greater than last year because the "international pressure will be vastly increased through the implementation of Resolution 435."

This is because the country's friends will lose heart if a Soviet-allied state is established in SWA/Namibia. The feeling in the United States will be: If South Africans don't care, why should Americans worry?

He described the proposed settlement as "suicide on the instalment plan."



Windhoek — awaiting the winds of change?

Professor John Barratt of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said dangerous voices are now being raised in rightwing circles in Washington.

"Some commentators and politicians, apparently for ideological reasons, do not welcome agreements or compromise with governments and parties associated with the Soviet Union. Only capitulation by the other side is acceptable."

"Therefore they are opposed to the agreement reached in South Western Africa. Some even accuse the SA Government and the DTA in Namibia of weakness, and they want us to go on

fighting to satisfy their extreme ideological needs.

"There is also the danger that they may try to influence people in South Africa to oppose settlement. Hopefully the temptation to be aligned with groups on the American rightwing will be resisted, because they are no more interested in the people of Southern Africa than those on the extreme left in the United States."

He also warned that President Bush will have problems with an unco-operative Congress and that he will try to avoid too many clashes. "He may be less likely than President Reagan to veto a new sanctions bill — if it is watered down sufficiently."

Role for private sector in black advancement

Cape Times 26/11/88 (221) 200

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

THE international community will be "clamouring to invest in SA" once this has become a democratic, free enterprise, non-racial country, the Director General of the SA Foundation, Kurt von Schirnding — former SA Ambassador to the United Nations — said at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch yesterday.

And the quickest way to do away with apartheid and achieve this situation is through the economic forces at work in the marketplace.

"We in the private sector can play our role by encouraging and stimulating black economic advancement which must inevitably lead to greater social and political acceptance."

Von Schirnding said that if SA were a normal country, politics would not enter into any discussion of how to encourage overseas trade and foreign investment.

But "any assessment of international views on business involvement in SA cannot but focus on the political issues which are uppermost in the minds of our overseas trading partners."

Von Schirnding warned that South Africans should not be lulled into a false feeling of security by the fact that there appeared to be a sense of weariness, particularly in Western Europe, with "the SA problem" and the steam had gone out of the sanctions campaign.

There was a growing realization that punitive measures had retarded reform, furthered black impoverishment and played into the hands of the radicals to the right and the left.

There had been "a discernible shift in public opinion in the West which, if

intelligently exploited by the government to re-establish its reform credentials, could result in a re-assessment of the SA situation as a whole."

Stressing that "the key to change in SA, experience has shown, lies with the black majority, not the outside world".

Von Schirnding said that the danger of sanctions had not altogether disappeared and its avoidance depended on showing the world some progress.

It was incredible and macabre that right-wing "experts" on US foreign policy should suggest that the implementation of a Namibian solution would hasten sanctions.

"The fact that we have come so far as we have must be seen as a positive step."

The State President's decision to reprieve the Sharpeville Six and the latest move on Mandela were positive steps in the right direction.

But these could be undermined completely by any attempt by a right-wing municipality to restore old-time apartheid restrictions, Von Schirnding warned.

They would be portrayed in the overseas media, not as the actions of a small minority, but as the SA government turning its back on reform.

He went on: "We must recognize that the core of SA society, regardless of colour, has the same aims and aspirations as people everywhere and that in spite of cultural and other differences there is more that binds us together than divides us."

"In the final analysis it is progress on the domestic front which will determine the view of the international community."

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Namibia, SA talk on Aids problem

WINDHOEK. — Namibian health officials are conferring with South African authorities on the health implications — mainly the spread of Aids — of implementing UN Resolution 435.

The prime concern is over the return of aid-carrying exiles to Namibia. According to estimates, between 60 000 and 100 000 Namibian refugees are expected to return to the territory from neighbouring states.

The current chairman of the transitional cabinet, Mr Andreas Shipanga, said the Minister of National Health, Mr Moses Katjuongua, and the department's secretary, Dr Louwrens Erasmus, were in Johannesburg "to discuss delicate health matters" with South African authorities.

"A major problem we foresee is Aids," said a senior health official and superintendent of a Windhoek hospital, Dr Andreas Obholzer.

Dr Obholzer said there were still many details to be sorted out, but officials were treating the subject as "urgent and serious".

A pressing issue was the division of responsibility between the Namibian health authorities and the UN health unit in medical tests for tuberculosis, malaria, syphilis, gonorrhoea and most importantly, Aids, Dr Obholzer said. — Sapa



Peace for Namibia — Pik's hour of triumph

BY DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Thant and Waldheim, Esher and General Prem Chand.

For decades it looked like one of the world's unsolvable problems, doomed to linger forever in the bottomless pit of UN-failures together with the Arab-Israeli conflict, Lebanon and Kampuchea.

Although it paid lip-service to acceptance of Namibian independence, the SA Government for long remained intransigent around the negotiating table.

In the mid-'70s the problem was compounded by the col-

lapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, the resultant civil war in Angola, SA's military adventures on foreign soil and the sudden arrival of thousands of Cuban soldiers to prop up the MPLA regime.

When the US Government introduced a "linkage" between Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence, SA eagerly grabbed this new fig leaf.

Until then, reluctance to concede power was hidden behind reservations over the

impartiality of the UN Secretary-General and the composition of the UN military and civilian task force which has to oversee the election process.

There were many lost opportunities. Ten years ago there were less than 12 000 Cubans in Angola and a US plan was devised to get rid of them within three months.

Committed

South Africa turned down the deal because at that time they were too heavily committed to military action in Northern Namibia and inside the country the alternative of

"selling whites down the river" was too ghastly to contemplate.

Now there are 52 000 Cubans in Angola — and it will take all of 27 months to get the last out.

A number of important factors came together in the last few months to make peace in Angola and independence for Namibia much more palatable for the SA Cabinet:

- SA military superiority in the region was in severe jeopardy. Rumours of the air force having lost control of the sky, were interspersed with reports of troops on the

ground making heavy war-her against the combined Cuban-MPLA onslaught.

The war started to exact too high a toll in the lives of young men killed and there were no prospects of the situation easing.

Both the hawks and the super-hawks in the Cabinet had to take a long and hard look at the cost of continuing the hostilities:

- The financial burden of a Namibia totally dependent on a SA faced with punitive sanctions began to increase as the months passed by;
- The Soviets, enthused with the spirit of glasnost and perestroika and buoyed by

the diplomatic successes of Mikhail Gorbachev, began to reassess their role in a military adventure in a far-flung region.

Suddenly the screws were put on both the Cubans and the Angolans to be more amenable at the negotiating table:

- The Americans, scenting the possibility of a lone foreign policy success for the Reagan era, really put their backs into the process.

What is left now is to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's". Barring mishaps, the last vestige of colonialism in Africa will be free by the end of 1989.

IT was obvious that Pik Botha would have needed a lemon to wipe the smile off his face.

And few could begrudge him his hour of triumph. Even if he was mixing his metaphors a bit.

"The hard nut was cracked and we have reached the end of the road that leads to the foot of the mountain," he said.

Indeed, the Foreign Minister can look back on a long and winding road with a vast measure of pride.

"Ja," he joked with journalists after the Cabinet finally gave the go-ahead for the peace plan and election process in Namibia, "you never thought we'd do it."

But don't judge the sceptics too harshly. After all, how many reporters have burned their fingers in the last decade writing "peace in our time" and "elections by October" stories, quoting "well placed sources" in the process?

Mr Botha must derive tremendous satisfaction from pulling off the Namibian deal.

For the past quarter of a century he has done little else other than busy himself with the nebulous details of the peace process, first as adviser to South Africa's legal team at the World Court case in The Hague, later as ambassador to the United Nations and since 1977 as Foreign Minister.

Excellent

"That Son of a So-and-So has every bloody detail on the points of his fingers," an exasperated US diplomat confided a few years ago.

"There is no way you can slip anything past him. He usually refers you to an obscure point agreed on seven or eight years ago."

But, fortunately for SA, Mr Botha was also assisted by an excellent negotiating team. And even he would concede that the talks with the Cubans and Angolans only got going once the politicians with their inevitable posturing left the scene and the technocrats took over.

The indefatigable Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, the able former Ambassador to the US, Herbert Beukes, and the unsung hero, Derek Auret, who worked tirelessly behind the scenes, spring to mind.

And they could draw on the experience of the country's soldier-diplomat, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The road to international acceptance of a Namibian independence plan is literally strewn with political corpses: Carpio and De Alvez, U

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27/11/88



PIK BOTHA
Tremendous satisfaction

SWAZI SUCCESS IN SIGHT

821 08/11/38 ARSUS

THE Byzantine process leading to independence for Africa's last colony has roller-coastered up and down for almost 40 years.

The seeds of independence that now promise to blossom through the agreement between South Africa and Cuba/Angola were first planted in 1949 when the United Nations General Assembly asked the International Court of Justice for a legal opinion on continued South African control of the territory under the mandate granted by the League of Nations before that organisation became defunct.

A year later the World Court gave the opinion that the South African mandate was still legally operative, a decision expanded on and confirmed in opinions in 1955 and 1956.

African states disagreed and in 1960 Ethiopia and Liberia asked the World Court to invalidate the mandate.

In the same year a small political group, the Owanbo People's Organisation, was established. As its support grew to include non-Owanbos it changed its name to the South West African People's Organisation — Swapo.

In 1966 the World Court rejected the Ethiopian-Liberian application. The general assembly then produced the first of many resolutions condemning South Africa and calling on it to quit the territory. In the same year Swapo began its armed resistance to South African control.

In the meantime South Africa had begun to treat SWA/Namibia virtually as a fifth province. In 1962 the government-appointed Odenaal Commission recommended that the territory be divided into 10 ethnic homelands covering 39.6 percent of the land and 44 percent reserved for whites.

As in South Africa, apartheid was to be the state ideology. In 1967 the first tribal authority, for Owanbo, was installed.

In 1971 the World Court, now with different members, finally decided in favour of the African bloc at the UN and gave an advisory opinion — not a firm ruling — that South Africa's continued control of the country, which the UN now called Namibia, was illegal.

South Africa rejected the decision, precipitating a wave of strikes and unrest in SWA/Namibia.

The following year the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, visited South Africa and SWA/Namibia on a mandate from the general assembly to initiate contacts that might enable independence to be achieved.

The visit achieved little except that for the first time

Remember Mr Carpio and Mr de Alva and the allegation they were given poisoned coffee in South Africa?

The comic antics of this United Nations investigating team have become just another dimly recalled episode in the long search for independence for SWA/Namibia.

Now at last that search seems close to a successful ending.

KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service traces its high-fights.



Dr Kurt Waldheim

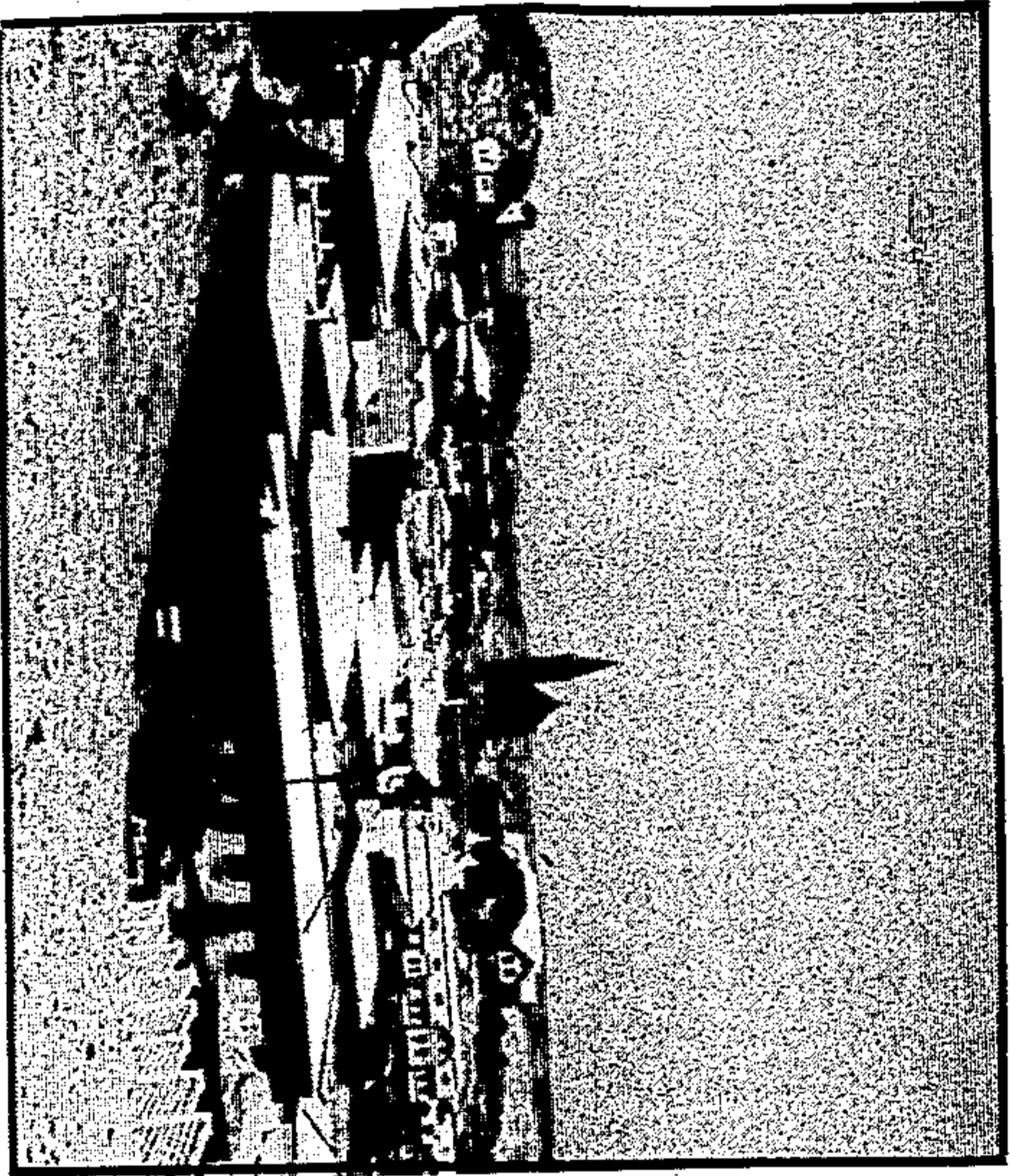


Mr Sam Nujoma



Mr John Vorster

Parties realise that the time for a settlement has finally arrived



Luderitz . . . the waiting may be over soon.



South African soldiers holding the line in SWA/Namibia.

The general assembly went further in 1976 and declared Swapo the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", a move that South Africa was later to invoke to challenge the UN's impartiality in the dispute over the territory.

By 1975 the Portuguese revolution and subsequent South African Defence Force involvement in Angola on the side of Unita had created an entirely new set of circumstances to bedevil the

of its forces outside SWA/Namibia and at the same time fostering an internal settlement.

In 1978 the contact group's plan was adopted by the security council as resolution 435, providing for a cessation of hostilities between South Africa and Swapo, the withdrawal of South African troops and free elections supervised by the UN.

However, the agreement soon foundered in a sea of distrust between South Africa and Swapo over issues such as control of Walvis Bay.

to provide adequately for recognition of the internal parties.

Then, in 1982, the newly elected Reagan administration in the United States came up with the concept of linking any implementation of resolution 435 to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. South Africa quickly embraced the idea.

In 1983 the internal Turnhalle government finally collapsed and the Administrator-General took direct control of the regime, further complicating the problem of SWA/Namibia independence if it was to be linked to the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

In the face of this seemingly intractable problem, the Lusaka Accord slowly crumbled and conflict between the SADF and Swapo increased, with Unita clashing with Swapo units, which began to be integrated with Angolan army units for protection from SADF raids.

a key role, appeared to have confirmed the MPLA's inability to drive Unita out of its stronghold in the south-east. At the same time the SADF's ability to operate in southern Angola had become restricted by the increasing strength of Luanda's forces, especially in the air, and the Cubans established themselves in strength close to the SWA/Namibia border.

It was clear that the SADF would face far stronger opposition in any future opera-

Prime Minister John Vorster declared that government policy was one of "self-determination and independence" for SWA/Namibia.

The secretary-general's mandate was revoked in 1973 and in 1975 South Africa began what came to be known as the Turnhalle Initiative, which aimed to produce an internally constructed pre-independence government.

This and other South African attempts to promote an "internal" settlement have all foundered in the face of consistent demands by the world community for a non-racial, unitary system of government.

pendence chances of SWA/Namibia.

The SADF came to be established in strength in the territory, and from the late 1970s when Swapo began to mount armed incursions from bases in southern Angola, the future of the territory began to be seen by South Africa, especially the military, as closely entwined with the security of South Africa itself.

In 1977 South Africa appointed an Administrator-General to govern the territory as the Turnhalle initiative declined, and sensing an opportunity to pursue a settlement, the Western members of the UN Security Council

claimed by South Africa, and the confinement to bases inside and outside of the territory of SADF and Swapo forces.

South Africa then announced it intended to go ahead with ethnic elections, causing an initial breakdown in negotiations, but later again agreed to the principal of one man, one vote elections in a unitary state rather than an ethnic federation as envisaged in its "Internal" settlement.

South Africa was in effect pursuing a "two-track" policy, talking to the Western contact group on disagreements with Swapo over monitoring

South Africa's main concern was said to be that Swapo would easily win any "free and fair" elections, and after the triumph of a radical Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe it was deemed too risky for Pretoria to be seen "giving" SWA/Namibia to an equally militant Sam Nujoma.

However, in 1981, with all parties seemingly agreed on the provisions of resolution 435, the peace plan was put to the test at a conference in Geneva with high hopes of final agreement.

The conference collapsed within a week when South Africa refused to sign a declaration of intent because it failed

the territory.

However, negotiations continued on a border ceasefire and in 1984 an agreement was reached in Lusaka after talks between the United States and South Africa.

Under the Lusaka Accord, as it became known, a commission was set up to monitor the withdrawal of the SADF from southern Angola and Swapo and Cuba agreed not to move into the vacuum created.

South Africa continued to support the Unita movement, however, and the successes of this group made the presence of the Cubans even more vital to the survival of the MPLA

the intrusive in the peace negotiations slowly swung away from the Western contact group as a whole and towards the United States, which adopted the strategy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

In June, 1985, in pursuance of its two-track policy, South Africa installed the Transitional Government of National Unity in Windhoek.

Constructive engagement seemed to be making little headway until the end of 1987 when the military situation appeared to enter a stalemate.

A series of major battles, in which SADF forces played

tions in Angola. Cuba would not allow the MPLA to be defeated militarily but at the same time the MPLA realised it could not crush Unita while the guerrillas had South African backing.

Thus it appears that it was events on the battlefield rather than around the negotiating table that finally made the parties involved realise that the time for a settlement had finally arrived.

● Negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on peace in south-western Africa would be resumed in Brazzaville, Congo, tomorrow, the Congolese news agency reported.

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CAP T 28/11/88

a Mudge on the stump says ²²¹ Swapo won't win

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) did not see a Swapo victory in the forthcoming Namibian election as inevitable and had already started campaigning for the election, DTA leader and transitional government chairman Mr Dirk Mudge said yesterday.

Speaking from Windhoek after his return from the US at the weekend, Mr Mudge said while Swapo enjoyed a psychological advantage in being recognised by the UN, the DTA was going into the election with confidence.

"We are not participating as a white party, we have thousands of people at our meetings, we are not in favour of the maintenance of the status quo. We want everything and more that Swapo wants," he said.

He said it was to be hoped that whoever lost the election would form a loyal opposition in line with democratic principles. Any losing party that reverted to the continuation of terrorism would only undermine the new state.

He said the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker and UN members who he met during his US trip were optimistic on the finalisation of the Angolan issue.

He said, all being well, it was not impossible implementation of Resolution 435 would take place before the first quarter of next year.

People he had met with abroad had expressed concern that an independent Namibia would go "the Africa way" with an unsound economic policy that could include nationalisation and expropriation of property, he said.

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CAP T 28/11/88

Swapo poll win not inevitable — Mudge

Blaney 28/11/88
DIANNA GAMES (22) (21)

DEMOCRATIC Turnhalle Alliance leader Dirk Mudge, back from a visit to the US, says the DTA does not see a Swapo victory in Namibian elections as inevitable.

Mudge, who is chairman of the transitional government, said the DTA had already started campaigning.



● MUDGE

Speaking from Windhoek yesterday, Mudge said that while Swapo enjoyed a psychological advantage in being recognised by the UN, the DTA was going into the election confidently.

"We are not participating as a white party — we have thousands of people at our meetings. We are not in favour of the maintenance of the status quo. We want

● To Page 2 →

'Swapo won't grab mines'

LUANDA — Swapo would not automatically nationalise private mines or farms to impose state control on the economy if it won elections expected next year when the territory became independent, Swapo secretary-general Andimba Toivo ja Toivo said at the weekend.

He said a Swapo government would, however, work to wean mineral-rich Namibia from economic dependence on SA.

If Swapo won the election it would allow Namibians to choose what kind of political system they wanted.

Swapo was confident it would win an overall majority in elections scheduled to be held under the UN independence blueprint for Namibia.

Toivo ja Toivo said Swapo foresaw a socialist path of development for Namibia's economy.

Swapo's overall objective would be to gradually reduce Namibia's heavy dependence on the SA economy, "But we will try to avoid disruption. It will be a slow process."

A Swapo government would not immediately take over foreign-owned mining companies. Toivo ja Toivo said: "If we do that it would be tantamount to saying we are closing the mines." He said there were not enough skilled Namibians to run the mines.

A Swapo government would renegotiate existing contracts with multinational mining companies to ensure the country would benefit from their profits, technology and training.

Similarly, Swapo would not automatically nationalise farms. But Toivo ja Toivo said many large properties owned by foreigners were idle or were not being fully exploited. The government would buy those.

He said anyone who wanted to be a Namibian was welcome to stay after independence. "Under a Swapo government all those who want to be Namibian will be treated equally.

"But those who are toying with the idea of minority rights must forget that." — Sapa-Reuter.

Swapo electoral victory 'not inevitable'

everything that Swapo wants — and more." ←

Blaney 28/11/88

It was to be hoped that whoever lost the election would form a loyal opposition in line with democratic principles. Any losing party that reverted to the continuation of terrorism would only undermine the new state.

Mudge said former US Secretary of State Chester Crocker and UN members he met during his US trip were optimistic on the finalisation of the Angolan issue. All being well, it was not impossible that implementation of resolution 435 would take place before the first quarter of next year.

People he had met abroad had expressed concern that an independent Namibia would go "the African way", with an unsound economic policy, but locally, he said, he was surprised at the

confidence with which people viewed the country's future.

A certain measure of uncertainty was to be expected, and prolonged uncertainty over the country's future would do the economy more harm than good.

The DTA had been campaigning for the election for the past two months.

"We are not opposed to an election, nor do we have any plans to boycott it, so we may as well prepare for it," he said.

It was hoped an all-party meeting could be held before the implementation of 435, as it would be in the country's interests if this produced from the parties at least a collective undertaking to respect certain things "to make people feel more safe".

● From Page 1

SWAPO promise on Namibia

Experts won't be 'driven out', but no 'whites-only' protection

LUANDA. — A prominent Swapo official said at the weekend that if the organisation won an election in Namibia it would not dictate the country's future political system nor drive out foreign experts needed to run the mines and farms.

The secretary-general of Swapo, Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, second in the group's hierarchy after its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in an interview here that a Swapo government would not automatically impose state control on the economy. However, he emphasised there was no plan for minority rights to protect whites.

He said his organisation was confident it could win the elections and become Namibia's new government — a view shared by most of Swapo's foes inside the territory. But Swapo remains highly mistrustful of South Africa.

"If February 1 does not bring positive results... I think we can wait no longer," he said. "This will be because these people (the South Africans) are playing monkey tricks with us."

Asked what kind of political system Swapo favoured, Mr Toivo ya Toivo said: "We are flexible... the elections will decide and the people of Namibia will decide."

He said Swapo foresaw a socialist path of development for Namibia's economy, which is based on fishing, cattle and sheep ranching and mining of diamonds, copper, gold and uranium.

Swapo's overall objective would be to gradually reduce Namibia's heavy dependence on the more powerful South African economy. "But we will try to avoid disruption. It will be a slow process."

He acknowledged that Namibia would not have enough skilled citizens to run the mines without foreign experts.

A Swapo government would renegotiate existing contracts with multinational mining companies to ensure the independent country would benefit from their profits, technology and training.

Many large farms owned by foreigners currently lay idle or were not being fully exploited. These the government would purchase.

"It is our responsibility to ensure that all of the farms are used for the benefit of the people," he added.

The Swapo official said that anyone who wanted to be a Namibian was welcome to stay after independence. "Under a Swapo government all those who want to be Namibian will be treated equally," he said.

But he added in a clear reference to Namibia's whites: "Those who are toying with the idea of minority rights, must forget about it." — Sapa-Reuters

Italian wins False Bay race

ITALY'S Olympic Windsurfing finalist at Seoul, Paolo Wittmann, swept aside his South African opponents



Angola accuses SA of 'complications'

LUSAKA: — Angola has accused South Africa of creating new complications to peace in south-western Africa.

The two countries, with Cuba and the United States, are due to meet in Brazzaville today to finalise details of a series of accords on independence for Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

But Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luise Neto Kiambata, said on Sunday night his country was losing confidence in South Africa's will to abide by the proposed accord.

"We are expecting to meet this week but, according to information received this weekend, it may be a little bit difficult for us to sign the Brazzaville protocol by the end of November, because of some last-minute difficulties created by South Africa," he said.

Mr Kiambata did not elaborate, but said Angola was ready to sign the agreement.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola agreed in Geneva on November 15 to a

timetable for a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for Pretoria granting independence to Namibia.

South Africa said last week the second and final peace accord could be signed on January 15 if certain conditions were met.

These were that agreement must be reached on how to verify the withdrawal of the Cubans.

The ambassador ruled out reconciliation with Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita.

He also said Dr Savimbi had shifted his bush headquarters in Jamba, southern Angola, to Cheto on the Caprivi strip in Namibia.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria reacted to the accusations by saying the Angolans "have no reason to issue such statements".

The spokesman added the statements could "prove counter-productive to the pending (peace) negotiations". — Sapa-Reuter

UN Resolution 435 'difficult' to effect

WINDHOEK. — The Minister of Finance in the transitional Namibian government, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday that for practical considerations it would be "extremely difficult" to implement UN Resolution 435 in Namibia before March 1 — even if the outstanding issues were resolved smoothly.

That was the impression gained from the special UN representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in discussions held in the United States, Mr Mudge said.

"Politicians have probably mentioned other dates, but he (Mr Ahtisaari) sees it from a practical point of view of what is possible for him," Mr Mudge told a news conference.

The March 1 implementation date in turn "depends on a resolution that must be adopted before the end of this year by the UN Security Council".

Mr Mudge said he had requested Mr Ahtisaari to take action to eliminate, before the UN-supervised elections in Namibia, the prevailing perception that the UN would prefer a Swapo-based government for the territory.

Mr Ahtisaari "wholeheartedly agreed" and emphasised that he could not afford to arrive in Windhoek while his team of UN supervisors was seen as being allied with a particular political group.

Savimbi: 'Bush has promised support'

JAMBA. — The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said US president-elect Mr George Bush has assured him of his support.

Dr Savimbi said Mr Bush had contacted him directly and said Unita would have unwavering US support until Cuba left Angola and Moscow stopped backing the Angolan government, the SABC reported.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview with a newspaper in Jamba that he relied on support from the South African government to some extent, but that a withdrawal of Cuban troops and less Soviet support for Angola would increase his organisation's self-sufficiency.

Dr Savimbi also criticised the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Dur-oam Barosa.

He said Mr Barosa had tried to persuade the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, that Unita had no meaning in the Angolan civil war and that the American backing of Unita was wrong.

Dr Savimbi dismissed as "ridiculous" a recent proposal by Portugal for an economic plan for Angola.

He said the war was still claiming lives on both sides and that what was really needed was peace instead of economic proposals. — Sapa

Final round of talks to start today

BRAZZAVILLE. — A final round of US-mediated talks between South Africa and an Angolan-Cuban delegation will begin today, the Congolese Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced yesterday.

A source close to Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso said a protocol agreement may be signed on Thursday.

The pact, which was expected to be drafted into a formal treaty agreement for signing in January, will end hostil-

ities between South Africa and the Angolan government.

The Congolese statement said the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, architect of the treaty, was due here last night.

The other delegations are scheduled to arrive this morning. — Sapa-AP

Mystery of missing Swapo woman

LONDON — A young Namibian woman who worked in London for Lord Gifford, the radical lawyer, disappeared when she returned to Zambia to visit her child in August.

Ms Beince Gawanas (32) is believed to have been detained by Swapo. However, a Swapo spokesman in London denied yesterday that Swapo was holding her.

"We have no information as yet," he said. "We informed the office in Lusaka that she was arriving from London, but we have heard nothing more."

Lord Gifford said he was "very concerned" about her disappearance and had written to the Swapo president, Mr Sam

Nujoma, to ask about her case. Others who have inquired have been told she is being held on suspicion that she is a South African spy. *STW 30/11/88*

Ms Gawanas was regarded as one of the brightest and most articulate Swapo members.

Colleagues in Swapo and in Lord Gifford's law firm dismiss as outrageous suggestions that she was a South African spy.

She has lived in Britain for 10 years and, like all Namibian exiles, had a United Nations travel document. These are usually held by Swapo but hers was returned to her to allow her to visit her family in Zambia.

She flew to Lusaka at the end of August, but her family wait-

ing at the airport to meet her never saw her emerge from customs, implying that she was detained with the collusion of the Zambian authorities.

Swapo is believed to hold between 100 and 150 people on suspicion of spying for South Africa. When information about the detentions leaked out Swapo described it as a smear campaign organised by Pretoria but admitted to holding about 100 people, most of whom had been "misled" by South African agents.

Under UN Resolution 435 which will bring Namibia to independence, all prisoners must be released. — The Independent News Service.

Hope of agreement as talks begin today

App 11/15 30/11/88 221

THE last lap of the protracted Angolan-Namibian peace talks kicks off in Brazzaville today with final agreement possible by the end of the week.

South Africa's negotiating team, headed by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, is expected to leave for the Congolese capital early today.

Angola said yesterday that it hoped South Africa and the United States would agree to stop supporting Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Diplomats said the issue of aid for Unita and pressure on the Angolan government to negotiate with the rebels could still derail the delicate US-mediated

NAIROBI. — An independent Namibia would boost resistance to South Africa's policy of apartheid and also increase its isolation internationally, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said here yesterday.

"Certainly the independence of Namibia will create an atmosphere of confidence in the people of South Africa to resist apartheid," Mr Nujoma told reporters.

He also said an independent Namibia — which would not be economically dependent on South Africa — would strengthen the so-called frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity to further isolate South Africa internationally.

Mr Nujoma said he expected Namibia to be independent in December next year. — Sapa-AP

peace process for Angola and Namibia.

A commentary by the official Angolan news agency Angop, which usually reflects government thinking, appealed to Washington and Pretoria to show flexibility and good sense in the Brazzaville meeting.

Negotiators from

South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to initiate a protocol on a United Nations independence plan for Namibia and a timetable for the departure of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

A final accord is scheduled to be signed on January 15. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

ARCUS 1/12/88 (122)

SA strong in Namibia peace talks — Malan

DUNNOTTAR. — The SWA/Namibia negotiations are being conducted from a position of strength after South Africa's military successes, says the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Speaking at a SAAF wings parade at Dunnottar today, he said South Africa knew there was nothing to be gained from entering negotiations from a position of weakness.

TACTIC

"The battles at the Lomba River and at Cuito Cuanavale forced Cuba and the Luanda regime to the negotiation table."

The Cuban tactic of "talking peace" while reinforcing its military capability, and trying to consolidate its positions

against Unita, was a clear tactic to promote its own position.

"The negotiation process has, however, put pressure on Cuba and Angola not to jeopardise the peace talks."

REQUEST

It was important that they had requested the negotiations.

General Malan said he had been surprised and perturbed to read a newspaper report last Sunday that the SADF had been in jeopardy and that South Africa had therefore been forced to the negotiation table.

"To repeat already disproved and propaganda tales of a South African military defeat or setback is unjustified." — Sapa.

Cape
Times
1/12/88

Delegates meet for final round

221

BRAZZAVILLE. Delegations from South Africa, Angola and Cuba gathered here yesterday to prepare to sign a US-brokered peace protocol covering a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said from Pretoria yesterday that the aim of this round of negotiations would be to consolidate the various agreements and understandings already achieved, into a formal agreement to be known as the "Brazzaville Protocol".

"Obviously, discussions will also be held on important additional matters, such as the monitoring mechanism of Cuban withdrawal.

"At the same time there are important practical issues which will have to be negotiated with the secretary-general of the United Nations, such as the medical tests, with which the UN personnel and the returning South West Africans will have to comply," Mr Botha said in his brief

statement.

Officials of the host country, Congo, expressed confidence that the signing ceremony — the culmination of seven months of delicate negotiations — would go ahead as scheduled at 4pm today.

Asked whether he had come ready to sign the protocol, Angolan delegation head General Antonio dos Santos Franca said: "Yes, in principle."

But General Franca, who is also Angola's armed forces chief of staff, added: "There are still some issues to be discussed."

The signing of a formal, final peace accord endorsed by the UN is expected at a later date in New York.

The Angolan government is itself resisting US and South African pressure for it to negotiate with Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement, Unita.

Angola has in the past accused Zaire of backing Unita and diplomats said it was possible that US chief mediator Dr Chester Crocker had also met Dr Savimbi. — Sapa-Reuter

and CAPE 80c (71c + 9c tax)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A certificate issued by President P W Botha to stop the trial of four Defence Force members on charges of murder was ruled invalid yesterday by a full bench of the Supreme Court in Windhoek.

Mr Justice Levy said the evidence submitted to issue the certificate was "most misleading" and the report to the President did not contain vital information about medical witnesses.

For this reason, Mr Justice Levy ruled no proper report had been submitted to the President as required by section 103 of the Defence Act. The President was therefore, in law not able to authorise the interim government to issue the certificate to stop the trial.

The trial of the four Defence Force members, C J Harmse, F J Herps, D F Esselen and J Fernando, for the murder of Frans Capota, 45, was stopped on July 27, 1986, after the certificate was issued. Capota's wife, Victoria Mwenhanga, appealed against this decision and yesterday, Justices Levy, Mouton and Hendler, ruled in her favour.

Court overrules PW's ban on trial of soldiers in Namibia

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

Mr Justice Levy said a post mortem report and evidence explaining the dead man's injuries and cause of death were "essential". This had not been submitted. The post mortem report, obtained as a result of a discovery order, was analysed by Dr L S Smith and Dr J W van der Spuy, both experts in the field.

"According to their analysis, the cause of death was a massive subdural haematoma covering the entire of the brain resulting from head injury."

"In addition, however, (and in the circumstances of this case most important) there were serious injuries to the upper abdomen and chest, including nine broken ribs, a ruptured spleen, a fracture of the neck and various other lacerations and injuries, particularly injuries around the neck consistent with a rope being tied around the deceased's neck and consequent strangulation."

In her supporting affidavit, Mwenhanga said she, her husband and a few friends were gathered at a shop at Onengali, Owambo, when certain members of the SA or SWA army appeared on the scene, forced them to lie down and proceeded to kick them. They then blindfolded her husband and assaulted him.

None of the allegations made by the applicant are denied by the respondent, Mr Justice Levy said.

Yesterday's Supreme Court decision concerned one of two similar applications to set aside certificates, which has also been appealed, involving the death of a Swapo supporter, Immanuel Shifidi, at a Windhoek rally in 1986. In that case, six soldiers were charged with murder.

Peace deal: Delay over who will sign

Cape Times 3/12/88 (122)

From ORMANDE POLLOK

BRAZZAVILLE. — South African attempts to involve President P W Botha in the signing of the final Angola-Namibia peace agreement are understood to be one of the issues holding up current talks.

Earlier indications were that deadlock had been reached about a South African demand that it had to be "satisfied" with procedures to monitor the Cuban troop withdrawal.

However, according to some sources this was not the only reason. They said the Cubans and Angolans did not want to involve heads of state and wanted

the final agreement signed as early as mid-December, not mid-January as proposed by South Africa.

It is understood the South African government believes the agreement to be so important that it should be signed by heads of state and may even have offered to host the signing in South Africa.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker yesterday afternoon and there was speculation that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin would be asked to deal with the Cubans.

Wind blows

II: .

'Pretoria is not serious'

221

Soweto 5/11/84

BRAZZAVILLE — US-mediated peace negotiations on Angola and Namibia were in suspense yesterday after the South African delegation decamped for consultations at home.

Angola and Cuba reacted angrily to the surprise departure of the South Africans and accused Pretoria of not being serious about the peace process.

Diplomats in the Congo capital said they hoped the latest hitch in the seven-month-old negotiations would only delay but not block final agreement which they said was tantalisingly close.

"Unless there are basic changes of policy on decision this thing is still on track," a senior member of the US mediating team said.

The hasty South African exit on Saturday night occurred when the

parties were finalising details for signing a long-awaited peace protocol covering a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

South Africa, with US backing, had made the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola a condition for granting independence to Namibia, a former German colony bordering Angola which Pretoria has ruled since World War One.

Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada described the behaviour of the South Africans led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha as a "second rate movie show".

"The reason for their escape from Brazzaville is that they are not ready to sign a peace agreement and not ready to implement the Namibian independence process," he said.

Thorny problems on road to 435

In the coming months South Africans will be bombarded and nauseum with 435.

The numbers are Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), the resolution prescribing the formula under which the United Nations will supervise a ceasefire and elections leading to independence for Namibia.

Resolution 435 itself is a short and vague document which merely reiterates the UN demand for South Africa to withdraw from the territory and orders the establishment of a UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) to supervise South African withdrawal and a subsequent election.

The mechanics of the Namibian independence process are set out in a report to the UN Secretary-General from the Western contact group that was attempted at the time 435 was adopted to find a way to resolve the dispute over the territory's future.

The report, which has become accepted as an addendum to 435, sets out the following steps:

- Within the week the Secretary-General was to report back to security council which would adopt a plan for UN involvement, formally beginning the "transition period", and beginning to make provision for financing the operation of Untag.
- An immediate cessation of hostilities between South Africa and Swapo would come under the supervision of Untag

Star
5/12/88

By KEN VERNON
The Star's Africa
News Service

221

Will a tripartite agreement by Angola, Cuba and South Africa solve Namibia's problems? It seems Resolution 435 and a report by the Western contact group to the UN Secretary-General present many contentious issues.

and all South African, ethnic Namibian and Swapo troops would be confined to base. Untag would also begin surveillance of the border to prevent infiltration and begin to monitor police forces. The Security Council would liaise with neighbouring countries on these arrangements.

● Within six weeks South African troop levels would be reduced to 12 000 men and the UN would move to facilitate the repatriation of exiles. All discriminatory legislation was to be repealed and the command structure disbanded of all commando, citizen and ethnic forces and their equipment held under UN control.

● By Week 9 South African forces were to be reduced to 8 000 men, while repatriation of Swapo members through designated entry points was to begin. The release of all political prisoners was to be completed.

● By Week 13 the election campaign, of about four months duration, was to begin.

● By Week 23 an elected constituent assembly was to be convened. All South African army personnel to leave the country, all military bases de-

activated.

The Secretary-General appointed a special representative, Mr Maarti Ahitsaari, and no doubt contingency plans have been made during the 10 years that Mr Ahitsaari has been in office.

Previous negotiations over the implementation process broke down over the following contentious issues:

● The composition of the forces to make up Untag.

● The ownership of Walvis Bay.

● The question of whether Swapo was entitled to bases within Namibia.

● The monitoring of Swapo personnel in bases outside Namibia.

● The creation of a demilitarised zone to prevent infiltration into Namibia during the implementation phase.

● Release of political prisoners by both South Africa and Swapo.

● South Africa's allegation that the UN was biased toward Swapo.

● What voters rolls would be used in the election — if any.

● The actual form of the electoral process as to whether the Westminster "winner takes all"

style or proportional representation would be employed.

Few if any of these contentious issues had been solved by the time the earlier negotiations collapsed, and as far as is known, they remain unresolved.

Indeed, since the collapse of the initial talks, even more obstacles have been raised, such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The thorny subject of who is to pay for the exercise has also been raised. The UN has finally learnt its resources are not infinite, and that the bill for implementation of 435 could reach a billion rand.

The exclusion of Unta from the present negotiations has also created the possibility for the process to break down.

The Unta leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, says the MPLA government in Luanda was preparing to launch an offensive against his capital of Jamba the moment the ink was dry on any agreement that prevented South Africa coming to his assistance — but he could handle this.

If Dr Savimbi is wrong about holding Jamba, or he says the Cubans are surreptitiously involved in any large-scale fighting, will South Africa again intervene to save its ally?

It may be that all any tripartite agreement signed between South Africa and Cuba/Angola will achieve is to return the independence process to where it was 10 years ago.

What Resolution

FOCUS

435 means to Namibia

IN the coming months South Africans will be bombarded ad nauseum with the numbers "435".

The numbers are, of course, a shortened reference to Security Council 435 (1978), the resolution prescribing the formula under which the United Nations will supervise a ceasefire and elections leading to independence for Namibia.

Resolution 435 itself is a short and vague document which merely reiterates the UN demand for South Africa to withdraw from the territory and orders the establishment of a UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) to supervise South African withdrawal and subsequent election.

The mechanics of the Namibia independence process are set out in a report to the UN secretary-general from the Western contact group that was attempting at the time 435 was adopted to find a way to resolve the dispute over the territory's future.

The report, which has become accepted as an addendum to 435, sets out the following steps:

- Within the week the secretary-general is to report back to Security Council which would adopt a plan for UN involvement, formally beginning the "transition period", and begin to make provision for financing the operation of Untag.

- An immediate cessation of hostilities between South Africa and Swapo would come under the supervision of Untag and all South African, ethnic Namibian and Swapo troops would be confined to base. Untag would also begin surveillance of the border to prevent infiltration and begin to monitor the police forces. The Security Council would liaise with neighbouring countries on these arrangements.

- Within six weeks South African troop

Argus Africa
News Service

levels to be reduced to 12000 men, while the UN would move to facilitate the repatriation of exiles. All discriminatory legislation is to be repealed and the command structure disbanded of all commando, citizen and ethnic forces and their equipment held under UN control.

- Week 9. South African forces to be reduced to 8000 men, while repatriation of Swapo members through designated entry points begins. The release of all political prisoners is to be completed.

- Week 12. South African forces to number 1500, confined to Grootfontein and Oshivelo bases, all other military bases deactivated.

- Week 13. The election campaign, of about four months duration, begins.

- week 23. Elected Constituent Assembly is convened. All South African army personnel leave country, all military bases deactivated.

- At an unspecified date the Constituent



MAARTI Ahtisaari... making plans.

"Resolution 435 itself is a short and vague document which merely reiterates the United Nations demand for South Africa to withdraw from Namibia."

Assembly delivers its constitution, and is presumably itself installed in power.

- Independence.

The secretary-general has of course appointed a special representative, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, and no doubt contingency plans have been made during the ten years that Mr Ahtisaari has been in office.

Several teams from the UN have arrived in Namibia over the years to begin preparations for the arrival of Untag, only to return home with nothing achieved as talks broke down.

Previous negotiations over the implementation process broke down over the following contentious issues:

- The composition of the forces to make up Untag.

- The ownership of Walvis Bay, claimed by South Africa, but demanded by Swapo.

- The question of whether Swapo was entitled to bases within Namibia.

- The monitoring of Swapo personnel outside Namibia.

- The creation of a demilitarised zone to

prevent infiltration into Namibia during the implementation phase.

- Release of political prisoners by both South Africa and Swapo.

- South Africa's allegation that the UN was biased towards Swapo, which it has labelled the "only authentic representative" of the Namibian people.

- What voters rolls would be used in the election — if any.

- The actual form of the electoral process as to whether the Westminster "winner takes all" style or proportional representation would be employed.

Few if any of these contentious issues had been solved by the time the earlier negotiations collapsed, and as far as is known, they remain unresolved.

Indeed since the collapse of the initial talks, even more obstacles from Angola, the subject of the present agreement between South Africa and Cuba/Angola, as well as UN involvement in verifying such a withdrawal.

The thorny subject of who is to pay for the exercise has also been raised. The UN has finally learnt it's resources are not infinite, and that the bill for implementation of 435 could reach a billion rand.

The exclusion of Unita from the present negotiations has also created the possibility for the process to break down.

At a recent press conference Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said that the MPLA Government in Luanda was preparing to launch an offensive against his capital of Jamba the moment the ink was dry on any agreement that prevented South Africa coming to his assistance.

He maintained that he was capable of dealing with any MPLA threat not backed by Cuban forces, but at the same time South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan has vowed not to allow Unita to be destroyed.

If Savimbi is wrong, and Jamba appeared likely to fall, Dr Savimbi alleged that Cubans were surreptitiously involved in any large-scale fighting, would South Africa again intervene to save its ally?

If they did so, what would be the attitude of the Cubans?

It may be that what any tripartite agreement signed between South Africa and Cuba/Angola will achieve, is to return the independence process to where it was ten years ago.



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Peace talks in Suisse romande

CHR - Tric 5/12/88

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BRAZZAVILLE. — Peace negotiations on Angola and Namibia were in suspense yesterday after the South African delegation left here for consultations with President P W Botha.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, who flew here unexpectedly

on Friday, left again at midnight on Saturday.

Negotiators had appeared close to agreement and the delegation's departure dashed hopes of a weekend peace protocol covering a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia.

However, Mr Botha held out hope that the Brazzaville accord, which was expected to have been signed last week, would be signed before the end of the month. And Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada, said: "We still think there's a

chance we will find ourselves back here in Brazzaville."

Following the hitch in the negotiations, the Cuban and Angolan delegations accused South Africa of not being serious about the peace process.

However, Mr Botha said the peace process was "irreversible".

He indicated that the verification of Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola was behind the latest impasse.

However, the Cubans said the South African

left because Pretoria was unable to accept new proposals that the two linked peace agreements on Angola and Namibia be signed on December 12 and that a UN plan for Namibian independence should start on March 1.

South Africa had wanted the signings to take place in mid-January.

"I don't understand what all the fuss is

To page 3

about," Mr Botha said, indicating that the South African delegation would return to the talks soon.

He would not spell out the details of the new plan to resolve the verification issue but said he was taking home a document handed to him by the US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Botha said South Africa could not see its way clear to signing a document he said was "not specific" about verification of a Cuban withdrawal.

He said South Africa did not want to participate in the monitoring, but only to be satisfied that there was an efficient body to which appeals could be made and which could check that withdrawal schedules were being met.

Cuba has insisted that withdrawal is a matter between it and Angola and the United Nations.

The Congolese government had even announced a signature date, December 1, when the South African delegation left on Saturday night.

Cuba's Mr De Quesada, said: "They (the South Africans) have insulted everyone, the African continent. It is legitimate to ask if they were negotiating seriously and if they are prepared to concede independence to Namibia."

He said diplomats had been so close to agreement that a text had been typed up. "We think the only reason the South Africans left is because they were not ready to sign an accord."

He added, however, that: "We think there is still a chance we will find ourselves back in Brazzaville, but everything depends on the contacts that are established by the mediator."

In Mexico City, Cuban leader Fidel Castro said his troops would stay 10 more years in Angola rather than accept an unsatisfactory withdrawal accord.

He told a news conference he opposed any South African role in verifying the withdrawal of Cuba's 50 000 troops from Angola and called for the UN to supervise the pullout.

Mr De Quesada's Angolan counterpart, Mr Venancio de Moura, said Angola and Cuba had been very flexible "but sadly we were treated arrogantly by the South Africans".

A senior member of the US mediating team said: "Unless there are basic changes of policy

or decision this thing is still on track."

No date or venue was set for the next meeting and diplomats said it could take time to dispel the bad feeling and get the parties back together again.

Mr Botha said that earlier on Saturday he met the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, soon after he returned from a visit to Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko in Kinshasa.

Congolese sources said they were upset by the South African departure, but did not go so far as to refuse their hospitality for further talks. —

Political Staff, Sapa-
Reuter and UPI

care this

5/12/88

(B)

(221)

SA ministers in talks 'intrigue'

From ORMANDE POLLOK

JOHANNESBURG. — Apart from their talks with the other delegations in the Brazzaville peace talks on Angola-Namibia, the South Africans were involved in an additional flurry of other diplomatic intrigue surrounding the talks.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, visited President Mabuto Sesse Seko in the Zairean capital across the Congo River on Saturday, apparently at his request to be informed about the talks.

The two ministers spent about two hours on the other side of the river. It is understood they were urged to sign the agreement as soon as possible.

Between the peace talks and his meetings with the Zaireans and Congolese, Mr Botha also had to find time for a lengthy discussion with the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoli Adamishin.

He did not say what the outcome had been but seemed well pleased with the meeting, only to be taken by surprise when a foreign journalist said Mr Adamishin had denied seeing Mr Botha.

PW: Walvis
will stay 221
part of SA 5/12/88
CMT-Trip

WALVIS BAY. — President P W Botha told a community festival on Saturday that this South African port surrounded by the territory of Namibia will never become part of a future independent Namibia.

"The Walvis Bay enclave is an integral part of the territory of South Africa and so it will remain," he told about 500 people who gathered for a military exhibition in the port city.

Mr Botha said that if a future government of an independent Namibia wanted to use Walvis Bay it would have to negotiate with South Africa, and only a friendly Namibian government would have much hope.

Swapo officials have made clear they believe an independent Namibia should include Walvis Bay, the only viable port for the territory.

— Sapa-AP



FLASHBACK! Cuban soldiers disembark from an Angolan airliner in the central city of Kuito where South African-backed Unita rebels launched a major offensive along the strategic Benguela railroad.

Angola and Namibia on the agenda when US and Soviet leaders meet in New York this week

The Cubans to go soon

Sowetan 6/12/88

221

WASHINGTON - The United States Government believes that Cuban troops will withdraw from Angola on schedule and that a verification system will be established to satisfy South Africa on that score.

Confidence that the Cubans will go once the Angola/Namibia accords are signed was

FOCUS

SOWETAN Foreign Service

expressed here by General Colin Powell, President Reagan's national security adviser, shortly before the South African delegation packed its bags and left Brazzaville without signing the agreements hammered out this year in drawn-out talks on three continents.

"I have every reason to believe that, if and when the various accords are signed, the Cubans will withdraw according to the agreed timetable and we will have a verification regime in place to see that the terms of the agreement are met with respect to withdrawal," General Powell said.

Gorbachev

The Angola/Namibia issue is to be raised when President Reagan meets Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in New York this week with president-elect George Bush sitting in on the session.

If the verification stumbling block has not been removed by the time they meet tomorrow, it is likely that the super-power leaders will seek the Angolans and the Cubans to be more flexible.

While President Reagan will be the host at the lunch meeting, President Gorbachev will be focussing his attention largely on Mr Bush and it is probable that he will seek opportunities to please the new American leader. Co-operation on the US-mediated Angola/Namibia negotiation could provide one of those opportunities.

Nicaragua

US sources say that both the White House and the Kremlin view the Angola/Namibia agreements — along with diplomatic progress in Afghanistan, the Middle East and other regional conflict areas — as important symbols of the easier relationship that had developed this year between the US and the Soviet Union.

Both sides are anxious to maintain the momentum of friendship — the Soviets because it will give them time to focus

on serious economic and political domestic problems, and the US because they hope will lead to Soviet help in settling other regional conflicts such as the communist domination of Nicaragua.

President Gorbachev is to fly to Cuba after his meeting with President Reagan and President-elect Bush and after addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City.

While his agenda in Cuba has not been disclosed, it is thought likely here that we will discuss both the Angola and Nicaragua situations with President Fidel Castro and that he may try to use his influence in easing both problems.

Analysts here will be watching the Havana meeting with intense interest, looking for signs that will help them assess the relationship between the Soviet and Cuban leaders.

Castro is known to be displeased with the Gorbachev policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) and the island country which costs them billions of dollars a year in economic assistance.

The US Government openly acknowledges that Soviet help has brought the Angola/Namibia talks to the point where settlement is just a South African signature away.

"In Angola/Namibia, diplomacy is succeeding — and the Soviet role has been a positive one," General Powell said here, adding that it had "contributed, I think, to the present upturn in East-West relations."



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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copy times 7/12/88

Pik's plan to end impasse at peace talks

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PRETORIA. — South Africa would return to the peace talks with suggestions that would solve the "stumbling block" of verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He told a news conference the issue of verification had been the biggest stumbling block to South Africa.

"I think we can return to the talks with suggestions that would solve the problem."

He did not elaborate on the suggestions.

Mr Botha said he could not comment on reports that President Fidel Castro told Cuban news agency that he would "never" allow South Africa to verify Cuban troop movements because this would reveal strategic information.

President Castro said: "If there is no signed solution yet, it is the fault of South Africa, because of its bad faith, its lack of seriousness."

Mr Botha said he had to work according to what was discussed at the negotiations.

"I do not want to comment because I do not know exactly what Mr Castro said."

"This very difficult question is receiving the serious attention of ourselves and other governments and I have reason to believe that it can be resolved."

South Africa, which last week walked out of US-mediated talks seeking the withdrawal of foreign forces from south-western Africa, has reportedly assured the United States it will sign the settlement.

The Washington Post reported in Tuesday's editions that South Africa had resolved an internal conflict over terms of the accord and that US officials expect at least that the protocol to the settlement will be signed later this month and perhaps the full document as well.

"It looks as though they have worked out what was bothering them," the newspaper quoted an unidentified US official as saying. "They will go ahead."

The walkout had prompted speculation that South Africa would not sign the agreement, but the newspaper said the delay appeared to be caused by internal South African political dynamics and not terms of the accord.

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman has denied suggestions that a problem had developed in the talks over the process by which the withdrawal of Cuban troops would be verified.

Mr Botha also denied that the talks were at an impasse.

"The process is irreversible. We continue to progress step-by-step."

He said the talks could be resumed within a few days.

The UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Bernt Carlsson, said he was "very optimistic" that despite a "temporary delay" in negotiations, the talks would reach a successful conclusion.

Speaking at a press conference in London, he dismissed the hold-up in the signing of a formal accord as "psychological hesitation" on South Africa's part.

"Perhaps they are not fully used to normal diplomatic standards."

"They feel isolated, both internationally and at home. And there are also exaggerated fears of what might happen if Namibia achieved independence."

Meanwhile Swapo's representative for Western Europe, Mr Shapua Kungua, has accused South Africa of not being serious about Namibian independence.

"We are not in the least surprised at the latest breakdown."

Swapo has also threatened to resume the war. It has been observing an informal ceasefire since September. — Sapa-Reuter

221 B/day 7/12/88

Namibians 'get poorer'

WINDHOEK — The average consumer in Namibia was becoming poorer because of higher taxes, price increases and a high population growth rate, the SWA Building Society said in its latest economic review.

The review said the annual 17,3% increase in personal income between 1980 and 1987 was cancelled by an annual average increase of 25,6% in income tax and a 14,7% rise in the consumer price index.

The number of HP and other bank loans in Namibia showed annual increases of 20,1% and 18,5% respectively over the past eight years. Personal savings decreased from 20% of the total disposable personal income in the 1970s to between 5% and 6% in the past few years.

The building society said it was essential that the tax burden and the inflation rate be reduced.

Unnecessary laws and regulations inhibiting development of the small-business and informal sectors should be abolished and urgent attention given to deregulation and privatisation, the review stated. — Sapa.

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Praise for 'positive' Namibia deal

5th 7/12/84 (221)
A settlement in Angola/Namibia would amount to the "most positive development in southern Africa of the past decade," the British ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robin Renwick, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mr Renwick said the efforts by the US mediator, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, had the total support of the British government.

Namibia had already gone through many of the changes leading to a multiracial society, he said. "Now the people of Namibia must be enabled to elect a government of their own choice."

Regarding sanctions and disinvestment, Mr Renwick said that when he addressed the Urban Foundation in August he had tried to get across the message that the British view of sanctions and disinvestment had not changed, but that "the avoidance of further negative measures and damage to the South African economy would depend on you, and not just us."

Mr Renwick said the outside world, including Britain, would go on pressing for internal change in South Africa. But it was indeed the case that for South Africa the route back to wider international acceptance lay through Africa. — Sapa.

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PRETORIA READY TO

SIGN

Newspaper claims

WASHINGTON — South Africa, which last week walked out of US-mediated talks seeking the withdrawal of foreign forces from Southwestern Africa, has reportedly assured the United States it will sign the settlement.

The *Washington Post* reported that South Africa has resolved an internal conflict over terms of the accord and that US officials expect at least that the

protocol to the settlement will be signed later this month and perhaps the full document as well.

"It looks as though they have worked out

**SOWETAN
Foreign Service**

what was bothering them," the newspaper quoted an unidentified US official as saying "they will go ahead."

The walkout had prompted speculation that South Africa would not sign the agreement, but the newspaper said the delay appeared to be caused by internal South

African political dynamics and not terms of the accord.

The goal of the talks, which involve Cuba, Angola and South Africa, is agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and independence from South Africa for South West Africa, commonly known as Namibia. US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker is serving as mediator for the talks.

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7/12/88

221

6/10/88 7/12/88

THE economic inter-dependence of the Southern African region must by now be blindingly obvious to everyone. It is a pity that was not always so.

For Lesotho, the Highlands Water Project and for Botswana the Sua Pan Soda Ash project are the most recent examples of that inter-dependence and of the extent to which joint ventures are a key to development of the region.

Why is it, then, that some persist in believing that one can apply sanctions against SA without, in effect, applying them also against the neighbouring states? How are the neighbouring states to be exempted from the effects or from the retaliatory action which SA would be likely to take?

I often am struck by the highly academic nature of discussion of this question. There are those who seem to believe that the reality that SA exists, and that the South African government exists, can somehow be wished away.

The fact is that no attempt can be made to deal with the problems of the region without dealing also with SA. That is considered to be perfectly obvious when it comes to dealing with the Soviet Union, even though we do not much like its system of government, even under Gorbachev. The same realities have to be accepted here.

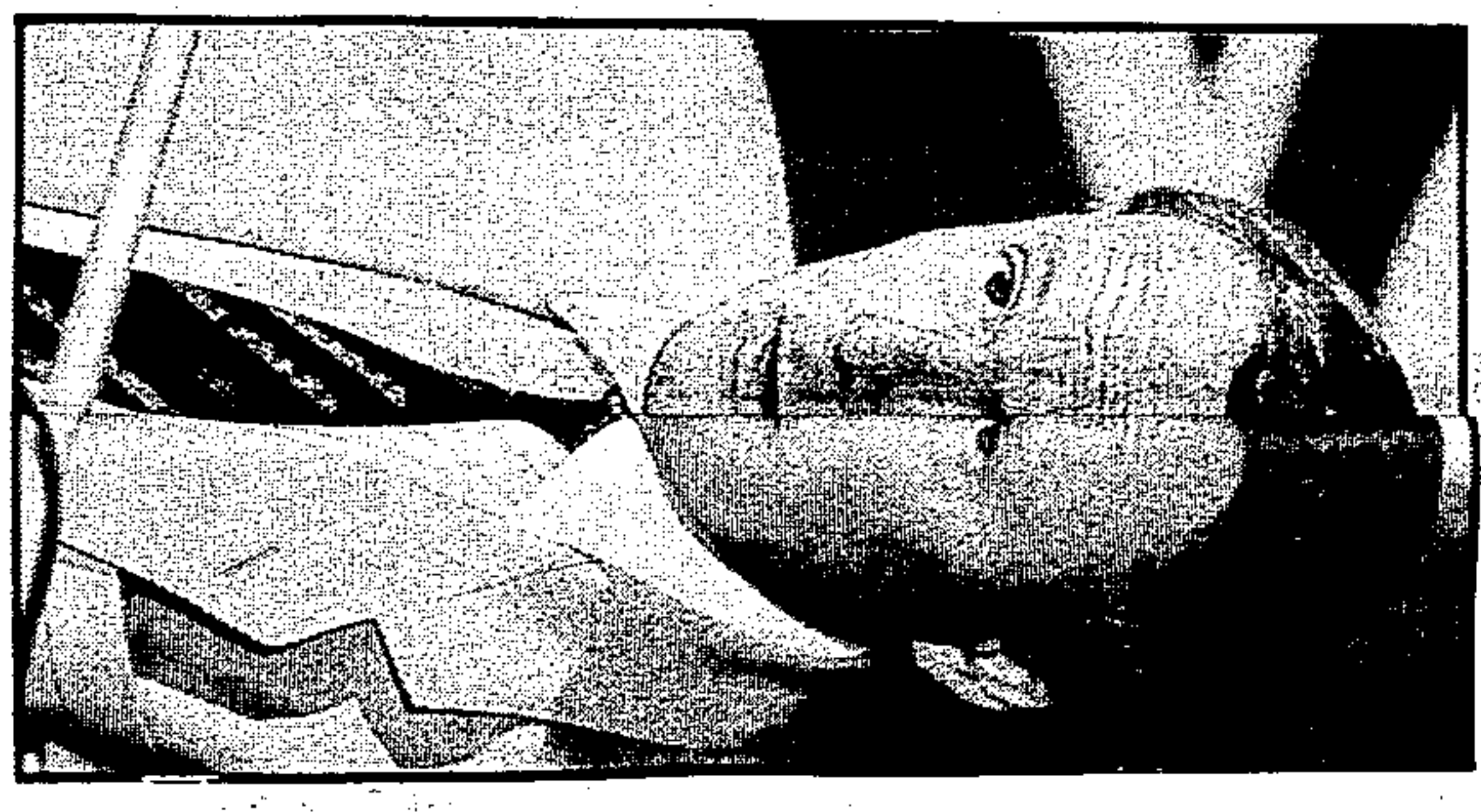
Over the past decade, Britain has given a great deal of assistance to Mozambique. We have not done so for purely altruistic reasons. The purpose was also to preserve Western influence in the region. But however much we seek to help Mozambique, we have to face the fact that there is not going to be a real prospect of peace and progress in Mozambique unless it is possible to overcome the confrontation which has been going on between that country and SA.

Therefore, we have worked hard to contribute to the process of attempting to normalise relations between SA and Mozambique, which culminated in the meeting between President Botha and President Chissano. A lot of progress has been made, and we are encouraged by it. But a constant effort is going to be needed to keep this process on the rails.

It was, after all, de-railed before. And we know from that experience that there are people in both countries who would like to set back what has been achieved. We intend to make their task as difficult as possible.

Don't miss the chance of peace in Namibia

British Ambassador Robin Renwick last night stressed the importance of black economic empowerment in SA and regional reconciliation. This is an extract from his address to the SA Institute of International Affairs



RENWICK... sanctions affect SA's neighbours

There are still some difficult issues in the Angola/Namibia negotiations that remain to be settled. You are right to be concerned that there must be adequate arrangements for the verification of Cuban withdrawal. But progress is being made in dealing with that question.

If that and other hurdles can be overcome, I can assure you that the task of implementing a settlement is likely to be at least as difficult and fraught with danger as the process of arriving at it. But we are advising you that the prize is great and worth grasping for.

Britain's message to all the parties engaged in this negotiation is: do not miss this opportunity. For the first time in the long history of these negotiations, the prize of a settlement is now attainable.

It will require a continuing effort from all sides. But it would be the ultimate absurdity to have got to this point and not to succeed. And not just an absurdity, but a tragedy also for the people of Namibia and for all those involved in the negotiations.

I would like to pay tribute to the contribution which your negotiating team and its leaders — Neil van Heerden and General Geldenhuys — have tried to make to a search for a

settlement. They have fought, of course, for one on terms which would safeguard SA's interests.

We are no less concerned than SA to see the Cubans withdraw from Angola. We are no less concerned that a Namibia agreement and Cuban withdrawal should lead to peace in Angola.

It will not lead to peace without further steps being taken. The step that would make the most difference to people's lives would be agreement to a cease-fire between the combatants in Angola. I hope that day will come sooner rather than later.

It is not going to be enough to work for internal peace in Angola. What is going to be needed also is some measure of reconciliation in Namibia. That will require all the parties to start to show the kind of statesmanship required to overcome the division created by the war, to look to the future and to think seriously about the problems they will have to face in governing an independent state.

What would be the impact of a Namibia settlement on SA's relations with the outside world? An

difficult to turn back the clock, in Boksburg or elsewhere, is to lack pursuing power — and the influence of the multi-nationals.

For those who, like ourselves, will continue to question the value of actions of that type as a way of helping black South Africans, there is an added responsibility to demonstrate that, when we talk about wanting to help those who are struggling against apartheid, we are serious and we mean it; and that we are talking about actions and not just words.

We have helped and are going to increase our help to many community groups because we believe that this is the route to black empowerment.

We have to help prepare for the day when the black majority in this country will be playing their full part in the running of this country — as in due course they surely will. We intend to ensure that, long before that day comes, several thousand black South Africans will have completed their university studies with our support. We believe that education is a critical solvent of apartheid and, arguably, the single most important element in black empowerment.

Amidst the waves of pessimism about this country, I have tried to draw attention to more hopeful features. These all depend upon a long-term effort being made. There are going to be all sorts of setbacks and there have been plenty of negative developments — for instance, the banning of the Weekly Mail, on which you know our views.

There also have been some positive developments. The decision taken over the Sharpeville Six was welcomed in my country. We welcome also the release of Zeph Mothopeng and Harry Gwala and hope, obviously, that this will be followed by further decisions about other, still more important, prisoners.

My message is a simple one. It is that positive change is possible given the will and the imagination to aim for that goal. You have the capacity to transform the situation in this country if you have the vision to do so.

We can't do it for you, and anyone who seeks to create, as so many do, the impression that the outside world can solve SA's problems, is cultivating a cruel illusion.

We prefer to be more honest than that; to make clear what the limits of our influence are, but to make clear also that we intend to use it to the full extent we can in the interests of peace in the region and positive change in SA.

enormously positive one, obviously. "Oh, but," you will say, "it will not stop the outside world continuing to attack SA over apartheid and continuing pressure on this country for internal change."

And you are right: it will not. The outside world, including ourselves, will go on pressuring for internal change.

But there is no doubt that a Namibia settlement will do more than anything else to help stabilise SA's relations with your neighbours. It has become the accepted doctrine to say that, for SA, the route back to wider international acceptance lies through Africa. And that doctrine, in my view, is quite right.

Not only do we support it, but we have tried ourselves to contribute to the process and we will go on doing so. But the decisive contribution can only be made by SA itself.

As for disinvestment, there is not a single foreign company operating in SA which believes that it could advance the interests of its black employees or of the black community by leaving. All any company believes it could achieve by doing this is to protect its interests elsewhere.

It should have come as no surprise that what is going to make it really

Freedom in sight for Africa's last colony

THE modern history of the war in Namibia really started on July 18, 1966, when the International Court of Justice, sitting in The Hague, announced it could not rule either way on sovereignty over "South West Africa."

On the same day, the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (later to become Swapo of Namibia) issued its famous Dar Es Salaam declaration, saying: "We have on alternative but to rise in arms and bring about our own liberation. The supreme test must be faced and we must begin at once to cross the many rivers of blood on our march towards freedom."

Many rivers of blood indeed — with the population of around 1.5 million people, Namibia has suffered enormously because of colonialism and war. More than 12 000 Namibians, or one percent of the people, are in exile.

Dislocated

The northern war zones, where the war is fought on a daily basis, is home to half the people of this wild and under-populated country, which in surface area is about three quarters the size of South Africa — and their lives are irrevocably dislocated by the war.

In some ways, the war against colonialism really began more than 100 years ago, when Germany first proclaimed "German West Africa" a part of the German empire.

It was in those early years that some of the great heroes of Namibian history rose in armed struggle against the colonial forces — and when the Namibians



Flashback. Ten thousand people attended Swapo's first "legal" rally last year.

Namibia is again in the headlines as South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States meet to reach agreement on a peace settlement for the region. Amid all the politicking and rhetoric, Namibians continue to die in the bush war in Namibia, which has now been fought for over 22 years. TONY WEAVER looks at some of the issues in the guerilla war for control of Africa's last colony.

fought at Ongulumbashe on August 26, 1966 (still observed today as Namibia Day) when the South African Police attacked their training camp, killing two guerrillas and capturing 27 others.

The war in the north, mainly now being fought

but the evidence seems to indicate that the South African occupying forces find little sympathy among the ordinary peasantry.

One of the reasons for this is perhaps summed up by the experiences of veteran human rights campaigner. Oswald

mahungu, or pearly millet, the staple diet in the north.

The disruption of peasant farming has been one of the most serious consequences of the war. In the late 1970s, a systematic programme of forced removal was embarked upon by the

been created around Oshakati and Ondangwa, the two main Owanbo towns.

Here more than 250 000 people, almost a quarter of the population of the country, live in often squalid conditions, mostly in squatter shacks with no

peacefully, eking out a good existence from the land, now reduced to living in the shadow of massive military bases.

There are no exact figures for the level of South African troops in Namibia. Estimates have ranged from the

Despite the mammoth odds, and South African claims that they are winning the war, this small guerilla army has managed to tie down what is probably Africa's most powerful army, forcing them to spend several million rand every day to combat the insurgency. One military expert estimated three years ago that it costs South Africa R1,5 million to kill one guerilla.

Resistance

The battle for Namibia has been a long one and a hard one. And despite what South Africa may say, when independence does come, it will be as a direct result of the often unbelievable hardships endured by this select band of men and women who elected to take up arms and do battle against a vastly superior army.

It has often been said that no conventional army can every win a guerilla war, particularly one fought on foreign soil. That is a lesson the Americans learnt in Vietnam, the French in Algeria and the British in numerous far-flung countries, including South Africa during the Boer War. Because although they may win all the battles, the colonial powers have always lost the war.

The reason lies, perhaps,

suffered their first taste of repression.

Hardships

In the early "Nama" and "Herero" wars of resistance, the Germans answered resistance with genocide: 64 870 of 80 000 Herero-speaking and 10 220 of 20 000 Nama-speaking Namibians were exterminated, 9 680 of them in concentration camps, 1 030 on the notorious Shark Island prison off Luderitz.

It was these wars which also produced the early heroes of guerilla war: Hendrik Witbooi, the legendary Nama leader who led his guerillas on a series of daring raids against the German troops; Jacob Morenga, who said of the Germans in 1904 "they cannot fight in our country, they do not know where to get water and they do not understand guerilla warfare"; and Samuel Maharero, the Herero king, who wrote to Witbooi in 1904 and said "let us die fighting".

The first Namibian guerilla force of 200 fighters was trained in Egypt in 1962; they entered Namibia in 1965; and the first battle was

in the Owambo and Kavango regions, has undergone dramatic changes since those early days. It has become a highly internationalised conflict, spreading throughout Angola, involving Cuba, the United States, the Soviet Union, Zaire and, at a diplomatic level, virtually every major Western power.

But this all means very little to the people of the war zones, the more than half a million peasants who are daily caught in the crossfire of a war which subjects them to an often brutal military existence.

Not until a free and fair election is held will Swapo's claim that "we are the people" be fully tested.

Shivute, who is also secretary of the Owambo Legislative Assembly. He has been monitoring human rights abuses since 1982.

Between then and September this year, he monitored 916 allegations of atrocities against civilians, 200 of them this year alone. He says he is sure there are also atrocities committed by the guerillas, but "either the people don't report them to us or else they are so infrequent we don't hear them".

The allegations range from rape, murder and serious assaults and torture, to theft of property and the destruction of crops, particularly

security forces along both the Owambo and Kavango northern borders.

The aim of this was to create a "free-fire" zone where anyone who moved could be shot on sight. As a result of this, and of peasants fleeing the areas of most intense fighting, a sprawling rural shum has

sanitation and where disease is rampant. Tuberculosis, venereal disease, bubonic plague are among the diseases prevalent — and sometimes epidemic — in this area.

They are all refugees in their own country, people who once farmed

unrealistically high in two quotes: Swapo's 100 000 often quoted in anti-apartheid circles to a low of about 20 000. On top of this are 24 000 members of the South West Africa Territory Force, half of whom are volunteers, half conscripts. Ranged against them is a handful of our mountains.

in "we are the people, the people are Swapo"; and the words of Amilcar Cabral, in Guinea Bissau in 1971, when asked how his forces could fight a guerilla war with no mountains which to retreat. He replied: "Our people are our mountains."



Swapo's Sam Nujoma

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1-7/12/88

UNITA PUSH

(221)
w/matt
2-8/12/88

INTO NAMIBIA

By SHAUN JOHNSON

SOLDIERS and supporters of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement are moving into Namibia's Caprivi Strip in unprecedented numbers, on the eve of the signing of the Brazzaville protocol.

According to reports from the disputed territory, the Angolan rebels are making a strategic play to pre-empt the arrival of United Nations peacekeeping and monitoring forces, if final agreement is reached in the Angola/Namibia peace process.

And, says Andre du Pisani of the South African Institute of International Affairs, it is the "Unita factor" which is potentially the greatest danger to the resolution of the conflict in south-western Africa — and not the dispute over the verification of Cuban withdrawal currently bedeviling the Brazzaville negotiations.

"Unita is the party most likely to take advantage of the agreement," he says, "they could put strain on the negotiations more than anyone."

The Angolan press agency, Angop, claims that Unita's Jamba headquarters have been "resited" to Chetto in the Caprivi Strip. Although this claim appears to be exaggerated, there are persistent reports of a sharply increased Unita presence.

There have already been two recently-reported incidents involving Unita troops and Namibian citizens in the Caprivi Strip — one of them involving an alleged Unita "control point" on the Namibian side of the border.

The Angolan rebels are said to be crossing into the Caprivi Strip despite the existence of the Angolan/Cuban/South African Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC), established in terms of an agreement reached in Geneva in August.

According to Du Pisani, only 11 out of 16 of the monitoring bases envisaged in Geneva have been established — and "this could be a deliberate gap to enable continuing direct access to Unita".

● To PAGE 4

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A SETTLEMENT in Angola and Namibia would be the most positive development of the past decade in Southern Africa, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robin Renwick, said yesterday. Addressing the wife

The most positive development

watersand branch of the Secretary of State for South African Institute African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, for his contribution in dealing in Johannesburg, Mr Renwick paid tribute to the United States, Namibia and Angola.

He said: "Dr Crocker has been attacked and criticised in the past for failure to accomplish miracles. I would like to know who could have done better . . . no one could have shown more determination, tenacity, and staying power in dealing with this problem. His efforts had

the total support of the British Government". He said Namibia had already gone through many of the changes leading to a multi-racial

society. "Now the people of Namibia must be enabled to elect a government of their choice," he said. Mr Renwick said the outside world, including Britain, would go on pressing for internal change in South Africa.

Swapo threatens to end ceasefire

The Star's Foreign News Service

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SPV 9/12/88

LISBON — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has threatened to break his unilateral three-month-old ceasefire with South Africa and intensify attacks in Namibia, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

Mr Nujoma, reacting to the delay in peace negotiations with Angola and Cuba, issued his warning at a news conference in Luanda on Wednesday, Angop said.

His movement had "no other alternative but to carry on with its armed struggle ... more and intensified rounds of battle", Mr Nujoma said.

He labelled as "sabotage" Pretoria's postponement last weekend of the expected signing in Brazzaville of a US-mediated regional peace accord with Angola and Cuba.

Swapo is not a party to the negotiations for Namibia's independence. However, Swapo declared a unilateral ceasefire with

South Africa last August after Pretoria, Luanda and Havana agreed to a three-way ceasefire of their own.

In a related development, the Angolan Foreign Ministry issued a statement on Wednesday denouncing what it termed Pretoria's "bad faith" in delaying the final accord, but describing the peace initiative as irreversible.

Angola "sincerely hopes South Africa's leaders will reconsider their last-minute manoeuvre and return to the negotiating table with seriousness, good faith and the gravity the regional situation demands", Angop quoted the Angolan government as saying.

● The Lisbon weekly newspaper *Africa* reported that a senior Angolan official denied recent reports that Luanda had signed a \$2 billion (about R4,6 billion) deal with a Swiss firm for the construction of toxic waste plants near the Namibian border.

If Namibian agreement succeeds . . .

SA faces no risk of recession

CMT 1/4/88
10/12/88

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

SA is not facing any risk of serious recession unless the Namibian agreement falls through, says economist Wolfgang Thomas, GM of the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) in the Western Cape.

"The outside world will not squeeze us too hard if we reach agreement on independence for Namibia. But if it falls through, of course, it will be another story. I hope the authorities realize this."

Thomas is optimistic about the chances of small business people surviving the downturn expected early in the new year.

"Most of them are too busy making money to notice any downturn."

"Usually, when one is expected, people redouble their efforts to make profit while they can and this generates enough work to keep them going."

However, in a speech at a party yesterday in honour of the first five regional Entrepreneurs of the Month, Thomas included "meeting loan demands arising out of a possible downturn in the economy, which usually hits small businesses harder than the larger ones", as a key activity for the SBDC in the coming year.

He said the SBDC would "broaden our proactive sector support strategy with particular em-



The Small Business Development Corporation Entrepreneur of the Month award winners during 1988 are, standing from left, Freda van der Merwe of Freda's Restaurant, Danie Cloete of Abstair's, Leo van der Walt of Safari, Trevor Plummer of Ratcliffe Electronics and Sandra van den Berg of Memode. Seated, from left, are joint winners Nicole Schaffer and Terry Carolin of Papparazzi.

phasis on hi-tech industries, tourism, the jewellery industry, higher quality clothing, export, import substitution industries and informal sector manufacturers."

A newly acquired building adjoining the present SBDC offices in Sir Lowry Road would be developed as a hi-tech hive close to the city centre and the SBDC would get involved in other hi-tech incubator projects in the Greater Cape Town area.

It would provide more commercial and industrial accommodation for entrepreneurs in the less developed areas and expand training efforts in the small business sphere with particular emphasis on informal sector needs.

It would strengthen its networking, deregulation and strategic planning support for the rapidly expanding black small business community in the region.

And it would use a far

larger number of private mentor and rebate consultants in advice, after-care and other support for individual entrepreneurs.

Thomas laid emphasis on the need for SBDC help in outlying areas. He said that it would spread its involvement in the Namaqualand rural areas. It would also expand its presence in the Upington area and open a branch office in the Bolland — possibly in Worcester.

Capt Temp 10/12/88
Swapo's Jason Angola freed 221

WINDHOEK. — Swapo's secretary for labour, Mr Jason Angola, 39, was released this week after more than 400 days in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act.

Mr Angola was detained on October 7, 1987.

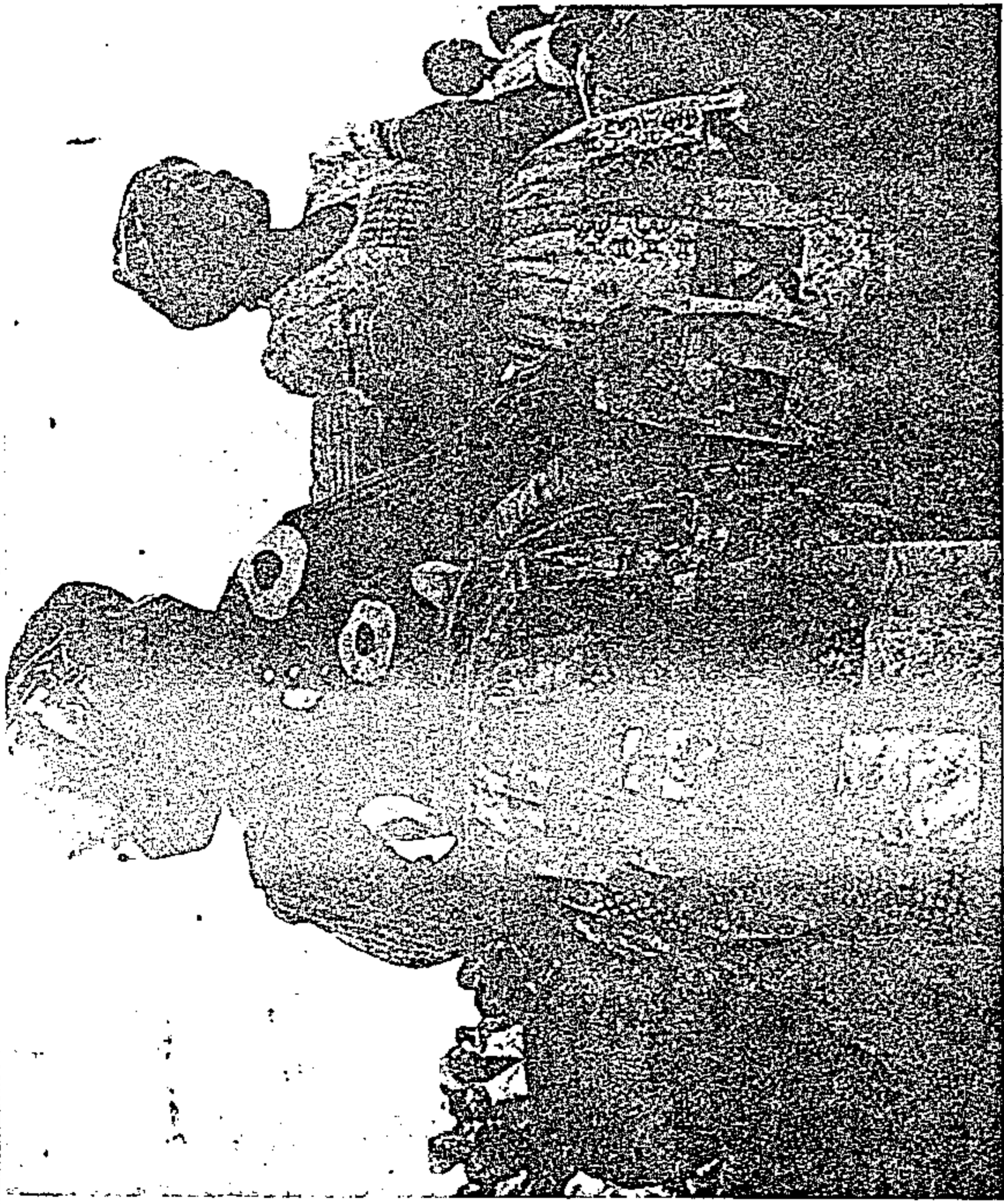
Shortly after his release on Monday, Mr Angola said police had failed to persuade him to admit to acts "which I have not committed" or to charge him.

"They have let me go and though they have stolen a year of my life it at least proves I am innocent," he said. — Sapa

One of Africa's longest struggles for liberation

CP Press 11/12/88 221

The stage for independence is set after 104 years of



Herero women take part in a celebration of their struggle for independence in Namibia.

FOR the first time since the Germans claimed Namibia at the end of the last century, the territory looks set to gain its independence.

Volumes have been written about the history of Namibia during the 104 years of its colonisation - which has been rejected by its indigenous population.

The might of the ruthless German colonial army - which used a scorched earth policy to quell resistance - failed to keep down the rebellious spirit of the Namibians.

Most of Namibia's people belong to the Bantu-speaking group, with the exception of the Khoisan - Bushmen, Herero or Abathwi - who recently came to the area after they were pushed out of the Cape by land-hungry white colonialists.

South West Africa became a German

colony in 1884 during the "scramble for Africa" by European powers.

When other European countries were competing for overseas colonies to dump their surplus manufactured goods in exchange for raw materials, Germany was consolidating its nation in Europe.

When Germany finally became aware of the scramble, the world had been divided between Britain, Spain, Portugal and France.

The colonisation of Namibia and Tanganyika was not immediately felt by the inhabitants of the territories as white settlement began from the south. The struggle for land led to the wars against the Herero in 1904 and the Nama in 1907. At the time, these groups were engaged in squabbles over grazing land, which weakened their ability to resist the new enemy.

The Herero - who strongly resisted German occupation - prompted Germany's Gen Von Trotha to unleash a brutal "extermination order" which cost 65 000 black lives.

Every black man was killed on sight and many Herero were publicly lynched as sport.

An estimated 15 000 Herero survived and after almost a century, the Herero population has still not regained its numbers. The 1986 census counted 89 000 Herero. Defeat in the battle field not only cost the Namibians their freedom, but their labour was conscripted by the white settlers. Their possessions were confiscated and they were reduced to slavery.

The second phase of the history of Namibia began after the World War I. When the war broke out in 1914, the South African army, under the command of Gen Louis Botha and Gen Jan Smuts, invaded and occupied Namibia in the name of the Allies.

After the war, the League of Nations in 1920 decided that "former German colonies should not be distributed as spoils of war" and a mandate system was devised where the colonies would be placed under the control of mandatory states, whose administration was to be supervised by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

South Africa, perhaps for its contribution to the war, was appointed the mandatory over Namibia.

This was granted because of South Africa's continuity to South Africa.

Swapo

EARLY CHRISTMAS

Struggle of Africa's longest uggles for liberation

C/Press 11/12/88

221

Struggle for independence is set after 104 years of colonialism

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After the war, the League of Nations in 1920 decided that "former German colonies should not be distributed as spoils of war" and a mandate system was devised where the colonies would be placed under the control of mandatory states, whose administration was to be supervised by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

South Africa, perhaps for its contribution to the war, was appointed the mandatory over Namibia.

This was granted because of South West Africa's continuity to South Africa and allowed that the mandated territory be administered as an integral part of South Africa.

It did not occur to the League of Nations that by allowing South Africa to administer Namibia, they were tacitly approving of apartheid to be practised in the territory. Apartheid was to be a future rallying point in the bickering for the territory's independence.

The League of Nations's mandate period lasted from 1919 to the end of World War II and during this time South Africa extended the system of land deprivation and segregation begun by the Germans.

In 1933 South Africa made attempts to have the territory incorporated as a province, a move which was opposed by the Mandates Commission which was also critical of several South African policy issues.

The end of World War II brought with it the United Nations which succeeded the League of Nations. The mandate system was superseded by the trusteeship system.

South Africa, still eyeing the territory as a fifth province, refused to agree to trusteeship. South Africa has been in dispute for the past 42 years with the UN over the control of Namibia.

South Africa has questioned the UN's right to question the manner in which Namibia is governed and argued that the mandate had expired with the demise of the League. South Africa felt its sovereignty over Namibia was unrestricted.

The impasse, some politicians felt, could only be resolved by the International Court of Justice, which was asked on three occasions to give an opinion on Namibia's status.

Judgments were given in 1950, 1955 and 1956 and the tenor of the ICJ was that South Africa was not legally obliged to place the territory under UN trusteeship, "but that it was not competent to alter unilaterally the legal status of the territory".

The court arrived at a decision six years later that Ethiopia and Liberia - who took the matter to court - had no legal standing to challenge the issue.

The court's ruling did not stop the UN General Assembly from deciding that South Africa should be stripped of its mandate and that responsibility for Namibia be assumed by a UN appointed council.

In June 1968 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution whereby South West Africa officially became Namibia.

South Africa's opposition to these two resolutions prevented the established Council for Namibia from taking over



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma

the administration of the territory. The Security Council was called upon to take decisive action.

South Africa showed no intention of letting go of the territory. Many opponents of South Africa thought the UN would assemble an army to drive South Africa out of the territory, but East/West politicking prevented this.

During 1968 and 1969 South Africa proceeded to complete the incorporation of Namibia into the Republic. By mid-1968 South Africa already controlled Namibian defence, foreign affairs, police, African administration, immigration and transport.

The South West African Affairs Act of 1969 authorised South Africa to take control of revenue, commerce and industry, labour, mining and health.

The territory was reduced to the status of a fifth province of South Africa. The South West Africa Legislative Assembly (elected by an exclusively white voters roll) was left with minimal functions like licencing, roads and white education.

The police and military forces of Namibia were integrated with those of South Africa and African administration placed under the control of an official of the South African Department of Bantu Affairs and Development.

The South African government extended to the territory the security laws in force in the Republic which empowered, among other things, the detention of political suspects for indefinite periods of time without their recourse to habeas corpus.

Political moralists argued that if the UN could send thousands of its soldiers to fight in Korea against oppression and communism in 1951, there was no moral justification as to why the same could not be done in Namibia.

Having sensed that the military option was out, South Africa went ahead with ruling the territory as a province and divided the territory into homelands with various ethnic groups.

The homelands were created along the lines of bantustans in South Africa, and included Damara, Kaokoland, Ovambo, Okavango, Caprivi, Bushmanland, Herero, Tswana and Nama. The biggest portion of land was allocated to the whites.

Twenty-two years have passed since the South West African People's Organisation decided on a bloody armed struggle to free its homeland from South African control in one of the longest struggles for independence in the continent.

● To be continued on Sunday

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SA team to fly to Brazzaville for big signing

ARGUS 12/12/88
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PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced today that a South African delegation would leave for Brazzaville tomorrow to sign the protocol which deals with the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, its verification and other related matters.

However, the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcon, said the issue now facing South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiators was when to sign the accord.

He expressed puzzlement at South Africa's abrupt departure nine days ago from talks in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville, describing a question on why South Africa refused to sign a preliminary agreement as "a very good one".

Mr Alarcon speculated that the reason for South Africa's move was perhaps that it did not want to commit itself to the part of the deal bringing independence to SWA/Namibia. He said Cuba feared that the SA government now wanted to shift signing to beyond parliamentary elections in South Africa.

PAID HIGH PRICE

He admitted in an interview on CBS that Cuba had paid a high price in keeping troops in Angola for more than 12 years — "But the costs would have been higher if Angola had been occupied by South Africa and become a sort of colony like Namibia.

"I think that the Angolans are certainly better off even having suffered a very cruel war," he said.

Swapo, meanwhile, already recognised by the UN General Assembly as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, has scored a diplomatic success in obtaining the right to distribute its documents at the UN just as if it were a member state.

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2 men in
court over
184 tusks
of ivory

By JIM FREEMAN

TWO men appeared in the magistrate's court at Grootfontein in Namibia yesterday for allegedly smuggling 184 elephant tusks in a false compartment of a truck.

The two men, a Portuguese citizen and a Tswana, were remanded after being arrested at a roadblock at the town on Sunday.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said the weight and value of the ivory had not yet been determined. The ivory would have to be sent to experts from the Namibian directorate of nature conservation for grading before a value could be established, he said.

Inspector Du Rand added that the ivory was on its way to South Africa from either Zambia, Botswana or Zimbabwe.

He said the police diamond and narcotics branch, which also dealt with ivory and rhino horn smuggling, had been tipped off at Katima Mulilo that a large consignment of tusks would be smuggled into Namibia.

Inspector Du Rand said the ivory had not been poached in Angola, nor had the SA Defence Force been implicated.

A nature conservation spokesman in Windhoek, Mr Jan Joubert, said Namibia was a smuggling conduit into South Africa. Its vast borders meant smugglers could enter easily, while border controls between South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe were far stricter.



Cape Times 14/12/88
221
**SWA, Angola:
Count-down to
regional peace**

DECEMBER 22: Agreement to be re-affirmed at a formal treaty-signing in New York. An unspecified prisoner exchange will take place.

JANUARY 21, 1989: The parties agree to form a joint commission within 30 days of the signing of the tripartite agreement in New York. The commission will facilitate the resolution of disputes with regard to the interpretation and implementation of the agreement.

APRIL 1: South Africa implements seven to 12-month UN plan for Namibian independence. Cuba withdraws 3 000 of its 50 000 troops from Angola.

MID-MAY: The UN plan requires the repeal of all discriminatory legislation in Namibia by this time.

JULY 1: South African military withdrawal from Namibia to a maximum of 1 500 troops.

JULY: All Cuban troops will be north of the 15th Parallel — a line running from the harbour at Namibe to Tlokweng, about 300km north of the border.

OCTOBER: 25 000 Cuban troops withdrawn from Angola. The rest of the Cuban troops will be north of the 13th Parallel — the Benguela railway line — about 550km from the border.

NOVEMBER 1: Elections for a constituent assembly in Namibia charged with the adoption by a two-thirds majority of an independence constitution.

APRIL, 1990: More Cuban troops out of Angola.

OCTOBER, 1990: More Cuban troops withdrawn.

JUNE 30, 1991: Last Cuban troops leave Angola

The Brazzaville Protocol

Pik gets praise on race stance

CAF Times 14/12/88 221

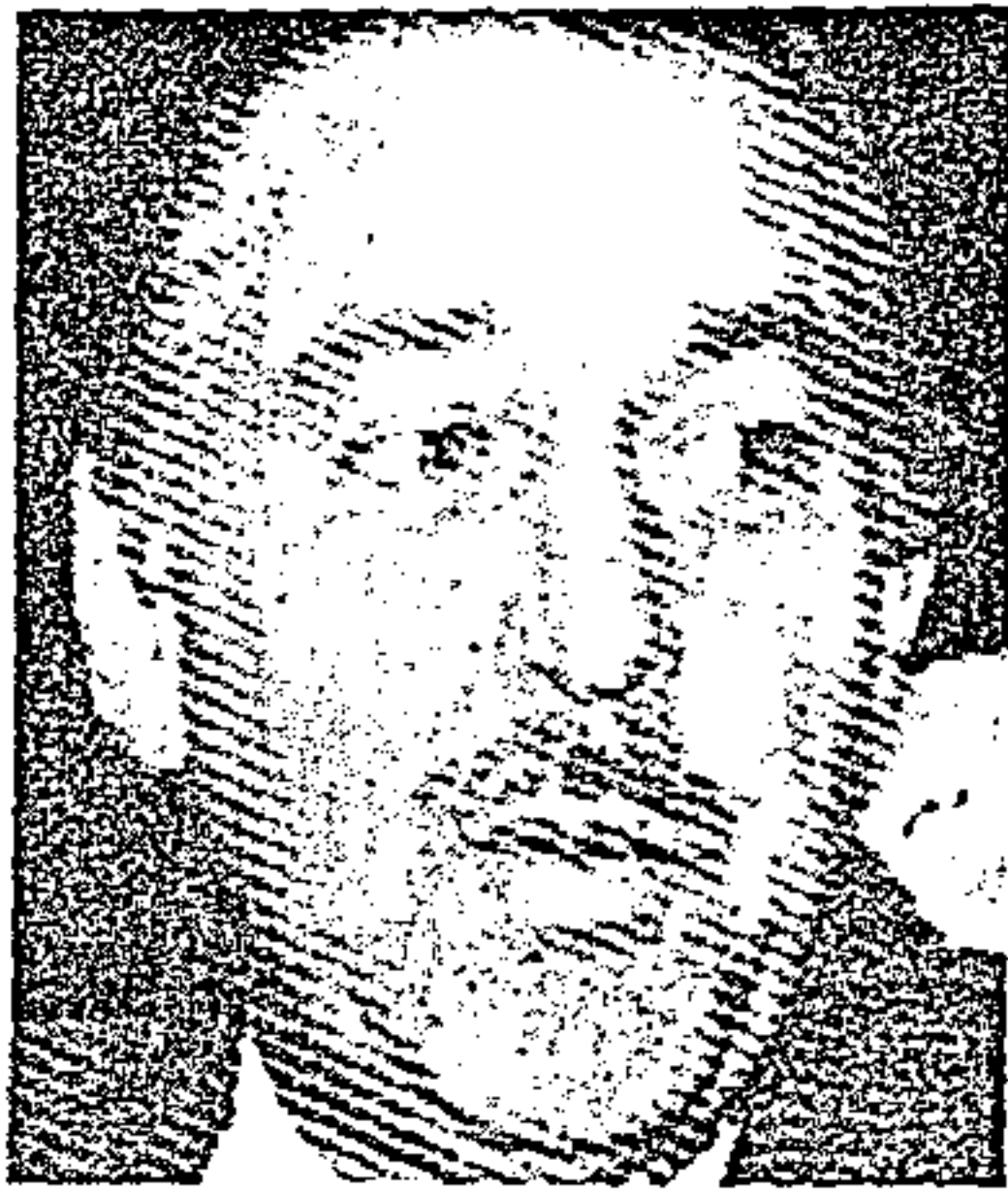
BRAZZAVILLE. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday drew two sustained ovations when he told the Congolese president the South African government was removing racial discrimination and wanted to be accepted by its "African brothers".

He drew the applause from a large gathering of African dignitaries who attended the official signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in the Palais de Peuple.

He was one of the four delegation leaders to address President Denis Sassou Nguesso after the signing, following immediately after the US mediator and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Botha repeated his analogy of a zebra and said it was futile to think that if one shot the animal in the white stripes it would not die.

"A new era has begun," he said. "We are removing race discrimination." (Loud applause).
"We want to be accepted by our



Mr Pik Botha

African brothers (more applause). We need each other," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha spoke at length on the difficulties which had faced the negotiators and praised Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for having encouraged him and General Magnus Malan to sign the accord for Africa's sake.

"I am not sure what role the Soviet Union played... but whatever it was, it was not disturb-

ing," he said.

Mr Botha said African countries had to stand together economically and South Africa stood ready to play its role.

"Africa needs peace and understanding. We were never given the opportunity to catch up with the industrialised powers."

He said the industrialised powers had determined the prices of Africa's commodities and products and made Africa pay for technology.

"The time has come to stand together economically... if we don't we will never catch up with the industrialised nations, who will not worry about us either."

"I appeal to you as a brother," he said.

Mr Botha, who as a young advocate helped fight South Africa's case on its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa in the World Court 30 years ago, said that experience had now proved that "might was right". He said though South Africa had won its case legally, world opinion and politics had decided the matter against it. — Sapa-Reuter

Crocker's finest

IN the end, it took Dr Chester Crocker only eight months to achieve what he tried to accomplish in the eight years he has been in charge of America's Africa policies — independence for SWA/Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

During those eight months Dr Crocker shuttled between Africa, Europe and America, keeping close contacts with Soviet officials and proving in the end that "constructive engagement", although now banned from the political vocabulary, could indeed have its constructive side.

While the first breakthrough occurred in January this year when the MPLA regime in Luanda told Dr Crocker it would agree to a schedule for a Cuban withdrawal, it was only in May that the quadripartite negotiations got under way.

In that month representatives from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States met in London for what was to become the first of a series of meetings in Europe, Africa and the United States over the next eight months leading to the treaty signed in Brazzaville, Congo, yesterday.

The London meeting was significant in that for the first time Cuba, Angola, South Africa and the United States formally sat around a table to talk about a Cuban withdrawal and independence for SWA/Namibia. "Linkage" had been finally and formally accepted.

For many foreign observers the fact that the South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, was accompanied by top-level military personnel was also of significance.

The perception had been that in South Africa the "doves" were the Foreign Affairs officials whose efforts were sometimes sabotaged by the "hawks" in the military. Foreign analysts interpreted the presence of military officials in Mr van Heerden's delegation as a sign that that he was also speaking on their behalf.

It was in fact to become a characteristic of all the South African diplomatic efforts around the Angola-SWA/Namibia question that the military would always be present whenever statements were made about the negotiations.

Subsequent accounts of the London meeting disclosed that the chief of the Defence



Mr Neil van Heerden



General Jannie Geldenhuys

'Constructive engagement' has finally paid off

Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, talked privately for 90 minutes with the Cuban armed forces chief of staff, General Ulises de Toro, and told him that the proposal for a four-year period before total Cuban withdrawal was too long.

The reported response was that Cuba was open to offers, convincing many that it was ready to negotiate. At that meeting Angola scaled down its rhetoric about Cuban withdrawal being linked to an immediate end to all aid to the rebel movement, Unita.

But while the London talks were surrounded by great publicity and hope, it was clear that there was still some some tension on the ground and South Africa remained suspicious of the United States, now openly seen to be working with the Soviet Union in putting an end to regional conflicts.

Thus, shortly after the London talks a South African delegation met top-level Angolan officials in Brazzaville.

South Africa was then at the beginning of a diplomatic offensive in black Africa and the Brazzaville meeting was seen by many analysts as an attempt to get the talks to be seen as part of African diplomacy and not of the superpowers.

Cuba was said to have been furious at its exclusion from the talks and the Angolan government then refused to hold any more discussions in Africa for fear of being used as "a Trojan horse" for the South African offensive in Africa.

It took Dr Crocker a lot of effort to arrange the next round of talks in Cairo, a compromise between South Africa's stand of "no talks unless they are held in Africa" and Angola's refusal to use an African country. As an African and Middle Eastern country, Egypt was seen as a compromise which was accepted by all parties.

The Cairo talks achieved little more than to show that the Soviet Union was now actively involved in behind the scenes efforts to put an end to the war in Angola.

Soviet foreign affairs official Vladilen Vasev was reported to have been sent to Cairo to cool down the Cuban delegation after verbal combat with the South Africans had threatened to disrupt the talks.

The tensions that were so evident in Cairo, however, resulted in an armed clash at the end of June in which 12 South Africans and an undetermined number of Cubans and Angolans were killed.

It was another triumph for

Dr Crocker and proof that the military situation was a stalemate. All parties agreed to meet the following month in New York where the first breakthrough was achieved when the parties involved signed a set of 14 "principles for a peaceful settlement in south-western Africa".

Although the 14 principles were stated in vague language, for the first time South Africa agreed in writing to implement United Nations Security Council resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia while Cuba and Angola agreed to a supervised withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

These principles were soon to be translated into the first practical measures of the talks when in Geneva a ceasefire was signed at the beginning of August and a date for the implementation of resolution 435 — November 1 — agreed on.

While Cuba, Angola and South Africa then agreed to form a joint military monitoring commission, at the end of August in Brazzaville the most difficult problem — a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal — began to be discussed.

For Dr Crocker the question was, to use one of his favourite phrases, "to narrow the gap" between the Angola-

/Cuba proposal of a three-year withdrawal period and South Africa's for less than a year.

After this round of negotiations, diplomats chose a more low profile approach and few details emerged from the following rounds of negotiations. These took place in Brazzaville in September, New York in October and finally in Geneva from November 10 to 14.

At Geneva when the champagne bottles were ordered at the end of the last day of negotiations it seemed that agreement had been reached. But the celebration was premature.

The negotiators met again in Brazzaville on December 2 amid widespread expectations of a protocol being signed to give effect to the agreement reached in Geneva on the timing of the Cuban troop withdrawal. But they were unable to agree immediately on how the withdrawal should be verified.

However, the South Africans took back home with them verification proposals that were endorsed by their government and they were able to go back to Brazzaville yesterday with pens for the signatures that would mark the beginning of the end of the long road to SWA/Namibia independence.

22

hour

It took years of fighting and negotiation to bring agreement on independence for SWA/Namibia. But when it finally came, it came in a rush.

JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service reports.



The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker ... efforts crowned with success at last.

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Namibia still *Star 14/12/88* faces problems

221

Political Correspondent

The way has been cleared for Namibia's independence, but huge administrative problems still have to be overcome, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

South Africa had completed its work with regard to the process of independence for the territory, and it was now up to the United Nations to set up the mechanism for achieving independence, he said in an interview.

"Unless something unforeseen happens, Namibia will get its independence," he said, speaking after yesterday's signing of the Brazzaville Protocol.

The agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola regulated the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and set the start date for United Nations plans for Namibian independence at April 1 next year.

The protocol will be formally concluded in a peace treaty to be signed by the three countries in New York on December 22.

The United Nations plan for Namibia's independence, embodied in Security Council Resolution 435, provides for independence elections in the territory seven months after the start date — which would put the election date at November 1 1989.

In the run-up to the elections, South Africa would be required to begin its withdrawal of troops from the territory.

According to South African diplomatic sources, the UN will have to find 7 500 troops for its international peacekeeping force to monitor the elections, as well as setting up a civilian structure to arrange the poll.

It was understood today that only Namibia's whites have voters' rolls, so it is not known if lists would have to be compiled of all voters before the election.

Mr Botha said the UN Security Council and General Assembly would have to authorise expenditure for all of this.

● See Page 13.

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Independence for Namibia finally gets the green light

SPS 14/12/88

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BRAZZAVILLE — All outstanding obstacles to the implementation of Resolution 435 for Namibian independence have been resolved and the plan is ready to swing into action on April 1.

This is the view of the United Nations special representative to Namibia, Mr Maarti Ahlissari, who said the April Fool's Day beginning to the job he has waited patiently 10 years to begin did not worry him.

"I'm not superstitious," said the rotund Finn at yesterday's signing of the Brazzaville accord which will activate his long postponed role in the independence process.

'No SA delay'

His view was later echoed by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who said any delays in the implementation process would not come from South Africa.

Yesterday's signing of the four-point protocol with Angola and Cuba, at Brazzaville's Palace of the People, set April 1 as the trigger date for implementation of Resolution 435 and detailed a timetable for a complete Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola within 27 months of implementation.

The three countries agreed to meet on December 22 to formally sign a tripartite agreement in New York, where they will also exchange prisoners of war.

A joint commission is to be established within 30 days of the New York meeting, consisting of South Africa, Angola, Cuba and with the US and USSR invited to join as observers — with an invitation to be extended to any future independent Namibian government to join as a full member.

The important matter of verification of the Cuban withdrawal is to be the subject of a bilateral agreement to be reached between Angola and Cuba and in consultation with the UN Secretary-General. It must

BY KEN VERNON,
The Star's Africa News Service

be agreed before the New York meeting and finally approved by the UN Security Council.

It is expected that if South Africa disagrees with any part of the verification agreement, the US will demand changes before allowing Security Council approval.

At the signing ceremony yesterday, Mr Botha said that the agreement was essentially an African agreement — without under-estimating the roles played by the US and Soviet Union.

He praised his "African brother", Congolese president Denis Sassou-Nguesso, for his vital role in the peace process. Mr Botha said President Sassou-Nguesso had intervened at a critical stage to advise South Africa to go ahead with negotiations "because they meant so much to Africa."

Under the timetable agreed for the Cuban withdrawal, 25 000 troops (50 percent of the total Cuban force), is to be out of Angola by the date set for UN-supervised elections to be held in Namibia, seven months from the implementation date.

Twelve months after implementation, 33 000 Cubans (66 percent) should have been withdrawn with 39 000 out 18 months after implementation.

Must move north
All the Cubans are scheduled to have left by 27 months after "D" day.

To start, 3 000 Cubans are scheduled to leave before April 1.

All the Cubans are to be withdrawn north of the 15th parallel, roughly 300 km from the Namibian border, within four months of implementation and north of the 13th parallel, 550 km from the border seven months after implementation.

'Extraordinary effort and dedication'

BY NEIL LURSESEN
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The signing of the Brazzaville Protocol by South Africa, Cuba and Angola has been hailed by the United States government as a choice for peace.

US officials made a point of praising Moscow's help in clinching the peace deal — and expressed the hope that the Soviets would help reconcile Angola's MPLA regime and the Unlita rebel movement.

The US officials also sought to reassure conservatives here that they would not end military support for Unlita as long as the Soviets continued to send massive arms supplies to the MPLA.

"It has been a long and often frustrating effort, but the reward — peace in south-western Africa — has been worth the extraordinary effort and dedication of those who have brought this negotiation to a successful conclusion," US spokesman Mr Charles Redman said here.

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, sent a message of congratulations to the chief US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, stating that Dr Crocker and his "superb negotiating team" accomplished the agreement through creativity, energy and patient persistence.

Mr Shultz is expected to attend the ceremony in New York next Thursday when a formal tripartite agreement is signed by South Africa, Cuba and An-

Cubans, Angolians hit Pik's witblitz

BRAZZAVILLE — Agreement after more than eight months of tough negotiations between South Africa, Cuba and Angola was saluted in a typical South African manner last night — with witblitz and Marula.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, relaxed and happy last night after what for him has been a 25-year wrestle with the intractable Namibian problem, revealed that the delegations had toasted the success of the agreement with the typical South African drinks.

He said that two cases of the liqueur had "disappeared in minutes" amid the thrifty members of the three delegations and the Brazzaville diplomatic corps.

The choice of drinks emphasised what Mr Botha has taken pains to stress, that the protocol has been

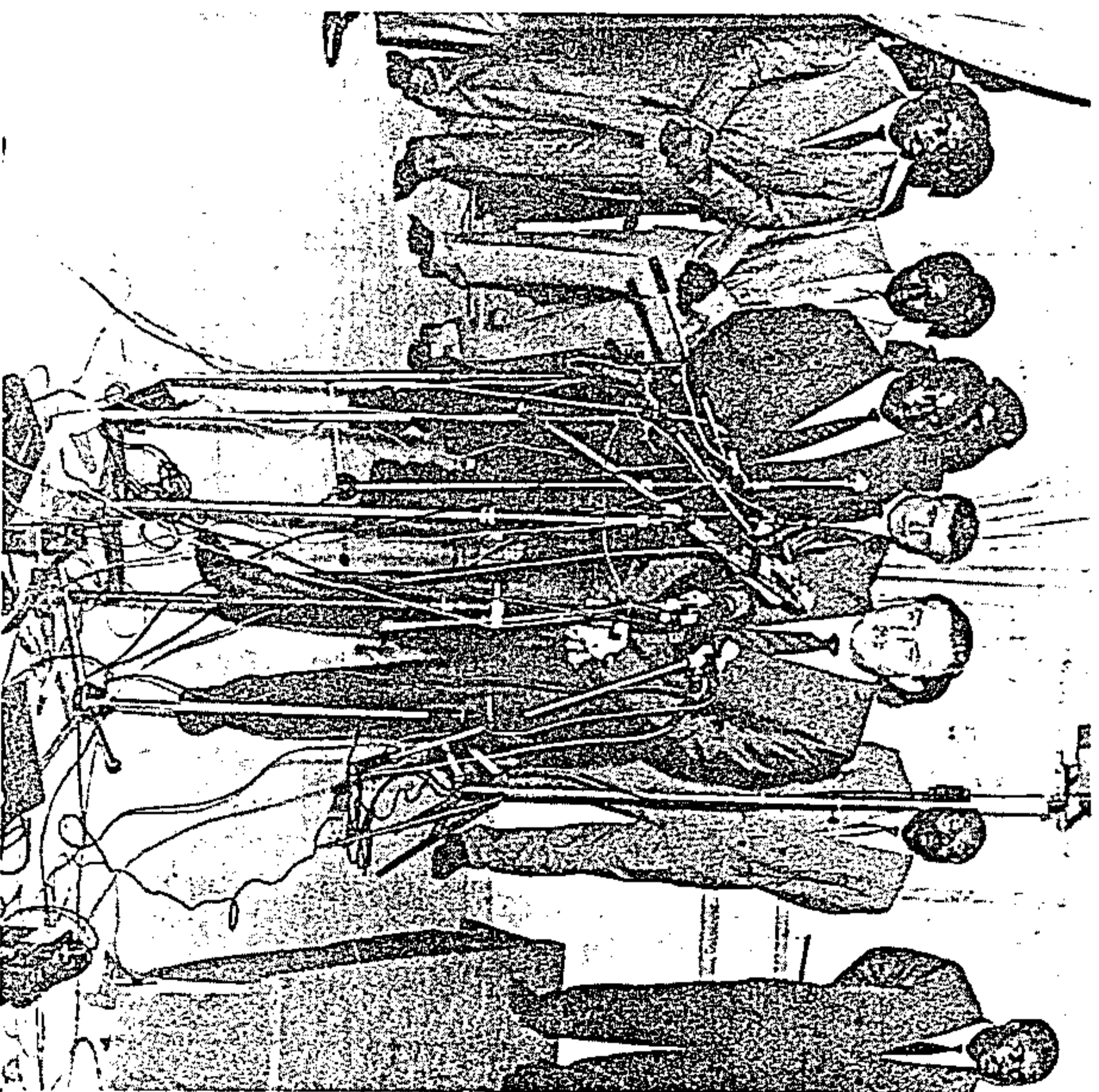
an "African solution to an African problem."

Speaking to journalists on the return flight to South Africa last night, he spoke of a possible bilateral understanding between South Africa and Angola emerging after the signing of the formal Tripartite Agreement in New York later this month, but would not discuss details.

He said such an "understanding" would represent a continuation of South Africa's diplomatic initiative into Africa.

However, the money to pay for the "African" solution will have to come from elsewhere, it seems.

The protocol stressed that the international community would have to dig deep into its pockets to provide the financial and economic support for the implementation of 435.



South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha speaking at the signing ceremony in Brazzaville.

Wednesday December 14 1988

Namibia warned of tough times

star 14/12/88 (221A)

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibia's Finance Minister, Mr Dirk Mudge, says he is not optimistic that the country will receive much in budgetary aid after independence.

PROMISES

Speaking in the National Assembly in Windhoek, Mr Mudge said the experience of other independent African countries had shown that, despite promises, there was often little substantial financial aid forthcoming after independence. He said he did not expect that Namibia would be an exception.

Mr Mudge also warned that people

would have to pay more for everything after independence.

The Finance Minister assured state officials that the authorities in Windhoek were examining their claims for a pay rise, in the wake of the significant increase granted recently to South African civil servants.

Mr Mudge said that during the current period of political uncertainty, civil servants were particularly vulnerable, but that their loyalty to the government should be rewarded with pay increases.

Earlier this year, Mr Mudge warned that Namibians would probably face tax increases next year to balance the country's budget, in the wake of slashing cuts in direct South African financial assistance.

This Week at the SWYER

Theatre

JENNIFER FERCUSON
...in her smash hit show
Birds of Prey

Concert Hall

Written and directed
by David Kramer &
Tallep Petersen

OSIRIC
PASSIX
THE MUSICAL

FINISHES DECEMBER 31

Studio

Daily : 10 am, 12 noon, 2 pm

Story Spinning Theatre presents
SLEEPING BEAUTY

Nightly : From Dec. 13
8 pm
TANDIE SA's No 1
SINGER
KLAASEN
IN CONCERT

9.30 pm

DANIELE PASCAL
IN THE POWER OF PLAF

The Baxter Gallery

Eric Waile

To Dec 13
From Dec 15
CHRISTMAS EXHIBITION



Our NEW Cabaret Venue
Open from 9 pm for
SNACKS, DRINKS and Great
ENTERTAINMENT

This week:
PARKING LOT PROJECT
plays jazz 10.30pm

Namibian church worker freed after 14 months

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — Jason Angula, private secretary to the head of Namibia's Council of Churches and Labour secretary for Swapo, was freed this week after more than 14 months in solitary confinement.

And, the Commissioner of Police last week paid out a total of R84 000 to seven trade unionists and top Swapo leaders detained last year under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Security police arrested Angula at his home in Katutura township outside Windhoek on October 6 1987.

He says the fact that he was not charged is proof of his innocence.

He was taken to a detention camp at Osire several hours' drive from Windhoek, and held under Proclamation AG9 which allows for 30 days' detention without trial.

Terrorism Act

Later he was switched to Section 6 of the Terrorism Act which allows for indefinite detention without trial, with no access to lawyers or family.

Angula said he was kept in a tiny corrugated iron hut, out in the open. He



Jason Angula (left) is greeted by Dan Tjongero, Swapo's national chairman

was not allowed out of the hut once.

He was given a Bible, and the only people he spoke to were his guards and security policemen who periodically interrogated him.

During the past year Angula's lawyers were informed that charges against him were being investigated because of his alleged involvement in a car bomb blast at a Windhoek parking garage in early 1987.

His continued detention provoked an outcry in Namibia and around the

international community, with anti-apartheid and solidarity groups demonstrating outside South African embassies.

Angula told reporters he was not physically tortured in detention, but the long period of solitary was "torture enough". He had lost weight, and had been suffering from recurring headaches for months.

Angula, released unconditionally, confirmed that he was consulting lawyers about the possibility of making civil claims.

In an out of court

settlement, the police commissioner agreed to pay R12 000 each to Swapo joint foreign affairs secretary Niko Bessinger, vice-president Pastor Hendrik Witbooi, deputy national chairman Dan Tjongero, National Union of Namibian Workers treasurer Anton Lubowski, NUM president Asser Kapere, NUM secretary-general Ben Uenga, and John Pandeni of the Namibia Food and Allied Union for wrongful arrest and detention.

The men spent three weeks in corrugated iron huts at Osire.

A week after the arrests, the chairman of the interim government cabinet announced that police investigations indicated the men were involved in a car bomb explosion in central Windhoek in July.

Police Investigations

Mr Jannie de Wet said at the time that the cabinet "approves of police action to let such persons, who act ... in contravention of the laws of the country account for their conduct in a court of law."

On September 11, however, a Supreme Court judge took the unprecedented decision to release all seven Section 6 detainees.

He said police had not questioned any of the detainees before making the arrests, and therefore could not reasonably have believed that the men were withholding information - the basis given by the police for the arrests.

The judge said it was "incomprehensible that citizens of South West Africa should still be subject to the draconian provisions of a South African act of parliament which was repealed in South Africa 15 years ago, and which is moreover in conflict with our Bill of Rights."

willing to see Vermaas and at the same time to involve the Registrar of Banks

To Page 2 →

increase in the index for locally produced goods and a 1,3% increase in the index for imported commodities.

Namibian plan gets going on April 1

BRAZZAVILLE — Namibia's independence process is to start on April 1 next year with the last Cuban soldier destined to leave Angola 27 months later.

The Brazzaville Protocol, signed by SA, Cuba and Angola at 11am (noon SAST) yesterday, makes provision for UN Security Council resolution 435 on independence to be implemented on April 1 next year and for the signing of a trilateral treaty in New York on December 22 this year.

The protocol stipulates that Angola and Cuba will reach a bilateral agreement, subject to Security Council approval, on verification arrangements before the New York signing.

It also makes provision for the estab-

Mig LANDS IN NAMIBIA

PRETORIA — An Angolan Mig 21 fighter pilot yesterday landed in Namibia.

An SADF spokesman said the pilot landed about 70km from Otjiwarongo and was safe. The aircraft, slightly damaged, was tracked on radar above cloud at about 500 knots.

The spokesman declined to comment on the circumstances but said the pilot landed on his own accord. — Sapa.

lishment of a joint commission immediately after the New York signing on which the US and Soviet Union and, ultimately the newly independent Namibia, will be represented.

The commission will deal with any disputes arising from the implementation or interpretation of the tripartite treaty, but will not prejudice any parties' right to seek redress via the Security Council, or "pursue such means of dispute resolution as are available under international law".

The parties have, in the preamble to the protocol, thanked Congo Brazzaville's President, Col Denis Sassou Nguesso and his government, for their "indispensible contribution to the cause of peace" and hospitality and called on the international community to provide economic and financial support for "all

To Page 2 →

Namibian plan gets going on April 1

aspects" of the settlement.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in disclosing the content of the protocol en route to Brazzaville yesterday, said the SA government was now satisfied with the verification arrangements.

The only outstanding documentation was the Geneva protocol which would be released with the New York signing. It is known that the Cubans have opposed the publication of this document.

Botha said the agreement provided that, with the Namibian independence implementation date designated as D-Day, Cuba had to withdraw 3 000 troops by that date, 25 000 (50%) by D-Day plus seven months (election date), 33 000

(66%) by D-Day plus 12 months, 38 000 (76%) by D-Day plus 18 months and 50 000 (100%) by D-Day plus 27 months.

By D-Day plus four months, the Cubans must be north of the 15th parallel (a line from the port of Namibe to Quito), and by D-Day plus seven months, north of the 15th — the Benguela line.

After the signing ceremony the parties would attend a reception and return to their respective countries, he said.

The protocol brings to an end a 40-year-long international dispute between SA and the UN — and 12 years of war in Angola. — Sapa.

← From Page 1

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B/Day
14/12/88

221
B/Day
14/12/88

PREVIEW

It's agreed:
Freedom
for Namibia,
Cubans to go

4821-
7/11/85
14/12/88

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14/12/88

5
221

Own Correspondent

BRAZZAVILLE — South Africa, Cuba and Angola yesterday agreed on the historic Brazzaville protocol which will bring independence to Namibia and the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola.

Namibia could become independent as early as November next year. Describing the accord as a triumph for negotiation over war, the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "We want to be accepted by our African brothers. We need each other."

Angola's chief negotiator, General Antonio dos Santos Franca, said: "This will pave the way to a new era of peace in southwestern Africa."

In terms of the agreement the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which will place Namibia on the road to independence, will start on April 1 — "D-Day" — and all Cuban troops will be out of Angola within 27 months of this date.

The colourful signing ceremony took place in the Palace of the People in front of Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

On Page 3

- Pk gets praise
- Signing of protocol welcomed
- Amnesty to end civil war

The formal signing of the tripartite agreement will take place in New York on December 22.

Before that time, Cuba and Angola must have reached agreement with the secretary-general on verification arrangements which will be approved by the Security Council. In addition, the parties also agreed to ex-

change prisoners of war after the tripartite agreement had been signed.

In terms of the agreement which was signed yesterday 3 000 of the 50 000 Cuban troops will leave Angola before D-Day.

Thereafter:
● All Cuban troops will be north of the 15th parallel — a line running from the harbour at Namibe to Tiko about 300km north of the border — four months after D-Day.

● All Cuban troops will be north of the 13th parallel — the Benguela railway line — about 550km from the border — seven months after D-Day.
The phased withdrawal will see 25 000

Cuban troops withdrawn seven months after D-Day; another 8 000 out of Angola 12 months after D-Day; another 13 000 withdrawn 18 months after D-Day, and all 50 000 out after 27 months.

The UN plan also requires the repeal of all discriminatory legislation in Namibia by mid-May and a South African military withdrawal from Namibia to a maximum of 1 500 men by July 1.

Finally the parties agreed to establish a Joint Commission consisting of Cuban, South African and Angolan officials who would facilitate the resolution of disputes

To page 3

P.T.O.

Apr 1985 / 14/12/88
Angolan MiG

lands on

221

Namibia farm

PRETORIA. — An Angolan MiG-21 fighter pilot yesterday landed his aircraft on Namibian territory of his own accord, Defence Force headquarters said last night.

An SADF spokesman said the pilot landed the jet on the farm Okosongomugo owned by Mr H R Schneider-Waterberg about 70km outside Otjiwarongo.



A MiG-21

The pilot was safe and uninjured, but the aircraft was slightly damaged in the landing, the spokesman said.

The jet was tracked on radar flying at high level above cloud cover at about 500 knots, he said.

The spokesman said it further details concerning the landing might be released today. — Sapa

SA signs protocol that sets April 1 as date for the freedom of Namibia

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Sowetan
14/12/88

ROAD

Countdown to independence

● From Page 1
invitation to be extended to any independent Namibian government to join as a full member.

Under an annex to the agreement, the joint commission is designed to "facilitate resolution of any dispute over either the interpretation or implementation of the tripartite agreement by any of the parties establishing the joint commission."

Under the timetable agreed for the Cuban

withdrawal, 25 000 troops, 50 percent of the total Cuban force, is to be out of Angola by the date set for UN supervised elections to be held in Namibia, seven months from the 'D' Day trigger date.

Twelve months after 'D' Day 33 000 Cubans, 66 percent of the total, should be withdrawn with 38 000 having left 18 months after "D" Day.

All the Cubans are scheduled to have left by 27 months after "D" Day.

In addition 3 000

Cubans are scheduled to leave before "D" Day.

All the Cubans are to be withdrawn northwards to above the 15th parallel, roughly 300km from the Namibian border, within four months of "D" Day, and above the 13th parallel, 550km from the border after seven months from "D" Day.

The protocol was signed for South Africa by both the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

SOWETAN REPORTER

BRAZZA VILLE

— South Africa yesterday signed a four-point protocol here with Angola and Cuba that set April 1, as the trigger date for implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

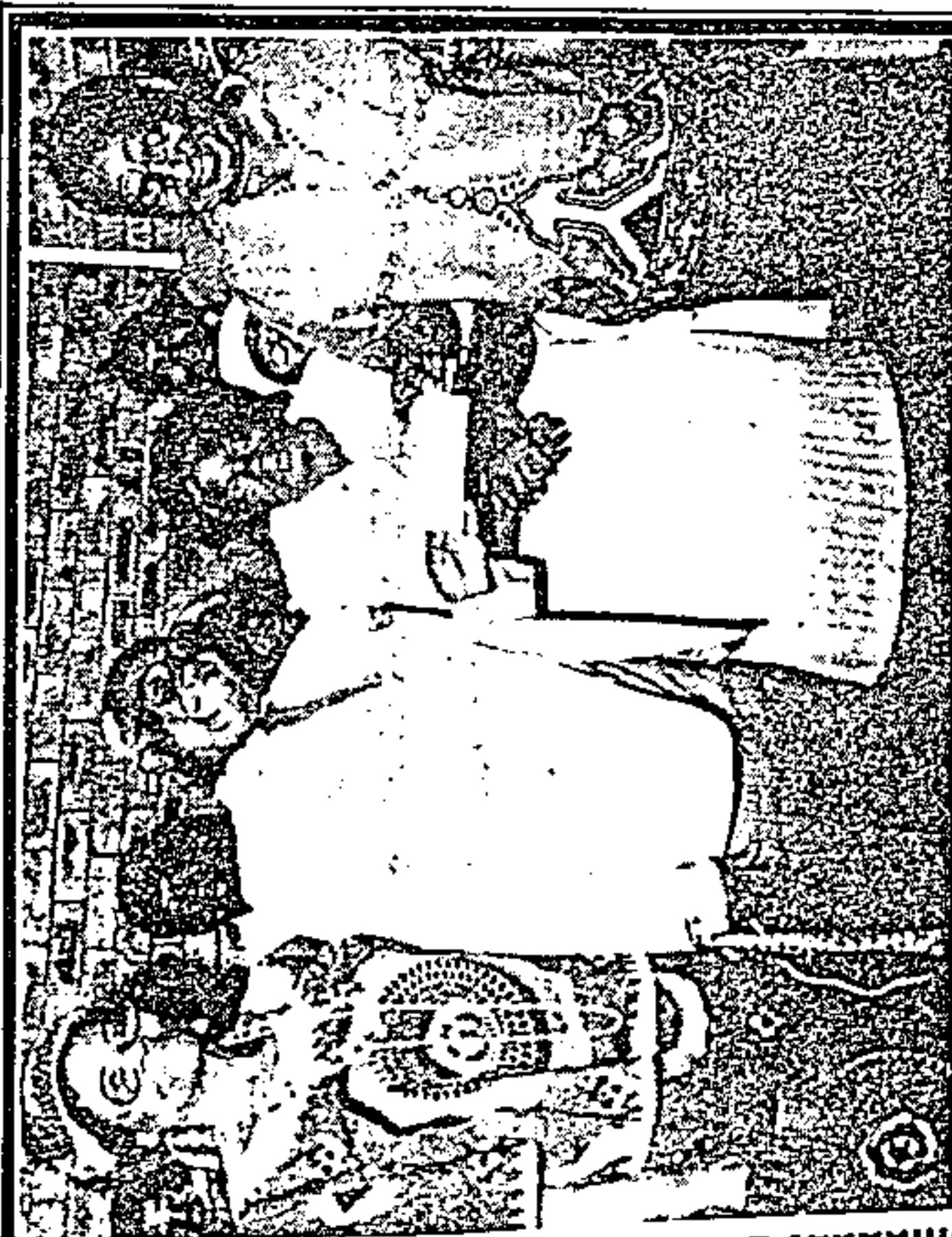
The protocol detailed a timetable for a complete Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola within 27 months of the trigger date.

Invited

The three countries agreed to meet in New York on December 22 this year to formally sign a tripartite agreement, on which date they will also exchange "prisoners of war."

A joint commission is to be set up consisting of South Africa, Angola, Cuba, and with the US and USSR invited to join as "observers," with an

● To Page 2



Mr ZEPHANIA Mothopong, the Pan Africanist Congress leader who was recently released from jail, yesterday donated R2 000 to the Soweto Old Age Home. Mr Mothopong, (extreme right) and his wife, Urbanla (left), presented the cheque to the residents of the home.

The money donated was given to Mr Mothopong by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gataha Buthelezi, as the "cleansing" money on his visit last week to Johannesburg.

On donating the money, that was a gift to him, Mr Mothopong said: "I am giving the aged this money because they need it more than I do."

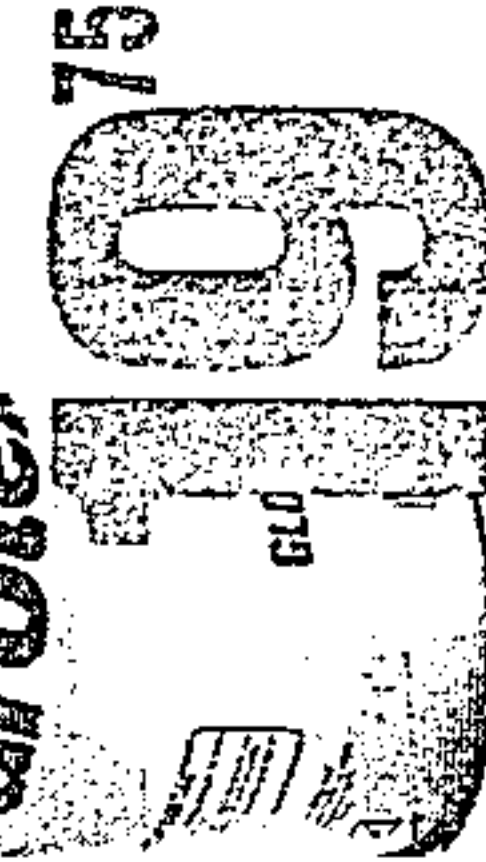
Zeph
donates
Sowetan 14/12/88
R2 000
to aged

SUPER SMART

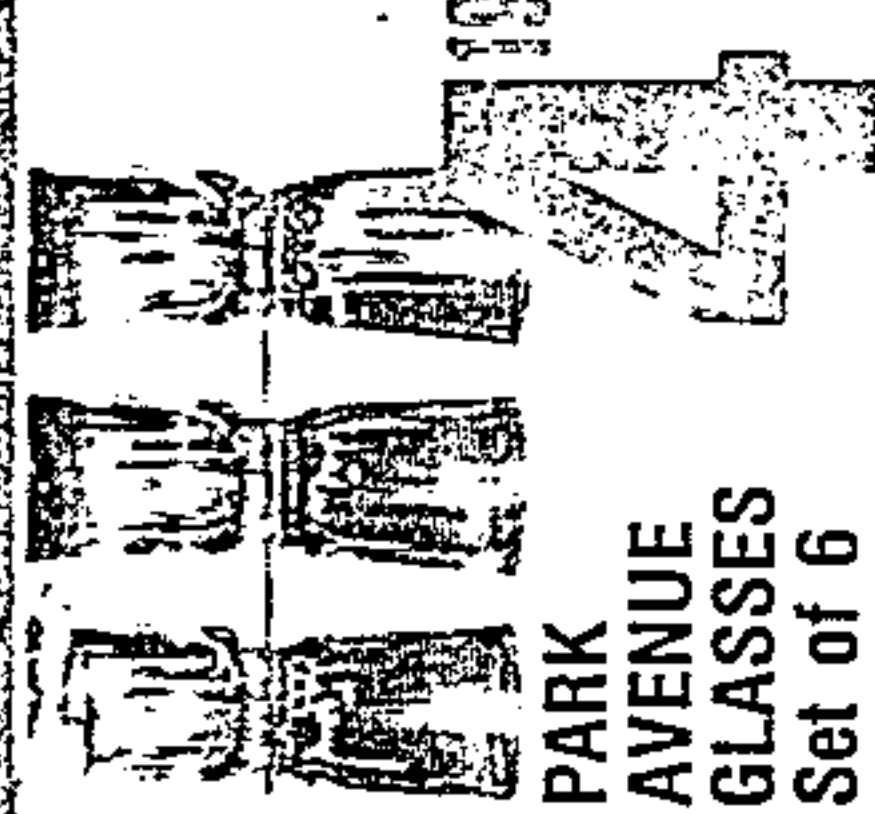
BY SHARON K. MARDI

ECONOMY ENAMEL PAINT (5 litre - white)

Durotex

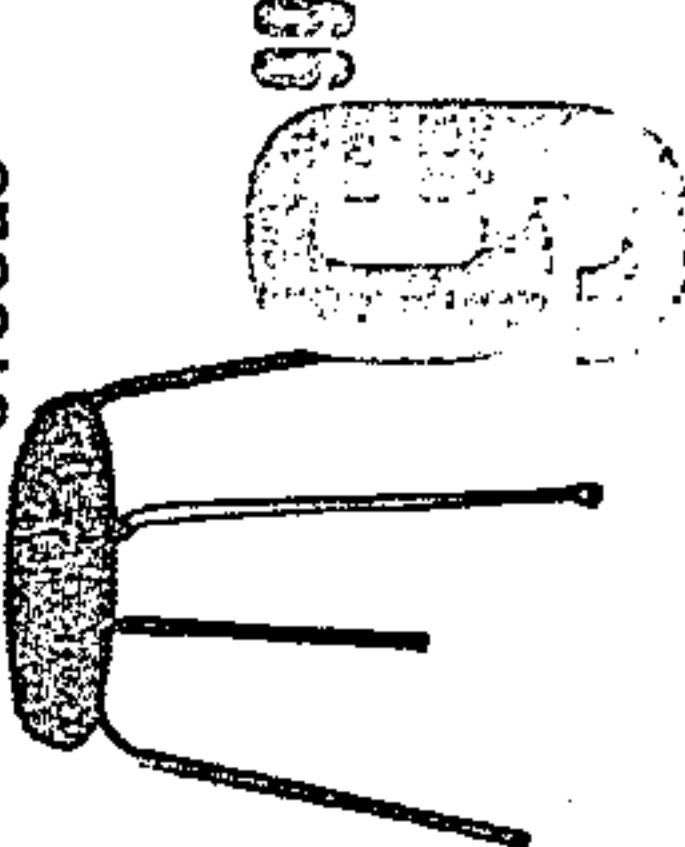


CHRISTMAS BARGAINS



PARK AVENUE GLASSES Set of 6

KITCHEN STOOLS



BABY WALKING RING

Mandela

Protocol stand by for domino effect

Peace pact will spark chain of actions in five countries

THE signing of the Brazzaville Protocol will have a domino effect, triggering a chain of actions in South Africa, SWA/Namibia, Angola, Cuba and America.

These events will culminate in SWA/Namibia gaining its independence next year, and in the departure from Angola of the Cuban troops, who have had a major impact on the military balance in Southern Africa and the politics of the sub-continent.

The key date now is April 1, the start of the independence process set out in Security Council resolution 435. Nearly all the other actions will be tied to that date.

But before then several important preliminaries must be dealt with.

The next move will be a meeting in New York on December 22 at which South Africa, Angola and Cuba will sign a tripartite agreement putting the final seal on the Brazzaville pact.

By January 22 a five-nation joint commission will be set up to monitor implementation of the agreement.

Possibly before then, but certainly shortly thereafter, the UN Security Council will meet in New York to endorse the pact.

By February at the latest, and possibly as early as next

month, the blue-helmeted United Nations troops who will monitor the implementation of resolution 435 and their backup civilian group, Untag, will start flying to Windhoek before dispersing throughout SWA/Namibia. They will need at least six weeks to get into position to begin their job on April 1.

They will immediately start monitoring the first stage in the 435 implementation process, which is a "general cessation of hostile acts" and the confinement to base of all South African forces in SWA/Namibia and all Swapo forces which are said to be based in the territory.

The UN force will also start patrolling the border with Angola to prevent infiltration, which has never been specified but is presumed to include stopping unauthorised deployment of Swapo combatants in SWA/Namibia.

At the same time there will be a general release of political prisoners, presumably including the several hundred dissidents reported to be held by Swapo in Angola.

The Cubans will evacuate a token 3 000 of their 55 000-odd troops in Angola before April 1. From that date the South Africans will start withdrawing their estimated 50 000 troops and by May 14 the

number will be down to 12 000.

The UN special representative, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, who will establish himself in Windhoek from April 1, and will publish the rules for the independence election.

SWA/Namibian exiles will start returning under UN supervision. All racially discriminatory laws will be repealed. Citizen Force, commando and ethnic military units will be disbanded and their arms and ammunition placed under Untag's control.

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, will be working closely with Mr Ahtisaari in implementing 435. They will jointly decide whether any commandos or other local armed forces will be deployed for any reason necessary for the implementation of 435.

By June 11 the South African Defence Force presence will be down to 8 000 men and all political prisoners will have been freed.

By June 25 the SADF forces will have been reduced to 1 500.

All SADF bases along the border will by now be "deactivated" or put under civilian control and UN supervision.

By the end of July all the Cuban troops in Angola will have been moved north of the 15th parallel, about 300 km north of the border.

On June 25 the election campaign will officially begin and will continue for about four months, taking it up to about October 15.

By the end of October the Cuban troops will have been moved north of the 13th parallel, 550km from the border, and by the date of the election 25 000 of the Cuban troops will be out of Angola.

The actual date of the election, which will be for a constituent assembly, will be decided on by Mr Pienaar in consultation with Mr Ahtisaari. A week after the certification of the election result the constituent assembly will be convened to start drawing up a constitution for SWA/Namibia.

The timetable for the independence process is vague at this point but appears to envisage no more than two months for the assembly to produce a constitution.

Formal independence for the country will follow immediately thereafter but there is still uncertainty on several important points, notably whether the majority group in the constituent assembly will automatically form the

government or whether another election will be held to elect a parliament.

In some South African circles the view is that a second election will be necessary. Either way, SWA/Namibia's independence is now assured and by next Christmas it could already be a member of the United Nations and of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Cuban troop withdrawal will continue after independence. By April, 1990, 33 000, or 66 percent of the total, will have been withdrawn and by September of that year the number withdrawn will have reached 38 000.

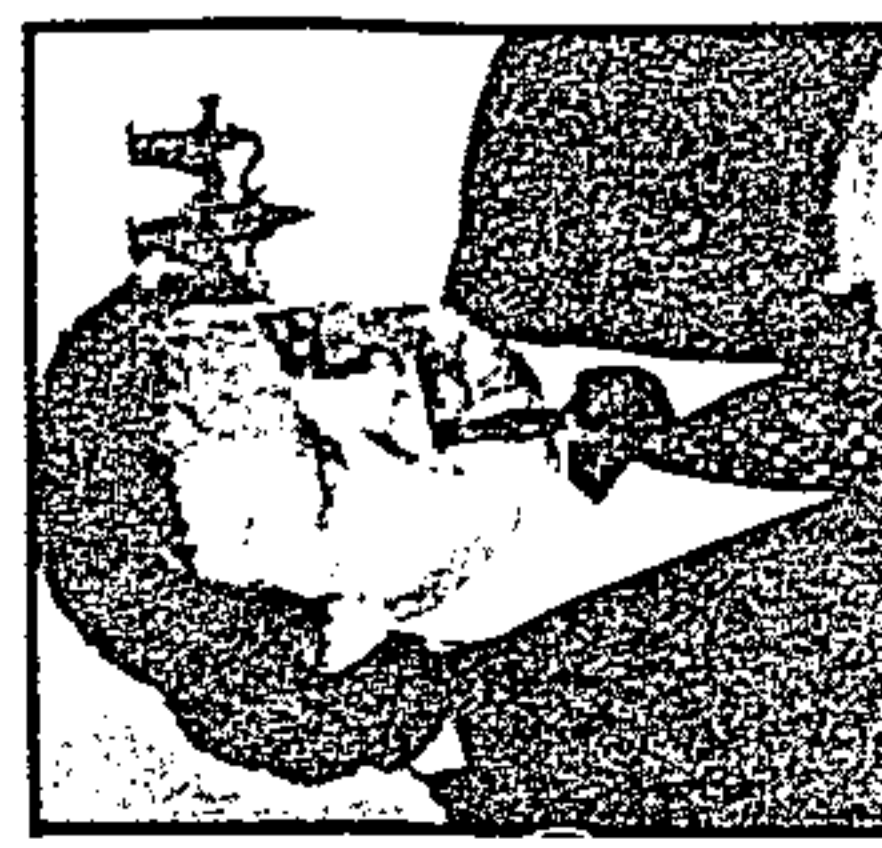
The last Cuban troops will be out of Angola by March, 1991, by which time SWA/Namibia will have been independent for more than a year.

In the meantime, however, Angola's MPLA regime will have had to wrestle with the problem of what to do about Unita, whose challenge to the MPLA was what brought the Cubans into Angola in the first place and which has vowed to keep fighting until the MPLA agrees to peace talks.

The international attention that has been focused on getting independence for SWA/Namibia will now switch increasingly to effecting reconciliation in Angola.



Mr Louis Pienaar



Mr Maarti Ahtisaari

ARGUS 15/12/88

Angola agreement big blow to ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has been dealt a heavy blow with the signing of a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The price South Africa had to pay for this appears to be the severing of direct military support for Unita.

An informal understanding between South Africa and Angola concerning the ANC and Unita apparently formed an integral part of the Brazzaville Protocol agreed to by the two countries and Cuba this week.

According to diplomatic and security sources it is clearly understood that an implicit part of their agreement is ending all direct aid by Angola to the ANC and by South Africa to Unita.

Understanding

The understanding is apparently embodied in the New York Principles agreed to earlier by the three countries and which is ratified by the Brazzaville Protocol.

Diplomatic and security sources say that although this agreement does not say it explicitly, all the parties understand that it means direct support for Unita and the ANC must be

cut once the trilateral agreement formally adopting the Brazzaville Protocol is signed by the three countries in New York next week.

South African security sources say the understanding reached with Angola is a major setback for the ANC. Angola is expected to honour the understanding for fear that Pretoria could retaliate by giving Unita bases in South Africa.

● At the United Nations talks resumed on measures for verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops. A UN spokesman said details still had to be worked out for the signing of the final agreement.

The Security Council is expected to be called into session next week to consider sending UN military observers to Angola.

● In Luanda, Swapo welcomed the signing of the Brazzaville agreement and pledged its readiness to play its part in Namibia's transition to independence.

It was ready to proceed with the implementation of Resolution 435 and to play its "leading role" in moves to independence. — Political Correspondent, The Argus Foreign Service and Argus Africa News Service.

Angolan pilot 'inexperienced, lost'

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The Angolan pilot of the MiG21 jet fighter which landed in Namibia this week was clearly inexperienced, probably completely lost, and had no hostile intentions, according to the South African Defence Force.

Asked whether the Air Force had been prepared to intercept the MiG21 as it strayed more than 300km into Namibian airspace on Tuesday afternoon, a SADF spokesman said:

"The Defence Force knew he had exceeded the operating range of his aircraft. Therefore he could not have returned to Angola because of insufficient fuel.

"The Defence Force was fully aware of the movements of the aircraft, including its flight path, because it was tracked on radar for a long time and the pilot's radio transmissions were monitored.

"From this it was clear he was inexperienced and probably completely lost and confused because of the thick cloud base.

"From all these facts it was obvious that the aircraft posed no threat, had no hostile intentions and would be forced to land."

The plane landed in a hay field on a cattle ranch about 70km from Otjiwarongo in northern Namibia.

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Halting of SADF murder trial invalid

Argus Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK. — A Full Bench of three judges of the Supreme Court in Windhoek has declared invalid a certificate issued by President Botha halting the murder trial of four SADF soldiers.

The certificate, in terms of the Defence Act of 1957, was issued by Mr Botha acting on advice from the SADF. Four SADF soldiers — C J Harmse, F J Herps, D F Esselen and J Fernando — were all indicted for the murder in November 1985 of Mr Frans Uapota, a resident of Owambo.

According to a post-mortem performed on Mr Uapota, he had a broken neck, broken ribs and other injuries after being interrogated by the four, who were on counter-insurgency operations in Owambo at the time of the killing.

After a police investigation of the case in late 1985 and early 1986, the four men appeared in court on murder charges on June 24 1986.

"GOOD FAITH"

The trial was stopped three days later in terms of the certificate issued by Mr Botha, which said the men had acted in "good faith" in "combating terrorism in an operational area".

President Botha made his decision after being given a report on the incident prepared by Colonel C de Klerk of the SADF.

A challenge on the validity of the State President's certificate was later mounted by the dead man's wife, Mrs Victoria Mweuhanga, and the case was heard yesterday.

Mr Justice Harold Levy, Mr Justice Chr. Mouton and Mr Justice Herbert Hendler concurred in declaring the certificate invalid.

WORRYING INROADS

The court found that the issuing of such certificates made serious and worrying inroads into the discretionary powers of the Attorney-General to decide on prosecutions.

Legal sources here say that the ruling will open the way for the alleged killers of Mr Uapota to stand trial, and could also set a precedent for another action pending against a State President's immunity certificate — that of six SADF officers charged with the murder of a Swapo official, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, in November 1986.

Palace of Ink in Windhoek will Soon have some new occupants

AK645

15/12/80

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BRENDAN SEERY of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek

BY Christmas next year Windhoek's imposing Tintenpalast (Palace of Ink) government building — a legacy of German colonial rule — will have new occupants.

In all probability they will wear flamboyant African print open-neck shirts or "Mao suits" and call one another "comrade".

Now that the United Nations resolution 435 settlement and independence plan for SWA/Namibia is to come to fruition at last, it appears likely that Swapo — reviled for the past 22 years by the establishment as a Marxist, terrorist organisation — will get its chance to run this vast, arid country.

Few realistic political observers believe that Swapo will be defeated in the one man, one vote polls envisaged under the UN peace plan, although, if its opponents form an alliance to fight the elections, it is possible that a coalition government will have to be formed.

Assuming, however, that a Swapo-dominated government does take over in the Tintenpalast, what are its prospects and what are the major problems it is likely to face?

A policy of national reconciliation, similar to that pursued by Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) party after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, will have to be a major priority.

A fractious territory with 11 different race and ethnic groups, SWA/Namibia needs above all to forgive and forget if it is to get on with the vital tasks of nation-building after a war.

The biggest ethnic group in the country, the Ovambo, comprises about half of SWA/Namibia's population of just under 1.5 million and makes up the majority of Swapo's support.

Other black and coloured ethnic groups also have representation within Swapo's membership, although many of the groups have their own, small political parties devoted to their own self-interest.

Possibly the biggest ethnic problem from the black side could come from the Herero minority. The third biggest population group (after the whites), the haughty Herero have played a major role in the birth of Namibian nationalism and were at the core of the formation of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) at the end of the '50s.

Even now, after Swanu has split into left and right factions, there is still some fear of domination by the Ovambo majority in Swapo.

The Herero traditional leaders have, in the main, tended to side with moderate politicians such as Mr Dirk Mudge and Herero support remains crucial to his Democratic Turnhalle Alliance grouping.

Some of those in leadership positions in Swapo appear to underestimate the crucial role that whites play in the economy.

White Afrikaners are the ones most likely to "take the gap" should a Swapo regime take over. Some have already spirited away nest eggs in South Africa.

The estimated 18 000 Germans in SWA/Na-

mibia have largely held on to their Federal Republic passports and would expect the Bonn government to help them out if things went awry after independence.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has said on several occasions that there will be no re-creation against whites, but much more than that will be needed to convince whites they have a home here.

Apart from the flight of capital that would accompany a white exodus, there would be a flight of skills which could well cripple the fledgling nation. Swapo, which professes to admire what has been achieved in Zimbabwe since independence, may take a leaf out of Mr Mugabe's book and perhaps appoint whites to crucial Cabinet posts.

Although it is likely that there will be financial aid for SWA/Namibia after independence, the Zimbabwe experience shows that the initial aid promises far exceed what is finally given.

Money will be needed to finance a whole range of reconstruction and resettlement projects aimed at improving the lot of the majority of the people, so long neglected under colonialism and South African rule.

If independent Namibia wants an army it may have to start virtually from scratch, for even if the South African military's SWA/Namibia arm, the South African Force, is not disbanded, the South Africans are unlikely to leave it much equipment.

Neither will there be an air force once the

South African rest of the nation 435.

It seems that aid v Swapo adm tionalising major m lay the go

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cramping the favourite hard against the rail, injuring her stifle. Canzonet and Carol's Luck were travelling far better than anything else on the outside rail though, getting to the head of affairs with about 100 to travel. Canzonet came forward strongly but Hatt kept finding more on the big filly, without having to ask too hard either, and she ran away easily at the line to win by a widening length.

Looking fresh and fit afterwards, one gets the impression that the further she goes the better she gets and it will be interesting to follow her summer programme as she appears unlikely to stop winning here.

CROWD PLEASER

Canzonet, on the other hand, is getting crankier at each meeting and is proving a regular crowd pleaser as her jockey's struggle to get her down to the start, even giving Puller a hard time yesterday. Thank goodness she comes out of the stalls when they open!

Sovereignlucky ran on for third 3,50 lengths back and a head ahead of She's A Champ. Jockey Ricky Kleinsmit appeared before the Stipendiary Board regarding the incident and was found guilty of causing interference. He will be

CAPE payouts for the race meeting held at Milnerton yesterday were:

FIRST RACE

- 3.05 — Maiden Plate — R10 000; 1000 m:
- No 7 STEEL BLUE (Phantom Earl) No
- Dolly Blue (Messrs NFR) No
- Spines and CW Facer. 3—55
- (G Pulley) 1
- No 1 CARNIVAL DAY. 3—56 (B) No
- Hayden) 2
- No 11 FINE STYLE. 5—53.5 (M Lys) No
- SCHNEIDER. 4—53.5 (G) No
- Then came: Lindley, Gunner's Mate, Prince of Orange, Hunting Lady, Whit Avible, Harry Holsurf, Headlights, French Loo's Wife, Coral Pearl, Abby Girl, Jolito and Charlot Of Fame.
- Scratched: No 16 On The Fairway.
- Won by 1 1/4, head, 4, 5/11.
- Time: 60.0 sec.
- Trained by: Mr A E Sands.
- Betting: 5/2 Prince Of Orange, 29/10 Fine Style, 7/2 STEEL BLUE, 9/1 Hunting Lady, 14/1 Others.
- Total: Win, R360 (coupled with No 2 Charlot

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New rulers of Namibia will face titanic obstacles

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Star 15/12/88

BY BRENDAN SEERY,
The Star's Africa News Service
There are few who doubt that Swapo will win power in Namibia. What problems are a Swapo government likely to face?

WINDHOEK — By Christmas next year, Windhoek's imposing Tintenpalast (Palace of Ink) government building, a legacy of German colonial rule, will have new occupants.

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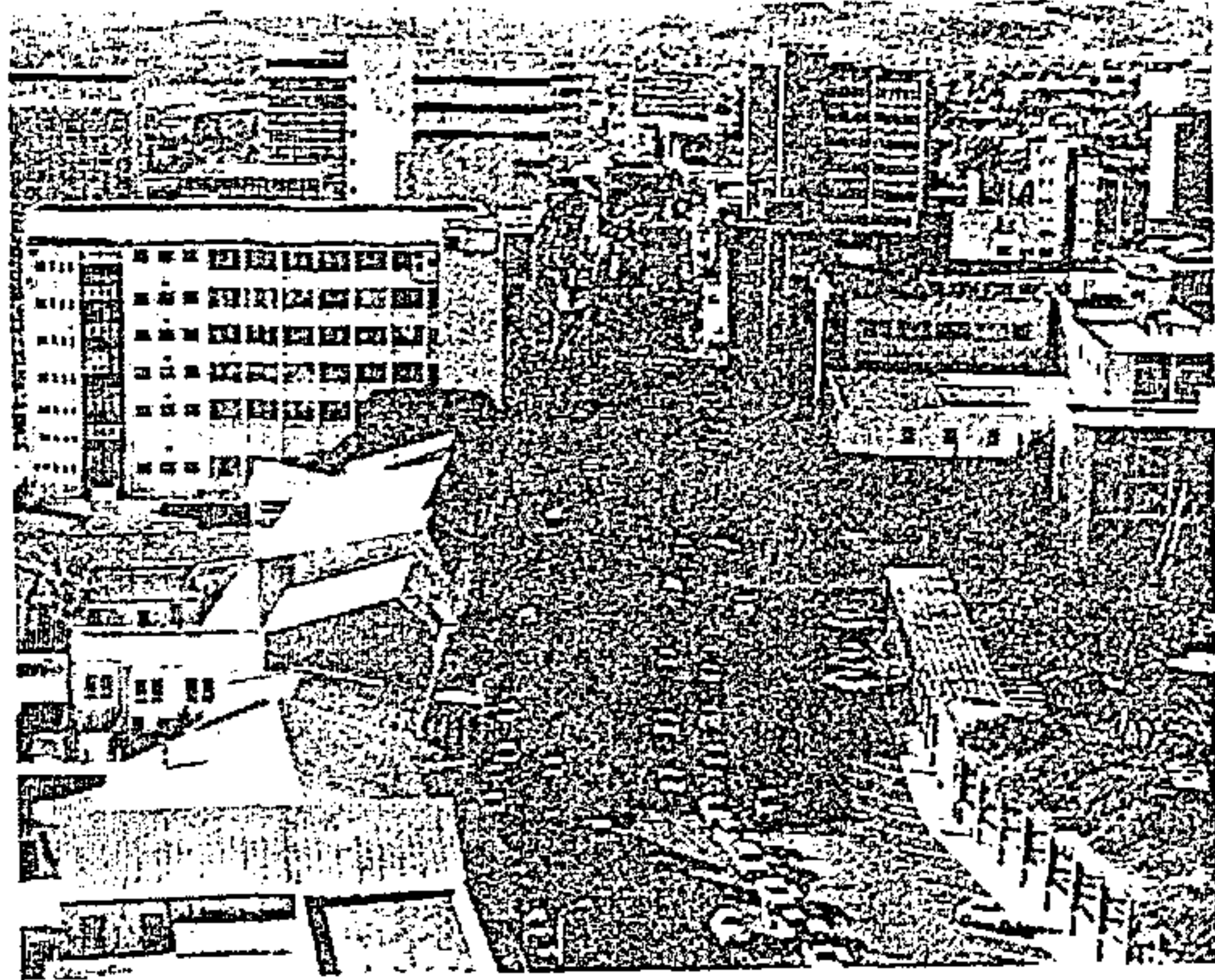
Priorities

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Windhoek . . . What will life be like there by Christmas next year?

their own, small political parties devoted blatantly to their self-interest.

Possibly the biggest ethnic problem from the black Namibian side could come from the Herero minority.

The third biggest population group (after the whites), the haughty Herero have played a major role in the birth of Namibian nationalism and were at the core of the formation of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) at the end of the 50s.

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Neglect

Swapo, which professes to admire what has been achieved in Zimbabwe since independence, may take a leaf out of Mr Mugabe's book and perhaps appoint whites to crucial Cabinet posts.

Money will be needed to finance a whole range of reconstruction and resettlement projects aimed at improving the lot of the majority of the people, so long neglected under colonialism and South African rule.

If independent Namibia wants an army, it might have to start virtually from scratch, for even if the South African military's Namibian arm, the SWA Territory Force, is not disbanded, the South Africans are unlikely to leave it much equipment.

Neither will there be an air force once the SAAF withdraws with the rest of the South African forces under Resolution 435.

It seems likely that, given the assumption aid will not meet all requirements, a Swapo administration will refrain from nationalising the assets and operations of the major multinational mining groups, which lay the golden tax eggs.

Acquisition of land would probably follow Zimbabwe's "willing buyer, willing seller" formula, although the Windhoek government would probably not tolerate absentee landlords.

Taxation

Increased demands on the Exchequer would probably be met by increasing personal and company income tax.

While most of the socialist countries would be warmly received because of the support offered Swapo during the war, the United States is likely to be much less favourably received initially because of Washington's policies of "constructive engagement" and "Cuban linkage", which Swapo has said delayed independence.

Links with other Western countries would probably be better.

South Africa would, of course, continue to exercise a tremendous influence over the emerging nation, not in the least because all of Namibia's transport routes, and the only port on its coast, are in the hands of Pretoria.

While attempts would be made to reduce dependence on South Africa economically, few observers believe much progress would be made in that direction in the short or medium term.

Mr Nujoma has said Swapo would not allow the ANC to establish military bases on Namibian soil.

IT wasn't mere chance that brought South African State President PW Botha to the world's bleakest seaside town last weekend to open a "community festival".

Not even the inhabitants of Walvis Bay (population 24 000, situation more than 1 000km from the nearest grain of South African soil), would suggest that their illustrious visitor was drawn by the desert harbour town's physical charms.

The presidential presence had more to do with political symbolism and, particularly, with the sensitive stage which has been reached in the Ango- la/Namibia peace process.

For although the disputed South African enclave on Namibia's west coast has recently been overshadowed by such issues as the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Unita, it could reclaim its historic role as an intractable obstacle to regional peace.

By making a personal appearance at a function of little consequence in Walvis, Botha was signalling that Pretoria's claim to the town had intensified.

His message was that South Africa had no intention of handing over the only major seaport in Namibia to a post-independence government.

Since the beginning of this year, the SADF has announced a R22-million "expansion and upgrading" scheme for its installations at Walvis; the navy has held the "biggest and most comprehensive" exercise in its history in the bay's waters; and a miscellany of deputy ministers has publicly assured the (white) citizens that the orange, white and blue will fly for ever over their little slice of Africa.

If this is posturing in preparation for a climbdown, it is expensive posturing.

Walvis Bay was a formidable obstacle to earlier international attempts to secure independence for Namibia. In 1978, for example, arguments over its ownership came close to scuppering the "Western Front"

Why PW flew in to a minor function in a town most of South Africa had forgotten

SHAUN JOHNSON reports on the Namibia bargaining chip each side wants to play: Walvis Bay

grounds of the importance of controlling the only port along the great ex-tent of the coast through which arms and trade can pass into the area," he said — and the point still holds.

Walvis Bay is a strategic foothold for South Africa, and this is why chunks of the defence budget have been lavished on it. In April 1978, Nujoma referred to the spectre of "enemy troops" in the territory if

Walvis was not be included in an independent Namibia, and he has clear cause for concern.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha set out Pretoria's thinking quite frankly in July, 1978: "We have a military base there right on our soil. We have a port there, we have a railway system and installations which cost millions. Walvis Bay could in the future conceivably ... become an important civil

airport.

"It is closer to Europe than Johannesburg, and if you can't fly over Africa, it assumes greater importance." Botha omitted to say that the "civil" airport also serves the South African Air Force.

A pro-government newspaper commentator went even further, calling Walvis Bay the "soft underbelly" of South African security, one which

could be used as a "splendid staging post for any anti-South African military action ... Anyone who controls Walvis virtually controls the whole west coast".

Whether any of the parties to the peace talks will consider the Walvis issue important enough to extricate themselves — at tremendous political cost — from an agreement remains to be seen. But it could happen.

The most popular theory is that South Africa will cling doggedly to Walvis Bay as a bargaining chip, refusing to concede until after independence.

Meanwhile, the good citizens of the Territory of Walvis Bay (its official title), may have to content themselves with reciting the town's motto: *In Urinque Paratus* — "Prepared for any opportunity".

Group's" initiatives.

At the time, Swapo called Walvis Bay "the biggest single issue that could create first deadlock and then failure" in efforts to reach a settlement.

South Africa's then Prime Minister, John Vorster, said the bay was an "integral part of South Africa," and that he was "not even prepared to discuss it in negotiations".

PW Botha, then Defence Minister, added that it was "pure coincidence that geographically Walvis Bay bordered on international territory", warning darkly that it would be "defended in the event of any aggression".

Swapo said in response that South Africa had annexed the enclave "as an act of neo-colonialism" and that the organisation would have nothing to do with "any political settlement not based on the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia". Walvis Bay was a "natural part" of the country, said Swapo.

The issue is again rearing its head. Why does everyone care so much?

Beneath Walvis Bay's ugly duckling exterior, there are a number of attractions. It is Namibia's only deep-water port. Figures for 1978 show that 90 percent of the territory's mineral exports and many imports passed through its commercial docks. Control — or lack of it — over the bay would have a profound effect on the prospects of any new government in Namibia.

Walvis also has a recently rejuvenated pelagic fishing industry, and a line in salt processing which turns over a tidy sum. Partly because of defence spending, the town is experiencing a building boom, and there is a lot of direct spending by military-connected personnel. The depression days of the early 1980s are, for the moment, over.

But the attractions are not all economic, as was noted by Britain's Secretary for Colonies, Lord Kimberley, in 1880. "Walvis Bay was proclaimed British territory on the

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Certificate invalid, says Supreme Court

State President's immunity revoked

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A full Bench of three judges of the Supreme Court in Windhoek has declared invalid a certificate issued by the State President, Mr P W Botha, halting the murder trial of four SADF soldiers.

The certificate, in terms of the Defence Act of 1957, was issued by Mr Botha acting on advice from the SADF.

Four soldiers — Mr C J Harmse, Mr F J Herps, Mr D F Esselen and Mr J Fernando — were all indicted for the murder in November 1985 of Mr Frans Uapota, a civilian resident of the northern Namibian war zone of Owambo.

According to a postmortem performed on Mr Uapota, the dead man suffered a broken neck, broken ribs and other injuries after being interrogated by the four, who were on counter-insurgency operations in Owambo at the time.

After a police investigation of the case in late 1985 and early 1986, the four men appeared in court on murder charges on June 24 1986. However, three days later, the trial was stopped.

The State President, in issuing the certificate halting prosecution, said the men had acted in good faith in "combating terrorism in an operational area". Mr Botha made his decision after being given a report on the incident prepared by

a Colonel C de Klerk of the Defence Force.

A challenge of the validity of the State President's certificate was later mounted by the dead man's wife, Mrs Victoria Mweuhanga.

Mr Justice Harold Levy, Mr Justice Chris Mouton and Mr Justice Herbert Hendler concurred in declaring the State President's certificate invalid.

The court found that the issuing of such certificates made serious and worrying inroads into the discretionary powers of the Attorney-General.

Mr Justice Levy commented that the evidence which was submitted to President Botha before he made his decision was "mostly misleading" and that the Transitional Government in Windhoek should not have been told by Pretoria to go ahead and issue the immunity certificate.

A similar certificate was issued earlier this year to halt the trial of six SADF officers who had been charged with the murder of a Swapo official, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, during a violent clash at a Swapo rally in Windhoek in November 1986.

The issue of that certificate has also been challenged before the courts, although a decision has not yet been handed down.

Legal sources in Windhoek say the latest ruling by the three judges in Windhoek will open the way for the alleged killers of Mr Uapota to stand trial, and could also set a precedent for the other action pending against a state president's immunity certificate.

3 Namibian parties form new group

WINDHOEK. — Namibian political parties have begun with preliminary organisation for the United Nations-supervised pre-independence elections scheduled for next year.

Three political parties announced in Windhoek yesterday they had established a common front to contest the elections in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The parties are the SWA National Union (Swanu), the Caprivi African National Union (CANU) and Action National Settlement (ANS).

The leader of Swanu, Mr Moses Katjuongua, the leader of CANU, Mr Seshe Simasiku, and the leader of ANS, Mr Eben van Zijl, told a news conference the new political group would be known as the National Patriotic Front of Namibia (NPFN).

Mr Katjuongua said on behalf of the three parties the formation of the political front was not completed as several other parties were considering joining the new group.

Mr Katjuongua is also Minister of National Health and Welfare in the Namibian transitional government while Mr Van Zijl was previously a member and deputy leader of the exclusively-white SWA National Party.

Mr Van Zijl broke away from the SWANP leadership after differences over a draft constitution for Namibia.

A declaration of intent by the NPFN said it would work for the maintenance of a democratic state based on a multi-party political system and an independent judiciary.

Earlier, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said it had begun to upgrade and expand its organisation for the UN-supervised elections expected next November 1.

Meanwhile, the leader of Swanu-Progressives, Mr Verkui Rukoro, said Swanu-P favoured a broadly-based government of national unity in Namibia.

The party was trying to identify potential political allies to enter with it into an election pact.

Swanu-P had already held informal talks with a number of political groups to establish a basis for co-operation, Mr Rukoro said.

Swapo's main leaders are in exile and are due to return to Namibia after implementation of the UN settlement plan on April 1 next year.

There are no indications that Swapo would seek to form an election front with other parties. — Sapa

Peace pact triggers Namibian countdown

SIGNING of the Brazzaville Protocol will trigger a chain of actions in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Cuba and the United States.

The culmination comes with Namibia gaining its independence and the departure from Angola of Cuban troops.

The key date now is April 1, the start of the Namibian independence process set out in Security Council resolution 435.

But before then, several important preliminaries must be dealt with.

Next move is a meeting in New York on Thursday at which South Africa, Angola and Cuba sign a tripartite agreement, putting the final seal on the Brazzaville pact.

By January 22, a five-nation Joint Commission will be set up to monitor implementation of the agreement.

Possibly before then, but certainly shortly thereafter, the UN Security Council will meet in New York to en-

GERALD L'ANGE

dorse the pact.

By February at the latest, and possibly by next month, the blue-helmeted United Nations troops, who will monitor the implementation of Resolution 435, and their back-up civilian group will start flying into Windhoek and dispersing throughout Namibia.

They will need at least six weeks to get into position to begin their job on April 1. They will monitor the first stage in the 435 implementation process, which is a "general cessation of hostile acts" and the confinement to base of all South African forces in Namibia and all Swapo forces which are based in Namibia.

The UN force will also start patrolling the border with Angola to prevent infiltration, which has never been specified but is presumed to include stopping unauthorised deployment of Swapo combatants in Namibia.

There will also be a general release

of political prisoners, presumably including the several hundred dissidents reportedly held by Swapo in Angola.

The Cubans will evacuate a token 3 000 of their 55 000-odd troops in Angola before April 1.

From April 1 the South Africans will start withdrawing their estimated 50 000 troops from Angola and by May 14 the number will be down to 12 000.

UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who will establish himself in Windhoek from April 1, will publish rules for an election.

Namibian exiles will start returning, under UN supervision. All racially discriminatory laws will be repealed.

Citizen force, commando and ethnic military units will be disbanded and their arms and ammunition placed under Untag's control.

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, will work closely with Mr Ahtisaari in implementing 435.

By June 11 the SADF presence will be down to 8 000 men and all political prisoners will have been freed.

Bases deactivated

By June 25 the SADF forces will have been reduced to 1 500 and confined to the bases at Grootfontein, the main SADF base in Namibia, and Oshivelo, about 150 km from the border.

SADF bases along the border will by now be deactivated or be under civilian control under UN supervision (These include the bases at Oshakati and Rundu in Owambo and Katima Mulilo and Mpacha in Caprivi Strip.)

By the end of July, all Cuban troops in Angola will have been moved north of the 15th parallel, about 300 km north of the border.

On June 25 the election campaign will officially begin and will continue for about four months, taking it up to about October 15.

By the end of October, Cuban troops will have moved north of the 13th parallel, 550 km from the border, and

by the election date 25 000 of the Cuban troops will be out of Angola.

The date of the election, which will be for a constituent assembly, will be decided by Mr Pienaar in consultation with Mr Ahtisaari.

A week after the certification of the election result the constituent assembly will be convened to start drawing up a constitution for Namibia.

The timetable for the independence process is still vague, but appears to envisage no more than two months for the assembly to produce a constitution.

Formal independence will follow immediately thereafter, but there is still uncertainty on several important points, notably whether the majority group in the constituent assembly will automatically form the government or whether another poll will be held to elect a parliament.

In some South African circles the view is a second election will be necessary.

Either way, Namibia's independence is now assured and by next Christmas it could already be a member of the United Nations and of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Cuban troop withdrawal will continue after independence. By April 1990, 33 000 will have been withdrawn.

By September of that year the figure will climb to 38 000.

The last Cuban troops will be out of Angola by March 1991, by which time Namibia will have been independent for more than a year.

Angola's MPLA government will have to wrestle with the problem of what to do about Unita, whose challenge to the MPLA was what brought the Cubans into Angola in the first place, and who have vowed to keep fighting until the MPLA agrees to peace talks.

The international attention that has focussed on Namibian independence will increasingly switch to effecting reconciliation in Angola.

● The author is Editor of Saturday Star's Africa News Service.

KEN VERNON takes a somewhat different look at that protocol-signing ceremony in Brazzaville, Congo, this week which cleared the way for independence for Namibia.

Wedding was a bash; ⁽²²⁾ now for happy ever after

Star 17/12/88

BRAZZAVILLE — The best man sat in the wings waiting expectantly while the father of the bride tried to steal the show, the matchmakers congratulated themselves — and the bridegroom wasn't allowed to attend the ceremony.

In Brazzaville this week, if the traditional question — whether anyone could show just cause why the bride, Namibia, should not be given away — had been posed there would no doubt have been any number of objectors.

Prudently the question remained unasked, and Uncle Savimbi and the Turnhalle cousins will have to hold their opinions for another time.

First to speak at the ceremony in the tastefully decorated People's Palace in Brazzaville was the chief matchmaker, Dr Chester Crocker, who cocked a snook at those critics who had said his "constructive engagement" methods would never reach fruition.

"Just as men cannot eat slogans," he said, "so statesmen cannot solve problems with rhetoric and empty words".

He chided his critics, saying that while his long engagement method was not one that produced instant solutions, it worked.

Father of the bride, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, pointed out that the coming wedding would be an "African solution to an African problem", adding that it showed "Africans could solve their own problems" — a point that might have slighted the role of the chief matchmaker, who might have replied that Africans also often caused them.

Mr Botha drew applause from the congregation of assembled diplomats and Congolese officials when he assured them that South Africa was removing racial discrimination, "we want to be accepted by our African brothers" (more applause), "we need each other" (still more applause).

Warming to his theme, he said it was

difficult to imagine two more different sets of governmental parents than South African and Cuba/Angola, yet they had sat around a table and decided that a marriage had to take place.

He hinted that the Soviet Union had also dabbled in the matchmaking, adding he was not quite sure what they had done "but it wasn't harmful".

For the parents of the groom Angola's Defence Minister, General Antonio Franca "Ndalu", replied first, saying a new era was opening for the bride, and he hoped the in-laws would respect each other's territorial integrity and not fight any more.

Cuba's deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Richardo Alarcon, was miffed because he had not been told to prepare a speech, but gave one anyway in which he pointedly ignored the South African role in the forthcoming wedding.

Just as everyone was about to leave for the reception the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister decided to make an unscheduled speech. It was expected he would spring to his country's defence, but he merely praised the US role in securing the protocol.

This spurred on the best man, United Nations representative Martti Ahtisaari, to say that he had been waiting for 10 years and he hoped the process could now get under way.

At the reception, Mr Botha produced his trump card, a few dozen bottles of *witblits* and marula juice, to get the party under way with a bang.

After the formal signing of the wedding contract in New York next month the bridegroom, who is as yet unknown, will still have to win an election before he can take the hand of the bride.

All the participants agreed that the Brazzaville Bash was a historic step in the family relationships of southern Africa, but it remains to be seen if the marriage will be consummated.

GERALD BENDER, director of the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California and a part-time adviser to the MPLA, is the author of a thoroughly silly article that appeared on the New York Times commentary page this week.

Unfortunately, his views are shared by the hive of supposedly enlightened American opinion. Bender opines that the Namibian independence/Cuban troop withdrawal agreement to be signed in New York this week was reached "only as a result of help from Moscow" and that therefore neither the Reagan administration nor Dr Chester Crocker should receive much credit.

This is special pleading at its most pernicious, but there has scarcely been a Press analysis of the settlement that has not made a similar assertion.

I daresay many South Africans are operating under the same delusion. Mikhail Gorbachev has managed to find their erogenous zones too.

To praise Moscow for its role in the agreement is to grant accolades to a pimp who has decided to retrench his string of prostitutes because he can no longer afford the penalties imposed on procuring.

Gorbachev co-operated in the deal because he concluded that the MPLA was no longer earning its keep as his streetwalker — that it was, in other words, a wasting, palsied asset — and that he could make a virtue of its dismissal.

He cut the Angolans and the Cubans loose because they were getting in the way of his primary objective — the maintenance of his party's minority rule in the Soviet Union.

He knew that this small, tactical retreat not only would save him a great deal of money, but would also earn him further approbation from Western politicians and financiers who secretly despise their own democracies and have proved, from the '30s onwards, all too eager to go and belly up to totalitarian thugs, especially the kind who kiss child-



Simon (221)

S/Times

Barber 18/12/88

'Bent' view of Namibia

Washington Diary

ren and pretend to be interested in "peace".

Angola had become costly to the Kremlin because, in a rare moment of spine, the Americans had decided to make it so by providing a few Stinger and Tow missiles to Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita without having to provoke a crippling national row about it.

Ignoring the red herring of the South African connection, a bipartisan consensus in the US Congress believed that arming Unita was a good thing.

Bender, and all who are tempted to go ga-ga over the suddenly loveable Russians, might also note who it was who mediated the settlement and who, for eight years, had to suffer the opprobrium of failure before the Soviets finally knuckled under.

Anatoly Adamishin and Vladilen Vasev were not the gentlemen

at the head of the table. The diplomacy was not their idea. They had no useful suggestion for gaining Namibia's independence, no strategy for defusing the Angolan conflict. For years, their Government could only pour in billions of dollars-worth of weapons.

Crocker initiated the process, synthesised positions and cajoled the parties towards a settlement while the grey Soviet eminences hovered with mysterious importance in the wings, intervening only when their clients appeared to get uppity. Crocker and his administration were the peace-makers.

For which Bender and the hive will not forgive him. Reagan and his men were not supposed to make peace, they were supposed to make the world an infinitely more miserable place.

Alas, they disappointed. The very toughness that the hive decried paid off. The Soviets were forced to realise that they could no longer compete as they had in the past. Their sclerotic dictatorship could not continue as it had without seriously weakening itself.

They are now obliged to pursue the Cold War by other means, replacing tank divisions with the sweet pretence that the conflict is past, prettying up their totalitarianism and imperial ambition with glasnost and perestroika — reform dictated from above — and oh-so-charming spokesmen like Gennadi Gerasimov and Vladimir Posner.

And, with the help of Bender and the hive they are succeeding, snatching a victory greater than any the Brezhnev Doctrine could have afforded them.

Having inspired and underwritten the brutalisation of Angola — and much else of the Third World — they are now engaged in conquering the hearts and minds of the West by simply moderating their more egregious expansionism.

How hugely amusing they must find our gullibility.

● Freedom for Namibia

● Praise for all parties

● Cuban troops to pull out

PEACE

Things look good, but there's still a long way to go

TIME-BOMB

C/press 18/12/88 (22)

SA offers to swap pilot, for soldier held in Cuba

IN a dramatic move, South Africa yesterday offered to return the Angolan MiG 21 aircraft which landed in Namibia and to swap the pilot, who apparently defected, for the SA prisoner Papenfus, being held in Cuba.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, said the exchange could take place in New York to coincide with the signing of the tripartite agreement.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry had earlier said it would consider the matter of the MiG 21 fighter and its pilot, "as soon as it has all the facts at its disposal".

It is being speculated that the pilot planned to defect to Windhoek, but landed in a disused maize field about 65km north-east of Otjiwarongo - roughly halfway between Windhoek and the Angolan border - when he ran out of fuel.

A farmer, Heinrich Schneider-Waterberg, gave him a cup of coffee before the military took over, and he is now believed to be in official custody.

An SADF spokesman, Maj Doep Martins, said in Pretoria he could not comment because the whole affair was being handled by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

A large military contingent was guarding the aircraft in the maize field where it landed.

Farm owner, Schneider-Waterberg said: "We saw something flying low past the homestead and noticed it going down with its wheels lowered."

"It was quite exciting," he said. "It is not everyday that something like this happens in our part of the world".

Schneider-Waterberg said he met the pilot on the road and took him home for coffee.

The police were then called. - Sapa

By CONNIE MOLUSI and SAMKÉLO KUMALO

NAMIBIA is on the verge of long-desired independence in terms of UN Resolution 435 - provided nothing drastic occurs along the way between now and April 1 next year.

The historic signing of the Brazzaville Protocol by South Africa, Cuba and Angola on Tuesday sealed an agreement that Namibia's independence process is to begin on April 1.

By the end of June 1992, all the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola will have left in terms of the agreement.

The event in Brazzaville - the end of a series of peace negotiations since May this year - has brought the first signs of an end to strife in the Namibian region.

It also means that South Africans must brace themselves for the installation of a Swapo government - said to be likely to have far-reaching effects as far as South Africa's own political future is concerned.

However, some analysts have warned that much can go wrong before April. Any of the parties can, for whatever reasons, upset the whole peace and independence process.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola will meet in New York on December 22 to sign the final trilateral agreement of the peace negotiations.

It terms of the Brazzaville agreement Angola and Cuba are to meet the UN secretary-general before then to confirm the timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

According to the protocol signed in Brazzaville, a joint commission will be set up immediately after the signing on December 22. The UN, Soviet Union and, finally, an independent Namibia, will be represented on the commission along with South Africa, Angola and Cuba. The commission will facilitate the resolution of any dispute over either the interpretation or implementation of the agreement.

The Brazzaville parties also agreed on:
● A 27-month programme for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

● The exchange of prisoners of war.

It has been agreed that half the Cuban forces will leave before Namibia's independence elections. Another 8 000 will leave by April 1, 1990 and 5 000 more by October 1, 1990.

The remaining Cuban forces will move to the north of Angola, away from the border with South Africa.

South Africa is to withdraw its forces from Namibia by July 1 next year.

The agreement requires South Africa to begin implementing UN Security Council Resolution 435 - the UN's 10-year-old independence blueprint - on April 1 next year.

The UN plan requires the repeal of all discriminatory laws in Namibia by mid-May 1989.

Elections will be held on November 1 for a constituent assembly charged with the adoption by a two-thirds majority of an independence constitution.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, told people attending the signing ceremony in Brazzaville that South Africa was removing racial discrimination and wanted to be accepted by its African brothers.

"Africa needs peace and understanding. We were never given an opportunity to catch up with the industrialised countries."

He said the industrialised powers had determined the prices of Africa's commodities and products and made Africa pay for technology, and added that the time had come for Africa to stand together economically.

The Namibian agreement was in essence an agreement for peace among African people, he said.

● Meanwhile, Swapo yesterday welcomed the accord and predicted it would win power in UN-sponsored Namibian elections.

But in Lisbon, the Angolan rebel group Unita - which was excluded from the peace talks - threatened to step up guerrilla attacks if Angola's Marxist government did not negotiate with it. The Angolan government has indicated it intended working towards peace in the country.

Our Xmas wish

City Press will not be published next week because of the Christmas holidays.

Our first paper after the break will appear on Friday, December 30. We therefore take this opportunity of wishing all our readers a peaceful Christmas, with the hope that the New Year brings positive change towards one land that can be shared by all of its people all of the time - free of racial agony and free of fear and hate.

'upsetting



er. The only concession made is that his family have been told that they will have unlimited access to him.

Mrs Mandela still stood by her rejection of an offer from Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee that the Mandela family could stay with Mandela "on a continuous basis" at the new house, he said.

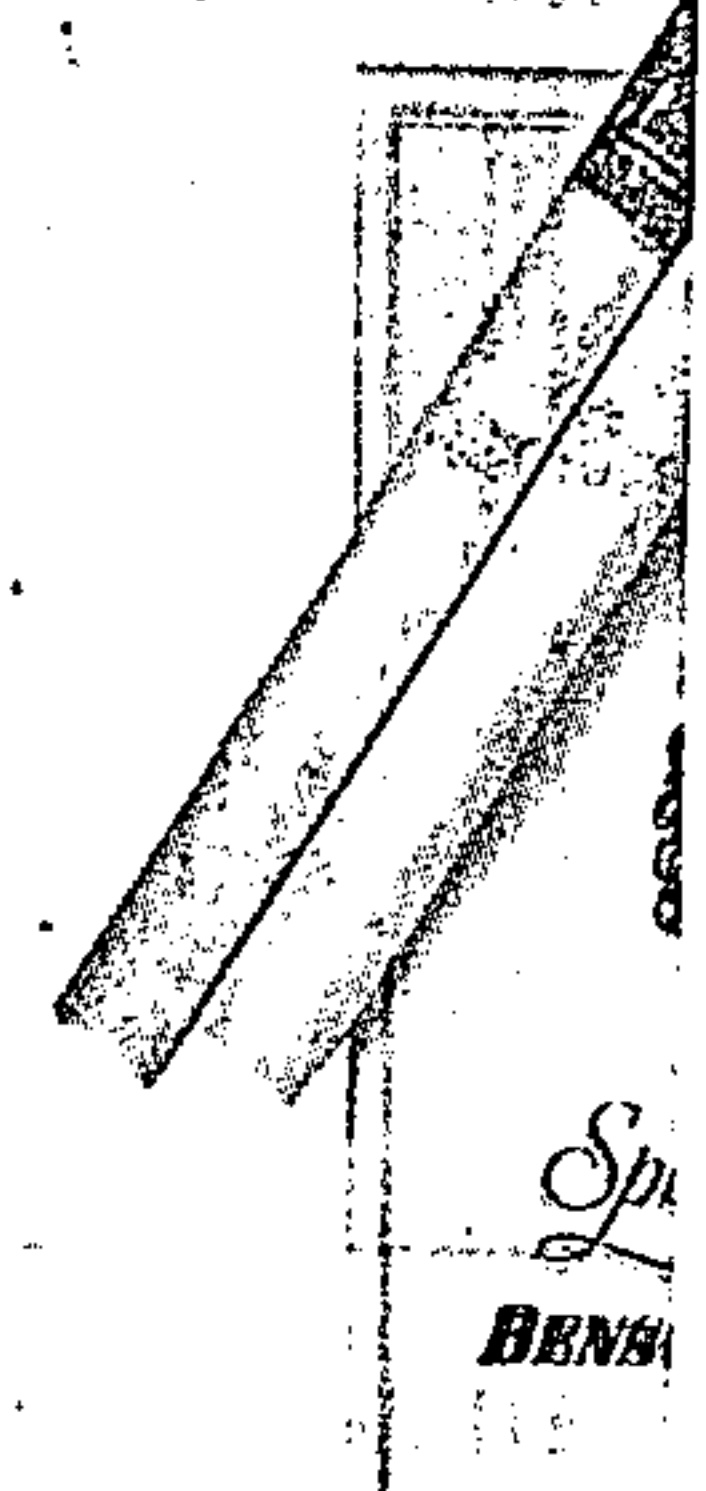
"Mandela agrees with her," Ayob said.

The move to Paarl was not part of a staged release as Mandela had merely been moved from one prison to another, he said.

The State had released photographs of Mandela's new house and the swimming pool on the property, but it should have consented

18 killed in OFS

MO
MILL



STAY

South-West est saamboa!

ST... 18/12/88 (221)

BRAZIL is to play a leading role in Namibian independence and the phased withdrawal of the 50 000 Cubans from Angola.

The Brazilian Government has accepted a request by UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar to lead the special commission which will supervise the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as from April 1 1989, it was announced here.

The Brazilians will send a total of 16, including a brigadier general who will take up the command of the international commission.

Informed sources have also revealed that Brazilian president Jose Sarney will probably go on a four-day official visit to Angola during the second half of January to discuss stronger economic co-operation to rebuild the country now the war has ended.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that representatives from Spain, Sweden, India and the Congo would form the bulk of the monitoring team.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's staff will also start behind-the-scenes discussions on the composition of the 6 500-men Unitag force which will move into Namibia on D-day, April 1 1989, to oversee the Namibian elections.

Since UN resolution 435 was passed in 1978, two Unitag commanders-in-chief — General Hans Philippe, of Austria, and General Prem Chand, of India — have been appointed, but both retired



Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, with Cuban President Fidel Castro, on arrival at Havana airport for a four-day visit to Cuba

BY DRIESSEN HEERDEN in Pretoria and WIM VANVOISEN in Rio de Janeiro

before they could lead their forces into Windhoek.

The composition of Unitag may still be one of the hardest nuts to crack in the next few months.

A senior diplomat said it was obvious South Africa should be satisfied with the countries from which Unitag members would be drawn. It was expected objections would be raised against the

inclusion of soldiers from East Bloc and African countries, such as Nigeria, which had been openly hostile towards SA.

The joint UN operations in Namibia and Angola will be among the most complex sive and costliest ever undertaken by the world body. Ten years ago, it was estimated the budget for the seven month operation

would exceed R250 million. That has risen to more than R1-billion today. UN member countries will have to foot the bill.

What distinguishes Namibia from similar UN task forces in Lebanon or Cyprus is the vastness of the territory that has to be monitored, the difficult terrain, the scarcity of water and inadequate infrastructure.

A UN advance team has already visited Windhoek to scout out possible accommodation and draw up a preliminary logistics plan. The UN forces are expected to take over most of the military facilities vacated by the withdrawing SA military. Unitag will have military and civilian components. It should be fully deployed by June 24 — four months before election day.

Soviets softening their stand on SA

IN the light of President Mikhail Gorbachev's proclaimed policy of gradual withdrawal from Third World trouble spots, official Soviet attitudes towards southern Africa have become notably more pragmatic and ideologically flexible.

Anatoli Adamishin, a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister who handles sub-Saharan Africa, epitomised the "new thinking" by declaring on Friday that "most white people (in South Africa) are also oppressed by the apartheid regime, by their isolation from most other countries, and are looking for ways of ending it."

His remarks came close to an appeal for ending an all-round boycott of South Africa, though he said that diplomatic and trade links would remain cut.

Speaking enthusiastically about the recently signed agreement designed to end South Africa's rule over Namibia, remove 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, and end the civil war there, he said the regional settlement should improve the chances of a peaceful political resolution of South Africa's internal problems.

Mistaken

Although Mr Adamishin gave no indication that the Soviet Union was conten-

Sunday Times Reporter
Moscow

policy of complete isolation from South Africa was mistaken, Mr Adamishin said: "We must know what is happening in that huge and well-developed country."

The recent regional agreement, said Mr Adamishin, "in principle reflects a certain evolution in South Africa's

No threat so SADF just kept track of lost Mig's

BY DE WET POTGIETER

SOUTH AFRICAN fighter planes remained on the ground this week while two Angolan Mig 21 fighters invaded Namibian air space.

One of them eventually flew at low level for more than 20 minutes before landing on a farm near Ojijwarongo.

Claiming that there was no reason for SA Mirages to intercept the enemy plane, a SADF spokesman said it became obvious that the Angolan intruders posed no threat and showed no hostile intentions.

Soon after the Angolan pilot was captured, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha announced that he would be taken to New York for talks on a prisoner exchange if Cuba agreed to discuss the

stations, it was revealed that the two Angolan planes were tracked by radar from the time they invaded Namibian airspace.

"From the pilots' radio transmissions, monitored by defence force personnel, it was clear that the captured pilot was inexperienced and completely lost."

The spokesman also claimed the Mig had exceeded its operating range and therefore could not return to Angola because of insuffi-

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The military component will monitor the cessation of hostilities by all parties, the restriction of SA and Swapo armed forces to their bases and the phased withdrawal of most of the SA soldiers.

Patrol

It will also patrol the Namibia/Angola border and take over the protection of installations such as hospitals, roads, water works and power lines now guarded by the SA military.

Untage will consist of seven infantry battalions plus communications, engineering, logistic and air support elements.

plating an early renewal of diplomatic links with South Africa, and asserted his government's total opposition to apartheid, he endorsed the new Soviet policy of encouraging personal contact with white liberals.

He mentioned an unprecedented recent visit to South Africa by an Izvestia reporter, who wrote three balanced articles.

Boris Asoyan, a Soviet expert on African affairs, received a stream of South African visitors, including some close to the Government, during an assignment as acting Soviet ambassador to Lesotho earlier this year. Implied that past Soviet

position of Private Johan Papefus held as an SA prisoner-of-war in Havana. Although the SADF spokesman declined to give any details of its early warning in-

client fuel. He declined to confirm whether South African planes were put on standby or had any orders for a possible interception.

ARGUS 19/12/81

Angolan pilot terrified of capture by Unita troops

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The Angolan pilot who crash-landed his MiG-21 jet fighter on a farm in northern Namibia last week at first feared he was in Unita territory and that he would be tortured and killed.

A Windhoek newspaper, the Times of Namibia, reported that the Angolan flyer, First-Lieutenant Domingo Jose de Almeida Vinez, had expressed his fears to a fellow Angolan and former Unita fighter who now works on the farm where the aircraft landed.

The former Unita man, Mr Johannes Nampolo, spoke to the Angolan in the Otjimbundu dialect and told him he was in Namibia.

Lieutenant Vinez then apparently became even more scared and asked if there were Unita soldiers in the vicinity. After assurances that there were no Unita people in the

area, the Angolan asked about the Schneider-Waterberg family, the owners of Okozongominja farm, on which he landed.

The pilot told Mr Nampolo he was not afraid of the "ozomburu" (white people) but only of Unita.

The Angolan flyer, who is due to be married soon, said he took off from the Lubango air base in southern Angola about 9am on Tuesday, bound for Benguela where he was to refuel.

He became lost in heavy cloud, his radio was not functioning and neither was his compass, he told Mr Nampolo.

The aircraft itself is understood to be still at the SAAF air base at Grootfontein, and Lieutenant Vinez is somewhere in South Africa, awaiting possible exchange for South African prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papenfus.

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9 15-19/12/88

Optimism at good news

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — The people of Namibia this week received the best news in decades — that South Africa had agreed to dismantle its colonial administration of the territory and grant the country independence in four months time.

Not all, however, have received the news favourably.

It was at lunchtime Tuesday that the news of an agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba began filtering through.

And although South Africa's utterances are regarded by most Namibians with some caution, the fact that Pretoria has actually signed a protocol specifying a date for the start of Namibia's independence process

was cause enough for celebration.

Impromptu parties were being planned in the Katutura township outside Windhoek, and the rejoicing continued late into the night.

Progressive groupies, which for years have been calling for the immediate implementation of UN security council resolution 435 providing for Namibian independence, were meeting late this week to discuss the logistical implications.

However, not everyone is optimistic that Pretoria is really sincere in its desire to give up its colony after almost 75 years of rule.

South Africa agreed to implement resolution 435 in Namibia when it was first adopted by the security council 10 years ago.

An executive member of a pro-resolution 435 organisation said while the news was positive, most Namibians would only believe that independence was on its way once they saw the troops of the UN transition assistance group "marching down the street".

Several members of the conservative white population in Namibia reacted with anger to the latest news.

Some accused South African president PW Botha of selling them out, and gave the assurance that they would cross the Orange River and live in South Africa if resolution 435 were implemented on April 1.

And while the announcement of a date for independence was undoubtedly seen as a promising step, it is widely speculated that the transition will not be a smooth one.

There is still a powerful military presence in Northern Namibia, and so far there have been no signs that South African troops are preparing to withdraw.

If Pretoria has an ulterior motive in signing the Brazzaville protocol, it should manifest itself before the end of January, said one analyst.

Peace plan spin-off ⁽²²⁾

20/12/88. ^{Monday}

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

THE prospect of a settlement in Namibia could lead to an easing of sanctions and loosen restraints on the flow of foreign capital into SA, says the Assocom Review for the fourth quarter of 1988.

"If peace can be achieved after the years-long international dispute about Namibia, is there any reason why a similar 'peace' cannot be achieved after the long years of political disputations which are impoverishing this country?"

"The inducements must be emphasised. A cessation of terrorism and the relaxation of the state of emergency would change foreign perceptions and encourage overseas investors to abandon their pariah rating of this country."

The review says economic predictions for 1989 are mixed. Some economists forecast a slow and inadequate growth rate while others, though

more optimistic, do not expect a rate equal to population growth.

Meanwhile in Pretoria, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday it would serve no purpose to comment at this time on speculative articles about an improvement in the relationship between SA and the Soviet Union.

He was reacting to an article in the Washington Post by Lally Weymouth which said the Brazzaville accord could foreshadow the forging of diplomatic links between SA and the Soviet Union, Sapa reports.

Botha added SA's position on relations with other countries had always been based on SA's interests.

Weymouth said American officials predicted SA and the Soviet Union could establish diplomatic links within a few years.

Wrangle over size of peace force

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The UN Security Council has taken the first step to implementing the peace accord to be signed in New

York tomorrow, amid disagreement over the size of the peacekeeping force to oversee elections in Namibia.

At the request of Cuba and Angola, the Security

Council decided unanimously yesterday to establish a mission that would verify the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

The body — Unavem — will fall under UN Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and will be based in Luanda during the 31-month withdrawal period.

While the establishment of the 70-officer Unavem has gone smoothly, the establishment of another UN force, Untag, that will oversee Namibia's elections, has become controversial because of an American attempt to reduce its size.

The US wants to cut the military force by about half to save costs, but Third World countries, especially the Africans, object on the grounds that a reduced force would encourage South Africa to interfere in the elections.

Behind the American plan is an expected budget squeeze in 1989. The US Congress will have to authorise funding to pay for 30 percent of Untag's costs, and this could be a political problem.

Peace agreement to be signed tomorrow

Star 21/12/88

221

Political Correspondent

South Africa, Cuba and Angola sign a formal tripartite agreement in New York tomorrow, formally agreeing to peace in south-western Africa.

The agreement is the culmination of delicate negotiations between the three countries since May this year, when the United States chaired talks at the first round in London.

Cuba's 50 000 troops in Angola are to be repatriated and South Africa will grant independence to Namibia.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan are to sign the agreement on behalf of South Africa.

● See Page 3.

Fresh bid for peace

CAT Times 21/12/88

1221

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Brazzaville peace pact due to be signed in New York this week could provide the basis for a fresh international initiative aimed at getting black and white South Africans to the conference table.

This is the view of the influential Financial Times, which said in an editorial yesterday that the implications of the pact extended far beyond South Africa's commitment to independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"For over a year now the Soviet Union has been sending a series of signals, both to the government in Pretoria and to the African National Congress at its headquarters in Lusaka.

"Moscow no longer believes that a guerilla overthrow of white rule is either possible or advisable. Africa's experi-

Brazzaville pact paves way for conference in SA

ments with socialism have frequently proved disastrous, and provided a lesson to be avoided in South Africa. A new constitution must take full account of the fears of the white minority," the newspaper said.

These "pragmatic" views were shared by US president-elect Mr George Bush and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

The state of the economy — currently growing at about half of the 5% required to absorb new job seekers, let alone reduce existing unemploy-

ment — was "helping to concentrate the minds of many South African politicians on the need for reconciliation".

"The broad framework for such a process, on which all outside governments should be able to agree, has already been set out by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group," said the newspaper.

Urging the West to adopt the EPG concept, the newspaper noted that while it was "most unlikely" that President P W Botha would respond to a fresh approach, the West should encourage the ANC to

break the stalemate.

"A formal commitment by the organisation to this formula (drawn up by the EPG), as well as a pledge to end attacks on civilians in South Africa with immediate effect, should be enough to persuade Mrs Thatcher to drop her ban on talks between British cabinet ministers and ANC officials."

Such a move by the "Western leader for whom Mr Botha has the most respect" would, the Financial Times contended, provide a salutary jolt to a government which has slowed reform to a snail's pace.

"And at the same time the West should set out incentives for South Africa outlining the financial assistance that could help pave the way to reform. An internationally-backed programme for the training of black South Africans abroad could be set in motion.

"There is no reason to think that these and other measures would not win the support of the Soviet Union."

SA delegation leaves to sign peace accord in New York

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, left Jan Smuts Airport for New York last night to sign a trilateral peace accord which will bring independence to Namibia and remove Cuban troops from Angola.

The accord is to be ratified by the United Nations at its signing by Cuba, Angola and South Africa tomorrow.

It will incorporate the Brazzaville and Geneva Protocols signed during eight months of negotiations since talks began in London during April this year.

Another matter that will receive attention on Thursday is the

exchange of Sergeant Johan Pappas, who is being held in Cuba, for an Angolan fighter pilot being held in South Africa.

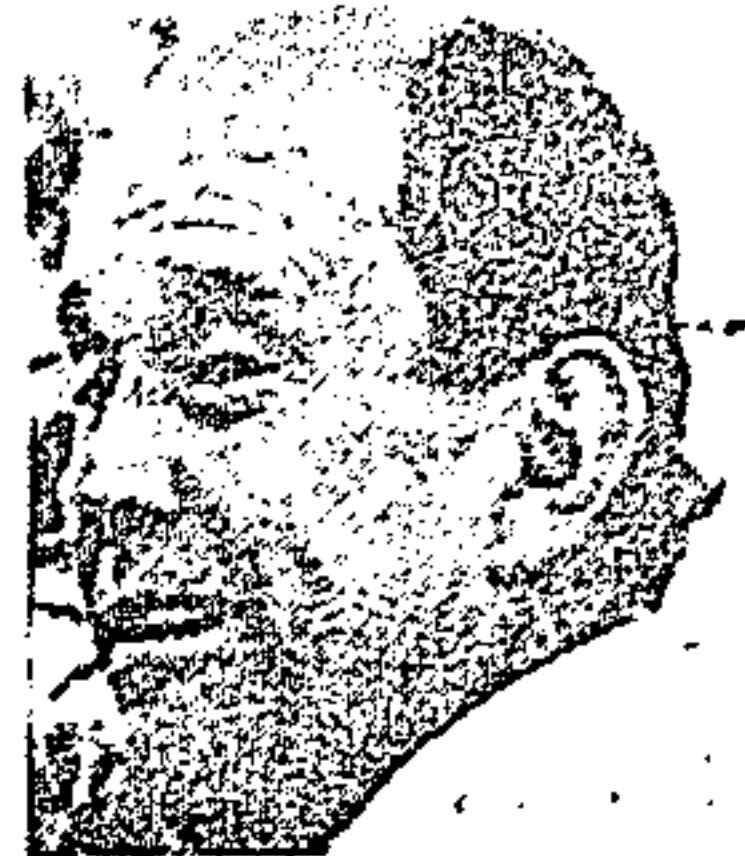
Accompanying the two ministers are the two chief South African negotiators, the Director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

This will be the fourth time that the two ministers accompany their negotiating team and, if all proceeds according to schedule, it should be the last time cabinet members will be involved in the peace process.

The signing will put the final

seal on an agreement which provides for the UN to implement its Namibian independence plan (Resolution 435/76) from April 1, and for Cuban troops in Angola to redeploy northwards and finally withdraw from Angola within 27 months of that date.

The trilateral peace accord also makes provision for a system of verification of the withdrawal by a United Nations body, the UN Angola Verification Mission, Unavem, for an exchange of prisoners, and the establishment of a Joint Commission to deal with disagreements between the parties on the interpretation and the implementation of the agreements. — Sapa



General Malan



Mr Pik Botha

Caution urged over accord

Star 22/12/88

A former US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has urged caution in dealing with the Soviet Union on the eve of the historic signing of the Angola/Namibia accord.
ALAN DUNN reports

MIAMI — Dr Henry Kissinger yesterday advised a watertight verification agreement to ensure all 50 000 Cuban troops left Angola, warning against American euphoria at the so-called new thinking introduced by Soviet president Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dr Kissinger, held in the highest regard by foreign policy analysts and widely considered a model for modern-day US secretaries of state, was speaking at a University of Miami conference on new Soviet thinking and Soviet/Cuban strategies in Angola and Namibia.

Drawing on his first-hand experiences in trying to settle the Vietnam conflict, he said the Communist members of the verification panel would never find a violation of the agreement, no matter how egregious.

"Therefore the viability of any agreement depends on penalties for non-compliance or reward for compliance," he said. "That is something to which we have to pay attention."

Dr Kissinger posed the question of whether the gradual Communist encroachment in Vietnam could be prevented in SWA/Namibia.

Peace required equilibrium between the superpowers, he said. The question now facing the US was how to define that equilibrium with the Soviets and how to maintain it.

Dr Kissinger said it would affect the settlements in Afghanistan and Angola.

Dr Kissinger cited two noteworthy developments in this connection last year: The US Congress decided there should be peace negotiations in central America, the Soviet Union decided there could be peace in southern Africa.

The US had thus halted aid to the rebels fighting the Marxist Nicaraguan regime to give peace a chance. The Soviets, however, promptly sent 16 000 of the best Cuban troops into Angola. They moved close to the SWA/Namibian border, drew South Africa into battle and won it or, at least, exposed South Africa to losses it was not prepared to take.

Dr Kissinger also said the US infatuation with Mr Gorbachev was dangerous for everybody, including the Soviets. One man alone could not guarantee peace.

Dr Kissinger said history showed that Americans perceived every decade that Soviet leaders had finally grasped the need for economic change in their state, that Communism was at an end.

The US needed to conduct foreign policy by long-range planning and projections, he said, not applying temporary solutions to immediate problems on personal, emotional or anecdotal levels.

Clash over peace troop plan

NEW YORK — African nations are clashing with the US, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France over how much to spend for UN peacekeepers to oversee SA's withdrawal from Namibia.

US Secretary of State George Shultz and the foreign ministers of SA, Cuba and Angola are scheduled to sign accords this morning at the UN declaring the independence process for Namibia will begin on April 1.

At the same time, Cuba and Angola will sign an agreement with the UN to have 70 UN military observers monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola over a 30-month period, beginning in January.

The Security Council met on Tuesday evening and approved secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar's request for the military observers for the Cuban pullout, to be called the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem).

The 15 council members voted unanimously to set up the force as soon as Cuba, Angola and SA sign their accord today.

Unavem, estimated to cost \$20.4m during its 31-month mandate, is relatively inexpensive and has not aroused any controversy at the UN.

But on Monday, non-aligned nations, led by black African nations, vigorously denounced plans by the five permanent Security Council members to reduce the much larg-

er peacekeeping force planned for Namibia.

The decade-old Security Council plan for Namibia's independence calls for about 2 000 civilian administrators and military police to back about 7 500 UN peacekeepers as SA troops withdraw and a civilian government is organised.

The force will be called the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag).

UN officials have estimated Untag will cost \$600m-\$800m in one year, far more expensive than any other ongoing UN peacekeeping venture.

The five permanent Security Council members believe that cost is much too high, and diplomats say Perez de Cuellar agrees it can be trimmed.

Cut battalions

On Tuesday, diplomats from the Big Five members of the council — the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — conferred privately with the secretary-general, who said afterwards they had discussed cutting costs.

Perez de Cuellar and the diplomats would not elaborate on their plans, which have to be approved by a majority of the 15-member Security Council.

One suggested plan, diplomats say, is an American proposal to cut Untag's military peacekeeping contingent of 7 500 by more than

half, from seven battalions to three.

British Ambassador Sir Crispin Tickell said on Tuesday the original Security Council plan assumed there would be ongoing hostilities by SA and Swapo.

Swapo and SA had agreed to cooperate with the plan, Tickell noted, so a smaller force would suffice.

Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Belonogov said the five permanent council members agreed the force should cost only about \$450m.

Black African nations have said Untag should have even more military police to supervise SA's military police, who will be responsible for maintaining law and order while an election campaign is conducted for a national assembly.

SA has built up its military police force since 1978, when the Security Council passed its Namibia independence resolution.

The Namibian elections are scheduled for November 1.

UN officials point out military police are less expensive to maintain in the field than soldiers, suggesting a possible compromise in which military police would replace some of the UN peacekeepers.

The secretary-general had asked for a report on the necessary size and cost of the force, said his spokesman, Francois Giuliani, on Tuesday.

The Security Council was expected to meet to approve the formation of Untag in early January.

(22) B/day

22/12/88

No one defeated — Crocker

Star
27/11/86
By Neil Lurssen, (22)
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Lowering grey skies and rain showers have failed to dampen the sense of satisfaction and achievement here as delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola come together at UN headquarters for today's historic signing of the accords which promise Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

"No one is being humiliated here," Dr Chester Crocker, the chief United States mediator in the negotiations between the

three countries, said yesterday.

"No one is being defeated here, no one has been defeated here. And that is the way diplomacy ought to be done," he added with a smile.

Dr Crocker added that he hoped an environment had been created in which the MPLA government and the Unita rebels could "reach out to each other like brothers — and find peace".

The US would continue to aid Unita as long as the Soviet Union sent military supplies to the MPLA.

● See Page 12.



Dr Crocker



Mr Botha

Briefing

Diplomatic gains for all concerned

By ALAN DUNN,
The Star's Foreign News Service

Academies at a conference in the US this week reckoned SA will benefit most from a south-western Africa peace pact.

NEW YORK — All parties to the south-western Africa accords to be signed at the United Nations in New York today were winners, prominent US observers of the region have agreed.

Some of America's top academic experts on Angola and Namibia said at a symposium in Miami, Florida this week that all signatories emerged with greater or lesser diplomatic victories.

But they differed at a University of Miami conference on new Soviet thinking and Soviet/Cuban strategies in the region on which country emerged with the biggest prizes.

Some argued that South Africa had gained most by depriving the African National Congress of its bases in Angola, forcing 50 000 Cuban troops out of that country, having another "fatally weak" country on its borders and buying time for more necessary internal South African reforms.

South African-born Professor Owen Khan, a political scientist at the University of Miami, warned however that the international community would not allow South Africa much respite for agreeing to sign this accord.

"This will give South Africa only brief relief," he said of world demands for the country to change its own policies.

A leading Soviet academic on South Africa, Dr Apollon Davidson of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Moscow State University, said procrastination in negotiations had been South Africa's fault.

The progress and success of the talks had been due to Soviet intervention, he claimed. Dr Davidson also said South Africa had, in dealing with the Soviet Union, been trying to play a diplomatic card against the ANC and South Africa's Western allies.

CRYING OUT FOR AID

He noted that recent talks between Soviet and South African officials on the sidelines of the peace negotiations in Brazzaville and Cairo had been purely about Angola and Namibia. "There is no chance of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union," he said in broken English.

Dr Davidson was joined by a few other academics in predicting that if the Angola-Namibia agreements were to be broken, it would be by South Africa.

All agreed that a newly independent Namibia would be weak and poor, crying out for foreign aid.

The new country would be beholden to any source of assistance, said Professor John Marcum of the University of California. He felt that South Africa would retain control of Walvis Bay, the territory's key port.

Professor William Griffith, political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, likened Namibia's future economic and military relationship with South Africa to that of Botswana or Mozambique.

Most of the observers, while optimistic that today's agreements on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia would be fulfilled, cautioned that 27 "tortuous" months lay ahead.

They forecast a tricky process that would face many obstacles and tests, particularly on verification and interpretation of the rules. At least one predicted that the definition of who were Cuban settlers — now naturalised Angolans — and who were Cuban forces merely disguised as civilians would present a major problem in the months ahead.

S Africa, Cuba and Angola will sign historic pacts today

16Kus 72/12/88

2279

From NEIL LURSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in New York

LOWERING grey skies and showers have failed to dampen the sense of satisfaction and achievement in New York as delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola come together at the United Nations headquarters for the historic signing today of the accords that promise independence for SWA/Namibia and the departure of 50 000 Cuban troops from Southern Africa.

"No one is being humiliated here," Dr Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator in the negotiations involving the three countries, said on the eve of the signing.

"No one is being defeated here, no one has been defeated here. And that is the way diplomacy ought to be done," he added with a smile.

Dr Crocker said he hoped an environment had been created in which the MPLA regime in Angola and the Unita movement could reach out to each other like brothers and find peace. In the meantime, the United States would continue to aid Unita as long as the Soviet Union sent military supplies to the MPLA.

The South African delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, arrived late yesterday. "This is an important and historic occasion," a cheerful-looking Mr Botha told reporters.

Two agreements are to be signed today in the UN's economic and social conference hall in the presence of the American Secretary State, Mr George Shultz, and the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The first is a tripartite agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola

setting out in treaty form the various principles and accords negotiated in New York, Geneva and Brazzaville on ending the conflict in the region, withdrawing foreign forces from Angola and starting the process of independence for SWA/Namibia.

The second is a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola on the withdrawal of the Cubans.

The delegations will celebrate the signing at a gathering where Mr Shultz will preside.

The Americans, obviously delighted by a bold diplomatic success that came to fruition in the last stages of the Reagan era after many years of patient effort, are full of praise for the parties — and for the Russians, too, who they concede played an important role in bringing Cuba and Angola to the negotiating table.

"These are delegations that have conducted themselves with great skill, and they committed themselves to the path of peace without losers," Dr Crocker said.

The United States intended to maintain its role as a mediator to ensure that the agreements turned into peace without losers, he added.

One of the first beneficiaries will be Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the captured South African soldier who is being held in Havana after being treated for injuries.

South African and Cuban officials are discussing a prisoner swap which is expected to go into effect soon. At one point there was speculation that the exchange would take place in New York to mark the signing of the agreements.

Also taking place behind closed doors are discussions between South Africa and Angola on African National Congress camps in Angola and South Afri-

can support for the Unita guerrilla movement.

Dr Crocker said the United States believed there had been substantial progress in the South Africa-Angola talks which, he said, derived from principles agreed on in New York in July.

Once signed, the two documents will set in motion a series of UN activities and international groups designed to monitor the implementation of the agreements and to head off any disputes that could crop up.

One of the most important will be a joint monitoring commission to hear complaints. It will have members from South Africa, Cuba and Angola and, by invitation, the United States and the Soviet Union. As soon as it is independent, SWA/Namibia will also have a seat.

Already set up is a 70-member international force known as Unavem whose job is to make sure that Cuban troops do leave Angola in terms of the 31-month departure timetable.

Still to be decided is the final composition of the UNTAG force to monitor SWA/Namibia's elections in terms of UN Security Council resolution 435 — the 10-year-old plan to bring, in the words of Dr Crocker yesterday, "self-rule to Africa's last colony and an end to its white domination".

Prompt action is expected in the UN Security Council to pave the way for these bodies to start their work and change the face of Southern Africa.

But the size of the Untag force is still the subject of a dispute with the United States asking that its seven battalions be reduced by about half to save costs.

But African states, suspicious of South Africa's intentions in SWA/Namibia, object to any reduction in the size of Untag's military component.

Henry Kissinger warns against euphoria

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Miami, Florida

FORMER American Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger has on the eve of the historic signing of south-western African settlement pacts urged caution in dealing with Russia.

He advised a watertight verification agreement to ensure that all 50 000 Cuban troops left Angola and warned against American euphoria about the so-called new Soviet thinking introduced by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dr Kissinger, held in the highest regard by foreign policy analysts, was speaking at a University of Miami con-

ference on Soviet thinking and Soviet-Cuban strategies in Angola and SWA/Namibia.

Referring to his experiences in trying to settle the Vietnam conflict, he said the communist members of the verification panel would never find a violation of the agreement, no matter how egregious. They had refused to see 15 divisions of North Vietnamese troops infiltrating South Vietnam.

Consequently, there was no unanimity in the verification process, and there was never a formal finding of any

violations.

"Therefore, the viability of any agreement depends on penalties for non-compliance or reward for compliance. That is something to which we have to pay attention."

Peace required equilibrium between the superpowers, he said. The question now facing the United States was how to define that equilibrium with the Soviet Union and how to maintain it. It would affect the settlements in Afghanistan and Angola.



Bouquets for Brazzaville peace: South Africa's Malan and Botha, US mediator Crocker, Angola's Franca and De Moura, and Cuba's Alarcon after the signing of the protocol 221 wmmc 15-22/12/88 Picture: AP

Pretoria's confident of controlling Nujoma

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE South African government has not only come to terms with the idea of an independent Namibia — it has also accepted that its northern neighbour will almost certainly be ruled by President Sam Nujoma of Swapo.

Pretoria is prepared for this eventuality, say observers, because

it believes an independent Namibia cannot pose a major threat to its power in South Africa.

"They're hoping Nujoma will turn out to be about as effective an anti-apartheid campaigner as King Mswati of Swaziland," said one observer at this week's historic signing of the Brazzaville Protocol.

Continued Overleaf

P.T.O.

War of words breaks out at UN ceremony

Star 25/11/83

NEW YORK — An aggressive attack by Cuba on South Africa's internal policies and on Apartheid policy in southern Africa provided the main talking notes at yesterday's signing and signing of the Angola Namibia accords at the United Nations here.

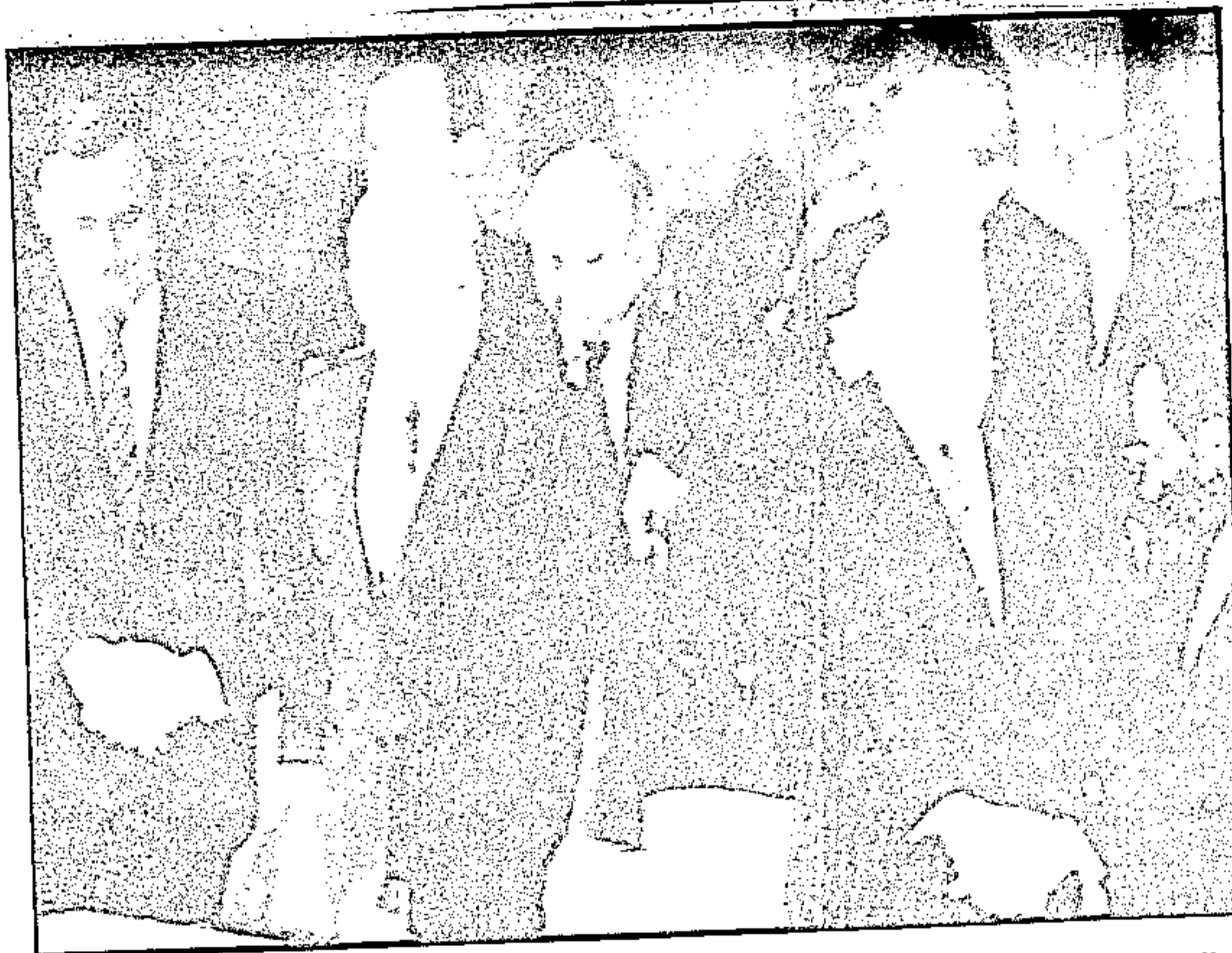
The agreement states that future meetings by the UN Commission to resolve difficulties that may arise from the agreement — which gives the way for UN-sponsored independence for Namibia and the phased withdrawal of all Cuban forces from Angola — could be tense events.

In sharp contrast to statements at the signing ceremony by the representatives of South Africa, Angola, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cuban representative, Foreign Minister Mr Isidoro Malmierca, was confrontational.

He accused South Africa's "racist regime" of having imposed a cruel war on Angola, illegally occupying Namibia and destabilising the sub-continent with apartheid.

In an apparent reference to the US undertaking that it will continue to assist the Unita rebels as long as Angola's regime received weapons from Moscow, he said that the possibility of peace was being hindered by the US which had taken over the "interfering role" now given up by South Africa.

Mr Malmierca's remarks earned him a rebuke by the US Secretary of State,



Mr Pik Botha is congratulated by UN chief Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar while mediator Mr George Shultz congratulates Mr Alfonso van Dunem.

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Mr George Shultz, who said he did not appreciate them, and a challenge by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who offered to spend the rest of the day debating human rights in South Africa as compared with the situation in Cuba. He also offered to provide a list of African leaders who wished Cuba to leave Africa.

Mr Malmierca tried to respond to the challenge but was waved into silence by Mr Shultz who called on the Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, to speak.

Mr Adamishin said his government was satisfied by the fruitful end of the

protracted Angola/Namibia negotiations.

He said he wanted to stress the "spirit of realism" displayed by the South African Government.

The Angolan representative at the signing ceremony, Foreign Minister Mr Alfonso van Dunem, praised the US role in the negotiations and said he hoped for normalisation of relations between Luanda and Washington.

Mr van Dunem pledged that his government would honour the agreements and said there was a need for further "mechanisms" to support a dialogue that would end all the regional conflicts in southern Africa.

● See Page 11.

Accord will prove a triumph for UN

NEW YORK — The tripartite agreement handed yesterday to UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has eight provisions that aim to end conflict in the south-western region of Africa.

Specifically, they seek to end the conflict by paving the way for Namibian independence and by removing all foreign forces from Angola — namely Cuban and South African.

The first provision is that the three parties — Angola, Cuba and South Africa — ask the Secretary-General to proceed with implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 which sets out the UN-sponsored procedure for Namibia's independence.

The second commits SA forces to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with Resolu-

tion 435. Other provisions cover an agreement by South Africa and Angola to co-operate with the Secretary-General to ensure Namibia's independence through free and fair elections.

They commit the signatories to respect Namibia's borders and not to allow their own territories to be used for acts of war, violence, and aggression against any other state.

One provision says that the parties will respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the region's states. Another commits them to a course of negotiation and a "spirit of co-operation in settling disputes arising from the agreement".

The agreement went into effect the moment it was signed by Mr Pik Botha for South Africa, Mr Afonso van Dunem for Angola, and Mr Isidoro Malmierca for Cuba, their flags on display behind the podium where they sat, next to the blue-and-white UN flag.

HONOUR

When it was time to hand the signed document to Dr Perez de Cuellar, US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz asked Dr Chester Crocker to take centre stage. It was an honour that Dr Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, had earned through patient effort to bring the parties together for yesterday's historic event at the UN headquarters in New York. — The Star Bureau.

Malan

and Unita remained friends, Gen- d, and he was confident Unita shed by Fapla, the Angolan gov- ary force, without Cuban assis-

PROPAGANDA

n forecast an intensified propa- against South Africa — that it d of introducing delaying tactics clandestine assistance to Unita. uld be made to drive a wedge nd its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. n said South Africa would re- ment in spirit and in content. —

Star 23/12/88

'Goodwill gesture' to Namibian independence

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Police cuts and Koevoet may go

NEW YORK — South Africa is ready to disband the Koevoet police counter-insurgency unit in Namibia as a gesture of goodwill during the transition to independence, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a news conference here.

And the number of policemen in the territory would be reduced from 8 300 to roughly 7 000, he added. The Foreign Minister was responding to a question about the number of security personnel in Namibia during the election process next year and allegations that abuses and ill-treatment of civilians had occurred.

Mr Botha said that wherever there were police and security operations, rumours and allegations would be made — sometimes true and sometimes distorted. There had been isolated cases in Namibia but anyone who was aware of the operations and style of the SADF would know that these were not tolerated.

The SADF had not hesitated to take action against any members of the security forces acting improperly.

Mr Botha said the questioner was probably referring to the unit known as Koevoet because of the bad publicity surrounding this unit. As a gesture of goodwill, this unit would be disbanded and the total number of police in Namibia reduced.

There was frank speaking and some humour at the ceremonial signing yesterday of the historic Angolan/Namibian peace accord at the United Nations headquarters in New York. NEIL LURSEN of The Star Bureau reports.

The size of the police force has become an issue at the UN because of an American effort to reduce the size of the international Untag force to monitor Namibia's elections in terms of Resolution 435. The Americans say that the current Untag plan to send seven battalions is too big and too expensive, but Third World nations say the force as originally envisaged is necessary to monitor possible police intimidation of voters during the elections.

Financial burden

Mr Botha said he supported the US plan to cut the Untag force and suggested that the savings could be used to promote essential development in the region.

During his address at the signing of the tripartite agreement yesterday, Mr Botha made it plain that South Africa could no longer be expected to carry the financial burden of Namibia. In recent

years, he said, South Africa's contribution to the territory's budget had exceeded R4 billion, and it demonstrated the country's vital interest in the well-being of Namibia.

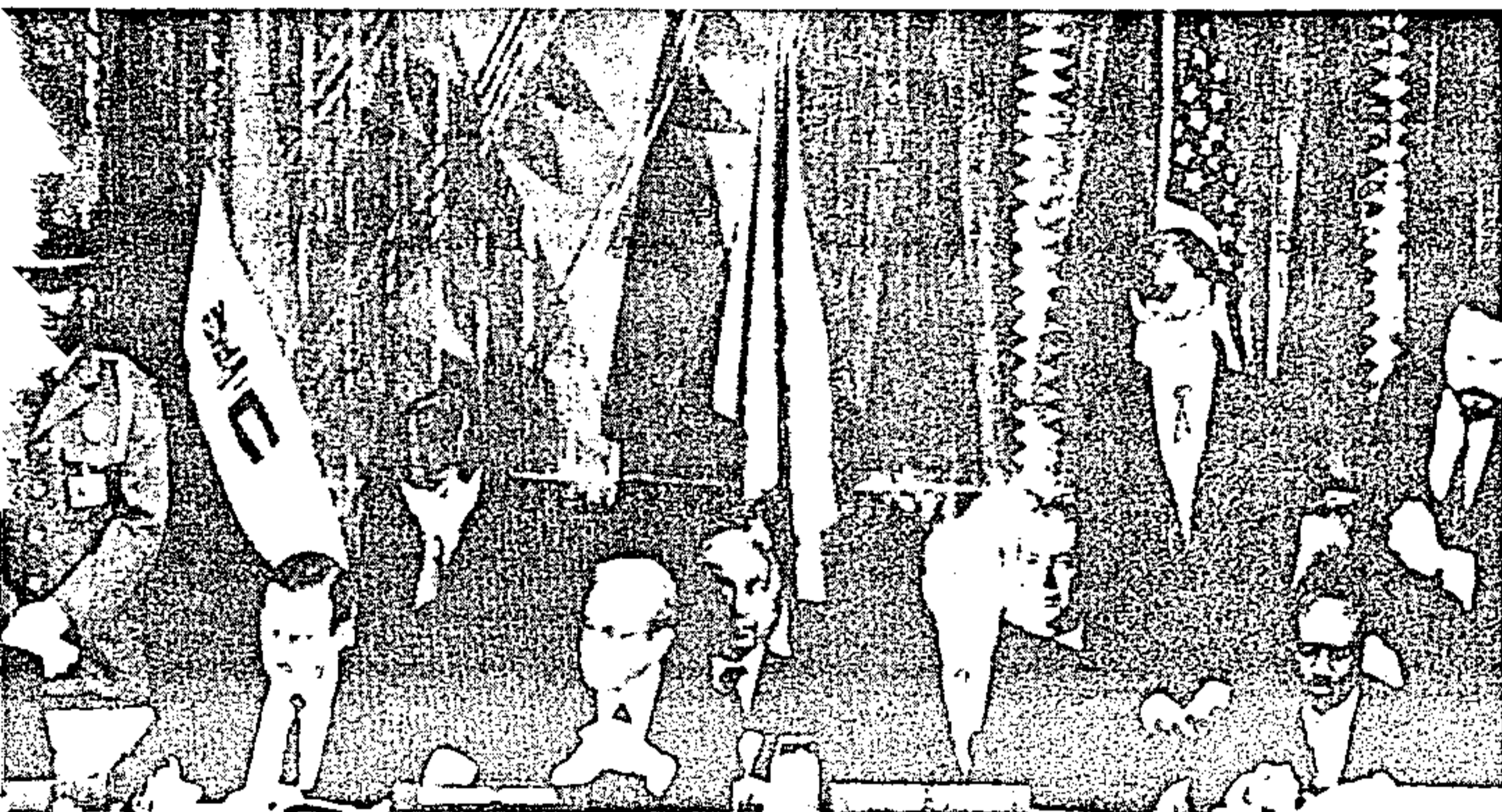
"Namibia represents an onerous financial burden on the taxpayer of South Africa — and it must now end." South Africa would remain a willing neighbour, prepared to assist the fledgling country, but he called on the international community to recognise the need for tangible assistance for Namibia.

Rightful place

Mr Botha said that the people of Namibia deserved their independence but that achieving it would require good faith and understanding. "In the same way in which we have endorsed an African solution to an African problem," he said, "my country stands ready to address its challenges in an African mode."

"And we look forward to assuming our rightful place in Africa amongst the nations of Africa," Mr Botha added.

He said the SA Government hoped that the fundamental concept of abandoning violence and a commitment to peaceful negotiation would form the basis for solving other problems in southern Africa. "I would like to express the hope that what happened here today will serve as an encouragement to all the leaders of southern Africa to resolve the problems of the region," he concluded.



South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Alfonso van Dunen (right) sign the accord, watched by UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

Accord will prove a triumph for UN

Star 23/12/88

NEW YORK — The tripartite agreement handed yesterday to UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has eight provisions that aim to end conflict in the south-western region of Africa.

Specifically, they seek to end the conflict by paving the way for Namibian independence and by removing all foreign forces from Angola — namely Cuban and South African.

The first provision is that the three parties — Angola, Cuba and South Africa — ask the Secretary-General to proceed with implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 which calls for the withdrawal of all South African forces from Namibia and the achievement of Namibia's independence.

The second commits SA forces to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with Resolu-

tion 435. Other provisions cover an agreement by South Africa and Angola to co-operate with the Secretary-General to ensure Namibia's independence through free and fair elections.

They commit the signatories to respect Namibia's borders and not to allow their own territories to be used for acts of war, violence, and aggression against any other state.

One provision says that the parties will respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the region's states. Another commits them to respect the principle of self-determination of peoples.

The agreement went into effect the moment it was signed by Mr Pik Botha for South Africa, Mr Afonso van Dunen for Angola, and Mr Isidoro Malmierca for Cuba, their flags on display behind the podium where they sat, next to the blue-and-white UN flag.

HONOUR

When it was time to hand the signed document to Dr Perez de Cuellar, US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz asked Dr Chester Crocker to take centre stage. It was an honour that Dr Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, had earned through patient effort to bring the parties together for yesterday's historic event at the UN headquarters in New York. — The Star Bureau.

Respond to attack on Unita — Malan

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title agreement. At a news conference, Mr Botha said the agreement was clear.

No guerilla organisation or person might operate from Angolan territory against Namibia or South Africa.

TRANSGRESSION

If the African National Congress was allowed to infiltrate through Botswana to kill civilians in South Africa, that would be a transgression of the agreement.

The same thing applied to South Africa. South Africa agreed not to assist Unita in any way that was contrary to the terms of the agreement.

But South Africa would continue to be sympathetic to Unita. The movement was entitled to form part of the Angolan government — and friendships could not just be terminated in this manner, Mr Botha said.

General Malan said that the agreement signed yesterday stipulated that territories must not be used for aggression or violence against any of the parties — which curtailed the activities of the ANC and Swapo.

South Africa would honour the agreement in the same way it was honouring the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and it was on record as saying it would provide no assistance for the Renamo movement.

South Africa and Unita remained friends, General Malan said, and he was confident Unita could not be crushed by Fapla, the Angolan government's military force, without Cuban assistance.

PROPAGANDA

General Malan forecast an intensified propaganda campaign against South Africa — that it would be accused of introducing delaying tactics and of providing clandestine assistance to Unita.

An effort would be made to drive a wedge between Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

General Malan said South Africa would respect the agreement in spirit and in content. — The Star Bureau.

Powers clash at signing

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Cape Times 23/12/88

NEW YORK. — Yesterday's Southern African peace-signing ceremony erupted into verbal warfare with Cuba's foreign minister attacking President Ronald Reagan and South Africa hitting back at its critics.

At the United Nations ceremony, South Africa, Cuba and Angola signed a historic pact to bring independence to Namibia.

A second agreement, signed separately by Cuba and Angola, calls for the phased withdrawal of Cuba's troops from Angola by July 1, 1991, meeting a South African condition for Namibian independence.

The proceedings were far from harmonious.

Cuban Foreign Minister Mr Isidoro Malmierca Peoli accused the US of manipulating and distorting the causes of conflict in Southern Africa.

"It is not surprising to see that the president of United States, in his statement to the General Assembly when referring to the conflict in Southern Africa, did not even mention apartheid, the main cause of conflict in this region, nor Namibia's independence," he said.

"He pretended to attribute all the merit of the negotiations to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops. In addition to this, just a few days ago he said that this agreement put an end to what he termed Cuban military imperialism, coining a new and bizarre phrase in international terminology."

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From page 1

Peace talks

Cape Times 23/12/88 (221)

Mr Peoli blasted South Africa for sending its troops into Angola in support of Unita guerillas.

SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha departed from his text to deliver a sharp rebuttal and challenged Cuba to an on-the-spot debate on which of their countries showed greater respect for human rights.

"I will say no more to my colleague from Cuba today other than that I am quite prepared to submit evidence of African heads of state who would wish the Cuban troops to leave Angola immediately," Mr Botha said.

"If needs be I will disclose the names of my African brothers, some of whom actually asked South Africa not to leave Namibia before the last Cuban soldier has left Angola."

His voice rising, Mr Botha added: "I am quite prepared and ready... to enter immediately after this ceremony with you in a public debate on the extent to which fundamental human rights are maintained in Cuba and in South Africa."

● The South African government would immediately return to the aid of Dr Jonas Savimbi if the Cubans broke an agreement not to attack Unita, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said.

He said that with the signing of the trilateral treaty the pressure against SA as an aggressive destabiliser would mount.

"We are going to be accused of assisting Unita, just as we're accused of helping the MNR in Mozambique," he predicted. — Sapa-Reuter

Historic signing of peace plan

221
6/10/88

23/12/88
SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — In a UN ceremony marked by unexpected tensions, the Foreign Ministers of SA, Cuba and Angola yesterday signed a brief 642-word treaty formally paving the way for Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

The treaty language was a more specific version of the statement of principles reached between the parties in New York last July and appeared to leave unresolved the key issue of SA support for Unita and Angola's provision of bases to the ANC.

Combined with a second pact signed between Angola and Cuba, the treaty commits SA to the implementation of the resolution 435, the Namibian independence plan, on April 1 and Cuba to the staged redeployment north and departure of its troops starting in January.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha referred to "a number of tacit understandings" reached in the course of the eight month negotiation, suggesting important aspects of the agreement would remain undisclosed.

The tone of the Foreign Ministers' speeches — delivered to the packed chamber of the UN economic and social

council — indicated the settlement remained fragile.

The barbs started flying after Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli blasted the US for its continued support of Unita and said the agreement "by no means implies any change in the essence of the SA racist regime, whose policy of apartheid embodies the real destabilising factor in southern Africa".

Departing from his prepared text, Botha responded by challenging Malmierca to a debate on their countries' relative human rights records and threatening to name a long list of African countries that wanted Cuba out of the continent.

US Secretary of State George Shultz, appeared to take a swipe at both in his closing remarks. "I am compelled to say that much of what has been said by some of the participants I do not appreciate and I do not agree with."

Significantly, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin declined to side with the Cuban, praising SA for its "realistic approach which we hope will continue".

APR TIMES 26/12/88 (221)

Koevoet to be disbanded

WINDHOEK. — The notorious Namibian police unit Koevoet will be disbanded next year.

The commissioner of police in Namibia, General Dolf Gouws, said yesterday that the disbanding was "making good progress".

Koevoet was the counter-insurgency arm of the police in the territory and often operated against Swapo guerillas inside Angola until the massed Cuban troop movement south which restricted the unit's free-ranging operations. The unit was credited with the most "kills" in the war against Swapo.

Koevoet has been accused in courts of atrocities in the northern Namibian war zone.

The announcement of the disbanding of Koevoet was made earlier by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, at a news conference in New York. He said it would be done as a gesture of goodwill.

BARRY STREEK reports that the first military observers to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola are due to arrive in Luanda on January 3.

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVM) will consist of about 75 to 80 soldiers who will be headed by a Brazilian brigadier-general. The brigadier's deputy will be a Norwegian colonel.

The mission has been established by the UN secretary-general, Mr Perez de Cuellar, to oversee the withdrawal of the Cubans in terms of the agreement signed in New York this week between Angola and Cuba.

Other members of the mission are expected to come from Spain, Sweden, India and the Congo.

The UNAVM operation is separate from the UN peacekeeping force, UNTAG, which will move into Namibia on April 1 to oversee the Namibian elections. South African forces will gradually withdraw from Namibia, or be restricted to bases.

The negotiations over the composition of UNTAG have apparently not yet been concluded.

However, a Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Dublin said yesterday that about 7 500 Irish police and troops would be sent to Namibia to oversee the transition to independence.

● It's over, PW tells Savimbi — Page 2

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W/L-AR 24/12/88

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Cuba hails peace pacts

HAVANA. — Cuba hailed the signing of peace accords on Angola and Namibia, saying the history of Africa will never be the same again.

"History of Africa will be different before and after Cuito Cuanavale," the official daily newspaper Granma said in a front page headline yesterday, echoing a statement made by President Fidel Castro this year.

Cuito Cuanavale was the site in southern Angola of a major battle in January during which Cuban troops stopped a South African offensive.

Cuba has said that joint Angolan-Cuban military pressure forced South Africa to go to the negotiating table and finally sign an historic accord at the United Nations on Thursday for UN-supervised independence for Namibia.

TRANSCENDENTAL MOMENT

Angola and Cuba signed a separate accord calling for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola in stages until mid-1991.

Granma said in a long editorial that "mankind will justifiably see this event as a transcendental moment of contemporary history and of the struggle of African people for their total independence after centuries of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation."

"Pretoria could not elude the inexorable march of history," it added.

Granma stressed that difficulties remained ahead, including the implementation of the accords.

Cuban troops first went to Angola in 1975 to support the Marxist government in its fight against Western-backed rebels and 300 000 Cubans have been stationed in the African country since then.

It is reported in Brussels that the European Community is to give Angola aid worth R165,6-million following the signing of the accords.

The EC's executive commission said the money would be used to help repatriate refugees and people displaced by civil war in Angola, for rural and infrastructure development projects and job-creation and training schemes.

A commission spokesman said four EC countries — Spain, Italy, Portugal and France — had already said they would be contributing extra money to the refugee programmes, a move also being considered by other members of the 12-nation bloc.

He said Angola had asked the EC that the money due to it under the Lome Convention (the trade and aid pact with African, Caribbean and Pacific developing countries), should be targeted to cope with the problems of rebuilding an economy ruined by civil war.

NEW APPOINTMENT

● Brigadier-General Pericles Perreira Gomes of Brazil has been appointed chief military observer of the UN Angola Verification Mission, to monitor the pullout of Cuban troops from Angola.

Ferreira Gomes, 67, has served in a variety of posts in the armed forces of Brazil since he joined the army in early 1952.

In 1967, he was a member of the Brazilian contingent of the First United Nations Emergency Force in Sinai.

From 1977 to 1979, he served as an adviser at the United States Military Academy.

Ferreira Gomes has been commander of the second brigade of coastal and anti-aircraft artillery since 1967.

He also has served as commander of the first group of self-propelled field artillery. He was a member of the command staff of the Fourth Military Region and of the general staff of the army. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

It's Over,

PW tells

Savimbi

Capk Times 24/12/88

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JAMBA. — South African aid to Unita rebels was cut off this week.

President P W Botha told Dr Jonas Savimbi that as from Thursday all South African military and civil aid to the rebel leader's Unita movement would be stopped.

Dr Savimbi said at his bush headquarters in south-east Angola that the South African decision became effective from the moment of the signing of the New York accords on Namibia and Angola.

President Botha gave his decision to Dr Savimbi when the two met secretly in Pretoria this week.

"President Botha told me that South Africa would no longer be able to do anything for us, because he wants to observe the spirit and the letter of the New York agreement," said Dr Savimbi. "The decision is total and categorical from today onwards."

Dr Savimbi, who has fought a 13-year guerilla war with South African support against Angola's ruling Marxist MPLA government and its Cuban allies, said he anticipated no early settlement of the Angolan conflict.

Though a ceasefire between Unita and the 55 000 Cubans, who must leave Angola by 1991, was holding, the signs were that the MPLA was preparing for another big armoured thrust into Unita's territory. The last MPLA offensive in late 1987 was beaten back only after intervention by

Papenfus home before New Year?

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE South African prisoner-of-war being held in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, could be freed before the New Year.

Sgt Papenfus is expected to be exchanged for the Angolan pilot of the MiG-21 which made a forced landing in northern Namibia last week.

Sgt Papenfus was captured by the Angolans earlier this year and transferred to Cuba for medical treatment. He was subsequently released from hospital and has been held by the Cubans ever since.

The probable release of Sgt Papenfus, a Pretorian, was raised by

the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, at the signing of the peace accord between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York on Thursday.

General Malan confirmed that the matter had been discussed but that because of practical considerations it would not be possible to have Sgt Papenfus home by Christmas.

However, his exchange could be expected soon after that, General Malan said.

It had been hoped that the exchange would be completed before this weekend so that he could spend Christmas with his family.

Meanwhile, representatives of

the International Red Cross officially visited Angolan MiG-21 pilot Lt Lieutenant Domingo Vinez on Tuesday, a Foreign Affairs spokeswoman, Ms Madeleine Gerke, said in Pretoria yesterday, according to Sapa.

"They were granted full facilities to interview him and afterwards expressed themselves as being fully satisfied with the treatment he had received," she said.

"They confirmed that Lt Vinez had 'no complaints'."

Lt Vinez is understood to be held in the Pretoria district, but the Department of Foreign Affairs has declined the news media access to him.

South African tanks, armoured cars, heavy artillery and warplanes.

Dr Savimbi said he expected the offensive to begin next April or May. Without Cuban support for the MPLA, he claimed that Unita forces could stem the offensive even though they had lost their South African ally.

American arms are being ferried by air into Dr Savimbi's main landing strip, which has lights for night flights, presumably from a US military base at Kamina in Zaire.

At least one CIA officer is permanently posted at Jamba to supervise the delivery of weapons

which are rapidly moved by trucks up logistics lines to the warfronts further north.

The 54-year-old Dr Savimbi in unusually subdued form said he regretted that the MPLA had not responded to Unita requests for internal peace talks.

"The MPLA line has hardened against us," he said. "We think they will attempt again a military solution, and only after that will they begin to come to their senses."

The Unita leader appealed to Britain to urge Nigeria to play "a very positive and constructive role" in achieving Angolan peace. Britain was better informed than the Americans on Southern African complexities. He went on: "I think Britain should not abdicate from a role of influence, now that South African and Cuban troops are leaving this area."

Dr Savimbi expressed alarm at the disparity in sizes of the UN forces which will supervise the seven-month South African withdrawal from Namibia, and the 27-month Cuban pull-out from Angola.

While 7 500 UN troops have been allocated to Namibia, 70 will be in Angola. "I doubt that 70 people can ensure that 55 000 Cuban troops will leave Angola," he said. "Much of the country will be without observation."

He added that the US said its satellite monitoring of Cuban troop locations would render the United Nations force merely symbolic.

"If the Americans honour this commitment, it will help us tremendously."



Mr P W Botha



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Praise for signing of peace accord

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27/12/84

HARARE — The official signing of Namibia's independence agreement by Angola, Cuba and South Africa was an important step to achieve peace in Southern Africa and should be fully implemented for the benefit of the region, a Chinese Foreign Ministry official said, the national news agency Ziana reports.

Abolition

In a statement released by the Chinese Embassy in Harare, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the abolition of apartheid would establish

regional peace and stability.

"We hope that all the parties concerned will implement the agreements in earnest so as to ensure the sovereignty and security of Angola and other Southern African countries and the realisation, as scheduled, of the independence of Namibia," the spokesman said.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Saturday welcomed this week's accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa designed to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

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R650 000 to
aid Swapo

Star The Star's 27/1/88
Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — Spokesmen for the "liberation fund" of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa report that its latest fundraising campaign has collected more than R650 000.

Part of the money would be used "to counteract the massive anti-Swapo propaganda which South Africa is pouring over Namibia", spokesman Mr Klaas van Urk said in Utrecht.

Funds would also be needed to help finance the return and resettlement of 70 000 to 80 000 Namibian refugees from Angola after Namibia's independence, he said.

Hoping for the fruits of peace

Sowetan 27/12/88
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FOCUS

This is a Times of London leader on Namibian freedom

LONDON — After 42 years of bitter dispute and 13 years of a bloody and fruitless war, South Western Africa has taken its first real steps towards peace. If that journey is completed without serious mishap, the trilateral agreement signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba at the United Nations in New York last week could mean more than the independence of Africa's last colony and the hope of national reconciliation in Angola.

It could mark the beginning of a long delayed era of security, stability and co-operation in Southern Africa as a whole. For this reason alone, the agreement if implemented deserves to be hailed as the most important diplomatic breakthrough in Africa since the colonies first began to emerge into independence some 30 years ago.

Mutual

In itself, however, and given the enduring mutual suspicion between the three signatories, the treaty is not an automatic guarantee of success. The complicated implementation of UN Resolution 43 and the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops into the north and ultimately out of Angola are both fraught with opportunities for bad faith and

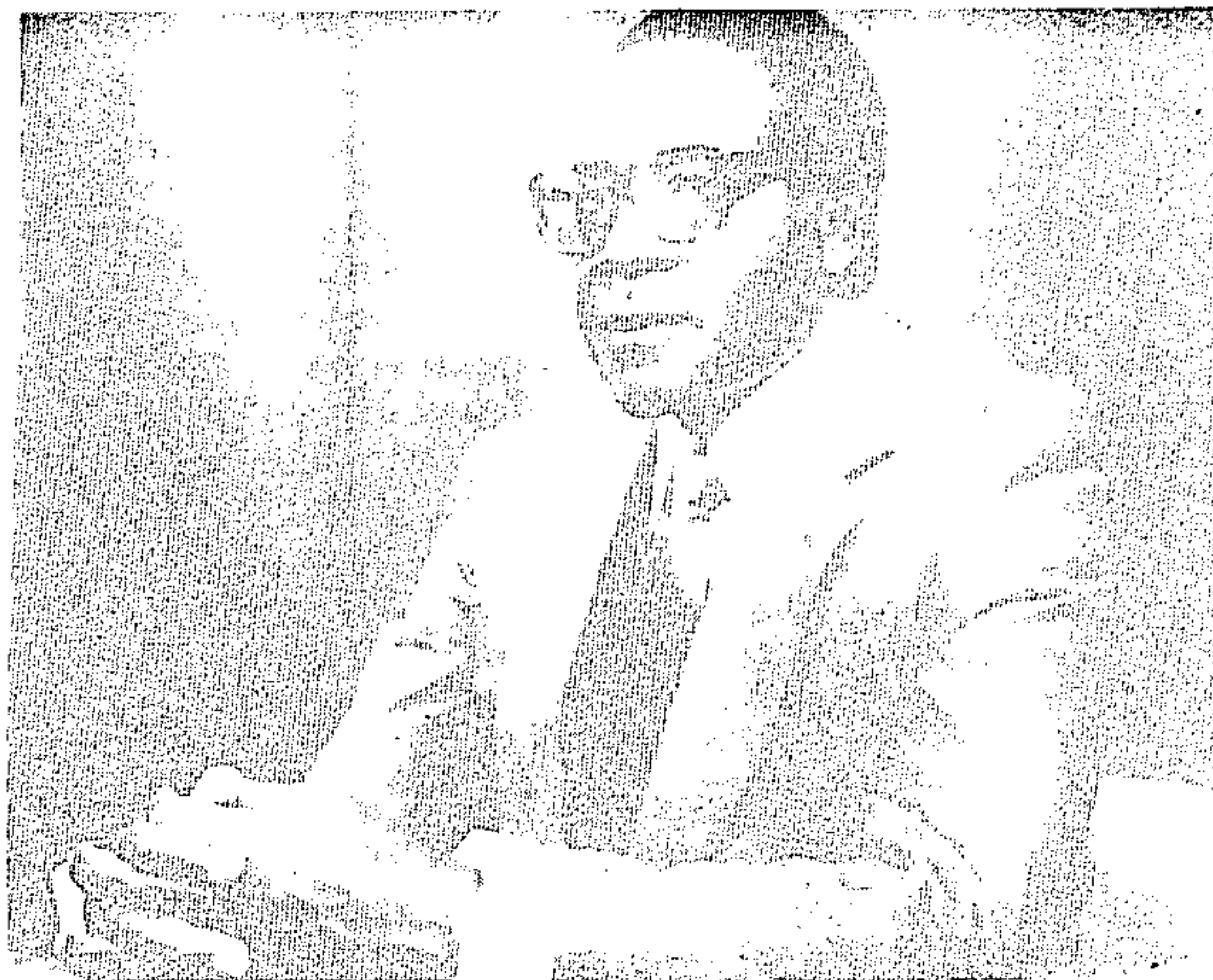
non-compliance.

Nevertheless, there are indications that the peace process has gained a momentum which will make it increasingly perilous for any of the participants wilfully to jump ship without sustaining serious diplomatic injury. It is therefore not too early to ignore the sceptics and examine the profound changes which a Namibian peace could bring for the whole of south and central Africa.

Gain

For South Africa, the most important domestic gain is the end of a long and financially draining conflict and the winding down of its budgetary subventions of Windhoek. It has also obtained a clear undertaking in the treaty neither an independent Namibia nor Angola will play host to the ANC. The removal of the threat of ANC insurgency should also deny South Africa the excuse for military adventures which have fuelled fear and suspicion in neighbouring states.

In Namibia the benefits of international recognition will depend largely on whether its welcome to the councils of the world is backed up by financial assistance.



ROBERT Mugabe

An international community which has agitated so long for Namibia's freedom should not allow a country, blessed with natural resources, a small population and a well developed infrastructure, to deteriorate into yet another African basket case.

Fortified

The departure of the last Cuban troops from Angola must also lead to reconciliation between the MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, which will continue to be fortified with American aims until the Soviet Union winds down its aid to Luanda. National reconciliation, which remains the key to American diplomatic approval and access to World Bank funds to

rebuild the shattered economy of this resource rich country is high on the agenda of its landlocked neighbours anxiously awaiting the reopening of the Benguela railway line to provide them with a non-South African lifeline to the sea. Even Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who has thus far remained aloof from the peace moves in the sub-continent, reminded Luanda recently that national reconciliation could not work without the active participation of Mr Savimbi.

The new realism which has begun to animate Southern African politics however, depends critically on the slow accretion of trust. South Africa — or at least that element within its body politic which has

negotiated and supported the Namibian settlement — believes that a stable and mutually co-operative Southern Africa will provide Pretoria with the time and the confidence to resolve its own very serious problems.

The cause will be strengthened if the international community learns the lesson of the last eight months — that talking and negotiation have succeeded where 42 years of sanctions and condemnation have failed. It will be immeasurably weakened if the credibility South Africa gains through peace on its western border is wilfully squandered by South African advocates of continued destabilisation in Mozambique.

Moscow

The policy of destabilisation has its roots in the belief, carefully fostered by South Africa's military strategists, that their country was faced with a Moscow-inspired total onslaught. The Soviet

Union's new helpfulness in the resolution of regional conflicts, its reappraisal of the prospects of revolution in Southern Africa itself, have effectively destroyed the basis of that philosophy.

The prospect of continued co-operation between Moscow and Washington, however, presents Pretoria with both a challenge and an opportunity. Those who know that ultimately the answer to Southern Africa's problems lies not in the destabilisation of neighbouring states, but on peace inside South Africa itself, should seize it and exploit it.

Star 24/12/88

Text of accord⁽²²⁾ plan for Namibia

NEW YORK — The following is the text of the agreement among Angola, Cuba and South Africa setting April 1 1989 as the start-up date for a UN independence plan for Namibia contained in Security Council resolution 435 of 1978:

The governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, hereinafter designated as "the parties".

Taking into account the "Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in south-western Africa", approved by the parties on 20 July 1988, and the subsequent negotiations with respect to the implementation of these Principles, each of which is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

Considering the acceptance by the Parties of the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), adopted on 29 September 1978, hereinafter designated as "UNSCR 435/78".

Considering the conclusion of the bilateral agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola,

Recognising the role of the United Nations Security Council in implementing UNSCR 435/78 and in supporting the implementation of the present agreement.

Affirming the sovereignty, sovereign equality, and independence of all states of south-western Africa.

Affirming the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

Self-determination

Affirming the principle of abstention from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states,

Reaffirming the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence, and equality of rights, and of the states of south-western Africa to peace, development, and social progress,

Urging African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the south-western region of Africa,

Expressing their appreciation for the mediating role of the Government of the United States,

Desiring to contribute to the establishment of peace and security in south-western Africa,

Agree to the provisions set forth below.

1. The Parties shall immediately request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to seek authority from the Security Council to commence implementation of UNSCR 435/78 on 1 April 1989.

2. All military forces of the Republic of South Africa shall depart Namibia in accordance with UNSCR 435/78.

3. Consistent with the provisions of UNSCR 435/78, the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Angola shall co-operate with the Secretary-General to ensure the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections and shall abstain from any action that could prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78.

Withdrawal

The Parties shall respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of Namibia and shall ensure that their territories are not used by any state, organisation, or person in connection with acts of war, aggression, or violence against the territorial integrity or inviolability of borders of Namibia or any other action which could prevent the execution of UNSCR 435/78.

4. The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba shall implement the bilateral agreement, signed on the date of signature of this agreement, providing for the redeployment toward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, and the arrangements made with the Security Council of the United Nations for the on-site verification of that withdrawal.

5. Consistent with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Parties shall refrain from the threat or use of force, and shall ensure that their respective territories are not used by any state, organisation, or person in connection with any acts of war, aggression, or violence, against the territorial integrity, inviolability of borders, or independence of any state of south-western Africa.

6. The Parties shall respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the states of south-western Africa.

7. The Parties shall comply in good faith with obligations undertaken in this agreement and shall resolve through negotiation and in a spirit of co-operation any disputes with respect to the interpretation or implementation thereof.

8. This agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

Signed at New York in triplicate in the Portuguese, Spanish and English languages, each language being equally authentic, this 22nd day of December 1988. — Sapa Reuter.

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MC Tris 22/8

Angola: Hopes for POW swop at NY talks

NEW YORK. The United States Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, and the foreign ministers of South Africa, Cuba and Angola will today sign accords here declaring that the independence process for Namibia will begin on April 1, after 73 years of South African rule.

An hour later, Cuba and Angola will sign an agreement with the United Nations to have 70 UN military observers monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola over a 30-month period, beginning in January. South Africa is hoping that Sergeant Johan Pappas, the prisoner-of-war be-

ing held in Cuba, will be handed over at the signing ceremony for the Angolan pilot who landed his MIG fighter in Namibia last week.

The South African soldier's freedom has been a matter of intense diplomatic activity here in recent days. The South African delegation arrived in New York yesterday for the ceremony which will be held in the hall of the UN economic committee today.

The ceremony will be attended by, among others, Mr George Shultz; his assistant secretary, Dr Chester Crocker; and the secretary-general of the UN, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar. The American state department announced that Dr Crocker's Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, had also been invited to attend the ceremony. In addition to the signing ceremony, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will also attend a

lunch hosted by the Americans and the talks with Dr De Cuellar. The South African delegation leaves for home tonight.

Mr Shultz will chair the meeting at which the Angolan, Cuban and South African ministers will first sign the agreement on Namibian independence.

Its text has not yet been published, but according to a preliminary protocol signed in Brazzaville last week it sets April 1, 1989 as the start-up date for a 1978 UN plan leading to elections and independence.

Each of the signatories will sign three copies in each of four books, one of which will be handed to Dr De Cuellar.

Mr Shultz will then make a brief statement, to be followed by the Angolan, Cuban and South African foreign ministers, who will each speak for about 10 minutes.

A statement is also expected from Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly

Adamishin, who played a major role while the agreements were being brokered.

Some 50 minutes into the ceremony, the accord on the Cuban troop pull-out, to be completed by July 1991, will be signed by Angola and Cuba at a table in front of the rostrum where the first phase of the proceedings takes place.

"It will be separate, therefore, from where the first agreement was signed," the UN spokesman said, literally putting distance between the two parts of the package.

Asked to explain why, if there was no connection between the Cuban pull-out and Namibian independence, the Security Council had set up a UN observer mission to check on the Cuban withdrawal, the spokesman replied: "Because it has been asked to do so by the governments of Angola and Cuba." — Sapa-
Reuter

Swapo torn 'by brutal in-fighting'

CAF 7/14/83 27/12/83

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Swapo, which has crushed a series of internal revolts and dissent over the years, must explain the fate of possibly hundreds of its own members who have "disappeared" or been detained, the respected newsletter Africa Confidential has said.

Africa Confidential said many Swapo members were "disturbed at the prospect of Swapo taking power in its present form" when the independence process started next year.

It said: "The reason is simply that the leadership (of Swapo) has behaved with incompetence and brutality towards its own cadres."

"None of those in a position to speak about this — the UN, the support groups and above all the churches — has had the courage to do so. They fear rocking the boat."



SAM NUJOMA ... Not the most important person in Swapo

The newsletter said the Swapo leadership had to explain the fate of at least 100 and possibly many hundreds of its own members, before the UN-sponsored transition process began in Namibia next April 1.

It said that however Swapo handled the issue it would be embarrassing. Too many of the cadres who had "disappeared" were well known.

Africa Confidential said power still lay with a "handful of people" who had brutally resisted any challenge from the younger generation and those outside their own ethnic group.

While it seemed South Africa would leave Namibia next year and Swapo would take power, the organisation was still controlled by the Kwanyama tribal faction, which is the leading sub-group of the Ovambos.

The leading Kwanyama figures were Mr Hidipo Hamutenya and Mr Peter

Mueshihange, who hold the information and defence portfolios respectively.

Other Kwanyama leaders were finance minister Mr Lucas Pohamba and the Plan (People's Liberation Army of Namibia) chief of staff Mr Dimo Amambo.

Africa Confidential said Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma came from a minority group of Ovambos and was "not the most important person in Swapo". Mr Nujoma, it said, knew his survival depended on his legitimising the Kwanyama control.

Other non-Ovambos in high positions, like Mr Ben Gurirab (foreign affairs) and Mr Moses Garoeb (administration secretary), took care not to mix with southerners in case they faced charges of being spies, said Africa Confidential.

In 1983 one of Swapo's most promising younger members, Mr Tauno Hau-tuikulipi, a Nanyemba from Windhoek, was said to have committed suicide while in Swapo detention.

There was disbelief among cadres a year later when central committee members Mr Lucas Stephanus and Mr Ben Boys were detained as South African spies.

They were among a number of prominent non-Kwanyama Swapo figures who had "disappeared" or faced apparently trumped up charges of spying for South Africa.

'Spies'

Two top cadres who have disappeared were based in Britain. Mr Othniel Kaakunga, who had been studying law at Warwick University, disappeared after flying to Angola in 1986.

Ms Bience Gawana, a barrister admitted to the London Bar earlier this year, flew to Lusaka in August to visit her daughter and was arrested by Swapo on her arrival.

It is believed she is being held in Lubango, although Swapo denies knowledge of her.

Africa Confidential said Swapo officials unscrupulously accused members of being spies or dissenters.

It said: "The pattern of accusations suggests that anyone who comes into conflict with a senior Swapo official risks being labelled a South African agent and detained at the pleasure of the leadership."

"This is reported to include women who reject the sexual advances of their superiors."

A number of Namibian students in Europe were so fearful that they refused to return to Angola or Zambia after completing their studies.

The newsletter said the resulting fear in Namibian communities "must give cause for satisfaction to enemies of Swapo".

'Sensitive talks' on Papenfus's release

PRETORIA. — Negotiations for the release of the South African prisoner of war in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, are continuing but are of a sensitive nature and cannot be commented on at this stage, a Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Pieter Goosen, said here yesterday.

It appears that the prisoner-swap negotiations are becoming protracted because Luanda and Havana have demanded more POWs than the single captured MiG pilot Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha had offered for Sgt Papenfus.

Last week Cuba dashed hopes that Sgt Papenfus, 28, would be home for Christmas when it demanded the return of more Cuban and Angolan POWs it said were being held by Pretoria.

Observers said it would require time to track down these POWs because Unita may be holding many of them.

Unita may complicate the exchange because the New York peace treaty had disadvantaged it militarily, and the rebel movement may thus demand some compensatory relief in return for its POWs.

Sgt Papenfus is from Gezina, Pretoria. The Angolan MiG pilot, Lt Domingo Vinez, was captured in Namibia this month after he had strayed into the territory's airspace and made an emergency landing. — Sapa

Cynical Namibians stay cool over latest peace accord

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CAPE TOWN, Tuesday, December 21, 1990

WINDHOEK — Among the world's most hardened cynics, Namibians have shown no feelings of either rejoicing or lamentation over the latest international agreements on the territory that signposted the end of 73 years of South African rule, and the beckoning of peace.

"I don't know yet whether I should take seriously anything that begins on April 1," quipped Namibia's National Education Minister, Mr Andrew Marjila.

He referred to the implementation date of UN Security Council Resolution 435, the 10-year-old Namibian-indepen-

dence plan that is to become operative after seven months of negotiations this year between South Africa, Cuba and Angola through United States mediation.

Like all Namibians, Mr Marjila has seen peace efforts come and vanish at the last moment.

The latest negotiations after more than 22 years of war were conducted among sovereign states and did not involve Namibian politicians or officials.

At mid-year even the Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pleanaar, insisted on the holding of second-tier ethnic elections in Na-

mbia only hours before the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced that November 1 had been set as target date for implementation of the UN resolution.

The international community regards the holding of ethnic elections as illegal and the clashing statements caused considerable confusion.

"We don't know what to believe," Mr Dirk Mudge, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman, said at the time.

Namibia's politically controversial and expensive second-tier ethnic authorities are

among the structures that will be dissolved on implementation of the UN peace plan.

Ironically, Resolution 435 will achieve what the majority parties of the South African-sponsored transitional government in Windhoek have failed to carry out.

A full Bench of five judges of the Windhoek Supreme Court ruled earlier this year in an advisory opinion at the request of the transitional cabinet that the racial discrimination inherent in the second-tier system clashed with the country's Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Briefly, Namibian legislation provides for the establishment of a second-tier authority for each of the country's 11 officially recognised ethnic groups, but in argument before the court it was submitted that the white community was not by ethnicity.

In spite of the court's authority, efforts by the majority parties of the transitional government since June 1985 to abolish the second-tier structures still encountered stiff resistance from Mr Pleanaar and the exclusively white SWA National Party, as well as the Rehoboth Free Democrats.

The question being asked is what purpose an election for whites only will serve when it is held, as planned, on March 1 next year.

Resolution 435 stipulates that all discriminatory measures be removed before the court-ordered "free and fair" elections can be held in Namibia on the basis of universal adult suffrage, leading to the appointment of a Constituent Assembly and independence.

Members to be elected for the new Legislative Assembly for whites would hardly take their seats before the body was dissolved, political commentators wrote in Windhoek.

The planned election for whites, supported by Mr Pleanaar, is due to be a two-way contest between the SWANP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Both parties said they did not accept the validity of Resolution 435.

On the other side, "there will simply not be time in the coming year for unimportant ethnic contests," said Mr Mudge, who is leader of the Republican Party, the predominantly white component of the DTA.

Another structure to be dissolved when the UN special representative, Mr Marti Ahtisaari, arrives in Windhoek next year with his transitional assistance group,

is the police special counterinsurgency unit, Koewoed, and the SWA Territory Force.

Mainly black Koewoed has been deployed in northern Namibia since the late 70s to combat Swapo insurgents who cross into the country from Angola.

The mainly white officers corps of the SWA Territory Force is an integral part of the command structure of the SA Defence Force which, in terms of Resolution 435, must reduce its troop strength to 1 500 men confined to bases three months before the implementation date.

Four months later, on certification of the UN-

supervised election results, the SADF must finally withdraw from Namibia, a move which will cut off effectively all residual South African support for the Angolan Unita rebel movement.

Meanwhile, most activities have come to a standstill in Windhoek since mid-December for the annual exodus to coastal holiday resorts.

Normally is due to resume by mid-January.

There is little indication of a white "chicken run" in anticipation of a black-dominated government, though house prices have cooled in the overheated

property market. Windhoek since being societies raised interest rates on bond 18%.

Windhoek's three hotels have 459 rooms among them guests and visitors.

Against that the in of UN personnel, domestic observers news crews is expected to approach 15 000 when Resolution 435 is implemented next year.

Some Windhoek with property to let in preparing to cash in the bonanza when the demand will far exceed supply. — Sapa

Settlements disappear like mirages

Namibians still cynical about new peace deal

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B/d
27/12/88

WINDHOEK - Among the world's most hardened cynics, Namibians are adopting a strictly neutral attitude to the latest international agreements on the country.

"I don't know yet whether I should take seriously anything that begins on April 1," quipped National Education Minister Andrew Matjila.

Like all Namibians, Matjila has seen many peace efforts arrive and then vanish like mirages.

The latest negotiations after more than 22 years of war were conducted among sovereign states and did not involve Namibian politicians or officials who were also not kept abreast of developments behind the scenes.

Even SA's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Louis Pienaar, earlier this year made a public statement on the holding of second-tier ethnic elections in Namibia only hours before Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced November 1 as a target date for implementation of the UN resolution.

The international community re-

gards the holding of ethnic elections as illegal and the two clashing statements caused considerable confusion.

Namibia's politically controversial and expensive second-tier ethnic authorities are among the structures to be dissolved once the UN peace plan takes effect.

Ironically, UN resolution 435 will achieve what the majority parties of the SA-sponsored transitional government in Windhoek have failed to carry out.

A full bench of five judges of the Windhoek Supreme Court ruled earlier this year in an advisory opinion at the request of the transitional cabinet that the racial discrimination inherent in the second-tier system clashed with the country's Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Namibian legislation provides for the establishment of a second-tier authority for each of the country's officially recognised 11 ethnic groups, but in argument before the court it was submitted the white community was classified by race and not by ethnicity. — Sapa.

... ..

221 B/any 27/12/88

THE paradox of the settlement reached in New York last Thursday is that its strength lies in its apparent fragility.

The succinct pair of treaties signed in the UN Economic and Social Council chamber address but a fraction of the problems that will be encountered in the course of their implementation. The signatories are still far from reconciled. None is exactly happy with what they have done. Much kicking, squealing and grandstanding lies ahead.

The important thing, however, is that the grumpiness is evenly distributed. All are resentful in equal measure. None has achieved a better deal than his antagonists. Each has been confronted with the cold, hard fact that he no longer has the strength to play one-upmanship except in vacuous rhetoric.

There was plenty of the latter on signing day. In their harrumphing, the parties resembled nothing so much as the Gloria Swanson character in Eric von Stroheim's *Sunset Boulevard* — a faded star of silent films succumbing gracefully to the inevitability of old age and new technology. Even so, it would have been strange, even disturbing, if they had behaved otherwise. Their petulance proved that the treaties were more than merely the paper they were written on.

It was thus a healthy sign that Fidel Castro packed his delegation to the ceremony with a comic opera of be-medalled generals and that his Foreign Minister, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, gave a thoroughly pompous and objectionable speech. Indeed, had not Malmierca taken a swipe at the American mediators and denounced "the racist regime" for continuing to destabilise the region, something would have been very wrong.

Something would also have been amiss had not his SA counterpart, Pik Botha, responded in kind issuing a characteristic challenge to debate the relative charms of Pretoria's and Havana's human rights practices and threatening to name a lengthy list of African leaders who allegedly had asked SA not to leave Namibia until the last Cuban soldier was on his way home from Angola.

Equally encouraging were the complaints of Angola's Foreign Minister Afonso van Dunem. Scarcely was the ink dry before he was charging that SA was violating the agreement by continuing to supply Unita, and vowing the eternal "support and solidarity of our people" for the ANC

Petulance proves the treaties are more than paper

SIMON BARBER in Washington



PIK BOTHA

in its "just struggle". As ominous as it might have seemed at the time, such spleen was a sure indication that everything was on track.

Not once during the ceremony or the subsequent Press conferences did any of the parties say anything that actually conflicted with the records or did not turn out, upon closer inspection, to be so much hot air. Even the Angolan's pledge on the ANC, which might seem to the uninitiated to flout the agreement's non-aggression clause, was careful doublespeak. "Support and solidarity" are one thing, the provision of bases and arms quite another.

All the various ministers and their spokesmen were doing was trying to reassure themselves and their constituencies that in acceding to the unavoidable they had done the right thing.

Consider, for example, General Magnus Malan's response to a set of written questions submitted by members of the SA Press. Predictably, it was tough, assertive stuff, stressing that SA "acts from a position of strength (as evidenced by) the diplomatic and military victories of the Lomba and Cuito Cuanavale", and warning that "should the Cubans launch a new offensive against Unita, then SA will not sit back and look on with folded arms".

By the same token, there were aspects of the deal the parties preferred not to dwell on. At Botha's Press conference it took a particularly tenacious journalist three attempts to extract from the Minister SA's bottom line on Unita. When the blood finally flowed from the stone, its syntax was tortured but it was unequivocal. "Any assistance to Unita as from today contrary to the agreement we have signed we will not do (sic). It will not be permitted."

Whether they like it or not, and quite clearly they do not, SA, Angola and Cuba have been overtaken by events as irreversible as the coming of talkies was in Hollywood. Though their diplomats continued haggling into the small hours of Thursday, it was little more than a ritual. Their real choices had long since narrowed to the two pieces of paper they signed later that morning.

Obligated by the gross inefficiencies of his own system to pursue the Cold War in a more cost effective manner, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has had to start retrenching his Third



AFONSO VAN DUNEM

World clients and demobilising his Cuban janissaries. The potentate of a very small and dependent island, there is nothing Castro can do but skulk in a dudgeon of macho impotence.

SA is equally constrained, though not quite as galled. For almost identical reasons, its system is as prone to entropy as Gorbachev's and can no longer generate the resources to maintain itself, let alone the massive subsidisation of a colony plus a related war. Even without sanctions, Pretoria could not afford its own version of the Brezhnev doctrine — a form of aggressive defence — any more than Moscow could sustain the original.

Angola, the most powerless of the three, still has important decisions before it, none of them pleasant, but ultimately it had little say on the big one, the departure of its friends.

They are leaving the MPLA to squirm about in search of an internal peace that somehow excludes Dr Jonas Savimbi and convinces the US to turn off its spigot to the rebels. Contrary to earlier belief, its failure to find such a solution should not impede either Cuban withdrawal or Namibian independence.

Both are now inevitable, albeit with hiccups and verbal recrimination. If they were not, the delegations in New York last week would probably have been far more polite to each other because they would have had so much less to complain about. In addition, they would be requiring infinitely more complex instruments to carry the agreement out.

One of the most striking elements of the deal is the brevity of the treaties and the token nature of the mechanisms under which they will be carried out.

It cannot seriously be believed that Unavem, the UN Angola Verification Mission created by the Security Council last week, will be able to monitor the movements of 50 000 Cubans in a country the size of western Europe, with just 70 men, even with the help of American spy satellites. But serious men have decided to believe it, just as they have decided to believe that there are 50 000 Cuban soldiers in the country, when only a few months ago Castro himself said there were 55 000.

Nor is it realistic to suppose the 7 500 troops and 1 500 support personnel slated to oversee implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia have the numerical strength to do so in the manner laid out in the UN Secretary General's 1978 report. But everyone has agreed that the UN transitional assistance group is sufficient, possibly even reducible, and that the plan will produce a plausible result.

To accept at face value that Untag and Unavem will be able to perform efficiently even half the tasks assigned to them is either to make a leap of faith or to know in advance that it will make no difference to the final outcome what they do. In this case the parties know in advance. To be sure, they will frequently stir things up in the months ahead by pretending they do not, but that — like Thursday's grumbling in New York — will be mostly posturing.

"*Pacta sunt servanda*", Soviet Foreign Deputy Minister Anatoly Adamishin remarked after the signing, quoting his esteemed leader. In this instance the phrase was not a moral exhortation, but something between a statement of fact and a command. The fix is in.

SCOTT, SKIET en DONNER/John Scott

THE only problem with all this toe-

my back out, but it used to be my

Two people killed by landmine in Namibia

Star 28/12/88

Two civilians died and another was seriously injured when the vehicle in which they were travelling detonated a landmine 25 km north-east of Oshakati in northern Namibia on Christmas Eve, the SWA Territory Force announced in Windhoek yesterday.

The dead were a man and a woman.

The injured person, Mr Petrus Nakali, was taken in a South African Air Force helicopter to Ondangua military hospital.

His condition was described as "critical but stable".

The SWATF said the blast was caused by a Soviet-made landmine that had been laid on a connecting road in the densely populated Owambo region of northern Namibia.

The road was being used regularly by traffic — which indicated that the landmine had been laid recently, the SWATF said.

Landmine experts confirmed that the mine had been primed recently, it added.

The SWATF did not say who was responsible for the blast, but Namibian security forces have in the past blamed Swapo insurgents for laying landmines of Soviet origin. — Sapa.

First steps towards peace?

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"After 42 years of bitter dispute and 13 years of a bloody and fruitless war, south western Africa has taken its first real steps towards peace. If that journey is completed without serious mishap, the tri-lateral agreement signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba at the United Nations in New York last week could mean more than the independence of Africa's last colony and the hope of national reconciliation in Angola.

"It could mark the beginning of a long delayed era of security, stability and co-operation in southern Africa as a whole. For this reason alone, the agreement if implemented deserves to be hailed as the most important diplomatic breakthrough in Africa since the colonies first began to emerge into independence some 30 years ago.

Suspicion

"In itself, however, and given the enduring mutual suspicion between the three signatories, the treaty is not an automatic guarantee of success. The complicated implementation of UN Resolution 435 and the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops into the north and, ultimately, out of Angola are both fraught with opportunities for bad faith and non-compliance.

"Nevertheless, there are indications that the peace process has gained a momentum which will make it increasingly perilous for any of the participants willfully to

The signing of the tri-lateral agreement on Namibia "deserves to be hailed as the most important diplomatic breakthrough in Africa since the colonies first began to emerge into independence some 30 years ago", said THE TIMES of London in an editorial on Monday. This is the editorial in full.

jump ship without sustaining serious diplomatic injury. It is therefore not too early to ignore the sceptics and examine the profound changes which a Namibian peace could bring for the whole of south and central Africa.

"For South Africa, the most important domestic gain is the end of a long and financially draining conflict and the winding down of its budgetary subventions of Windhoek. It has also obtained a clear undertaking in the treaty that neither an independent Namibia nor Angola will play host to the ANC.

"The removal of the threat of ANC insurgency should also deny South Africa the excuse for military adventures which have fuelled fear and suspicion in neighbouring states.

"In Namibia, the benefits of international recognition will depend largely on whether its welcome to the councils of the world is backed up by financial assistance. An international community which has agitated so long for Namibia's freedom should not allow a country, blessed with natural resources, a small population and a well developed infrastructure, to deteriorate into yet another African basket case.

gotiated and supported the Namibian settlement — believes that a stable and mutually co-operative southern Africa will provide Pretoria with the time and the confidence to resolve its own very serious problems.

"Their cause will be strengthened if the international community learns the lesson of the last eight months — that talking and negotiation have succeeded where 42 years of sanctions and condemnation have failed. It will be immeasurably weakened if the credibility South Africa gains through peace on its western border is willfully squandered by South African advocates of continued destabilisation in Mozambique.

"The policy of destabilisation has its roots in the belief, carefully fostered by South Africa's military strategists, that their country was faced with a Moscow-inspired total onslaught. The Soviet Union's new helpfulness in the resolution of regional conflicts, its reappraisal of the prospects of revolution in South Africa itself, have effectively destroyed the basis of that philosophy.

"The prospect of continued co-operation between Moscow and Washington, however, presents Pretoria with both a challenge and an opportunity. Those who know that ultimately the answer to southern Africa's problems lies not in the destabilisation of neighbouring states, but on peace inside South Africa itself, should seize it and exploit it."

Reconciliation

"Even Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who has thus far remained aloof from the peace moves in the sub-continent, reminded Luanda recently that national reconciliation could not work without the active participation of Mr Savimbi.

"The new realism which has begun to animate southern African politics, however, depends critically on the slow accretion of trust. South Africa — or at least that element within its body politic which has ne-

Wiehahn Commission report soon

THE Wiehahn Commission had completed investigations into the Namibian labour situation and its report would be tabled next month, the Manpower Services deputy director for Namibia, Edgar Snyman, said yesterday.

The nine-man commission, which began

(22) RICHARD BARTLETT

28/12/88

work last year, is chaired by Professor Nic Wiehahn, who headed the SA Wiehahn Commission that changed industrial relations machinery a decade ago.

A MILLION ERNOLONG

Is Resolution 435 strong enough?

UP to now, the prospects of a settlement in Namibia appeared to have been largely dependent on the presence of Cuban and, indeed, South African forces in Angola.

That has been taken care of by virtue of the historic Brazzaville protocol last week and, mirabile dictu, everyone worldwide has taken time off to join the approbation. The process of effecting Namibia's independence is on the threshold of beginning.

That may be — although one obstacle bothers. It is one about which no provision has been made in the 10-year-old document guaranteeing the long-overdue independence for Namibia-Resolution 435.

Special

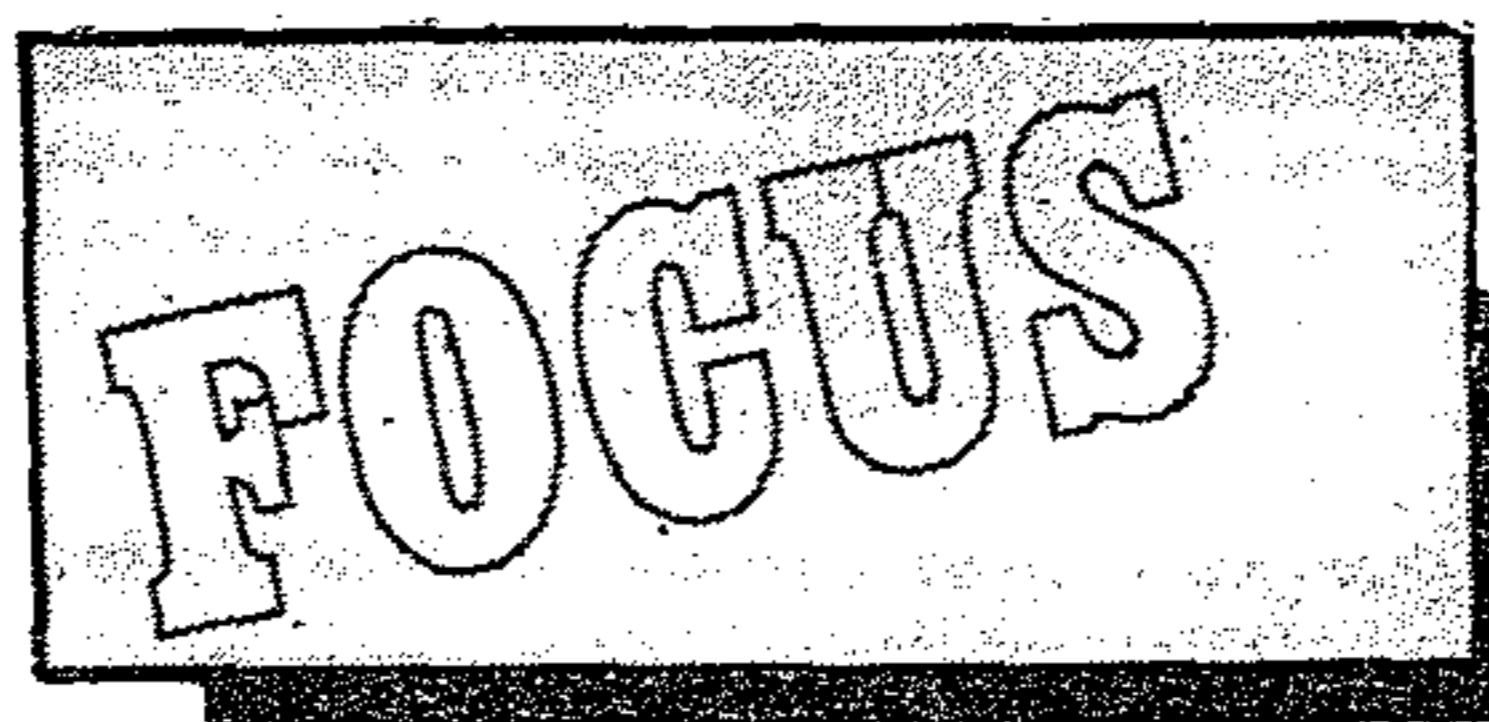
At once, the South-West African Territory Force and Koevoet, a special task force initiated by South Africa, come to mind. There could well be many discerning analysts presently trying to figure out the detrimental consequences of "free and fair" elections on account of the existence of these groups.

Somehow they could pose a problem — in spite of assurances in the appendage to the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 allaying fears of interference and intimidation. The latter will have been under the constant scrutiny of the UN Special Representative, it has been declared.

In Namibia, it is believed, there are roughly 30 000 South-West Africa Territory Force soldiers actively exercising influence. No known curbs are being or

Stumbling blocks to true freedom for Namibia

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Sowetan 28/12/88



will in the foreseeable future be imposed on them — although, of course, South African Defence Force soldiers, in terms of the UN plan, will withdraw from Namibia.

Concern

Koevoet will carry on existing as part and parcel of the police force in the region whose one task would obviously be to ensure that everything will go well during the election period. This, naturally, has to be a cause for concern and, more so, considering that Koevoet are not as such legally a segment of the

By SHAFĀTH-AHMAD KHAN

South African Defence Force.

In the past, observers indicated that the track

record of South African-created forces had left much to be desired. Non-observance of basic rights of the individual had been a common occurrence.

Fears could now be consequently, looming as to the accompanying problems during the elections in the knowledge that obvious dissenting elements would be in motion.

It has been said that most of black Koevoet

recruits are not all that well educated, but they do earn attractive remuneration for the kind of knowledge they have acquired. There have been allegations, too, that several of them had been abducted by armed South African-backed Unita bandits and forcefully conveyed across the Namibian border.

Positive

Whilst, no doubt, the UN's attendance on Namibia's independence process will be, as has been noted by political observers, "a positive step in the right direction," it remains to be seen whether or not the forthcoming elections would be maliciously or wantonly nullified.

Some sources in Namibia, however, have contended that the international community appears to want to get the burden of Namibia off its shoulders without due consideration of the people of Namibia themselves. Peace was not necessarily around the bend, as it were, all because Resolution 435 was on the verge of being implemented.

The formal expression of the will of the people, according to them, was not adequate guarantee to ensure the government elected into power, especially in the tricky situation of Namibia, would be free of hassles.

The South-West African People's Organisation (Swapo), for instance, which has been widely tipped to take over the government of Namibia after open elections, could well find itself in a spot because of the obvious disfavour it currently has from the police and army forces in Namibia. Its mammoth task would be to stay in control in the absence of support from them.

Worries over role of koevoet, SWATF

Power

Swapo guerillas, the sources have pointed out, could find it extremely tough going to preserve order in a conventional situation. Consequently, South Africa could still exist as a power to be in rivalry with.

What this signals, now that Resolution 435 is under the hammer, is that there has to be an administration of justice firmly agreed on by the parties concerned and based on the doctrine that mutual dependence was necessary to the well-being of an independent Namibia.

Therein would lie the essence of not just peace, but lasting peace.

Hopefully, the strong desire of the South African Government to have Resolution 435 implemented — particularly after some time of demanding a guarantee of group rights — will not, in the nature of things, be the beginning of another age of revolution.

REUTERS

Confrontation with SA over accord

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Sowetan 28/12/58

LUSAKA — Six Front-line States in confrontation with South Africa held their first summit here yesterday since Angola, Cuba and Pretoria's Government signed a regional peace accord.

The leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe will meet for most of the day to discuss the implications of the pact and other Southern African issues, officials said.

Under the accord, signed in New York last Thursday, South Africa will grant independence to mineral-rich Namibia while Angola and Cuba will send home some 50 000 Cuban troops within 72 months.

The so-called Front-line States and their chairman, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, have spear-

headed African efforts to end Pretoria's policy of apartheid and to seek independence for Namibia.

Kaunda has guardedly welcomed the US-mediated accord, but has echoed other black leaders' fears that South Africa will renege on the agreement.

• The Angolan Parliament has approved an amnesty for Unita rebels if they surrender, renounce violence and help rebuild the war-stricken country, the official Angolan news agency *Angop* reported yesterday.

"The amnesty, which comes into effect next February and lasts one year, applies to all those who have committed subversive crimes inside or outside Angola," *Angop* said in a report monitored in Lisbon. — Sapa.

Sowetan
3 released

20/7/88
LAGOS — Nigeria's military government yesterday ordered the immediate release of three leading trade unionists who have been detained without charge since July, state radio said. *US*

NAMIBIA - GENERAL

1989

JANUARY - FEBRUARY



Pik's stand on principle may inhibit settlement in Namibia

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha has many admirable qualities, but it is also fair to say that had he, rather than his exceedingly able adjutants, conducted most of the negotiations on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal, we might not now have a treaty.

Virtually alone of his Cabinet colleagues, Botha has the vision to lead South Africa out of its quagmire. He is a Protean figure on a stage of wizened spirits. His problem is a preacher's temperament which seems to distil many of Afrikanerdom's most tragic failings.

To put it simply, Botha believes that to be right is enough. Unfortunately, in politics and diplomacy it seldom is.

He is firmly of the opinion that once the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 gets under way on April 1, SA's financial responsibility for the territory ends. Thereafter, it is up to the UN and the rest of the world to ensure the birth of an economically viable new nation.

Technically, of course, Namibia remains SA's soil until the SA flag finally comes down for the last time, in theory early in 1990. Nonetheless, the Foreign Minister has a point.

☆☆☆

The UN has always regarded Namibia as its preserve even while SA has been making its population if not happy at least one of the most subsidised on earth. Now that the UN is getting what it has asked for these many years, why should the subsidy continue, especially when the United States Congress seems determined to maintain trade and investment sanctions on the place until formal independence?

Furthermore, why should not the UN pay for the facilities its blue hats and support personnel will use during the transitional period, facilities put up at no mean expense to the SA taxpayer and which might otherwise be dismantled and brought home?

In short, having paid for the establishment of a national infrastructure that should be the envy of most of the continent, why should SA be asked to pay for its abandonment?

☆☆☆

Such is Botha's thoroughly understandable view. It also seems to be an unshakable one. So I asked him while he was in New York for the signing ceremony what would happen if the rest of the world declined to share it. The answer came back that the rest of the world would be shown up as a bunch of immoral hypocrites.

Obviously, Botha faces some quite serious political constraints — many SA taxpayers will not look kindly on being forced to foot the bill for what is supposed to be a money-saving retreat — but simply highlighting the inadequacies of the UN and the West is not a policy any more than pointing out that "Africa is dying". We know. The question is what is to be done under the circumstances.

☆☆☆

The Minister may have a few ideas on the subject, but he, they and SA generally are not going to get far if their primary goal is to demonstrate moral superiority to a world that could not care less about the demonstration.

The real objective should be a prosperous Namibia whose new, presumably Swapo, rulers will privately, at least, wish to live on amicable, mutually beneficial and respectful terms with their neighbour. Moral grandstanding will not achieve this. Statesmanship, subtlety and an altogether clearer definition of goals might.

UN set to nurse
finance headache

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE United Nations will be nursing a major financial headache next week when it starts implementing the peace process in Namibia.

The UN, already strapped for cash, will have to foot a bill of at least R40-million to finance the peace-keeping force, Untag, inside Namibia and the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cubans from Angola.

The UN Security Council is expected to try to cut the cost next week. A figure of R11-million — instead of R17,5-million — for the Namibian part of the operation is said to be the target.

The "Big Five" permanent members of the Security

Council — the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, China and France — will have to shoulder the bulk of the UN's responsibilities.

One way to cut costs would be to reduce the size of Untag from the present 7 500 military personnel and 2 000 civilian contingent to 7 000 overall.

It is expected that South Africa will protest strongly at such a reduction because of fears that a smaller force would not be able to adequately protect the civilian population from Swapo intimidation.

Next week will see the formal creation of Untag, which will start the biggest UN peace-keeping operation since the Congo in 1964.

Namibia: Business as usual?

WINDHOEK. — The major mining companies that form the backbone of Namibia's economy believe it will be business as usual when the territory finally gains its independence after 76 years of South African rule.

"Mining is the mainstay of the economy," said Zedekia Ngavirue, chairman of Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation's Rossing Uranium mine. "Any government that comes to power here would have to take that into account."

Businessmen and foreign diplomats in the Namibian capital believe that the Marxist-leaning South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), which has waged a guerilla war against SA since 1966, will win a majority in United Nations-supervised elections

next November 1.

One of the new government's first tasks will be to restructure the economy away from what the future leaders regard as an exploitative capitalist system set up by SA.

But Swapo has been at pains to reassure the 75 000 whites, who make up about 6% of Namibia's population of 1,2 million people, that it will co-operate with SA to ensure the territory's economic survival.

"We will have to work together with SA for some years until we can stand on our own feet," Andimbo Toiva ja Toivo, Swapo's secretary-general said in the Angolan capital of Luanda at the weekend.

He added, however, that Swapo's long-term aim would be to free Namibia's economy from dependence on SA.

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CMT Toiv's 3/11/89
Mining executives here are confident Swapo will recognise the crucial importance of the mines to the economy and the big contribution they make to tax revenue. That could help temper the new government's policies with pragmatism.

Namibia is Africa's fourth biggest minerals producer. Uranium, diamonds and base metals like lead and zinc account for 85% of total exports.

Marginal tax rates upwards of 60% underline the importance of the mines to the exchequer.

"A Swapo government would probably want to renegotiate some new arrangement on the shareholding of the mining companies. I think it is doubtful they would want to nationalise the mines outright," said

Abel Gower, director of Consolidated Diamond Mines Ltd (CDM) a subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.

"We have negotiated with governments all over Africa and we are confident we will be able to talk to the new government here," said Gower. "We are simply continuing our operations as usual."

Swapo last month released an economic policy document apparently intended to dispel Western fears of blanket nationalisation of industry.

It stressed that Namibia's development would remain dependent on private capital and foreign investment.

Encouraged by such pronouncements, CDM last month invested R90m in a new diamond mine, north of its existing mining complex at Oranjemund. — Reuter

UN fails to meet SWA force deadline

The Argus Foreign Service
48645 3/10/89

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council failed to meet its year-end deadline for agreeing on the composition of the UN force to monitor the transition to independence of SWA/Namibia.

The five permanent members of the Security Council are pushing for a reduction in the size and cost of the transitional assistance group (Untag) envisaged in the UN plan for SWA/Namibian independence.

But non-aligned members of the 15-nation council, concerned that South Africa will "interfere" in the elections this year, want the full contingent of about 7 500 troops and 2 000 civilians.

The council failed to reach agreement during three hours of consultations and is due to take up the matter again this week, with five new members which began their two-year term on Sunday.

Under the independence plan, the UN is to send seven infantry battalions, 360 policemen and about 2 000 civilian administrators.

But the Brazzaville agreement on Angola will in no way change the hostile policy of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) towards South Africa.

OAU President Moussa Traore of Mali made this clear in an interview he gave to the Paris-based weekly magazine, *Jeune Afrique*, in his capital, Bamako.

He was asked: "Will the Brazzaville agreement change the OAU's policy towards South Africa?"

He replied: "Not at all. The Southern African conflict can be broken up into three elements: South Africa's intervention in Angola's home affairs, the illegal occupation of Namibia, and apartheid.

"While the Brazzaville agreement constitutes a major hope for the solution of the first and second elements, it does not affect the third, apartheid.

"Consequently, the OAU's views on South Africa are not affected. As long as apartheid is allowed to continue there, there is no question of its government joining us."

© See page 3.

'Swapo welcomes a mixed economy'

LONDON — If Swapo wins the November election in Namibia it will "welcome foreign companies either on a joint venture or mixed economy basis", says the party's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, in an interview published in London.

He says that after the election operating rules will have to be altered so that the country's resources are not

exploited.

Sowetan 5/11/89 (22)
"We will talk to anybody and we are aware that we need to retain international companies' expertise."

Mr Nujoma's interview appears in this month's issue of Africa Markets International magazine, which is published by Business International. — Sapa.

Nujoma hits out at change to plans

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Stw 5/11/81

HAVANA — South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) leader Mr Sam Nujoma said yesterday disruption of law and order by South African troops in Namibia meant conditions did not exist for free elections in the territory.

Mr Nujoma, in Havana to attend celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, said that Namibia had suffered "a complete breakdown of law and order".

Mr Nujoma denounced plans to amend a United Nations plan on independence for Namibia as contained in tripartite accords signed in New York on December 22 last year.

He said Swapo was disturbed by the fact that the United States and some UN Security Council members had been attempting "to amend the UN plan and call for a reduction of Untag forces from 7 500 to 3 000".

"The reduction to 3 000 men would make a mockery of UN responsibility and is an invitation to South Africa and its surrogates to rig the elections," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

UK magazine claims dissent in Swapo

Sowetan 6/11/89

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MANY Swapo members are worried rather than pleased at the possibility of their organisation taking power in Namibia after independence, says the London newsletter, *Africa Confidential*.

"The reason is simply that the leadership has behaved with incompetence and brutality towards its own cadres," says the newsletter.

"None of those in a position to speak out about this — the United Nations, the support groups, and above all the churches — has had the courage to do so. They fear rocking the boat."

Africa Confidential says the leading Swapo power-holders "make and enunciate policy as they see fit."

Patronage

"The central committee has become a rubber-stamp. There has never been a formal congress. Power lies above all in the exercise of patronage, in a movement which receives abundant external funds, which enjoys the legitimacy endowed by UN and church support, and in which the Swapo leaders enjoy unchallenged power over their charges."

"It is impossible for any internal dissident to find a platform to criticise the leadership."

The newsletter says Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma is not the most important person in Swapo but understands well that his survival depends on his role of legitimating control by members of the Kwanyama sub-group of the dominant Ovambo tribe. Mr Nujoma himself is from a minority Ovambo group.

It says a number of Swapo members in exile have been accused of being South African spies. Among them were some of the young activists from south or central Namibia who had revived Swapo's political campaign inside the territory in the 1970s and whose arrival in exile had created tension between the old generation which runs the movement and the young lions.

Non-Ovambos in high positions take care not to mix too closely with southerners for fear of being labelled as spies.

Outshone

"One explanation for the behaviour of the Swapo old guard is that they could expect to see themselves outshone by better-educated youngsters in a future Namibian government, where technocratic skills will be more in demand,"

says *Africa Confidential*.

This, it says, may explain the disappearance in recent years of two British-based members after they had gone to visit Swapo centres in Angola and Lusaka.

No one doubts that South Africa uses spies to infiltrate anti-apartheid organisations, says the newsletter, "but few also doubt that, under conditions of war and exile, unscrupulous Swapo officials attach the label 'spy' to any dissenter."

Labels

Swapo has no judicial apparatus to investigate accusations and the pattern of these suggests that anyone who comes into conflict with a senior Swapo official risks being labelled a South African agent.

"Although accused by South Africa of being a communist organisation, in recent years Swapo has been keen to reassure white Namibians of the survival of the private sector after independence."

"In fact, there is rather more concern about Swapo's handling of political and ethnic diversity" — *Sowetan Africa News Service*.



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma says SA troops in Namibia are making free elections impossible.

Picture: REUTERS

Nujoma claim 'rubbish'

6/Day 6/1/89

DIANNA GAMES

THE SADF has strongly rejected claims made in Cuba this week by Swapo leader Sam Nujoma that disruption of law and order by SA troops in Namibia meant conditions did not exist for free elections.

Nujoma, speaking in Havana, said SA troops were "out of control carrying out mass massacres, maiming children and women, raping women and breaking into people's properties".

He asked how, in the light of this alleged breakdown of law and order, free and democratic elections could take place.

An SADF spokesman yesterday described Nujoma's statement as "rubbish".

He said: "He is afraid that Swapo will lose an election under UN supervision and is therefore already trying to create a climate which will enable him to dismiss the election as unfair and undemocratic should Swapo lose."

"While trying to discredit the SADF with this statement, all he achieved was to insult the UN, an organisation that he, over the

years, has claimed is the only impartial observer."

The spokesman said this kind of "climate creation" would increase as the implementation of UN resolution 435 progressed.

A Foreign Affairs department spokesman said the department was "not inclined to reply substantively to the immoderate comments Mr Nujoma reportedly made in Havana".

Oversee

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He said: "Throughout the peace negotiations, SA has clearly demonstrated its willingness to abide by the spirit and letter of all the agreements which would lead to the implementation of UN resolution 435 and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola."

The department did not comment on the proposal to reduce the UN contingent force that would oversee Namibia's transition to independence from 7 500 to 3 000.

SA—Namibia rail link cut off by rains ⁽²²⁾

WINDHOEK — Rail traffic between Namibia and South Africa has been cut after heavy rains measuring up to 155 mm fell in the south.

The superintendent of passenger services of the National Transport Corporation, Mr Johan Maartens, said the lines between Ariamsvlei and Kokerboom in southern Namibia were washed away on Wednesday.

Star 6/11/89
Mr Maartens said the train from De Aar to Namibia would go as far as Upington and the train from Windhoek south would turn round at Karasburg.

A temporary bus service would be available between Karasburg and Upington, he added. — Sapa.

Independent Namibia likely to get Commonwealth invitation (221)

LONDON — Mrs Margaret Thatcher's forthcoming visit to southern Africa will almost certainly coincide with the beginning of the independence process in Namibia — and the territory is likely to be offered Commonwealth membership.

The much-debated trip, expected to take her to Mozambique, Zimbabwe and possibly Botswana or Tanzania, will take place around April 1, the day United Nations troops will begin to deploy in Namibia.

The Prime Minister is expected to cite Namibian independence as a triumph for Western diplomacy and "constructive engagement" in the region, and as evidence that sanctions would reduce the West's leverage on South Africa.

It is unlikely she will visit the territory itself or the Republic. But she is expected to reinforce Britain's commitment to reducing the dependency of the Frontline states on South Africa and to explain why Britain opposes sanctions.

9/11/81
An independent Namibia will be invited to join the Commonwealth, although Britain's role in helping to bring about its independence has been less than active in recent years. Britain was a member of the five-nation Western "contact group" which tried to enact the independence process after the UN adopted Resolution 435 in 1978.

The contact group disbanded in 1983 when the United States took over the chief negotiating role, linking Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The negotiations finally bore fruit in November when a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal was agreed.

The wheel has come full circle: after Angolan independence the US became involved in the civil war of 1975-1976 and backed the two losing parties, the FNLA and Unita. When the US administration decided to cut its losses in 1976, the man who ordered the CIA to withdraw was Mr George Bush, then director of the CIA.

Shortly before Mr Bush assumes the presidency the first batch of Cubans will be leaving Angola — the first fruit of persistent US diplomacy and pressure on the Angolan government. Three thousand Cubans are expected to leave Luanda tomorrow after a ceremony at the port. Western diplomatic sources said some of those leaving completed their tours of duty some weeks ago but had been kept in Luanda for the ceremony.

Although it has achieved its main objective of getting the Cubans out, the US now appears to be tightening the screws on the government in Luanda. It has never been recognised by Washington, ostensibly because of the presence of the Cubans.

Washington sources said yesterday that it was unlikely the MPLA could be recognised until it had settled with the Unita rebels. — The Independent News Service.

SA to rig
elections
— Jackson

HARARE. — US black civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson said yesterday that South Africa was giving Namibian citizenship to Angolan rebels and other foreign blacks so they could vote in the territory's independence elections.

"We know that there is some activity inside Namibia where some Unita forces are being given identity badges to be Namibian citizens so as to vote in that election," he told reporters.

Mr Jackson's remarks appeared to echo fears in black Africa that Pretoria is planning to rig the Namibian poll to prevent Swapo from taking power.

Mr Jackson, who arrived in Zimbabwe on Thursday for a four-day private visit, said Pretoria is building a full military force from local para-military units and hoarding arms in Namibia. This force could become a rebel group to destabilise a future Namibian government opposed to Pretoria, he added.

The Namibian independence process, under UN supervision, is due to begin on April 1.

UN deadlock could delay Resolution 435

9/1/78 10/1/78 From SIMON BARBER *221*

WASHINGTON. — Namibian independence could be delayed by continued deadlock between the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and non-aligned countries over the size and cost of the monitoring force, a senior UN official warned yesterday.

Even if the issue is resolved this week, there is growing concern that the April 1 deadline for implementation of UN Resolution 435 may not be met.

The enabling resolution needed to put 435 into effect cannot be passed until the Security Council agrees on the size of the UN transitional assistance group.

The permanent members — including the Soviet Union — who between them must share 57% of the overall costs, are seeking to cut by half the 7 500-man force envisaged in the secretary-general's 1978 report.

The non-aligned states, who will not be footing the bill, claim this will enable South Africa to bias the election process against Swapo.

UN deadlock may delay independence

61 Day 10/11/89
WASHINGTON — As the first Cuban troops begin their withdrawal from Angola today, a senior UN official has warned that Namibian independence could be delayed by continued deadlock between the five permanent members of the UN Security Council over the size and cost of the monitoring force.

Even if the issue is resolved this week, there is growing concern that the April 1 deadline for implementation of UN resolution 435 may not be met.

The enabling resolution needed to put 435 into effect cannot be passed until the council agrees on the size of the UN

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SIMON BARBER
transitional assistance group (Untag).

The permanent members — including the Soviet Union — who between them must share 57% of the overall costs, are seeking to more than halve the proposed 7 500-man force.

Assuming the enabling resolution is passed next week, the General Assembly is unlikely to approve Untag's budget until the end of the month. It will, then take until the end of February before the contributing countries have paid their assessments.

Since the UN does not have sufficient funds to start purchasing equipment before the assessments are in, this will only leave four weeks to ready Untag in time for April 1. Delivery time for important equipment is about 90 days.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports from Luanda that the first contingent of Cuban soldiers to withdraw from Angola will receive a ceremonial send-off today.

The 450 soldiers will fly out after a parade through the streets of Luanda.

A further 1 000 Cubans are expected to depart by ship in the next few days.

Key Market Movements — JAN 06 to JAN 09

Gold

JSE

Currencies

Eurt

Lon

Johannesburg Stock Exchange

SA 'upper hand' worries Cubans

Protests over cut in UN Namibia force

PARIS — Cuba and African nations yesterday pressed their campaign against any reduction in the size of a United Nations military force which will help to bring Namibia to independence.

Cuba said at a 140-nation gathering in Paris that slimming down the Untag (UN Transition Assistance Group) force

would leave South Africa with the upper hand in the territory.

The six African Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — made the same point at a meeting in Paris with Britain, one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The Security Council says the planned force of

7 500 neutral troops and 2 000 civilians and police is too big and expensive.

"The reduction of Untag will signify without doubt the continuation of the structures and mechanisms of power implanted by racist South Africa," said Cuban Foreign Minister Mr Isidoro Malmierca Peoli.

Ministers of the non-aligned movement also said any cost-cutting

should not include a reduction in Untag's military component.

The five major powers — the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, China and France — will have to foot more than half the bill for the UN force. It is estimated to amount to R1 500 million.

They say a far smaller contingent will be able to monitor the withdrawal of South African troops and oversee elections now that Pretoria is committed to April 1 as the starting date for transition to independence.

But Mr Malmierca said that even 7 500 troops would be inadequate.

'Puppet' army

He claimed that South Africa had 100 000 soldiers in Namibia; had created a "puppet" Namibian army of 20 000 men; and doubled the territory's police force since 1978.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, and delegates from other Frontline states expressed concern about the proposed cost reduction at a meeting on Monday at the conference with Mr William Waldegrave, Britain's Junior Foreign Minister.

"I said it was for the UN Secretary-general to make an assessment of what is needed," Mr Waldegrave told reporters. — Sapa Reuter.

'Middle-class' hotels do well

By *12/11/89* DUM GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Two-star and three-star hotels showed the highest increases in income in the 12 months to end October, the Central Statistical Service says. Two-star establishments had the biggest increase — 28,1%.

In the January-October period room occupancy rate increased by 7,4%, and bed occupancy by 6,1%, compared with the year before.

Two-star, three-star and five-star hotels all showed increases in room occupancy rates, with the largest in two-star hotels, 14,1% in the year to end October.

Three-star hotels had the highest room occupancy rate at 62,5%. All gradings, except one-star hotels, had average room occupancy rates exceeding 60% in October.

Only 13 of the 21 tourist regions had increases in room occupancy,

Koevoet will become ordinary policemen *12/11/89* (22)

MANDY JEAN WOODS

WINDHOEK — The 3 000 members of Koevoet, a specialist police unit formed in 1979 to combat counter-insurgency in northern Namibia, would be absorbed into the regular SWA Police Force, police liaison officer Kierie du Rand said yesterday.

The disbanding of Koevoet had already started and would be completed by April 1, he said.

A Swapo spokesman said Swapo totally rejected the integration of Koevoet into the regular police force, saying "they are known as killers". He said Swapo would make their presence known to UN forces, if necessary.

Du Rand said Koevoet had had a success rate of 75% to 90% a year in eliminating insurgents.

Commenting on numerous allegations about the brutality of Koevoet against residents of northern Namibia, he said: "It has been a thorn in Swapo's side and so they became a target for

Swapo propaganda.

"More than 100 civil cases of assault were lodged against Koevoet, many of which either never made it to court or were chucked out of court," he said. Only two charges of murder were brought against Koevoet, both of which resulted in a guilty verdict, he said.

The disbanding of Koevoet would mean "an extra few million rand in the Namibian police budget". With less ammunition used and fewer vehicles damaged, there would certainly be big savings on the budget.

Meanwhile the 7 000-strong police force would carry on as usual until independence, he said.

"Only the less than 400 second-ed policemen will return to SA. Most policemen are optimistic about resolution 435 and there is no talk about leaving," he said.

AWB members 'pressed' to oust leader

AWB rebels and their supporters had brought "undue influence" to bear on some of the movement's Hoofraad members to get them to back their call for the removal of leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, a spokesman for Terre-Blanche said yesterday.

Terre-Blanche's legal adviser C P Beyers did not elaborate but said some members might be

12/11/89
PETER DELMAR

called on to give details at a January 21 Hoofraad meeting.

The 300 elected members will settle the dispute between Terre-Blanche and four of his top leaders who were suspended after insisting Terre-Blanche quit.

One of the four, deputy AWP leader Jan Groenewald, declined to comment yesterday, but said the dissidents would probably decide at the weekend whether to attend the meeting.

Beyers said the suspended members received assurances on Tuesday they would be allowed to put their cases to the Hoofraad.

Monthly logged logs

10 MINUTE X-

Peace breaks out ... but Namibia's call-ups continue

LARGE numbers of young Namibians have been conscripted into the SWA Territorial Force despite the country's impending independence and the earlier-than-required Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Progressive groups and lawyers have condemned the call-up as an act of bad faith in the light of South Africa's promise to implement Resolution 435 in less than three months.

At least one white Namibian has refused to serve in the South West African Territory Force. Richard Paklepapa, a Windhoek resident and education co-ordinator for the National Union of Namibian Workers, was due this week to report for two years military service but has announced his decision not to do so.

He said it was the duty of young Namibians to "cancel" the call-up as the authorities had not done so.

The director of the Legal Assistance Centre in Windhoek, David Smuts, said this week that he found the January intake inexplicable, especially on the eve of the implementation of Resolution 435.

In terms of Resolution 435, the South African Defence Force is required to withdraw from Namibia, including its units grouped in the SWATF.

"Either these members must withdraw from Namibia, or the units themselves must be disbanded within the next few months," Smuts said.

It was recently decided to disband the police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. "One questions the motive of those in authority by calling up these people if security force units are already being disbanded," he said.

Smuts confirmed that several Namibians had approached the centre for advice on their options regarding conscription.

"People have come to us on the grounds that, although not hardline Swapo supporters, they in principle oppose conscription into the South African Defence Force and its units in

Hundreds of youths have been called up for two years in Namibia — although independence is months away. MARK VERBAAN reports

the SWATF," he said.

On Tuesday morning, hundreds of young Namibians, speaking a diversity of languages, collected at various points around Windhoek to await transportation to Luipardsvallei base on the outskirts of the capital.

It is understood that officers in the SWATF will be seconded to camps in South Africa where they will complete two years' national service.

●According to Sapa, Swapo said yesterday South Africa was trying to sway the Namibian elections set for November 1 by forcing young men to join the army.

"More than 3 000 new conscripts are to begin their basic training this week before being deployed to serve in the SWATF," said the Namibian Press Agency.

The new recruits would "perform an intimidatory role during the planned elections, thereby influencing the results of such elections in favour of South African collaborators in the territory".

Earlier this week, a Swapo representative said South Africa was trying to influence the elections by giving Angola's Unita rebels Namibian citizenship.

Commenting on the allegations, an SADF spokesman in Pretoria said Swapo was "afraid of losing an election in SWA/Namibia.

"This silly statement is aimed at creating a climate which will enable Swapo to dismiss the elections as unfair and undemocratic if they lose. The Defence Force predicted .. that this kind of climate creation would increase as the implementation of ... Resolution 435 progresses.

"Furthermore, Swapo's ... record since their unilateral declaration of a cessation of hostilities on September



Fond farewell. A teenager joins the army in Windhoek

Picture: JOHAN LIEBENBERG

1 last year paints a dismal picture of incompetence, duplicity and a total lack of control" over insurgents.

●Commandant Fanie Krige, of the SWATF liaison department, said various factors had contributed to the SWATF's decision to go ahead with this year's national service intake.

"The most important factor was that the safety of Namibia and its residents was still being threatened, as indicated by two recent land mine incidents in Owambo.

"The enemy faction, Swapo, has still not made any formal announcement regarding the halting of its terrorist activities," said Krige. "If Swa-

po, as the story goes, plans to continue with the armed struggle if it loses the election, the SWATF must have the necessary trained manpower available."

SWATF also had a duty to provide a large number of servicemen for essential services such as education and agriculture; Resolution 435 made provision for 300 troops to perform these duties.

"The halting of conscription for the 1988 and 1989 intakes, and their obligations after the implementation of Resolution 435, are matters which must still be finalised between the relevant parties," said Krige.

Is Namibia settlement testing ground for SA?

221

Star 13/1/89

The countdown to a UN-supervised settlement of the Namibian dispute, initiated by the exit of the first Cuban troops from Angola, raises questions about the prospects of an internationally recognised settlement of the equally protracted conflict in South Africa itself.

The questions are neither idle nor abstract. Namibia or South West Africa was once regarded as South Africa's fifth province and enjoyed direct representation in South Africa's Parliament; moreover, as the administering power of Namibia, South Africa was a key party in the negotiations which led to the inter-related Angola-Namibia settlement.

The central question, of course, is whether settlement of the Namibian war will promote a negotiated end to increasingly bitter civil strife in South Africa. There is no clear answer, but there is consensus that it may give impetus to a settlement in South Africa.

Run-up to independence

Much will depend on what happens in Namibia both during the run-up to the independence elections in November and during the period immediately after the takeover by an independent Namibian government.

Professor David Welsh, of the University of Cape Town, says Namibia may have served as a testing ground for South African policy in the past and that developments in Namibia often preceded the adoption of similar policies in South Africa.

Partial abandonment in South Africa of grand or territorial apartheid — the establishment of nominally independent tribal states for black people — came only after it had been tried and rejected in Namibia. The pass laws and the crasser forms of segregation — the laws against inter-racial sex and marriage — were scrapped in Namibia before they were rescinded in South Africa.

Similarly, Professor Welsh sug-

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town says that the Angola-Namibia settlement has created an impetus for negotiations on the conflict within South Africa itself.



Professor David Welsh ... developments in Namibia often precede policies in South Africa.

gests, abolition of the Group Areas Act in Namibia may herald its repeal in South Africa.

More pertinently, Pretoria's relinquishment of its quest for an internal settlement in Namibia and — after months of patient mediation by the US Assistant Secretary for State, Dr Chester Crocker — its acceptance of the UN peace plan for Namibia, may foreshadow similar developments in South Africa: acknowledgement that the African National Congress cannot be excluded from the political process any more than Mr Sam Nujoma's Swapo could be in Namibia.

South Africa did not negotiate directly with Swapo, but one of the underlying objectives of the negotiations on Angola and Namibia was to create the conditions to facilitate the return from the battlefield to the political arena of Swapo guerrillas.

It is in that context that Professor Welsh says that the Angola-Namibia settlement has created an impetus for negotiations in South Africa. "But", he cautions, "there are enormous obstacles to be overcome before a transition can be made to negotiations within our own borders".

A factor in the Angola-Namibia negotiations, which will have a direct bearing on the chances of negotiations in South Africa, was the co-operation between the US and the Soviet Union, Professor Welsh continues. "The array of forces against South Africa is far more formidable than it has been. The pressures for settlement are immense."

Professor John Barratt, director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, counsels against deducing too readily that settlement in Namibia-Angola infers that settlement will come to South Africa.

He concedes that the hand of the pro-negotiation camp in South Africa, which, he says, includes top members of the bureaucracy, may be strengthened substantially. "But", he adds, "there are those who see the Namibian settlement as a way of buying time to continue the process of step-by-step controlled reform from above". Their plans for imposed reform do not include unbanning the ANC, still less negotiations with it, he says.

Developments

Developments within Namibia in the coming months may, however, affect South Africa profoundly, he reckons.

If the South African Defence Force's much talked of programme to win hearts and minds in Namibia fails, then the generals at home may conclude that their carefully orchestrated campaign to wean black people from "revolutionary movements" in South Africa will fail too; it may help tip the balance towards negotiated settlement.

Increasing use of the UN by the Soviet Union, a policy favoured by President Mikhail Gorbachev, may facilitate superpower co-operation within the UN. Of particular importance to South Africa would be less

use by the US of its veto in the Security Council to protect South Africa from the clamour in the General Assembly for tougher action, Professor Barratt says.

His colleague at the institute, Mr Andre du Pisani, predicts: "These two superpowers will act increasingly in concert on South African domestic and southern African regional issues. We are going to have to learn to live with it, whether we like it or not."

Rising cost

What helped bring about settlement in Namibia and Angola was the rising cost of the dispute, in lives and in money, Mr du Pisani says, adding that at its height the war was costing R800 million a year while the fiscal transfer to the Namibian budget stands at R340 million.

If the costs of maintaining the status quo in South Africa escalate, President Botha's Government, with its huge foreign debt, may well be forced along the settlement path, says Mr du Pisani. He sees Britain, with its vast financial interests in South Africa and the esteem enjoyed by its Prime Minister in Pretoria as a possible mediator.

"I believe that pre-negotiations — informal talks and talks about talks — are not all that far off," Mr du Pisani says.

Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Cape Town-based Centre for Inter-Group Studies, distinguishes between negotiations *per se* and the earlier "facilitation stage". South Africa is still in the facilitation phase, he avers.

Battle has been joined in Government circles between those in favour of a negotiated settlement and those opposed to one, he says. His prognosis is hopeful.

"I believe that in the long run those in favour of negotiation will prevail. The final decision will be made by the President. He is a pragmatist. His decision will depend on who can deliver the goods."

'Namibia is welcome to join the EC'

8/ Day 13/1/87
MIKE ROBERTSON (221)

LONDON — An independent Namibia would be welcomed into the Commonwealth, an official said yesterday.

Commonwealth Secretariat information director Patsy Robertson said Commonwealth heads of government had already indicated this. (SPP)

She added that Swapo, fancied by most to win next year's elections, had already indicated to the Commonwealth it "would be interested in pursuing discussions about membership".

Membership would provide Namibia with access to a wide range of technical, scientific, educational and developmental assistance programmes.

The Commonwealth Secretariat in 1986/87 received a budget of £19.3m to fund technical co-operation between member states. It also received £1m for youth programmes and £425 000 for the Commonwealth Science Council.

An EC spokesman said an independent Namibia would also be welcomed as a member of the Lome Convention — a trade, aid and co-operation agreement that allows black African (bar Angola), Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries access to the EC for industrial goods, most agricultural products and an export-earnings stabilisation scheme for certain agricultural commodities.

Under the Third Lome Convention, which expires in 1990, EC countries will provide about £4.4bn in aid to ACP countries and the European Investment Bank will lend an additional £655m.

Particularly attractive for Namibia is an agreement by the EC to provide assistance for the acquisition of fishing equipment, fisheries management and the processing and marketing of fish products.

Nujoma offers Namibia whites 'full citizenship'

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Swapo President Sam Nujoma, hoping to become Namibia's first Head of State, has offered the territory's white population "full and free citizenship in a fully free, democratic society" after independence.

Asked whether he felt it necessary to allay white fears after independence, Mr Nujoma expanded at length on the experiences gained by leading Swapo members during their long exile, which, he said, had made them come to appreciate "the value of the human person".

He condemned Namibian blacks who had served in the SWATF who had, he said, "been involved in nasty acts of brutality against their own people". He praised those blacks and whites who had refused "because of their own humanity" to take part in the "massacres".

Decent life

But he pointed out that Namibia was a large country with a small population and possessed huge resources.

Those resources, he added, would ensure for all Namibians "a decent life," with no one lacking education or medical care.

All Namibian whites had to do, he said, was to accept their responsibility to "harmonise" with all the territory's other citizens.

"Indeed, I welcome them to make Namibia their home," he said. "The choice is theirs to become Namibian nationals."

In a lengthy interview with



Sam Nujoma

the Swapo leader, I was able to draw only one single-syllable response to a specific question. This was when I asked him if he envisaged a Bill of Rights in the new Namibian constitution.

"Yes," he said.

Mr Nujoma enlarged on this reply only when I pressed him on the need for the rights of minorities to be entrenched.

"It is not what is written in constitutions that matters," he replied.

"The United States has a Bill of Rights. It's supposed to be democratic. But there is still racism there.

Free of prejudice

"We need, in our minds, to be freed from prejudice, and not depend on what is on paper."

The tall, greying Swapo leader, who is in New York on his way back to Swapo headquar-

ters in Luanda after talks with Cuba's President Fidel Castro in Havana, expressed confidence that Swapo would win a two-thirds majority in the forthcoming UN-sponsored elections, expected to take place in November.

Asked whether this would enable Swapo to dictate the shape of the new constituent assembly, Mr Nujoma replied: "The Namibian people will decide, unless they are otherwise prevented, Namibia's future."

B/Day 16/1/89

Namibia chief stresses violence must end (22)

WINDHOEK — Namibia Administrator-General Louis Pienaar says preventing violence is the great challenge before independence.

He added in an interview there would be problems in implementing UN resolution 435 and difficulties involving resettlement of refugees and drafting election legislation.

"Perhaps the most important thing of all will be the ability of

MANDY JEAN WOODS

Namibians and Untag forces to restrict and eradicate all violence and intimidation as a means of promoting political policies," he said.

"You are dealing with 9 000 active combatants who have for 10 years done nothing but stimulate violence.

"Similarly, the demobbed forces

have also been engaged in violence for the past 10 years, and both know little else."

"Violence is not democracy; intimidation is not a democratic practice," said Pienaar.

Other issues being considered by him include release of political prisoners, health care and the control of refugees.

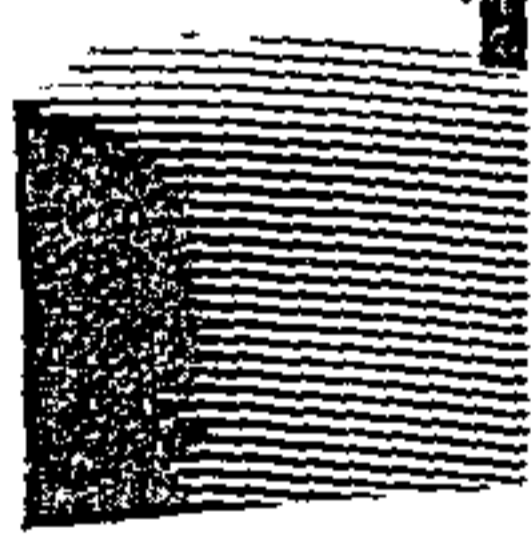
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BEDFORDVIEW	METHODIST HALL Cnr Van Buuren & De Vlet	TUES	17 January 7.30 p.m.
BENONI	VAN RIEBEECK HOTEL Great North Rd	TUES	17 January 7.30 p.m.
BLAIRGOWRIE	COMMUNITY CENTRE Park Lane	THURS	19 January 7.30 p.m.
BRYANSTON	INDABA HOTEL Hartebeespoort Dam Rd	WED	18 January 7.30 p.m.
GERMISTON	PRIMROSE HOTEL Rietfontein/Ebony Road	MON	16 January 7.30 p.m.
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Swapo president appeals for reconciliation

Nujoma expects to return in triumph

221
Star 16/11/89

By Ramsay Milne,
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, who has lived in exile for 22 years, expects to return in triumph to Namibia within weeks.

He made a strong appeal in New York at the weekend for reconciliation between all the peoples of Namibia, including white South Africans, in a free, independent and democratic country which he believes will be ruled by a Swapo majority.

In a rare personal interview, Mr Nujoma, who is in New York on his way back to Swapo headquarters in Luanda after talks in Havana with President Fidel Castro of Cuba, expressed confidence that Swapo would win a two-thirds majority in the United Nations-sponsored elections, expected in November.

Asked if this would enable Swapo to dictate the shape of the new constituent assembly, Mr Nujoma replied: "It was the Namibian people, who fought long and heroically, who have brought us to this stage where we are today, when the South African Government has accepted the principle of independence.

"And it is they who will decide, unless they are otherwise prevented, on Namibia's future."

All creeds

What was important, he added, was that "this sad page in history, with its death and destruction", should be put aside and that people of all creeds and colours in Namibia should be able to take their full place in the new dispensation.

Swapo, he said, would endorse the principle of mandatory and periodic elections after independence.

He pointed out that Swapo itself, by holding party elections every five years, already endorsed these principles.

Mr Nujoma, though not discounting the possibility of an eventual one-party state, said Swapo had no intention of imposing one-party rule.

The Swapo leader did not reject outright the question of whether Swapo would allow the ANC and PAC to launch guerilla operations into South Africa from an independent Namibia, preferring instead to declare that so long as "apartheid and oppression exist in South Africa, so the resistance there will continue".

But that resistance, he said, would be "carried out by South African forces there".

Mr Nujoma was decidedly unenthusiastic about Namibian membership of the Southern African Customs Union in its present form, saying the subject would have to be reviewed.

"The union is dominated by South Africa," he said, "which has imposed its will on other neighbouring countries. We have striven over many years for our freedom and our independence, and we would hate to have it curtailed or be dictated to by anyone else."

Mr Nujoma seemed to offer the same conciliatory spirit to the 100 South African spies detained by Swapo in Angola and elsewhere.

Asked whether they would be allowed to return and take part in the elections, Mr Nujoma replied: "The war will have come to an end, and therefore everyone who was involved on every side, obviously has that right to take part in free and democratic elections."

Nujoma offers whites citizenship in Namibia

Star 16/11/89 The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — With every expectation of becoming Namibia's first head of state, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma has offered the territory's white population "full and free citizenship in a fully free democratic society" after independence.

Mr Nujoma expanded at length on the experiences gained by leading Swapo members during their long exile, which, he said, had made them come to appreciate "the value of the human person".

He condemned those Namibian blacks who had served in SWATF who had, he said, "been involved in nasty acts of brutality against their own people" — and praised those blacks and whites who had refused "because of their own humanity" to take part in the "massacres".

He pointed out that Namibia was a large country with a small population and possessed huge resources. Those resources, he added, would ensure for all Namibians "a decent life", with no one lacking education or medical care.

All Namibian whites had to do, he said, was to accept their responsibility to "harmonise" with all the territory's other citizens. "Indeed, I welcome them to make Namibia their home," he said.

Asked if he envisaged a Bill of Rights he said: "It is not what is written in constitutions that matters. The United States has a Bill of Rights. It's supposed to be democratic. But there is still racism here. We need, in our minds, to be freed from prejudice."

Resolution 435 leaves uncertain future for SWATF

17/1/89
221

THE countdown to implementation of Resolution 435 has begun and for many of the 30 000-odd men of various races who make up the South West Africa Territory Force — scheduled for disbandment on April 1 — the future is murky.

To date the South African Government has not stated how it intends to handle this situation.

When an expatriate government withdraws from its subject territory its locally recruited soldiers always find themselves out on a limb.

The armed forces of Angola are studded — particularly at senior level — with former members of the Portuguese colonial forces.

The SWATF's situation is unclear at the moment, particularly because the nature of the post-independence government is not known.

The worst scenario, from the SWATF members' point of view, is that it will consist of a militant Swapo regime, bent on fulfilling its long-standing threats to "liquidate" all "puppets" and "traitors".

On the other hand, this type of statement is now not heard as often as it was in the past, and various expert observers believe that the post-independence government will comprise not one

By WILLEM
STEENKAMP
Defence Correspondent

party but some sort of working arrangement between the major scorers in the electoral race.

Ethnic

The SWATF's conscripts would have little to worry about in either event; at worst they would be required to complete their service. It is the men of the all-volunteer border battalions — one Ovambo, one Damara, two Bushman, one Kavango and one Caprivian — who, no doubt, are experiencing some qualms.

In the event of a government of national co-operation (if not reconciliation at this stage) it is possible that most of the ethnic battalions would be temporarily disbanded or placed in suspended animation, then absorbed in whole or in part into whatever defence force the new nation raises.

As the Zimbabweans discovered, it is neither cost-effective nor wise to throw out highly trained soldiers while the nation's affairs are unsettled.

Another factor favouring the volunteer units' retention is the fact that simply disbanding them would seriously harm the regional economies of all the border areas.

The options are murkier, however, for two units now serving in SWA/Namibia — 32 Battalion and 201 (Bushman) Battalion.

Thirty-two Battalion is an anomaly because it is the only purely mercenary regiment in either the SADF or the SWATF.

North

It was formed in 1976 when a faction of Angola's now-defunct FNLA insurgent movement was marooned in the hostile south by Pretoria's forced withdrawal; the FNLA men were then ferried over the border into SWA/Namibia and

the desire to reserve jobs for citizens rather than stateless persons.

Borders

The largest question is how and where the unit will be employed.

Various observers believe that whatever the immediate destination of 32 Battalion's men and their small army of dependents, they will eventually be deployed along the north-eastern Transvaal or northern Natal borders.

From Pretoria's point of view this would certainly make good sense.

The men speak Portuguese, like the Mozambicans across the other side of the border, and are vastly experienced bush-fighters.

In addition, their fearsome reputation would be good insurance in the event of a future deterioration of neighbourly relations, if only for use as a deterrent.

They are also strongly anti-Marxist, a legacy of 1975 which the older members of the unit have passed on to their sons.

Repression

The Bushman unit's problems are more complex. Recruited partly from Caprivi and partly from neighbouring areas of southern Angola — so that it could be regarded as partly mercenary — it is officially part of the SWATF.

However, there has long been an unwritten understanding that it, too, would withdraw with the SADF; the main reason for this, it is understood, is that Bushmen in that area have a long history of repression by the local blacks — one reason why so many joined the unit.

Some observers believe they could be stationed along the Botswana border if this short route to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging industrial heartland sees greater use by African National Congress infiltrators re-

... recently formed into a military unit. located from Angola.

It has always operated north of the Angolan border, and has been the direct cause of more Swapo and Angolan deaths than any other element of the security force.

It has also been frequently accused of committing atrocities — which it has customarily refuted by pointing out that it would have achieved little success without the support of the local population.

The battalion's impending departure has never been in doubt. Its formation pre-dates that of the SWATF and was not transferred when that force was formed; when the South Africans pull out 32 Battalion will go with them.

In addition, it is unlikely any new government would let it stay, whether for reasons of hostility, embarrassment, fear of harming relations with Angola or

It is certainly true that the Bushmen — highly trained bush-fighters and superlative trackers — would be extremely effective in this role.

Another possible "withdrawal problem" concerns individuals rather than units: it is possible that numbers of ethnic SWA/Namibians will demand to go along, such as members of the now-disbanded SWA Police Counter-Insurgency Unit (better known as "Koevoet").

Koevoet spent much of its entire short lifetime wading through accusations of committing atrocities — at least some of which were proved true in court — but it accounted for so many insurgent "kills" that many of its former members might well feel unsafe for as long as Swapo exerts any influence in Namibia.

Pretoria could not, in all conscience, ignore such demands, if only to placate the Right wing and prove it does not desert its allies.

(21)

Cape Times
17/1/89

IF THE Government must insist on denying visas to people it regards, generally on the most bigoted and spurious of grounds, as threats to the country may it at least identify South Africa's real enemies.

Two gentlemen in particular should forthwith have their applications promptly and irrevocably denied: Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus Inc, and his associate Donald McAlvany, a creature of the right-wing lunatic fringe who has managed to con all too many South Africans into believing he is a substantial force in American policy-making.

I will not mince words. They are a pair of self-promoting intellectual buffoons whose intention in the months ahead is to derail Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and, with them, all the promise these developments hold for civility in South Africa itself.

Inasmuch as they lack the clout to achieve this here, particularly with the dawning of the rather less sympathetic Bush administration, they plan to do it by stirring up Pretoria's own conservative opposition.

Ideally, they would like to force the dismissals or resignations of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, and have them replaced by narrow-minded securocrats whose sole claim on power is the myth that South Africa is the target of Soviet-inspired "total onslaught". Phillips's latest ploy

SA's rulers could deny a visa to these two buffoons

APR. 1978
19/11/87

is to distribute addresses of South African newspapers (and their circulations) among his supporters. With each address list he has enclosed a set of talking points which he hopes will form the basis of a letter-writing campaign. Editors be advised.

Lie

South African readers are to be warned that a Swapo government in Windhoek "could have fatal consequences for South Africa."

The lie will be disseminated that "South Africa's decision to abandon Jonas Savimbi, agreeing to discontinue support for Unita, undermines support for South Africa in America... anti-communists in America are forced to reconsider their view of South Africa in consequence of the abandonment of Unita."

"This decision is reinforced by the decision to place anti-communist blacks in Namibia at the mercy of Swapo." Furthermore, "American

cans are deeply troubled to read of the growing ties between the South Africa government and the Soviet Union."

Don't worry about the cost of continuing the fight, readers will be urged. "Whatever funds have been contributed and however many lives have been lost in defence of Namibia and south-eastern Angola against communism, the price in lives and treasure will be far higher once South Africa is totally surrounded."

Finally, South Africans will be asked to consider the following piece of self-contradictory drivel: "You have friends in the US, but unfortunately they do not control US foreign policy."

"Nonetheless, your best hope for preventing the further isolation of your country derives from increasing the number of your friends."

Such will be the utterly preposterous gist of the letters Phillips hopes to inspire. This is

administration fails promptly to counter this communist initiative, with Vice-president George Bush taking the lead for decisive action, the overall election posture of the Bush/Quayle ticket could be fatally undermined."

More recently, Phillips wrote to Brent Spoweroff, who is to be President Bush's national security adviser, asking for the new administration to withhold funding for the UN Transitional Assistance Group and to provide official backing for Swapo's opposition during the run-up to UN-sponsored elections, for which he also demanded "independent US verification."

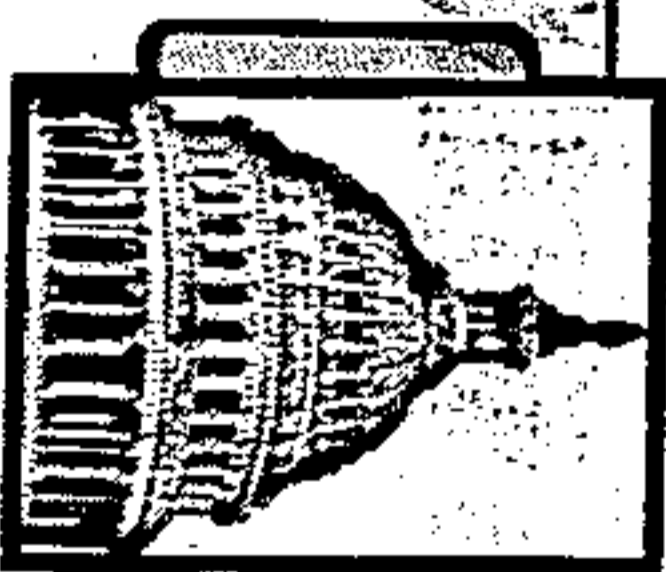
He has had more success with Senator Steve Symms, a likeable if lightweight true-believer from Colorado, who has written legislation to block the funding of Untag until the last Cuban has left Angola, the MPLA has agreed to free and fair elections, and "there is no possibility that Namibia will fall into the hands of a communist government" — in other words, until the tripartite agreement had been discarded and the parties have had the chance to spend more millions killing each other.

Consider the logic of Phillips's position. At one moment, he is threatening that people like him "will reconsider" their position on South Africa if it does not tear up the treaty with Angola and Cuba and go back to war, implicitly suggesting that they will suspend their opposition to sanctions. In the next breath he admits that he and his

Assassinate

Such memos have long been flying thick and fast. Back in September, Phillips sought to enlist then vice-presidential nominee Dan Quayle in his effort to kill the Angola-Namibia negotiations.

"Even as this memo is prepared," Quayle was told, "communist troops are marching towards Jamba in liberated Angola, seeking to assassinate Jonas Savimbi." If the Reagan



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

co-religionists do not control US foreign policy (on that at least, he is correct) but should be listened to anyway, because having a few important and half-baked supporters in the US is South Africa's only recourse against its "implacable enemies". By what lunatic measure can that be regarded as "South Africa's best hope"?

Livelihood

The key to understanding what Phillips is about is in his proposition that by repudiating its treaty obligations, South Africa will "increase" the number of its friends in the US.

What he means is that gottterdammerung in southern Africa may increase the number of Americans he can dupe into financing his organisation. His livelihood

hood, not to mention his ability to get an audience both here in and South Africa, depends upon the continued usefulness slaughter of southern Africans and the impoverishment of their region.

With the superpower conflict starting, to be waged by less sanguine means and with communism beginning to yield to the marketplace and individual liberty, Phillips and his ilk are finding themselves out of fashion.

South Africa is the last place where there are white English-speaking people like themselves still prone, and gullible enough, to believe them.

They want the place to be an armed camp descending ever deeper into a nightmare of savagery so that they may profit snugly from the

accuracy of their predictions. Each year, Phillips and McAlvany rake in thousands of dollars leading a tour of like-minded Americans to South Africa, promising access to "her highest black and white government, military and business officials".

Of McAlvany, the promotional literature claims "he has been called one of the most knowledgeable geopolitical and monetary analysts in the world".

By whom? Not by any serious policy-maker, economist or businessman in this country. He is nothing here. Only in South Africa does he appear to be somebody.

Now Phillips is effectively trying to give orders not only on which minister should be given the axe but on the country's entire future. Doesn't that make anybody in Pretoria just the slightest bit angry? It should. Just once, use visa policy for a worthwhile purpose. While purpose. Bar them.

gives green light on Namibia

PK643 17/1/89 221

UN



NEW YORK. — The Security Council has agreed unanimously to an April 1 start for the United Nations operation that will give Namibia independence from South Africa.

This was agreed on December 22 when representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed an accord here on the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola, Pretoria's condition for Namibian nationhood.

In a separate resolution, also approved unanimously yesterday, the Council welcomed the signing of the tripartite agreement and called on all the parties as well as all UN members, to co-operate in its implementation.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was directed to arrange a formal ceasefire between South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation.

The UN Transition Assistance Group, Untag, is to lead the territory to independence after UN-supervised elections.

The Council called on South Africa to "reduce immediately and substantially the existing police forces in Namibia to achieve reasonable balance between these forces and Untag to ensure effective monitoring by the latter."

The size of the military component of Untag and the cost of the entire operation were a subject of intense private consultations among Council members, which delayed the formal decision taken yesterday.

The United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China are expected to pay more than half of the cost, which at one time was put as high as R1.800-million.

The General Assembly will have to reconvene to examine the financial aspects and diplomatic sources said the cost of Untag was likely to be set at much less than the first estimates.

After the council adjourned one of its briefest meetings, Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters, chief United States delegate, told reporters that modern technology should enable the United Nations to do its job in Namibia for much less money than was envisaged 10 years ago.

Cubans

Resolution 435, which established conditions for Namibia independence under UN supervision, was approved in 1978, but its implementation was delayed by a dispute over the Cuban presence in Angola.

"I think we can work with this resolution," Walters told reporters. He said an effort would be made to cut costs without affecting the efficiency of the UN operation.

The General Assembly at a meeting expected to be convened shortly will have to approve the financing of Untag.

Elections

The Council resolution that set an April 1 start for Untag directed Perez de Cuellar to re-examine the situation "in order to identify wherever possible tangible cost-saving measures without prejudice to his ability fully to carry out its mandate... to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations."

The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, said he would hold a news conference today in New York.

He has been here for several days conferring with Council members, including General Walters. He came to New York from Cuba after talks with President Fidel Castro. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

F GOVERNMENT must insist on denying visas to people it regards, generally on the most bigoted and spurious of grounds, as threats to the country, may it at least identify SA's real enemies.

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Inasmuch as they lack the clout to achieve this here, particular with the dawning of the rather less sympathetic Bush administration, they plan to do it by stirring up Pretoria's own conservative opposition.

Ideally, they would like to force the dismissals or resignations of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden, and have them replaced by narrow-minded security-crats whose sole claim on power is the myth that SA is the target of Soviet-inspired "total onslaught".

One might note in passing that Phillips already maintains a dossier on conversations he has had with diplomats at the South African Embassy here, conversations he evidently believes can be used to discredit the Department of Foreign Affairs.

His latest ploy is to distribute addresses of South African newspapers (and their circulations) among his supporters, many of whom have impressive sounding military and other titles, if chiefly of the retired variety. With each address list he has enclosed a set of talking points which he hopes will form the basis of a letter-writing campaign. Editors, be advised.

South African readers are to be warned that a Swapo government in Windhoek "could have fatal consequences for SA. Nothing in the agreement which SA has signed provides protection against ANC bases being installed in Namibia or for that matter communist troops and military equipment being placed in southern Namibia just above SA's northern border".

The lie will be disseminated that "SA's decision to abandon Jonas Savimbi, agreeing to discontinue support for Unita, undermines support

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The men out to wreck the peace effort in Namibia

SIMON BARBER in Washington

for SA in the US... anti-communists in the US are forced to reconsider their view of SA in consequence of the abandonment of Unita. This decision is reinforced by the decision to place anti-communist blacks in Namibia at the mercy of Swapo".

Furthermore, "Americans are deeply troubled to read of the growing ties between the South African government and the Soviet Union. Moscow remains committed to the installation of a Marxist-Leninist tyranny in SA".

Don't worry about the cost of continuing the fight, readers will be urged. "Whatever funds have been contributed and however many lives have been lost in defence of Namibia and south-eastern Angola against communism, the price in lives and treasure will be far higher once SA is totally surrounded."

Finally, South Africans will be asked to consider the following piece of self-contradictory drivel: "You have friends in the US, but unfortunately they do not control US foreign policy. Nonetheless, your best hope for preventing the further isolation of your country derives from increasing the number of your friends rather than the unlikely prospect of converting your implacable enemies."

Such will be the utterly preposterous gist of the letters Phillips hopes to inspire. This is what he and McAlvany will be preaching to whatever credulous audience they can find — alas, if past form holds, with the help of the SABC and the Information Bureau — should they be allowed back into the country.

In addition, there will likely be a flood of memos to senior officials of the US administration, followed



PHILLIPS... has dossier

by denunciations when the memos are ignored. Such memos have long been flying thick and fast. Back in September, Phillips sought to enlist then vice-presidential nominee Dan Quayle in his effort to kill the Angola-Namibia negotiations.

"Even as this memo is prepared," Quayle was told, "communist troops are marching towards Jamba in liberated Angola seeking to assassinate Jonas Savimbi and eliminate the headquarters of the anti-communist Unita movement, capitalising on the withdrawal from Angola of South African troops, in accordance with agreements reached and negotiations pushed by State Department Assistant Secretary Chester Crocker."

"If the Reagan administration fails promptly to counter this communist initiative, with Vice-President George Bush taking the lead for decisive action, the overall election posture of the Bush/Quayle ticket could be fatally undermined."

More recently, Phillips wrote to Brent Scowcroft, who is to be President Bush's national security adviser, asking for the new administration to withhold funding for the UN transitional assistance group (Unitag) and to provide official backing for Swapo's opposition during the run-up to UN sponsored elections, for which he also demanded "independent US verification".

He has had more success with Senator Steve Symms, a likeable if lightweight true-believer from Colorado, who has written legislation to block the funding of Unitag until the last Cuban has left Angola, the MPLA has agreed to free and fair elections and "there is no possibility that Namibia will fall into the hands of a communist government" — in other words, until the tripartite agreement had been discarded and the parties have had the chance to spend more millions killing each other.

Consider the logic of Phillips's position. At one moment he is threatening that people like him "will reconsider" their position on SA if it does not tear up its treaty with Angola and Cuba and go back to war, implicitly suggesting that they will suspend their opposition to sanctions.

In the next breath he admits that he and his co-terrorists do not control US foreign policy (on that at least he is correct) but should be listened to anyway because having a few impotent and half-baked supporters in their ranks is SA's only re-

course against its "implacable enemies". By what lunatic measure can that be regarded as "SA's best hope"?

The key to understanding what Phillips is about is in his proposition that by repudiating its treaty obligations, SA will "increase" the number of its friends in the US. What, in fact, he means is that Götterdämmerung in Southern Africa may increase the number of Americans he can dupe into financing his organisation. His livelihood, not to mention his ability to get an audience both here and in SA, depends upon the continued useless slaughter of Southern Africans and the impoverishment of their region.

With the superpower conflict starting to be waged by less sanguine means, and with communism beginning to yield to the marketplace and individual liberty, Phillips and his ilk are finding themselves out of fashion. SA, which tends always to be at the tail end of any global trend, is their opportunity, the last place where there are white English-speaking people like themselves still prone, and gullible enough, to believe them.

They are as pestilential as the most committed sanctioneer. They seem to think that SA has no capacity, or even right, to order its affairs in its own best interests, to make peace with its neighbours and, through that process, with itself, to have relations with whom it thinks fit. No, they want the place to be an armed camp descending ever deeper into a nightmare of savagery so that they may profit snugly from the accuracy of their predictions.

Each year, Phillips and McAlvany rake in thousands of dollars leading a tour of like-minded Americans to SA, promising access to "her highest black and white government, military and business officials". Of McAlvany, the promotional literature claims "he has been called one of the most knowledgeable geopolitical and monetary analysts in the world". By whom, exactly? Not by any serious policy-maker, economist or businessman in this country. He is nothing here. Only in SA does he appear to be somebody.

His promos even brag that he helps make South African policy. "His credibility has resulted in the implementation of many of his recommendations in the highest levels of South African government and military."

Now Phillips is effectively trying to give orders not only on which minister should be given the axe but on the country's entire future. Doesn't that make anybody in Pretoria just the slightest bit angry? It should. Just once, use visa policy for a worthwhile purpose other than the

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Namibian Cabinet members to meet Botha

WINDHOEK — Namibian transitional Cabinet members were due to meet SA President P W Botha in Cape Town on Friday, Cabinet chairman Andreas Shipanga said yesterday.

He said the meeting was at the request of Botha, but the agenda was not yet known.

Shipanga said the Cabinet would convene tomorrow for its first regular weekly meeting of the year and would

request Administrator-General Louis Pienaar to make the agenda available to the Cabinet before the meeting.

Political commentators thought the meeting with Botha had to do with the dissolution of the Namibian transitional government before the implementation on April 1 of UN Security Council resolution 435, concerning the country's independence.

Political leaders in the transitional

government said they were keen to relinquish their positions to devote all their time to campaigning for the proposed UN-supervised elections.

Shipanga said the transitional Cabinet had not yet taken a formal decision on a dissolution date "but it is generally acknowledged March 31 will be the end of the transitional government". — Sapa.

April 1 Namibian

D-day, UN affirms

NEW YORK — The Security Council agreed unanimously yesterday to an April 1 start for the UN operation that is to bring Namibia to independence.

The Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, was directed to arrange a formal ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo.

The council also called on South Africa to "reduce immediately and substantially the existing police forces in Namibia with a view to achieving reasonable balance between these forces and Untag so as to ensure effective monitoring by the latter".

Untag, the UN Transition Assistance Group, is to lead the territory to independence after UN-supervised elections.

The size of the military component of Untag and the cost of the operation were a subject of intense private consultation among council members, which delayed the formal decision taken yesterday.

Lieutenant-General Vernon Walters, the chief US delegate, told reporters that modern technology should enable the UN to do its job in Namibia for much less money than was envisaged 10 years ago.

The General Assembly, at a meeting expected to be convened soon must approve the financing of Untag.

COST-SAVING

The resolution that set the date for Untag operations directed Dr De Cuellar to examine cost-saving measures.

The council also called on all UN members to consider how to provide economic and financial assistance to Namibians. — Sapa-Reuter.

murder:

UN wants cuts in Namibian peace force

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NEW YORK. — The UN Security Council has voted unanimously to go ahead with deploying a peacekeeping force to monitor Namibia's independence from South Africa, but called for cuts in the cost of the force.

Approval of the force had been delayed for weeks as the five permanent council members — the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China — sought to pare the cost of the force, at one time estimated to cost \$800 million (about R1.9 billion) a year.

The non-aligned nations, particularly the frontline states, lobbied for full deployment of 7 500 peacekeepers, at least 360 military police and 2 000 civilian administrators called for in a 1978 independence plan for Namibia.

But the five permanent members want to hold the cost to between \$400 and \$500 million (R960 million and R1.2 billion), diplomats said.

"There's going to be a considerable reduction in money," US ambassador General Vernon Walters said after the 15 council members voted.

"Well, I'm a soldier," said



Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar

General Walters, a retired military general. "I can tell you that when you've got sensors and helicopters, you can cover a hell of a lot more ground than you can with soldiers just standing shoulder-to-shoulder."

Call for report

The resolution calls on UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to prepare a report estimating the size and needs of the force, to be called the UN Transition Assistance

Group (Untag).

That report should be ready in about two weeks. The council would then vote on a resolution authorising creation of the force.

The resolution made note of the peace accords signed in December between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

The terms of the accords call for 50 000 Cuban troops to leave Angola by July 1, 1991, and Pretoria to begin the Namibian independence process on April 1.

The resolution also expressed "concern at the increase in police and paramilitary forces and the establishment of the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) since 1978."

Swapo foreign secretary Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab argued that more peacekeepers were necessary.

"The number of South African troops has increased; they were about 45 000-strong in 1978; they are now 100 000-strong.

"South African police have increased from more than 2 000 in 1978 to more than 10 000 now," Mr Gurirab said.

He said the SWATF numbered 35 000 men and the paramilitary force more than 3 000 men. — Sapa-AP

Namibian 435 row: UN seeks compromise

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LONDON. — The United Nations Security Council was seeking a compromise to defuse a row that had developed over the implementation of the UN resolution on Namibia's independence, the Guardian reported yesterday.

The newspaper said the number of troops monitoring the run-up to the Namibian elections was to be cut, but many Africans and non-aligned countries were opposed to the cuts.

The Guardian quoted a frontline states minister as saying: "The international community is not taking seriously the desperate need to create a climate of confidence for Namibians to believe in the possibility for a fair transition to independence."

The newspaper said the compromise figures for the monitoring force, which also included about 2 000 civilian personnel to oversee the election process, were now to be worked out in the office of the UN Secretary-General, rather than in a bitter confrontation in the Security Council.

"The Secretary-General is being asked to prepare a cost estimate of the implementation of the 10-year-old Resolution 435, due to be implemented on April 1. Before that a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo is to be signed," the report said. — Sapa

Cape Times (221)

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Go home appeal for Namibian refugees

HARARE. — Delegates to an international seminar on Namibian and South African refugees yesterday called on the international community to help Namibian refugee women and children return to Namibia in time to participate in the independence process, which begins on April 1.

In a declaration issued at the end of the three-day seminar, organised by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, about 100 delegates from more than 15 countries called for the establishment of an eight-member Eminent Women Support Group to monitor the conditions of South African refugees, publicise their conditions and needs and promote measures to alleviate their hardships, the national news agency Ziana reported.

They said governments, individuals and non-governmental agencies should help the frontline states and liberation movements to plan and implement more projects to alleviate the situation of refugees driven into exile by Pretoria's "repressive measures". — Sapa-Reuter

Namibia: troops ⁽²²¹⁾ still ^{Saw} ^{19/11/89} an issue

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — The Security Council's confirmation of April 1 for the launching of the UN military and civilian operation that will lead Namibia to independence has left unresolved the question of how many UN troops will patrol the territory before elections.

At a press conference in New York this week, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, continued to insist that a UN force of 7 500 would be barely adequate and that an increase even to twice that number was desirable.

Western officials say there is no way the Security Council's five permanent members, which must pay 57 percent of the costs, will agree to a force of that size. They said a compromise of no more than 5 000 troops and a total bill of about R920 million seemed likely.

The Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, is expected to report next week on proposals for the UN operation.

Mr Nujoma, who has been taking his case for a much larger force to council members in private talks, discussed the question with Dr Perez de Cuellar on Tuesday.

Asked what Swapo would do if the Secretary-General proposed fewer troops than it believes to be necessary, Mr Nujoma hinted that he would have to go along with Dr Perez de Cuellar's judgment.

The Swapo leader accused South Africa of forming "murder squads" in Namibia and of planning to disrupt elections. He read the text of a communication from churchmen in the territory who urged the Security Council to require a UN force of no fewer than 7 500.

(22)

It seems independence is in the offing for world's most patient nation

Freedom at last!

Swapo gears up

to rule

By GIFT SIPHO SISO

BY Christmas 1989 Windhoek's imposing Palace of Ink government building, a legacy of German colonial rule, is likely to have new inhabitants. In all probability they will wear flamboyant African-print open neck shirts and will call each other comrade.

As the United Nations Resolution 435 settlement and independence plan for Namibia comes into effect at last, the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) finally looks like getting its chance to run this vast, arid country.

South Africa has ruled South West Africa, as it was called, ever since the League of Nations mandated it in 1920. After World War Two it ignored repeated World Court rulings that it was governing the country illegally.

Then, 22 years ago, Swapo was banned and forced into exile. Ever since it has waged a relentless struggle to force Pretoria out of Namibia.

Under the settlement signed by South Africa in December pre-independence elections are scheduled to take place by November 1 next. Few doubt that Swapo will form the government with an overwhelming majority.

If so it will need to embark on a national policy of reconciliation similar to the one pursued by Robert Mugabe's government after independence came to Zimbabwe in

FROM MARK VERBAAN
WINDHOEK. — Confusion and doubt pervade virtually every level of Namibia society these days — from the South African-appointed interim government "ministers" to the many thousands living in the northern warzone.

Namibians avidly following the peace talks between South Africa, Cuba and Angola since May last year, now shrug their shoulders when asked about the current state of affairs.

The situation has become a difficult one to monitor and analyse, now that Namibia's independence seems to have drifted out of the hands of politicians connected to the issues and into the realm of hardcore bureaucracy where vital decisions are still to be made by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council.

For most of the 1.3 million people in Namibia, the issues have always been very clear:

- South Africa is here illegally, it must withdraw immediately;
- The 43-month old interim government has no mandate to rule the people;
- it must disband to make way for the holding of free and fair elections;

The South African Defence Force must end its occupation of northern Namibia and return to South Africa.



A Cuban conscript stands guard over a Soviet-made bridge-laying vehicle in Luanda this week

the White Wolves claimed
As the IIV Society
Minister Pik Botha's recent offer to disband the

Unita

become clouded by extraneous factors like the linking of a Cuban withdrawal to Namibian independence, the desire of Pretoria and Washington to see Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement installed in Luanda, and the question of costs to the UN when it begins implementing its Resolution 435 (1978) on April 1 this year.

The permanent members of the Security Council are still arguing over whether or not to reduce the size of Untag's military component, from 7 500 to 3 000 as a cost-saving measure.

Since negotiations on peace in Angola and independence for Namibia began under United States mediation nine months ago, Namibians have been lifted to the heights of optimism on several occasions. However, their hopes have also been crushed many times when it appeared that South Africa was not genuine in its desire to grant the territory its independence.

But while the majority are praying for the implementation of the UN settlement plan, sections of the population fear the future.

Although constituting only six percent of the total population, most of the whites in the territory are reluctant to see South Africa withdraw.

They know that in the event of elections in terms of Resolution 435, the main opposition group Swapo would win.

For almost three decades South African propaganda has depicted Swapo as a "communist-inspired terrorist organisation", and since 1966 many white parents have watched their sons go off to fight against Swapo's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, on the Angolan/Namibian border.

This right-wing fear has manifested itself in recent times by violent attacks on progressive institutions and individuals.

The offices of a pro-independence weekly newspaper in the capital, *The Namibian*, were virtually gutted several weeks ago after a late-night arson attack. A group calling itself

The parties in the interim government are equally afraid of independence, as the fate of their parties would be in the balance if it appeared that Swapo could sweep the boards in an election.

The cabinet ministers, the majority of whom are black, have by their association with South Africa been branded "puppets".

Their political credibility is virtually non-existent, and they are not regarded as serious competition for Sam Nujoma's Swapo.

The entire interim government cabinet was earlier this week summoned to Pretoria for a meeting with President PW Botha.

There is wide speculation that Botha instructed the cabinet to begin preparing to dissolve and for the respective parties to start campaigning, perhaps in the form of a broad united front, in an effort to win support from Swapo.

Some Namibians are beginning to fear a "scorched earth" policy will take place, as thousands of white soldiers and farmers head over the Orange River back to South Africa.

There has also been concern that black groups, victims of South Africa's carefully orchestrated anti-Swapo propaganda over the years, might become the guerrillas of the future.

Already there are reports of arms caches being hidden in strategic locations in the country as well as an unconfirmed report that a rebel army is being covertly trained.

But whatever the implications, the fact remains that independence will bring an end to the war and the return of tens of thousands of exiles and refugees. Families will be reunited, and many mothers will see their children for the first time in almost 30 years since they fled the country in the 1960s as members of Swapo.

While on the surface it appears that Namibia could at last be heading for independence from colonial rule, nothing of significance has changed in the country.

The police continue to use teargas, rubber bullets and batons

Council this week agreed to April 1 as the implementation date for Namibian independence process Swapo gets ready for power. It will almost certainly win the elections scheduled for the end of the year. After independence problems will be formidable — not least that of reconciliation between the ethnic groups.

on those protesting against South African's presence.

Activists continue to be held in detention without trial, some for many months already.

Last week, thousands of Namibians were conscripted into the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) to begin an obligatory two-year stint in the army.

That this intake was not cancelled provoked a storm of protest, with many describing it as an act of bad faith in the light of Pretoria's promise to implement Resolution 435 on April 1.

A white conscript who refused to report, Mr Richard Pakeppa, said it was "a sign of bad faith that the call-up to South Africa's surrogate army, the SWATF, had not been cancelled since the signing of the agreement in December".

A local human rights lawyer, Mr David Smuts, said he found the January intake of conscripts "inexplicable".

"The calling up of Namibians on the eve of implementation of Resolution 435 is ludicrous," he said.

"One questions the motives of those in authority by conscripting these people if security force units are already being disbanded," said Smuts, referring to SA Foreign

counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, as an act of "good faith".

"One questions whether this conscription is for political reasons so that a number of young Namibians can be subjected to military propaganda during their basic training, for political purposes."

Swapo also slammed the conscription as being an "insidious plan aimed at complicating the UN independence plan for Namibia".

The new recruits, said Swapo, would "perform an intimidatory role during the planned elections, thereby influencing the results of such elections in favour of South African collaborators".

"South Africa's intention to continue with its programme of forced military conscription at this time casts doubt as to whether Pretoria is ready to genuinely cooperate with the United Nations," Swapo said.

Volatile

Commandant Fanie Krige of the SWATF liaison department said the conscription had gone ahead because the safety of Namibia and its inhabitants was still being threatened.

"The enemy faction, Swapo, has still not made any formal announcement regarding the halting of its terrorist activities," said the officer.

"If Swapo, as the story goes, plans to continue with the armed struggle if it loses the election, the SWATF must have the necessary trained manpower available," he added.

So while the situation surrounding Namibia's self determination remains a highly volatile one, there is a feeling between the optimism and the pessimism that independence can't be too far off.

Even the hardened sceptics are beginning to soften a little, although there will always be those who will only believe it when the blue Untag helmets are seen in Windhoek's Kaiser Street.

Until then, the Namibian people are going to have to continue living up to their reputation of the world's most patient nation.

Namibia is a fractious territory of 11 ethnic groups. It needs to forgive and forget if it is to get on with the task of nation-building after a long and vicious war.

The biggest group, the Ovambos, account for nearly half the country's 1,5 million population and make up most of Swapo's support, although other groups also belong.

The biggest problem could come from the Herero minority, rather in the way that the Ndebeles under Joshua Nkomo caused difficulties for Mugabe. The Hereros played a pivotal role in the birth of Namibian nationalism and were at the core of the formation of the South West African National Union (Swanu) after breaking with Swapo in the 1950s.

Herero traditional leaders have tended in the main to side with centrist politicians like Dirk Mudge. Herero support remains crucial to his group, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

The whites, only six percent of the population, play a key role in the Namibian economy. As in the most former colonial territories in Africa, they often harbour a fear of the blacks.

History has proved this unfounded, most aptly in Zimbabwe, where the new rulers found it easier to come to terms with the whites than with fellow blacks who differed in ideology. It took Mugabe and Nkomo almost a decade to come together.

Swapo may well take a leaf out of Mugabe's book and appoint whites to key cabinet posts. It will have to attract more investors.

Millions, if not billions, of rands will be needed to finance a whole range of reconstruction and resettlement projects aimed at improving the lot of people so long neglected under South African rule.

The country has no economic infrastructure of its own that is independent of South Africa. SWAPO will strive hard to reduce its dependence on South Africa by joining the nine-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), but not much will be achievable in the short or medium term. — GEMINI NEWS

Message is sinking in, but slowly

ARGUS 19/1/89
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From BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service, Windhoek

"I brought you into this world, I can take you out again".

The words of the angry parent to recalcitrant offspring in one of Bill Cosby's most famous comic sketches are ironically appropriate to the relationship between Pretoria and its political brainchild in Namibia, the "Transitional Government of National Unity".

Tomorrow the Windhoek politicians will be in Cape Town, anxiously awaiting the government's verdict about their future, now that the gears of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan appear to be finally meshing. If all goes according to plan, the politicians will have to vacate their government building ahead of the arrival of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on April 1.

On that date, the territory will be ruled jointly by Mr Ahtisaari and South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Even at this late hour, some of those in the transitional government delegation may still entertain hopes that Resolution 435 is a nightmare from which the Pretoria will gently wake them.

In the past few weeks the leaders of two parties in the government have aired proposals which appear to totally ignore the reality of impending majority rule and independence — a process which becomes more difficult to halt with each passing week. Mr Hans Diergaardt, of the Rehboth Free Democratic Party, the Minis-

ter of Agriculture, was revealed to be thinking of declaring the Rehboth Baster "gebiet", about 60km south of Windhoek, an autonomous republic, with a corridor of access to the sea at the South African enclave of Walvis Bay.

Mr Kosie Pretorius, Minister of Sea Fisheries and leader of the National Party of South West Africa, appears determined to press ahead with plans for a whites-only election on March 1, in the sure knowledge that all will be invalidated when Mr Ahtisaari steps off the plane at Windhoek.

Other members of the administration, though, say they have accepted the inevitability of the UN plan and some, like Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, have been actively campaigning for the last four months with the eye on the planned one-man-one-vote election in November this year. For those such members of the transitional government, the visit to Cape Town will probably be more in the nature of finalising their own funeral arrangements.

There has been speculation among political observers here that Pretoria may ask, or order, the government to disband itself in advance of the deadline of midnight on March 31, to allow a smooth return of the administration to South African hands.

The departure of the government politicians will probably cause no noticeable disruption to daily life, as this territory has effectively been run for years by the civil service.

Going to their own funeral

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Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma speaking at a news conference at the United Nations on Tuesday.

Nujoma's diplomatic dance on the Bay

BY RAMSAY MILNE, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In these times of delicate, tip-toe diplomacy, a head-on conflict over the future of Walvis Bay — a desert enclave of 1 200 sq km that possesses Namibia's only deep-water harbour — is not what either President Botha or Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma appear to want.

But their positions on the most crucial issue affecting the future relationships between South Africa and an independent Namibia, as each leader has laid them out, are, on the surface, irreconcilable.

On a visit to Walvis Bay late last year, Mr Botha emphasised South Africa's determination to hold on to this vital port when he said: "The Walvis Bay enclave is an integral part of the territory of South Africa and so it will remain."

Electoral win

Mr Nujoma, who expects after 22 years in exile to return to Namibia "within weeks" to lead Swapo to what he is confident will be a convincing electoral win in the territory's UN-supervised elections in November, believes almost exactly the opposite.

In what was a long and careful answer to some searching questions on the subject, Mr Nujoma told me this week: "Walvis Bay has been and will continue to be part of Namibia."

Yet there were some important nuances in our discussion. For instance, Mr Nujoma prefaced his remarks, made with great deliberation, with the phrase: "Now this calls for a political answer."

WINDHOEK — This week, Namibia's politicians will be in Cape Town, anxiously awaiting the State President, Mr P W Botha's, verdict about their future now that the gears of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan appear to be finally meshing.

If all goes according to plan, the politicians will have to vacate Windhoek's Tintenpalst government building ahead of the arrival of UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on April 1. On that date, the territory will be ruled jointly by Mr Ahtisaari and South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Plenaar.

Even at this late hour, some of those in the transitional government delegation may still entertain hopes that Resolution 435 is a nightmare from which Mr Botha will gently awake them.

Ignoring reality

In the past few weeks, the leaders of two parties in the government have aired proposals which appear to ignore totally the reality of impending majority rule and independence, a process which becomes more difficult to halt with each passing week.

Mr Hans Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party was revealed to be thinking of declaring the Rehoboth Baster "gebiet", about 60 km south of Windhoek, an autonomous republic with a corridor of access to the sea at the South African enclave of Walvis Bay.

Mr Kosie Pretorius, Minister of Sea Fisheries and leader of the National Party of South West Africa, appears determined to remain in the above quotation on Walvis Bay "continuing to remain part of Namibia" came after a long historic preface.

He said since Namibia was part of Africa, it belonged to Africa. Swapo recognised neither the German "seizure" of the port, nor what he termed its capture by the British, each of whom was "part of the system of colonisation of South-West Africa" and against whom "the early Namibians fought heroically".

That was a considered statement of record, as seen by the Swapo leader, whose stance on white "colonialism" is well-known.

But nowhere did Mr Nujoma mention or directly challenge Mr Botha's declared position, not even when I read the State President's exact words to him. Even the anti-colonial rhetoric was carefully toned down.

For South Africa, this delicate egg-dancing is important — and promising. It comes after an equally "moderate" statement by Mr Nujoma earlier last year, when he said Swapo would not pursue the question of the enclave at that stage, in order not to erect any unnecessary obstacles to the peace initiatives under way.

A Swapo government in Windhoek would, he added, negotiate with South Africa about Walvis Bay after independence. Now, even with independence almost within sight, Mr Nujoma still seems to want to leave the issue in abeyance.

If so, it seems as if both parties have agreed for the foreseeable future to leave Walvis Bay just as it is — a "colonial" enclave Namibia cannot do without and a port South Africa has no intention of handing over.

BY BRENDAN SEERY,
The Star's Africa News Service

"I brought you into this world; I can take you out again."
The words of the angry parent to recalcitrant offspring in one of Bill Cosby's most famous comic sketches are ironically appropriate to the relationship between Pretoria and its political brainchild in Namibia, the "Transitional Government of National Unity".

mined to press ahead with plans for a whites-only election on March 1, in the sure knowledge that all will be invalidated when Mr Ahtisaari steps off the plane at Windhoek's JG Strijdom airport.

Other members of the administration, though, say they have accepted the inevitability of the UN plan and some, like Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, have been actively campaigning for the past four months with an eye on the planned one-man, one-vote election in November this year.

For the members of the transitional government, the visit to Cape Town will probably be more in the nature of finalising their own funeral arrangements.

The departure of the government politicians will probably cause no noticeable disruption to daily life, as this territory has effectively been run for years by the civil service.

The Windhoek politicians will want to clarify, as a matter of urgency, the position of the 10 separate ethnic authorities which, under instructions from their own legislatures, have dispensed social services on a racially-segregated or "own affairs" basis since 1980.

The South African-instituted system could be run by its bureaucrats in the absence of direction from politicians. These politicians would have to go under the provisions of Resolution 435, which provides for the scrapping of all racial laws after the arrival of the UN special representative.

In theory, the scrapping of race related laws would mean that white schools and health facilities would have to throw open their doors to all races.

Fighting Swapo

This is a question which will probably be uppermost in the mind of Mr Pretorius when the delegation meets the State President.

Other questions which may worry the Windhoek politicians are the impartiality of the UN, the maintenance of law and order and the position of the SWA Territory Force.

The recent reaffirmation by the world body that Swapo is the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" will worry the transitional government, whose individual parties will need all the help they can get in fighting Swapo at the polls.

The maintenance of law and order worries some people, although Police Commissioner General Dolf Gouws said this week he believed the force would have sufficient manpower to keep things under control.

Speculation in some left-wing circles here is that the transitional government may go to Cape Town hoping to get some form of insurance against the consequences of a Swapo victory at the polls.

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Nations move to help SA refugees

HARARE — Delegates to an international seminar here on SA and Namibian refugees called on the international community yesterday to help refugee women and children to return to Namibia in time to take part in the independence process. (22)

Delegates from more than 15 countries called for establishment of an eight-member Eminent Women Support Group to monitor conditions of SA refugees and promote measures to alleviate their hardships, reports the national news agency Ziara. — Sapa.

Pik takes over city talks on Namibia

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Staff Reporter

THE dissolution of Namibia's transitional government is expected to be the main topic at talks in Cape Town tomorrow between the eight-member transitional Cabinet and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

President Botha was to have met the visitors, but because of his illness the Foreign Minister was asked to take over arrangements for the talks.

The Namibian group, led by Cabinet chairman Mr Andreas Shipanga, arrives from Windhoek today and is expected to return home on Saturday.

Political commentators in Windhoek believe the meeting will focus mainly on the dissolution of the transitional government before implementation of Resolution 435 on April 1.

Next budget

A consequence of the dissolution will be that responsibility for the next Namibian budget shifts to South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, who will be jointly in control of the country's government with the UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Shipanga, who is also Minister of Economics, will be accompanied by the Ministers of Finance and Governmental Affairs (Mr Dirk Mudge), National Education (Mr A N Matjila), Justice and Information (Mr F Kozonquiza), Agriculture and Conservation (Mr H Diergaardt), National Health, Civic Affairs and Manpower (Mr M Katjuonqua), Transport (Mr H Booysen) and Water Affairs and Posts and Telecommunications (Mr J Pretorius).

● Mr Pik Botha said last night: "It is the wish of the State President that the meeting between members of the South African government and leaders of the transitional government of national unity and

leaders of South West Africa ... should continue."

● An advance party of about 80 United Nations officials is expected to go to Windhoek in February to assess the requirements of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) for the run-up to elections and eventual Namibian independence, the Argus Foreign Service reports from New York.

UN sources said yesterday the advance team would report on matters such as logistics, communications, local staff recruitment and supplies.

There have been indications that in a bid to save money, many of the UN supplies could be obtained from South Africa — in spite of General Assembly resolutions calling for an economic embargo against the country.

● See page 21.

GI

Star 19/1/89

SADCC to discuss Namibia

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LISBON — The Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) will discuss future membership for Namibia at a meeting in Luanda next month, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, said the nine member countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zimbabwe — would gather in the Angolan capital from February 1 to 3 for SADCC's eighth annual meeting.

The group's main objective is to reduce members' economic dependence on South Africa.

"As well as general economic matters, the SADCC members will discuss Namibia's future membership over the medium and long term," the agency said.

Namibia will move towards independence from South Africa this year. — Reuter.

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How the peace was won

Since 1963 SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been involved with the issue of Namibian independence — first as an advocate at the World Court in The Hague and at the end of last year as signatory to the New York peace accord. He gave his views to the *FM* in this exclusive interview.

FM: Are you happy with the accord?

Botha: Yes, I consider the tripartite agreement signed in New York as an event of historic proportions. When we accepted UN Resolution 435 in 1978, Cuban withdrawal was not part of the agreement. The later suggestion by the US that the Cubans withdraw from Angola was one of the most dramatic suggestions mentioned at a critical moment before an impasse was reached.

The situation could have resulted in more sanctions against SA, which could have brought us into more conflict with superpowers like the Soviets. All this has been averted. I have sincerely believed for years that the future of southern Africa would be determined more or less within the parameters of the Angolan-Namibian issue.

There was a period — and you played a major part in it — when SA often castigated the US for its role.

You're so right, I'm almost sorry that you remind-

ed me of it, but remember they also castigated us. We were at loggerheads mostly on occasions when we feared that Unita would be totally sacrificed in order to gain independence for Namibia. We had to guard against terrorist groups taking over power by means of violence.

We did not like Mr Mugabe but he came to power through elections and we accepted it. We didn't like the Frelimo government in Mozambique but they came to power in terms of a valid international agreement with Portugal. In the case of Namibia Swapo boasted it could take over power with the force of their guns. It was points of this nature that caused us and the US to be at loggerheads with each other.

We also feared that we would be told that partial withdrawal of the Cubans would be enough. I don't think my American friends

would mind if I say today that there was a time when we were suspicious that in order to claim some credit internationally, they would go for something less than what we demanded.

Do you expect the US will now take a softer line on sanctions.

No, I must sound a note of warning. The information available to me is that President-elect George Bush might be tested at an early stage of his presidency on this very issue of additional sanctions against SA. Could they see the Namibian settlement as the result of the sanctions campaign?

Totally wrong. Mr Reagan and Mr Bush's views are that constructive engagement and an understanding of SA's position enabled this agreement.

It's not going to change the view of the US Congress. Except that I think the momentum of the situation — our visits to Brazzaville, Cairo, Geneva and New York, the high profile of this agreement between opposing forces in Africa, the history of the dispute, with the US mediating a reached agreement — by the parties directly involved — is an important milestone in progress.

You have recently often referred to "my African brothers." Are we closer to Africa?



Pik Botha interviewed by *FM* political staff

FMAAC 20/1/89.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA ACCORD

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Days of miracles and wonder

■ The full political and economic implications of regional peace are immense



After decades of false starts and dashed hopes, it finally looks like the real thing. Africa's last remaining colony, Namibia, is set to achieve nationhood later this year in terms of one of the

UN's better-known resolutions — R 435 — adopted in 1978. It is an event of historic proportions which will have a major impact on SA itself, the controversial custodian of South-West Africa for over 70 years.

That it is happening at all is a combination of innumerable events — not least the long haul of constructive engagement under the Reagan presidency; the realities of warfare in a foreign land and the impact back home; the shaky economic climate; and even the

accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union.

Along the way, the process became even further complicated by foreign intervention in Angola — so that implementation of R 435, as agreed in the tripartite accord between SA, Angola and Cuba in New York last December 22, explicitly couples R 435 to the phased return of Cuban troops to Havana and Fidel Castro. The South Africans have withdrawn already.

On Monday, the UN Security Council officially confirmed April 1 as the date for implementing the independence process and further directed Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to arrange a formal ceasefire between SA and Swapo. The OAU's ambassador to the UN, Omaru Garba Yusufu, declared that the announcement left him "not as worried as I was" by what looked

like the Permanent Members' determination to cut the costs of funding the transitional assistance group, Untag.

He added uncharitably: "It would be sad if our programme for Namibia's independence is hijacked by questions of cost" — as the Untag force of full strength (7 500 soldiers and 2 000 civilian personnel) was necessary "to deter any possible mischief by SA," he claimed.

From April 1, the SADF and Swapo's guerrilla army, Plan, will be confined to base. By the end of a seven-month transitional period, SA's forces will have been cut back to 1 500 troops.

An important side-effect of this massive military cutback is that it *could* lead to tax relief for the squeezed SA taxpayer — as Foreign Minister Pik Botha, for one, seems to think it should. Others, however, see in-

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creased military demands as the SADF deploys its forces in an iron ring around Fortress SA.

Aside from ending a war that has dragged on for 22 years between SA and Swapo, as well as SA's economically draining military involvement in far-off Angola, the accord marks "an event of historic proportions," as Pik Botha describes it (see *Face to Face*).

Among the accord's wider regional ramifications is that it will see off all 50 000 Cuban soldiers from Angola within 27 months of D-Day, as the April deadline has been dubbed. This will then squarely place the issue of national reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and the Unita rebels on the table. There are already moves to convene a series of meetings between the two sides in March and April. Angola knows that George Bush, who will be sworn in as president of the US this Friday, is committed to fully backing Jonas Savimbi's Unita. Luanda is therefore expected to look seriously at coming to terms



Nujoma



Savimbi



Dos Santos

cleared. If things go according to schedule, UN-supervised elections will be held within seven months of D-Day and R 435 could therefore deliver a Swapo government in Windhoek.

While the unlocking of R 435 by the New York accord followed nine months of sustained negotiating under US supervision in Geneva, Brazzaville, London and

with Jamba.

Respite from punitive sanctions against SA following the accord is by no means automatic. Rightly or wrongly, sanctions are perceived, quite possibly by Bush as well, as a lever to extract internal political reform in SA; and with Namibia and Angola out of the way, the focus of attention could return to SA itself.

SA originally accepted R 435 but rejected the idea that the UN, which had declared Swapo "the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people," could be impartial overseers of "free and fair" elections in the territory. That obstacle has evidently been

Cairo (see box), the superpower consensus behind it was crucial. The Soviet Union, whose voice in support of the accord grew more discernible the closer agreement loomed, played a critical role — notably behind-the-scenes at Cairo — in bringing off the other leg of the deal, Cuban troop withdrawal.

But perhaps the route to Namibian independence really springs from SA's diplomatic success in getting US support for — and later sufficient international acceptance of — its "linkage" of Cuban withdrawal from Angola, 13 years after Fidel Castro's soldiers arrived to bolster the new MPLA govern-

FACE TO FACE

Yes we are, there is no question about it. At the recent Paris conference African delegates had two options: a symbolic objection by simply walking out, or asking for an adjournment to request the credentials committee to report on our credentials with the danger that they might be withdrawn. They opted for the lesser of the two evils.

During the past year we've received a number of people — senior African officials and ministers. This has resulted in first-hand observation of each other's problems.

Has the Paris incident tempted you to expose those countries who receive aid from SA?

No. It was an emotional thing. I know that in the caucus meeting of the Africa group important African voices sounded severe warnings against that type of action.

Is there something to be read in the fact that the Soviet Union did not walk out?

Yes, I think so. I've had useful discussions with Soviet representatives. I believe we have made progress; are beginning to understand each other better. That does not mean that overnight the two governments will change their minds on some very committed points of view. But it does mean a loosening of screws and bolts that became rusted over the years. If Mr Gorbachev finds it necessary to withdraw from regional conflicts, including this one, then we must be ready to ride that wave. Fully — diplomatically and economically — if it can be done.

Are diplomatic relations possible in the future?

That's not for the minister of foreign affairs to decide. That's the prerogative of the President.

But certainly the foreign minister has an

important input?

To the extent that I'll be given an opportunity to advise the President. I cannot tell you what my advice will be at this stage — but I can say that, whatever it is, it will be aimed at serving the interests of SA.

The Soviet Union has gained nothing from its African experience. On the other hand we must be very careful. The Soviet Union is a proud superpower. Within certain parameters the Soviets would wish to withdraw from certain regional conflicts; but outside those parameters, if they were to be seen as humiliated or defeated, they won't.

I made it clear to the Soviets that I understand their global interests — but why support terrorists who will bring you no advantage in Africa, I asked them.

There have been rumours that military factors forced SA to accept the agreement.

It is not true at all, I assure you. I don't want to re-open arguments which may jeopardise any of the agreements we have reached. I sincerely tried to restrain myself everywhere I went on this particular issue. I'll merely say that taking into account SA's position in the world — and as foreign minister I realise it is not good — for us to have achieved this agreement against those odds is surely a sufficient answer.

In international bargaining positions, no parties are equal. There is a very sophisticated, delicate but sensible realisation of the relative power of strength of the parties. All international agreements reflect this.

Cuba claims a victory.

Certainly you must by now realise the difference in style between Mr Fidel Castro and ourselves. Put yourself in his position.

He was responsible for sending thousands of soldiers through this mill. How many have died, disappeared, are maimed or wounded? How can a man in that despotic regime admit defeat?

To what extent were the Soviets important in bringing pressure to bear on their clients?

We will never know the exact extent. They were very much in the background when the peace talks started. The closer we moved towards the conclusion of the agreement, the more open their presence became. It is speculation but I'm convinced in the light of my discussions with them that they played a constructive and useful role.

Will SA still aid Unita?

No. Since December 22 we were precluded, in terms of our commitment, from aiding Unita. We will not do so.

Could SA live with a Swapo government?

We are not going to say what kind of government we like or do not like. If the elections are fair and free, if there is no intimidation and if the Cubans leave Angola, then it's for the people to decide on their government.

Do you see a likely improvement in relations with Zimbabwe after the peace accord?

I believe it would be in the interests of both countries and the region as a whole. Every time tension is reduced it improves the atmosphere and increases trust.

Could the peace accord result in a rightwing backlash in SA?

I hope not. It is possible — but I think that it will boomerang if any political party attempts, for its own selfish political purposes, to exploit this situation. The leaders of the territory themselves opted for independence.

unassailable. Failing that, wrangling over a constitution could drag on for perhaps two years.

Nonetheless, Swapo's expected support is not confined to the Ovambos, Namibia's largest single ethnic group (587 000 or about 50% of the population). It has been putting out feelers to other groups inside the country and has dramatically toned down its Marxist rhetoric on nationalisation. Indeed, some argue it would be the better outcome for Swapo to emerge with a clear majority since this would make Sam Nujoma and his armed cadres feel less threatened and therefore more reasonable. That would be a sort of Mugabe scenario. It's arguable: a clean sweep might tempt Swapo to institute a one-party State.

Others calculate that between them the other 10 ethnic groupings could well gain around 34%-35%, or just enough to prevent Swapo holding sway. And even if Swapo comes untrammelled to power, it will be forced to evince a degree of pragmatism vis-à-vis SA, if only because SA fully intends holding on to Walvis Bay, from where it could put a trade squeeze on Nujoma if he proves a problem.

Then there is the issue of regional relations as a whole. The closure of ANC bases in Angola could well lead to improved SA-Botswana relations, since the insurgents'



Foreign Minister Botha ... when plans come together

conduit from Angola through Botswana, which "poisoned" relations, will presumably close.

Whether this will result in a reduction of ANC terror in SA remains to be seen. However, in view of SA's successful thump-and-talk strategy towards its neighbours, which has led to the denial of ANC bases and transit facilities in those countries, the ANC

could be forced to renounce violence and sue for a negotiated peace, Arafat-style.

The wild card remains Unita — which, if it makes dramatic gains in the months ahead, could cause the remaining Cubans to go into the field again; and that would doubtless cause SA to stall the election process in Namibia.

However, Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos is under pressure from both the US and the Soviet Union to reach accommodation with Savimbi's people. For Savimbi, a face-saving way out would be if he was persuaded to stay out of the negotiations in return for a regional governorship in the south, say.

There is considerable upside for Dos Santos in doing a deal with Unita. While President-elect Bush is known to be keen on continuing to supply Unita, the carrot being dangled before Luanda is an end to the Clark Amendment barring US recognition of Angola; and there is a Soviet commitment to buy more Angolan oil.

If these matters resolve themselves, Pik Botha's role will come to be seen as pivotal and imaginative. There would remain the problem of SA — and who is to say that those diplomatic skills Botha can furnish, although sometimes a little rough-and-ready, will not prove their value again on home ground? ■

US FINANCIAL IMBALANCES

Standing on shifting sands

■ Collapse, no — but serious weaknesses mar the US financial system

America's front-line financial imbalances are well known — its US\$500bn net external debt and the twin deficits of the Federal budget and the current account. But now the focus of the financial markets is sharpening on other evident instabilities in the system; and the global consequences that could arise if they are left unattended for too long.

In fact, matters are moving. The long-standing clamour about inaction over the mess in the US savings and loans (thrift) industry (the S&Ls) finally drew a response in President Ronald Reagan's outgoing budget — a commitment of \$16bn as part of a \$64bn five-year package to fund the insolvent Federal Loans & Savings Insurance Corp (FSLIC). Will it be enough?

Then there is the scandal involving Drexel Burnham Lambert, pioneers of the \$180bn junk (high yielding) bond market coinciding with the geared record buy-out for \$25bn of RJR Nabisco by finance house Kohlberg Kravis and Roberts (KKR). Alarms have been sounded — particularly in the light of rising interest rates.

Nobody is yet talking collapse. But the size of the numbers involved is such that the problems *could* impinge on monetary and fiscal policy over the next two years.

The thrifts crisis involves no more than 20% of the industry, previously akin to building societies until deregulation allowed them to lend to high-risk, high-return property projects with disastrous consequences — notably in Texas after oil prices fell. According to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, 80% of thrifts are solvent and 70% make profits.

The 508 in trouble, however, are estimated to be broke to the tune of as much as \$110bn and getting deeper into the red at the rate of \$1bn a month. Overlap between the thrifts

and the junk bond market occurs only at the margin. A recent survey identified 42 which held \$12.2bn in their portfolios and, in one case — that of a thrift taken over by another — difficulty was experienced in selling the junk bonds. In spite of Drexel Burnham's vaunted market-making and placing capacity the \$176m parcel of bonds yielded only \$150m over six months in a firm market.

Argument about the thrifts and what can be done without hurting the Federal budget rages on. William Proxmire, former chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, has said: "The bail-out to come will be the largest in history." Only eight months ago the Federal Home Loan Bank reckoned the total cost of resolving the issue would be under \$23bn. By the end of the year around 200 thrifts had been dealt with at a cost of \$40bn in securing the savings of depositors.

Short of money (the FSLIC already owes \$14bn) the authorities have resorted to mergers. But this tactic has attracted criticism because the Federal budget is subsidising them through tax relief on losses of the acquired thrift. One Texas savings and loan rescuer laid out \$300m to take over a distressed fellow but walked away with \$900m in tax deductions.

THE BIG BUYOUT

(Merger-related loans by the big US banks)

	\$bn	As % of equity
J P Morgan	2,0	10
Chase Manhattan	1,0	20
Citibank	2,0	21
Chemical	1,5	45
Bankers Trust	2,0	57
Man Hanover	2,0	64
BankAmerica	2,2	71
First Chicago	1,5	72
Wells Fargo	3,0	135

Source: Barron's Weekly

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers in Namibia tell a bleak joke about Koevoet, the feared South West African Police counter-insurgency unit.

"Koevoet is given 10 days to go and sort out a man-eating crocodile at the Cunene River," the story runs.

"So they sit down and drink for nine days. On the morning of the 10th day they jump in their Casspirs. Two hours out of Oshakati they see a lizard and come to a screeching stop.

"Then they grab the lizard and beat him until he admits he's a crocodile."

The tale, part of an otherwise admiring account by American journalist Jim Hooper, who spent several months with Koevoet, says much about the reputation built up by the "anti-terrorist" specialists.

Critics say the unit has resorted to extraordinarily brutal, often ghoulish methods — the victims of which were often Namibian non-combatants. Koevoet members have appeared in court on various charges (see accompanying story), and one was hanged for shooting a civilian suspect.

An inquest into the deaths of two civilians in northern Namibia in 1985 was told that black members of Koevoet received R50 "head money" for each Swapo insurgent they killed or captured.

Koevoet ("Crowbar") claims to have "eliminated" numbers of Swapo guerrillas running into thousands in its 10-year existence, and there's no reason to disbelieve their estimates.

The unit relies on Casspirs for high-speed hot-pursuit operations, and makes devastating use of automatic weapons and mortars. Such is its ubiquity that even Koevoet members complain that they're held responsible for all security force activity in Namibia.

Now, in the wake of the Angola/Namibia peace accord, the 3 000-strong unit is being disbanded. That, at least, is the official position.

Many Namibians are sceptical about South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha's recent statement that Koevoet



A Swapo prisoner, centre, points out an arms cache to his Koevoet captors

From KOEVOETI, by JIM HOOPER, Southern Books, R39,95.

What now for Namibia's dreaded 'Koevoet' units?

(which, he said, had been "surrounded by a lot of bad publicity") would be shut down as a mark of goodwill.

So what is happening to the unit? An on-the-spot investigation by Christopher Wren of the *New York Times* concludes that Koevoet's men are not being discharged — rather, their units are remaining intact "while they are taught other police tasks".

In his article published this week, Wren cites a white Koevoet officer as saying this "training", which began in August last year, "is a big experience, especially for the blacks".

"They've had no training whatsoever.

Namibia's Koevoet units, which are 'surrounded by bad publicity' according to Pik Botha, are to be disbanded. But observers say that most Koevoet men are not being discharged. SHAUN JOHNSON reports

er. But they're curious and they ask questions about police work. They're very anxious to learn."

One bizarre prospect raised by this is that former Koevoet operatives, in a totally different capacity, will work side-by-side with United Nations

Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) personnel when they arrive in Namibia later this year.

For the moment, though, all that has changed is Koevoet's name. It's now the plain "Counterinsurgency Unit", and has no intention of abandoning its work until April 1, the agreed date for the initial implementation of UN Resolution 435.

Unless UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar masterminds a quick, formal ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo — a task he was charged with this week — Koevoet's shadow will stay over northern Namibia.

But many believe that not even an end to the "hot pursuit" operations will consign Koevoet and its men to the pages of history books. Wren's analysis, for example, suggests a more complex scenario.

Koevoet's ranks — estimated by another source to be "90 percent black, mostly locally-recruited Ovambos" — contain a high proportion of illiterate, indigent men.

Thus, while white officers could be relocated with relative ease — in South African Police positions, for example — the same cannot be said of many of the black men who've done so much of the fighting.

Most were, in the first place, drawn in by the money on offer. A salary in the region of R500 a month is very good by northern Namibian standards, and Koevoet veterans will not take kindly to losing it.

But expertise in killing will no longer be in such demand, at least not in this form, and other jobs will have to be found.

This will be problematic, says Wren, and many Koevoet members, white and black, recognise the fact. One white member of the unit said he'd try to take some of "his (black) men" back to South Africa with him.

Otherwise, the best option — particularly for illiterates — is to be posted as police messengers or the like. They would hope to become part, eventually, of the police force of independent Namibia.

In pursuance of this aim, it is reported that some are to be reassigned to new police stations in Owamboland before November.

The pitfalls of such a policy are self-evident: Koevoet men, especially blacks, are not likely to be welcomed with open arms by the cadres they've fought with such ruthless precision. Black members of Koevoet are already kept at arms' length by local communities. When they are no longer part of the much-feared unit, revenge attacks cannot be ruled out.

But having created such a force, it is difficult to see what else the South African authorities could do with them. An official in Windhoek told Wren that simply "discharging" them would be very dangerous.

"If you just discharge these people, where will they go?" he said. "They could become a problem. They will be bitter, they will have no money, and they are trained killers."

It is this sobering realisation that has perhaps fuelled speculation in Windhoek — and certainly within Swapo circles — that ex-Koevoet fighters could be used as the embryo of a Namibian dissident force should Sam Nujoma win the elections, as expected.

No hard evidence has been presented, but the belief is deep-seated.

A TEN YEAR HISTORY OF ACCUSATIONS OF BRUTALITY

THE running of Koevoet was taken over by the South West African Police on June 14 1985, three days before the inauguration of the "Interim Government" in Windhoek. It had previously been a South African Police counterinsurgency unit.

The "change of ownership" did not put an end to the unit's controversial reputation — Koevoet has consistently been accused of perpetrating atrocities in its self-proclaimed battle against guerrillas of the Swapo nationalist movement.

During Koevoet's 10-year his-

By MARK VERBAAN, Windhoek

tory, many cases have come to court, or have been aired in public. These are some of them.

● Father Heinrich Henning, then Vicar-General of the Catholic church in Namibia, called for a judicial inquiry into allegations of torture and brutality by Koevoet in May 1985.

● Two men attached to Koevoet were found criminally liable in an inquest into the deaths of two civilians in northern Namibia on July 10 1985.

● Four Koevoet members between the ages of 18 and 34 were sentenced to six years imprisonment for the rape of a young woman at a kraal near Ondangwa on July 15 1985.

● A Koevoet sergeant was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for murdering a civilian in northern Namibia on August 16 1986.

● The secretary to the head of the Owambo Administration, Oswald Shivute, accused Koevoet of "persistent brutalities" on September 12 1986.

● Police admitted early in 1987 that the bodies of dead insurgents

had been tied to the sides of Koevoet Casspirs. It was said there was "no room inside".

● Nathaneal Shikongo, a resident of northern Namibia who had been badly wounded, was taken into detention from his hospital bed in March 1987. The Owambo Administration's health director said Koevoet's action was "highly irregular and totally against the law".

● A two-year-old child died in June 1987 after a Koevoet Casspir ploughed through the hut in which she and her mother were sitting.

SA likely to warn against whites-only

Namibian poll

Political Staff

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THE South African government was expected to strongly advise the National Party of South West Africa today against a whites-only election before the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

The advice was expected to be given when members of the internal parties in the territory met senior members of the Cabinet in Cape Town today.

South African spokesmen were reluctant to comment on the plans for a pre-independence election.

Apart from international political implications the government fears that a whites-only election would drain resources that could be used to oppose Swapo and would create further division among the internal parties.

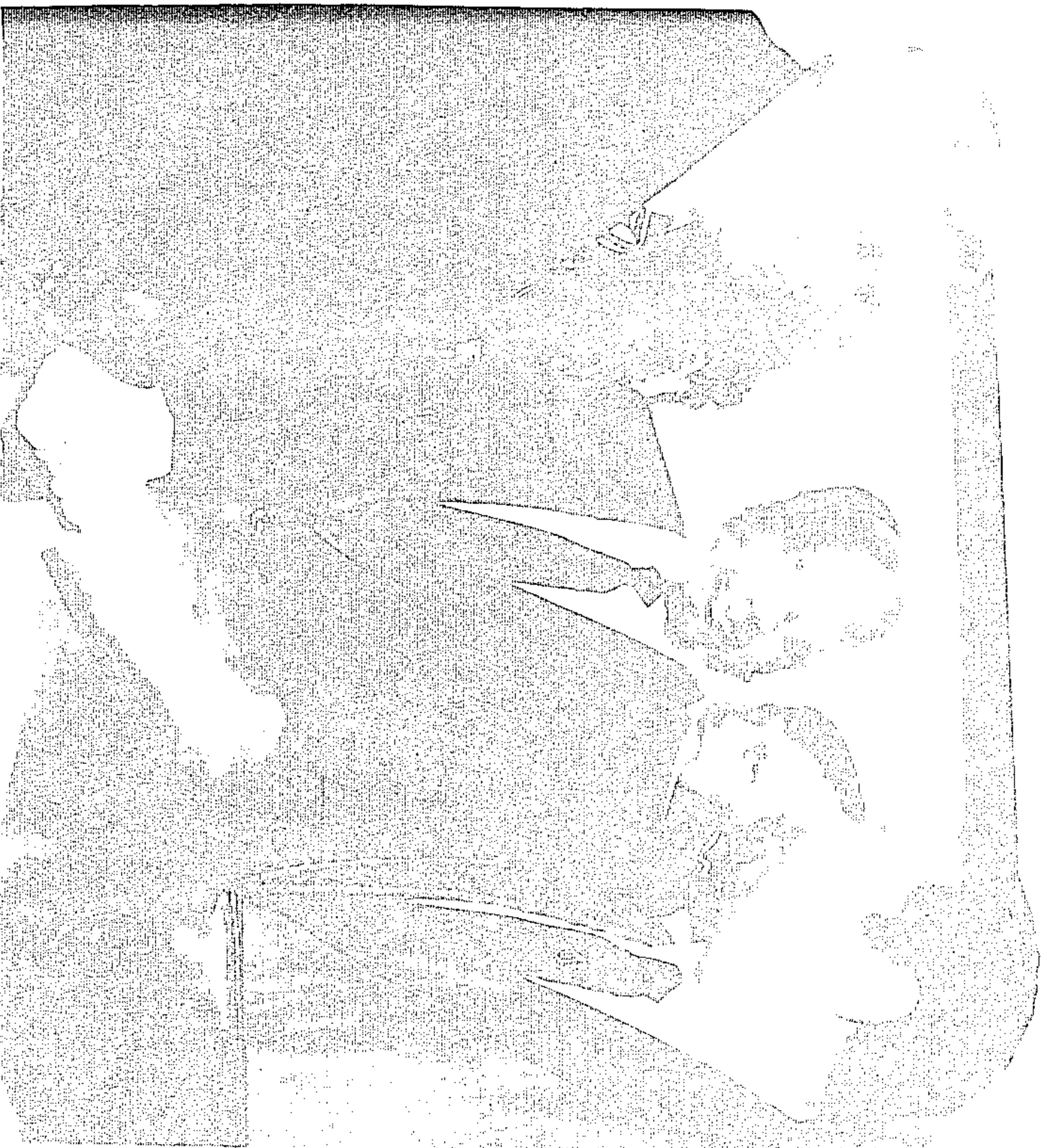
Indications were that the government would not use its power to halt second-tier elections if the NP in the territory decides to go ahead.

The talks today got off to a slightly delayed start in the Cabinet room at the President's official residence Tuynhuys with acting President Mr Chris Heunis in the chair.

Other members of the Cabinet present were Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Minister of National Education Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Defence

General Magnus Malan, Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk, as well as deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Kobus Meiring.

The SWA/Namibia delegation included Mr Andreas Shipanga, chairman of the Transitional Government of National Unity, Mr M Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Freedom Party, Mr Moses Katjiongua of Swanu, Mr Faniel Kazongusi of DTA, Mr Koos Pretorius of the NP, and General Rolf Gouws, Commissioner of Police.



TUYNHUYS TALKS: The outgoing President Mr Chris Heunis, with some members of the SWA/Namibia delegation at Tuynhuys today at his first official function. With him are the chairman of the transitional government of national unity Mr Andreas Shipanga and the acting President of the National Party in the territory Mr Koos Pretorius.

SA delegation to US for 'withdrawal' talks



Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha

A MULTI-DEPARTMENTAL South African delegation under the leadership of the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will travel to New York for next week's inaugural meeting of the Joint Commission on Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

The meetings, centering on the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, will be attended by US, Soviet, Cuban, Angolan and South African officials.

Dr Chester A Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, will lead the US delegation and the Angolan delegation will be led by General Antonio dos Santos Franca N'Dutu, the Angolan military chief of staff.

The names of the heads of the Soviet

and Cuban delegations were not immediately available.

Mr Botha said in a statement that it was envisaged that the rules of procedure of the commission, its terms of reference and its activities would be discussed during the meetings that will take place on Monday and Tuesday.

While in New York the South African delegation will also hold discussions with the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, on the implementation of Resolution 435 on April 1 this year.

Mr Botha said the establishment of the commission was provided for by the Brazzaville Protocol, signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola in the Congo-Lesage capital on December 13 last year.

The commission's object is to facilitate

the resolution of any dispute on the interpretation or implementation of the tripartite agreement signed in New York on December 22.

Mr Botha said it was envisaged that the US and Russia would participate as observers in the work of the commission and that upon the independence of Namibia the Namibian government would be included as a member of the commission.

The Namibian cabinet met the acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, at Tuynhuys yesterday morning at the start of talks expected to centre on the dissolution of the territory's three-year-old transitional government.

It was agreed that the transitional government is to "take the initiative in handing over its functions to the army

tory's South African-appointed administrator-general in accordance with the UN-supervised independence process.

"The takeover of the functions of government by the administrator-general, in accordance with UN Resolution 435, was discussed," Mr Heunis said in a brief statement afterwards. "It was agreed that the transitional government of national unity, in consultation with the administrator-general, will take the initiative in this regard."

It was agreed that the responsibility for running the territory will jointly be that of the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the UN's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

UN officials in New York, meanwhile, are completing plans this weekend for the peacekeeping force that is to monitor

the Namibian elections and independence process. The report by Mr Perez de Cuellar is to be released early next week.

Under the original plan, seven battalions totalling 7 500 soldiers were to join 380 civilian police and 2 000 civilian administrators in monitoring the independence process.

The five permanent members of the Security Council — the US, Russia, Britain, France and China — objected to the projected cost of the mission, up to \$800 million (about R1,92 billion).

The Big Five nations have agreed to try to hold the cost to about half and observers believe several battalions of peacekeepers will be held in reserve rather than sent to Namibia. — Sapa, Sapa-AP

Star 23/11/89

221

Swapo chief entitled to protection

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — If Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma returns to Namibia to fight the UN-supervised election he will be entitled to the same protection as any other citizen, according to a police spokesman in Windhoek.

Mr Nujoma said in New York recently that he thought he would be returning to his country within weeks to begin organising the one-man, one-vote election scheduled for November 1.

The police spokesman said Mr Nujoma would be entitled to his own bodyguards and that these bodyguards would be entitled to carry firearms "provided the weapons are properly licensed".

Asked whether the police would provide protection for the Swapo leader, the spokesman said the matter would be dealt with if and when it arose.

He said Mr Nujoma would be treated as anyone else and if he asked the police for protection, they would "give him the necessary protection according to the law".

● The SWA police will reduce its numbers from 8 300 to 7 000 by April 1, the target date set for the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia.

A police spokesman in Windhoek said the reduction in numbers would mainly be of special constables, who were given basic training and armed, and sent to protect tribal and local government leaders.

Two soldiers die in crash

Northern Transvaal Bureau

ELLISRAS — An accident involving a military vehicle near the Botswana border claimed the lives

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Peace force cuts: UN man offers to quit

LISBON. — The military commander of the United Nations Namibia peacekeeping force has offered to resign over proposals to cut the force, according to the Angolan news agency Angop.

Quoting a London-based spokesman for Swapo, Angop said UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar had rejected the resignation on Friday of India's General Prem Chand.

Angop said General Chand had threatened to resign over proposals by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to reduce costs by cutting the peacekeeping force.

The five — the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — were to pay 58% of the estimated \$600 million to \$800 million (about R1 440 to R1 920 million) cost of sending the original force of 7 500 peacekeepers.

Kaunda plea to Bush over Unita leader

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda urged US President George Bush yesterday to offer Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi a place in the United States to clear the way for a negotiated peace to Angola's civil war.

Dr Kaunda said the offer would facilitate talks between Unita and President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos's Marxist government.

He described Dr Savimbi as the main stumbling block to efforts to end the 13-year-old war in Angola and appealed to Mr Bush to stop the US government's support for Unita. — Sapa-Reuter

tion secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said. He said a strong UN force was needed to counter a heavy South African military build-up recently in Namibia, which he said could threaten the holding of fair elections.

According to Angop, the permanent members want to reduce the force to 4 500.

Angop also claimed without elaboration that South Africa planned to create two new states on Namibian territory, the Republic of Ilenge on the Angolan border and the Republic of Rehoboth in southern Namibia.

UN comment was not immediately available at the weekend. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Swapo also appealed to the permanent members of the UN Security Council at the weekend not to seek a cut in the peacekeeping force.

"We consider it a demonstration of bad faith on the part of those members of the UN Security Council like the US, UK and France to renege on things they have already agreed," Swapo's informa-

Namibian govt to take initiative

8. Day 23/1/87 (22)
CAPE TOWN - The Namibian transitional government is to "take the initiative" in handing over its functions to the territory's SA-appointed Administrator-General, a statement released after Friday's Cape Town meeting between acting President Chris Heunis and the eight-member Namibian transitional Cabinet said. The hand-over is in accordance with the UN-supervised indepen-

Own Correspondent

dence process that starts on April 1.

Heunis said the talks were "frank and took place in a spirit of mutual understanding".

Foreign Affairs Minister. Pik Botha, who also attended the meeting, informed the delegates fully about the agreements signed by SA with Angola and Cuba last year.

Peace force cuts 'easier' with fewer police

ARGUS
23/1/89

221

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE South African government's decision to reduce the Namibian police force to 6 000 should help the five members of the United Nations Security Council to reduce the size of the Untag peacekeeping force that will protect free elections in the territory.

South African diplomatic sources indicated this today after the announcement by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, that the police force was to be reduced.

Easier to agree

He said the reduction would not weaken security during the run-up to elections.

The decision had been taken after a careful analysis of the security situation.

Sources said the decision to reduce the police force should make it easier for the UN to agree to a proposal by the five permanent members of the Security Council to reduce Untag from 7 500 to about 4 500.

The five have been battling with General Assembly members for weeks to get this pro-

posal through. The decision was supposed to have been made by the end of last year.

The five want a reduction in size because they will bear most of the enormous costs of the force.

On the other hand, most of the ordinary members — strongly backed by Swapo — feel that a reduced force will not be able to ensure neutrality against local forces.

Damaging

The South African government is understood to be pleased with the proposed reduction of Untag.

The move is seen as damaging the status of Swapo as the organisation has always considered itself to be favoured by the UN, which regards it as the "sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people.

The decision to reduce the police force will help to counter Swapo's argument that Untag cannot be reduced without making it weaker than the local forces.

Meanwhile, the approach of independence for Namibia is likely to have at least one favourable consequence — a boom in the limited Windhoek property market. Foreign embassies based in South Africa are already scouting for property there, The Argus Africa News Service reports.

A Western diplomat said he had been in Windhoek looking for accommodation last week, only to find that other embassies had had the same idea.

"I saw officials from other South African-based embassies and we all seemed to be doing the same — going in and out of estate agents," he said.

Namibia govt to quit early

Day 23/1189

221

MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE Namibian transitional government has unanimously agreed to leave office well before March 31 to give the Administrator-General enough time to prepare for his takeover.

On April 1 the territory will come under the joint management of the UN and the current A-G advocate Louis Pienaar until independence, according to the peace agreement.

Transitional government chairman Andreas Shipanga said yesterday the Cabinet would meet Pienaar early this week to advise him of their timetable to relinquish control.

"We believe he needs control of the departments, especially finance, to plan his budget and we will give him sufficient time to do this," Shipanga said.

He added there was "absolute consensus" in the Cabinet about the matter.

On Friday eight members of the transitional government Cabinet met acting President Chris Heunis to discuss the implementation and implications of resolution 435.

It was agreed then that the Namibian Cabinet would take the initiative in handing over the reins of power to the A-G and the UN.

Wishes

The Cabinet was due to meet President P W Botha at his request, but after he took ill last week the job was delegated to Heunis.

Shipanga said the Cabinet had conveyed its wishes for a speedy recovery to Botha.

● See Page 3

● Comment — Page 5

Pik names top men to Namibia positions



Dr van Niekerk . . . former administrator-general.

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — National Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk has been appointed co-ordinator of South African and Namibian government functions during the United Nations-supervised election process in Namibia which starts on April 1.

Dr Van Niekerk, a former administrator-general of the territory, will be assisted by the ambassador to Germany, Mr Willem Retief, who will be transferred temporarily to Windhoek.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed the appointments yesterday.

He said Dr Van Niekerk would co-ordinate the departments and institutions which would deal on a daily basis with the practical implementation of the independence process under UN Resolution 435.

Dr Van Niekerk will continue as Minister of National Health and Population Development while doing his new job.

Mr Botha said it had not yet

been decided whether to replace Mr Retief as ambassador to Germany.

The heads of the second-tier ethnic administrations in Namibia met the South African Government in Cape Town yesterday to be told about their future when UN Resolution 435 is implemented.

The plan calls for ethnic political structures to be abolished, though there has been some suggestion that the administrations' bureaucrats might stay on.

● An international commission to monitor the Angola-Namibia peace agreements will be inaugurated in New York today, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The group comprises Angola, South Africa and Cuba with the United States and the Soviet Union as observers.

General Antonio dos Santos Franca, known as Ndalú, would represent Angola, and Mr Carlos Andana and Mr Neil van Heerden would lead the Cuban and SA delegations respectively.

Health minister to go to Windhoek

B/Dam 24/11/89

PETER DELMAR

HEALTH Minister Willie van Niekerk will be dispatched to Windhoek as a special government representative to co-ordinate the functions of the SA and Namibian government departments during the process leading to the territory's independence.



● VAN NIEKERK

Foreign Minister Pik Botha also announced yesterday that SA ambassador to West Germany Willem Retief would assist Van Niekerk "on a daily basis with the practical implementation of the set-

tlement plan".

Van Niekerk, a former Administrator-General, will retain his ministerial position. It has not yet been decided whether a temporary replacement will be appointed in Retief's place.

Botha also said UN secretary-general Perez de Cuellar had been informed the strength of the Namibian police force could be further reduced to 6 000.

□ Meanwhile SA, Cuban and Angolan delegations started discussions in New York yesterday aimed at reaching agreement on a trilateral joint commission for resolving practical problems related to independence.

MGG 74/187
Group formed to monitor peace pacts

LISBON. — An international commission to monitor the Angola-Namibia peace agreements will be inaugurated in New York today.

The group comprises Angola, South Africa and Cuba with the United States and the Soviet Union as observers, said the Angolan news agency, Angop.

General Antonio dos Santos Franca, known as Ndalú, represents Angola, while Carlos Andana and Mr Neil van Heerden lead the delegations of Cuba and South Africa respectively.

The commission will oversee implementation and handle any problems in interpretation of Southern African peace accords signed in New York on December 22.

DETERMINED

Meanwhile, our political correspondent reports that the National Party-controlled administration in SWA/Namibia is determined to go ahead with white ethnic elections in the territory.

Mr Chris Liebenberg, a member of the white administration's executive committee, said the white authority intended to go ahead with elections on March 1 — one month before Resolution 435 is put in action.

He said this today after a meeting between the 10 ethnic authorities of the territory and the South African government.

The meeting, chaired by Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis, spelt out the implications of Resolution 435, which calls for the disbanding of ethnic authorities.

South African government sources said the government had been hoping that the white administration would decide not to hold elections.

There was no immediate response from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

● Dr Willie van Niekerk, Minister of National Health and Population Development, spoke today about his new job as co-ordinator of South African and SWA/Namibian government functions during the implementation of Resolution 435.

The former administrator-general of the territory will continue to do his present job as well.

He will be assisted by Mr Willem Retief, the present South African ambassador to West Germany.



CMB Times 25/1/89 (221)

All not rosy in Namibia, warns church head

PRETORIA. — All is not rosy in Namibia and the "dirty tricks" department is more active than ever, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Wilfrid Napier, told the SACBC's plenary session last night.

The attack on the SACBC headquarters, Khanya House, in Pre-

torial, had been carried out by "mysterious and elusive saboteurs who have so far not been identified or tracked down with any degree of conviction".

Bishop Napier discussed the "strangling" emergency regulation restriction of organisations, and measures against the media.

The Pope's delegate to South-

ern Africa, Archbishop Ambrose de Paoli, called for the realism that had led to the Namibian accord to be applied in SA.

He hoped the accord would lead to the fulfillment of Namibians' "long-awaited desire to take their place as a member of the family of independent nations of the world". — Sapa

UN force cut 4 650 to keep peace in Namibia

APL Times 25/1/89 221

THE secretary-general of the United Nations, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has bowed to budget concerns and cut the Namibia peace-keeping force to 4 650.

The operation will be the costliest mission in UN history, estimated at almost R1 billion.

Previously the peacekeeping force was set at 7 500.

The secretary-general's proposal, outlined in a detailed 20-page report to the Security Council, calls for the military component of the UN transitional assistance group to comprise three infantry battalions of 850 men each, 300 unarmed military observers, 1 700 logistic troops and a headquarters staff of 100.

He said he was calling for the reductions even though he recognised he

would face strong criticism from non-aligned nations and Swapo which had expressed grave reservations about departing from the original 1978 plan.

Last night the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said the government was satisfied with Mr De Cuellar's report, which still had to be ratified.

The report described the bitter disagreement between the permanent members — the US, China, Britain, France and the Soviet Union — who want to reduce the force and Swapo's Third World supporters.

General Prem Chand would remain the force commander, but countries supplying the battalions have yet to be decided.

Three additional battalions would be held in reserve — and off budget — in their home bases, but could be deployed if needed.

The police element would be increased from 360 to 500. The number

● All not rosy in Namibia, warns church head — Page 3

of civilian administrative personnel would remain unchanged, as would the provision for 800 electoral supervisors.

The overall cost would be cut to about R960 million, down from R1,5 billion previously envisaged.

The new budget is, however, still higher than the R690 million figure sought by the Security Council permanent members who must foot 57% of the bill.

The new estimate is based on the assumption that Untag will buy goods and services from local sources of supply in Southern Africa whenever those are more economical than sources of supply elsewhere.

Mr De Cuellar drew attention to what he referred to as the impartiality package, which a senior UN official separately described as "a requirement for both the South African government and the UN to clean up their acts".

The UN guarantee of fair treatment to all parties in the implementation of Resolution 435 could sound the death knell for Swapo's claim to sole representativity of Namibia, Mr Botha said last night.

At a press conference in Cape Town on Mr De Cuellar's report, Mr Botha said the South African government was in agreement with its salient features.

"It (the impartiality package) states categorically that all parties will be treated equally... thus the old story of Swapo being the sole authentic representative is gone — Swapo will

have to return as just one party among all the others," he said.

Swapo would, have to conduct its election campaign peacefully, therefore abandoning violence as a method of achieving its political objectives.

Mr Botha said he had asked his representatives in New York to report to the US, Soviet Union, Cuba and Angola that South Africa was very concerned about Swapo build-ups north of the Ovamboland border with Angola.

"We have appealed to them to control and discipline the organisation. It is a very serious matter," he said.

Hopes expressed by the UN Security Council permanent members that Namibia would be independent by November 1, 1990, were "not impossible" — unless hitches arose in the drafting of the new constitution, he said. — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

Dr Willie
Sowetan 25/1/89
sent to
221
Windhoek

SOWETAN Reporter

NATIONAL Health
Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk has been appointed co-ordinator of South African and SWA/Namibian government functions during the United Nations-supervised election process in SWA/Namibia which starts on April 1.

Dr van Niekerk, a former administrator-general of the territory, will be assisted by the ambassador to Germany, Mr Willem Retief who will be transferred temporarily to Windhoek.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha confirmed the appointment on inquiry on Monday.

He said that Dr van Niekerk would co-ordinate the departments and institutions which would deal on a daily basis with the practical implementation of the independence process under UN Resolution 435.

Dr van Niekerk will continue as Minister of National Health and Population Development while doing his new job.

De Cuellar bows to budget demands

UN to reduce peacekeeping force by 3 000

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday bowed to budget demands and cut the peacekeeping force for Namibia to 4 650 troops.

Although some 3 000 less than originally planned, it will still represent the UN's costliest mission at an estimated \$416 million (about R900 million).

Black African nations and non-aligned countries have clashed for weeks with the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China over the size and cost of the force.

The Organisation of African Unity and non-aligned countries insisted on having at least 7 500 troops, as indicated in the original 1978 Security Council plan for Namibia's independence.

Objected

But the five permanent members of the Security Council, who together pay 58 percent of all peacekeeping costs,

objected to the projected spending \$700 million (R1 680 million) on sending that many troops.

The United States proposed sending about 3 200 in all on the peacekeeping force, called the UN Transition Assistance Group.

About 800 election supervisors would be needed for the early November balloting, expected to last about a week.

South Africa has strongly protested to Angola and Cuba about a build-up of Swapo forces on the Namibian border.

The Soviet Union, the United States and the United Nations have been informed of the alleged contraventions.

In terms of agreements struck last year with Angola and Cuba, Swapo forces would be kept north of the 16th parallel inside Angola — more than 300 km from the Namibian border.

Since then, there have been reports of a significant build up of Swapo forces south of the parallel, close to the

border, while Swapo has also been held responsible for at least one recent landmine incident and the stowing of arms caches in the territory.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night he had asked the South African delegation to the talks at the first meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in New York, to appeal to Cuba and Angola to "discipline and control" Swapo.

UMBRELLA

He warned they would have to take the blame if the agreements already reached were jeopardised.

Mr Botha announced at the conference that agreement had been reached yesterday on the composition of the Joint Monitoring Commission which will act as an umbrella body monitoring complaints or problems affecting all the agreements reached among the parties.

SA 'satisfied' with Namibia forces cuts

ARGUS 28/1/89 221

Political Staff

THE South African government was "very satisfied" with a draft United Nations proposal slashing the peace-keeping force to monitor elections for the independence of Namibia.

The report, drafted by UN Secretary General Dr Perez de Cuellar and released in New York yesterday, met with the almost instant approval of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The report recommended the Untag peace-keeping force be reduced from 7 500 to 4 650.

Mr Botha said the implementation of the United Nations independence plan was now in its final round, with the Security Council expected to endorse Dr de Cuellar's report before it went to the General Assembly by mid-February for approval of the finances.

The plan will cost almost R1 000-million — significantly

down, because of the Untag reduction, from the original R2 000-million estimate.

Mr Botha was particularly pleased that South Africa had won the battle for UN impartiality. He emphasised at a Press conference last night that the report had recommended that all UN aid and propaganda in favour of Swapo should stop.

"So the old story of Swapo being the sole and authentic representative in the eyes of the UN has ended — it is gone. Swapo will have to return to Namibia as just one party among others."

Mr Botha said he did not mind the report's recommendation of an increase by 140 to 500 in the number of police in Untag.

He also expressed satisfaction at the report's recommendation that the 1982 constitutional principles should form

part of the plan. They stipulate that a new constitution would have to be approved by a two-thirds majority of the Constituent Assembly which will be elected November 1.

He agreed with a view expressed by some members of the UN Security Council in the report that Namibia could be finally independent by April 1 1990, provided there were not too many differences at proceedings of the constituent assembly.

He had "no problem" with a proposal for a formal ceasefire agreement between South Africa and Swapo.

The report proposes that Swapo and South Africa should both inform the UN Secretary General by letter that they have accepted a formal ceasefire effective from April 1 — although a de facto ceasefire has already been in operation since August last year.

Swapo massed near border, says SA

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has protested strongly to Angola and Cuba about an alleged build-up of Swapo forces on the Namibian border.

Russia, the United States and the United Nations, which are observers at talks in New York have also been informed.

In terms of agreements struck last year with Angola and Cuba, Swapo forces would be kept north of the 16th parallel inside Angola, more than 300km from the Namibian border.

Since then there have been reports of a significant build-up of Swapo forces south of the parallel, close to the border. Swapo has also been blamed for at least one recent landmine incident and the stowing

of arms caches in the territory.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a Press conference last night he had asked the South African delegation to appeal to Cuba and Angola to "discipline and control" Swapo, at the first meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in New York.

He warned they would have to take the blame if the network of agreements was jeopardised.

Mr Botha said agreement was reached yesterday on the composition of the Monitoring Commission.

An independent Namibia would be invited to join South Africa, Cuba and Angola as a member of the commission, which would have a life of 27 months.

It would continue to function long after an independent government was ruling from Windhoek.

The commission was still discussing proposals by South Africa that its monthly meetings should be held consecutively in Luanda, Pretoria and Havana.

Blast at gun shop

WINDHOEK. — An explosion rocked a gun shop in the centre of Windhoek, seriously injuring a man.

Police said the explosion was an accident, and not caused by a bomb.

A nearby hotel was devastated by a bomb last September. The blast killed two people. — Sapa-Reuter.

rebel force cleaned out Namibian agreements 'violated'

holding out at an army barracks where 25 people died on Monday in fierce fighting.

The last to fall were two re-



A dead commando lies in front of club at La Tablada infantry camp controlled for 24 hours.

bel snipers who had taken up positions on a water tower and rooftop near the La Tablada barracks on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, seized by 50 rebels at dawn on Monday.

Three hundred police marksmen backed by army helicopters poured fire at the two snipers, virtually destroying the water tower. It was not immediately clear if the two were dead.

Three other snipers were arrested in an earlier outbreak of shooting which coincided with the arrival at the base of President Raul Alfonsin. A radio station reported that a fourth sniper died in the exchange of fire.

Alfonsin, well out of the line of fire, continued his tour of the shell-torn compound where shattered buildings, crushed cars and charred lawns were evidence of Monday's battle.

By mid-afternoon police, soldiers and support vehicles were withdrawing from the area and streets reopened to traffic.

Fire threatens homes

PORT ELIZABETH. — Bushfires endangered houses in the Port Elizabeth suburbs of Rowallan Park, Walmer Heights, Sherwood, Linkside and Kunene Park yesterday and some Rowallan Park residents had to evacuate their homes. The fires were under control by last night, according to a fire department spokesman. — Sapa

Namibian agreements 'violated'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Swapo has rejected South African accusations that it is endangering the peace process in Namibia and has accused South Africa of violating agreements.

Speaking from Lusaka, Swapo's deputy secretary for information, Mr Kandy Nehova, also expressed concern about the United Nations Secretary General's decision to reduce the UN peace-keeping force from 7 500 to 4 650 men.

Mr Nehova said that since September, when Swapo declared a unilateral ceasefire, Swapo forces had not initiated any military activities against South Africa.

NO INTENTION

"We do not have any intention of disrupting the democratic process," he said.

The spokesman was reacting to statements by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who said South Africa had asked Cuba and Angola to control Swapo's activities. The Protocol of Geneva laid down that Swapo forces were not to be deployed south of the 16th parallel.

Mr Nehova claimed South Africa was violating the accords by holding rallies in the country, when electioneering was supposed to begin only on April 1.

No observer status for Swapo SA, Soviets in 'historic' talks

CAPC Times 26/1/89 (22)

WASHINGTON. — Under a secret set of "understandings" reached six years ago, Swapo will lose its observer status and other UN perquisites, including offices and subsidies, as soon as the Security Council meets to give the official go-ahead for implementation of Resolution 435, the Namibian independence plan.

The understandings, known as the "impartiality package", were publicly acknowledged for the first time on Tuesday in Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar's report to the Security Council proposing to implement the plan with reduced forces.

The package, accepted on September 24, 1982, by the frontline states, Nigeria, Swapo and the Western contact group which negotiated 435 with South Africa, consists of a "checklist" of agreed steps that will be taken to ensure

that Swapo gets no special favours in the run-up to independence.

However, the resolution that Swapo was "the sole and authentic representative" in Namibia was still in force, the National Patriotic Front (NPF) said in a statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

The NPF was formed in 1988 by Swanu (South West African National Union), Canu (Caprivi African National Union) and Action National Settlement (ANS).

"A mere verbal undertaking by the Secretary-General that his special representatives and Untag members — hailing from different countries which may favour a specific party/parties — will be impartial, is not sufficient," the NPF statement said. "We insist on an obligation which

will be legally enforceable."

Meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) warned yesterday of rigged elections and "sure bloodshed" if the UN goes through with plans to slash the supervisory force in Namibia.

Brigadier Hashim Mbita, executive secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, told reporters that plans to trim the mandated 7 500-man force would only encourage manipulation by South Africa.

Mr Perez de Cuellar asked the Security Council on Tuesday to approve sending 4 650 peacekeepers to Namibia.

However the OAU, echoing complaints from individual African countries, strongly objected to the proposed cost-saving manpower cut. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — In what could be a historic turning point, SA and the Soviet Union will for the first time conduct regular, formal discussions on regional issues, Foreign Affairs director general Mr Neil van Herden said yesterday.

The contacts are to take place within the framework of the joint commission established by SA, Angola and Cuba to deal with Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence.

A communique issued on Tuesday night said the commission would meet again in late February in Angola. — Sapa

Star 26/1/89 (221)

Big Five debate Namibian peace plan

NEW YORK — Security Council members began private talks yesterday in an effort to end a bitter dispute over the proposed UN operation to grant Namibia independence from South Africa.

Delegates of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, the council's permanent members which have insisted on severe cuts in the size and cost of the operation, conferred as African and other non-aligned states denounced the economies.

First estimates had been as high as \$750 million (R1,7 billion) for 7 500 UN peacekeeping troops and a large civilian staff, but Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar recommended in a report on Tuesday a force of 4 650 troops and a leaner budget of \$416 million (R994 million).

Fearing that South Africa might try through subversion to deny Swapo a decisive victory at the polls, the African states say the force proposed by Dr Perez de Cuellar would be too small to guarantee fair elections under UN supervision.

With an April 1 target for the start of the UN operation and Namibia independence scheduled a year to the day after that, the Security Council and the General Assembly are under pressure to act soon on Dr Perez de Cuellar's plan.

● The UN peacekeeping force that will monitor independence elections in Namibia will buy goods and services from South Africa, a UN spokesman confirmed yesterday.

● Australia will send about 350 troops — engineers and support staff — to Namibia with a United Nations force to help the transition to independence. — Sapa-AP.

Swapo 'will support ANC from Namibia' 221

WASHINGTON — The Swapo secretary-general, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, has told an interviewer that a Swapo government in Namibia will help the African National Congress any way it can to destroy apartheid.

But Mr Toivo ja Toivo noted that Namibia's economy was linked to South Africa's and that a Swapo gov-

ernment would have to work with South Africa whether it wanted to or not. *Star 26/11/89*

"But I want to say here that when we become independent, we are also going to assist our comrades in South Africa in destroying apartheid," he said in an interview broadcast on Moscow Radio networks. — The Star Bureau.

Swapo 'will help ANC destroy apartheid'

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Swapo's secretary-general, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, has told an interviewer that a Swapo government in Namibia will help the African National Congress any way it can to destroy apartheid.

But Mr ja Toivo noted that Namibia's economy was linked to South Africa's and that a Swapo government would have to work with South Africa whether it wanted to or not.

The former prisoner in South Africa said on Moscow's radio network: "We will have a mixed economy at the initial stage of our independence. But I want to say here that when we become independent we are

also going to assist our comrades in South Africa in destroying apartheid.

"We will give all the assistance at our disposal to the ANC of South Africa."

Mr ja Toivo's comments, broadcast on Moscow's service to Southern Africa, were monitored by a US agency.

According to the transcript, he told a Soviet interviewer that an independent Namibia under Swapo's leadership would have a democratic government.

Mr ja Toivo also said that a Swapo government would require multinational companies in Namibia, such as Rio Tinto Zinc, to enter into new agreements.



'Anti-intimidation' laws in pipeline for SWA independence

WINDHOEK. — Draft legislation is being prepared to curb intimidation and violence during the run-up to the independence of Namibia.

The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, told Radio South West Africa that legislation aimed at excluding political parties which advocated violence from the independence process was at an advanced stage of preparation.

The legislation would also have a bearing on the strength of the police force between April 1 and independence.

Mr Pienaar also outlined the role to be played by South African Minister of National Health and Population Development and former Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

SA co-ordinator

Dr van Niekerk would act as co-ordinator between the authorities in Namibia and South Africa, he said.

In the light of the impartial role that the Administrator-General would have to play in the constitutional process, Dr van Niekerk would co-ordinate all contact between South Africa and parties in Namibia.

A United Nations spokesman confirmed in New York that the UN peacekeeping force which will monitor independence elections in Namibia will buy goods and services from South Africa.

"It is quite obvious that the reality of that situation is that the UN has to do business with South Africa," said the spokesman.

For years, the General Assembly and UN agencies have

called for a mandatory economic boycott on South Africa because of apartheid. The General Assembly renewed that position in December.

Meanwhile, the dispute about the size of the transitional force continues with the Angolan news agency, Angop, reporting a top Angolan official adding his voice to African protests against the cutting of the UN force.

Jeopardise peace

Deputy Defence Minister General Antonio dos Santos Franca said the non-aligned countries considered it essential that UN stick to its original proposal of 7 500 men. Cutting the force could jeopardise the entire peace agreement, he said.

Franca was speaking in New York after a meeting of a three-party commission to monitor the peace accords.

The group comprises Angola, South Africa and Cuba, with the US and the Soviet Union as observers.

The agreements signed in New York last December provide for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and the implementation of a UN plan of independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar announced on Tuesday that only 4 650 troops would be deployed.

The decision was also criticised by the Organisation of African Unity and Swapo.

Franca said the first meeting of the three-party commission went well. The next meeting was set for the end of February in the Angolan capital, Luanda, with others to follow in Cuba and South Africa. — Sapa, Sapa-Reuter and Sapa-AP

Crocker: SA solution cannot be imposed

26/1/89

ARCUS

WHAT got the Angola-Namibia negotiations moving?

People decided that they could not resist the logic of something which had been very logical all along.

Why? Perhaps because they realised that there would be a change of administration and they wanted to have the right people around when they decided to make peace, because, otherwise, they would have to start out with a whole new structure, a whole new policy, a whole new team. That was a factor.

There had been ample time for everybody to explore military solutions. They had not worked, as we knew they would not, so the quagmire of war became less and less attractive. That's a factor.

WHICH African countries were most helpful?

I would certainly cite Congo as a key country, because since April of 1987, we had seven different meetings in Brazzaville, and they helped to restore the direct contact between us and the Angolans... Then, they think their neck out repeatedly in 1988 to keep inviting us back even though we did not quite finish our business. There was a key juncture when we could not get agreement among the parties on where to meet, when the Egyptians raised their hands and said, "We'll try, and it worked."

Other supportive countries

As Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker has been at the helm of the United States's Africa policy for the past eight years. Here, in an edited version of an interview with YARO BIHUN of the United States Information Service, he reviews some of its achievements and failures.

included Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Zambia and Morocco.

It has been said also that the Soviets played a major role.

We have been talking with the Soviet Union throughout the course of this administration about southern Africa and the structure of a settlement. I think I could say that by the end of 1987, the Soviets began more clearly to see the logic and to see what was in it for them, and to begin exploring the possibility of actually lending support to the structure for a settlement, as opposed to taking a hands-off position or actively blocking it.

During the meetings, during 1988, they had an observer present in most of those meetings not in the negotiating room, not at the table, but at the margins. I guess you could say, I would meet with my Soviet counterpart on a regular basis, and we would explore the obstacles and discuss possible solutions.

We had no doubt that they were using their influence in a discreet manner with the parties they were closest to, but as you know, they were also meeting at times with the South African delegation, too. This was new ground for the Soviets.

Their policy in this regard

has moved much closer to what we would call common sense, recognising the realities of the region. We have seen some results from that.

HOW do you see a reconciliation and a negotiated solution to the Angolan civil war coming about?

I have no doubt that this agreement is going to support and strengthen the chances for internal dialogue and reconciliation of Angola. I think almost everybody sees it that way.

Dr Savimbi has said that he sees it that way, that this is the logical way to proceed, first the external factors, the foreign troops, then the internal issues. But he is not alone. Many African leaders have said the same thing, publicly and privately. Let's get the Namibia Resolution 435-Cubans withdrawn, issue settled and then there will be no remaining obstructions or obstacles so that African negotiators of Angola can more freely speak to the Angolan government about the importance of them addressing the issue.

Exactly how this will happen is very hard to predict. When people talk about an African solution, I think what they often mean is one that is characterised by quiet procedures and discretion, people

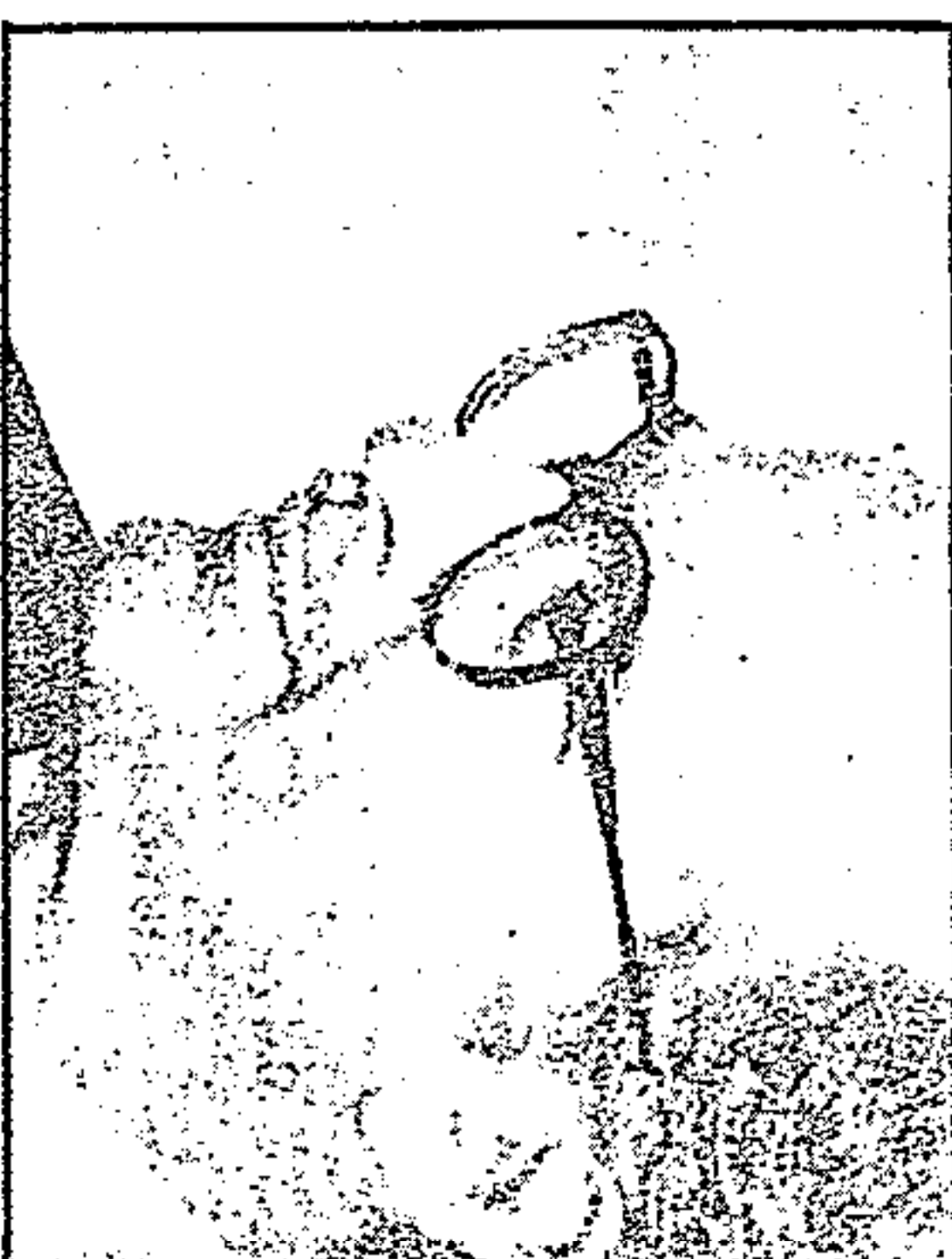
constructive engagement and apartheid?

The first point I would make is that we have this imperial illusion — some of us in this country — that an American policy is going to end apartheid. And there are many Africans who fall into the same trap, perhaps because they — some of them — may think of us as superman. We are not. There are not any American solutions.

Apartheid is going to be ended by the work and the struggle of South Africans, and I feel very strongly about that. If anything, I feel stronger about it now than I did eight years ago. Whether it is constructive engagement or some other approach, it would be a false question to say, "Has it ended apartheid?"

There has been some progress on some aspects of apartheid in the 1980s. There have been more changes in social and economic apartheid in the late 1970s and up to the mid-1980s. I'm thinking of such things as the totally revolutionised labour law situation, the trade union movement, the pass laws, a number of things.

There have been more changes of that kind in that time period than at any time since 1945. But it has been reluctant. It has been slow. It has been piecemeal. It has failed to address the most important issues. It has, in fact, the way it has been handled, led to the big movement of black unrest in the mid-1980s, which, in turn, has led to



US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker... 'a very mixed picture'

great new waves of repression against blacks, further human rights abuse, detentions and so on. So it is a very mixed picture.

I think I would add that as far as sanctions are concerned, you are not going to end apartheid by creating a wasteland, an economic island by impoverishing the economy of South Africa.

If people were looking for a signal of how we feel about apartheid, our sanctions are a signal; but we are, I think, reticent to look beyond signals and look at results. I am not impressed with the results of sanctions in practical terms. We have more than enough signalling going on. What we now need is to be engaged with everybody, effectively on a daily basis, as I think we are, looking for openings, pushing people towards their own future. But you are not going to achieve that by washing your hands and going home.

Are you optimistic?
I am optimistic that

President Bush knows what he is doing in foreign Affairs, that he is a man who feels very strongly about the importance of Africa in our foreign policy. He knows Africa well.

WHAT are the possibilities of ending the war in Mozambique? Negotiations?

I am not very optimistic about military solutions. There are not many places in the world where they work these days. There really are two hands to the solution. One is the relationship Mozambique is trying to build with South Africa, and South Africa with Mozambique. That, I think, will make a big difference in terms of drying up support for Kenamo and leading to more secure borders for Mozambique.

The other is the internal dialogue issue. It is a very sensitive matter. It is not for us to get involved in, but the government of Mozambique has not closed the door to finding some means to communicate with its armed opponents. That's an important factor, as well. We hope that they find ways to pursue that

UN lists needs for
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221.
peacekeeping force

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) has a list of equipment required by the UN peacekeeping force for Namibia and has called for offers for the supply of the items needed.

It says the list is the third received. The first is a general indication of what is required. The second details communications equipment needed.

The list includes vehicles, specialised vehicles, housing units including furnishing, tentage, collapsible containers for the storage of petroleum products and water, freezer and refrigeration units and generators.

The FCI says that based on previous discussions, negotiations have already begun with prospective suppliers.

The FCI says that details on the list are scanty in order to leave as many options open as possible until the final UN budgetary details have been worked out.

It urges interested organisations to begin negotiations with the UN as soon as possible. — Sapa.



Peacekeepers issue Namibia shopping list

JOHANNESBURG. — The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) has announced that it has a list of items of equipment required by the United Nations peacekeeping force for Namibia and has called for tenders.

The list is the third the FCI has received. The first was a general indication of what was required and the second, details of communications equipment needed.

Items included: "Specialised vehicles, housing units including furnishing, and collapsible storage containers for petroleum products and water."

The FCI said that, based on previous discussions, negotiations had already begun with prospective suppliers.

It urged interested organisations to commence negotiations with the UN as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, it is reported from New York that UN officials hope

to minimise the amount of purchasing they will do in South Africa.

Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar said in a report to the Security Council that goods and services would be obtained from "local suppliers in Southern Africa whenever these are more economical than sources of supply elsewhere".

However, opponents of trade with South Africa are said to be trying their utmost to restrict such purchases.

And in Windhoek it has been announced that the 43-month-old transitional government will cease to exist on March 1 when it hands over full control of Namibia to South Africa in advance of the implementation of the Resolution 435 peace and independence plan.

Mr Harry Booyesen, the chairman of the Cabinet and Transport Minister, announced the demise of his administration

yesterday after talks in the capital with South Africa's Administrator, Mr Lou Pienaar.

The resignation of the government will enable Mr Pienaar and his experts to prepare to run the country jointly with the UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who is due to arrive on April 1.

Windhoek's 70-member National Assembly will begin its final session on February 14.

Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziana, meanwhile, reports that Swapo has reacted strongly to the announcement that the South West Africa administration was preparing draft legislation aimed at excluding groups that "advocated" violence.

● South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Mr Jeremy Shearer, has dismissed a report by African and non-aligned states that it has 100 000 troops in Namibia as "inflated". — The Argus Foreign Service, The Argus Africa News Service, Sapa, and Sapa-Reuter.

Protocol promotes peace

Cape Times 28/11/89 221

Defence Correspondent

VIRTUAL peace has returned to the border — since November 1 the security forces have recorded only three incidents involving Swapo insurgents, "while normally there would have been 70 to 100", a top defence source said yesterday.

This was why SA did not object to the UN Transitional Assistance Group being reduced from 7 000 to 4 000 men, and the South West Africa Police to 6 000.

This was disclosed soon after the Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, had said in Pretoria that SA and Swapo would not cease fire formally.

He explained that in accordance with procedures laid down

in 1978 the UN Secretary-General would send identical letters to SA and Swapo, proposing a specific hour and date for the commencement of a ceasefire.

The Secretary-General would request both parties to agree in writing to his proposals, no later than 10 days before the armistice was due to begin, so that all troops on both sides could be informed.

The defence source said yesterday that there was "one large difference" for the better between the ceasefire arrangements laid down in 1978 and the actual situation in 1989: The fact that last year the co-belligerents signed the so-called Geneva Protocol.

In 1978 "there was no Geneva

Protocol, which in one sense works well. It states that Swapo must not operate in South West Africa/Namibia, and since November 1 there have been only three Swapo incidents, when normally there would have been 70 to 100.

"This is a very great difference because when (Resolution) 435 was formulated in 1978 there was no thought of a protocol, and Un-tag would have had to initiate the ceasefire process."

There was one worrying aspect to the border situation: Although no insurgents were operating south of the international boundary, large numbers of them were still stationed immediately north of the border.

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Pulling out of Namibia will cost SA R146-m

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28/1/89

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CRAIG KOTZE

WITHDRAWAL of South African troops from Namibia in accordance with United Nations Resolution 435 will cost R146 million, the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in Pretoria yesterday.

The phased withdrawal has started and includes moving equipment and personal possessions of 100 000 t by rail, road, sea and air.

The money is to be paid from the budgets of two financial years, R29 million from the present year and R129 million from next year.

Troops moving out of Namibia will be accommodated either in their home bases in South Africa or in specially erected accommodation.

They will be withdrawn to Defence Force bases in Walvis Bay and strength there will not exceed present levels, General Geldenhuys told military correspondents at Defence Headquarters.

"If anyone says there will be a build-up of South African troops in Walvis Bay, it will be a lie," he said.

He declined, for security reasons, to reveal the number of troops in Namibia.

General Geldenhuys said the withdrawal would be implemented in three phases.

● Phase 1 would run up to April 1 — "R-Day" — with all forces upholding ceasefire conditions.

● Phase 2 consists of three sub-phases. Six weeks after R-Day, South African troops would be scaled down to 12 000, then to 8 000 in the next phase — nine weeks on from the end of sub-phase 2, in which equipment would be returned to South Africa. In sub-phase three, SADF troops would be reduced to 1 500 men by November 1, envisaged, but not yet confirmed, as election day.

● TO PAGE 2.

Costly withdrawal

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● Phase 3 would see the final withdrawal of all remaining South African troops in the period between election day and the implementation of independence in Namibia.

General Geldenhuys said the withdrawal had not yet been finalised and details were still being negotiated. He is awaiting the arrival of the United Nations forces (Untag) commander, General Prem Chand, to discuss technical details.

Intimidation by Swapo would not occur as long as the organisation honoured the Geneva Protocol and Resolution 435 — and if Untag forces monitored Swapo bases. The Namibian police would not be disbanded and would keep law and order.

"Normal intelligence activities" would also monitor Swapo, he said.

General Geldenhuys said the Geneva Protocol had proved useful. From November 1 last year there had been only three Swapo incidents in the territory. Normally, 70 to 100 were reported over the same period in previous years.

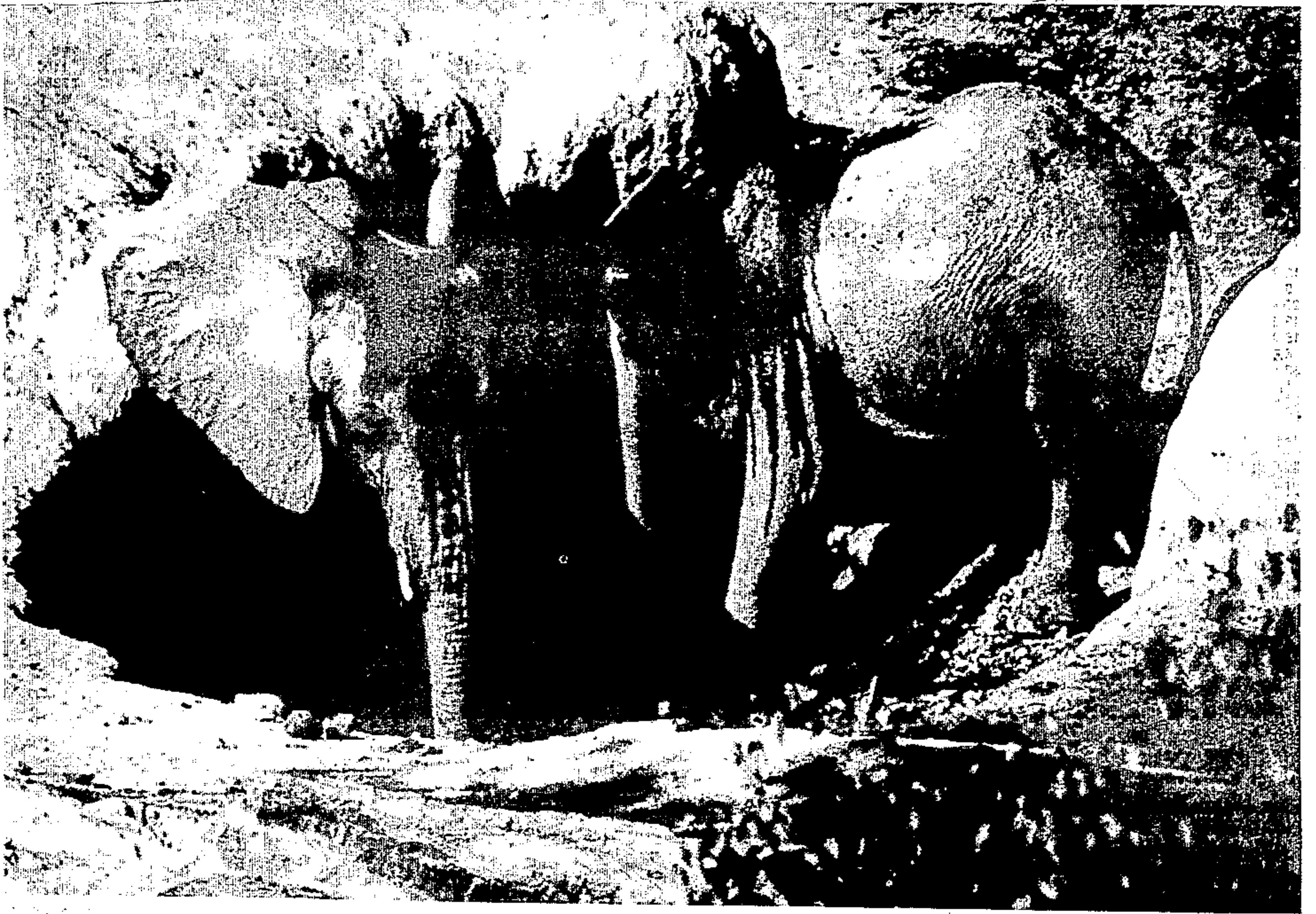
However, he said South Africa "would not get together round a table" with Swapo on a ceasefire agreement.

Untag would probably use evacuated SADF bases and the Defence Force was offering Untag services, like transportation, at certain rates. But Untag could always turn to the private sector.

"The SADF is prepared to give its services — such as electricity — at a tariff," General Geldenhuys said.

The SADF would not destroy any installations during its withdrawal, he added.

PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]



Two of the desert-dwelling elephants which are in danger from poachers in the Kaokoveld area.

HERDERS HELPING IN FIGHTING POACHERS

w/KABUS 28/1/89 221

by HENRI du PLESSIS
Weekend Argus Reporter

A HERERO goatherder slept on the doorstep of a Kaokoveld poacher's house while waiting for game wardens and another trekked miles on a donkey to report poachers in a successful scheme to involve the local population in conservation.

This new approach to save endangered wildlife has made headlines with its success in combining the interests of man and animal in Namibia's remote Kaokoveld and has caused conservationists to realise that people problems were the key to conservation ones.

The two most endangered species in the area, the Damaraland desert rhino and the Kaokoveld desert elephant, were the two main beneficiaries when Endangered Wildlife Trust representative Mr Garth Owen-Smith and Namibian Directorate of Nature Conservation ranger Mr Chris Eyre suc-

ceeded in gaining the support of local headmen and the Damaraland administration for nature conservation.

After discussions with the local administration, Mr Eyre convinced them to ban hunting in the area, while Mr Owen-Smith canvassed the small semi-desert communities, convincing headmen that the wildlife in their area was a living asset.

Fighting for life

Mr Owen-Smith was supported solidly from the start by a little Herero community fighting for a living farming with mealies, vegetables and wheat as well as goats at Warmquela near a little natural spring.

A drought had the community's food resources stretched to the limits and according to Mr Owen-Smith, many were in the position where they had to de-

cide whether to continue rationing themselves and survive for another month or have one good meal and then die.

At that stage, it was decided to set up the system of auxiliary rangers.

Funds collected by the Endangered Wildlife Trust were put to use, paying the poorer men in the communities in the form of rations for keeping eyes and ears open for poachers.

Mr Owen-Smith said: "I did not want the young men — the older men with families they had to support were in greater need.

"The men could continue tending the goats they had left, but were required to maintain a lookout for poachers."

That the system has succeeded is clear from the success the conservationists have had combating poaching.

Another of their endangered

charges, the black rhino of Damaraland, also has been safeguarded at a time when rhinos elsewhere in Africa live under continual threat from the gun of the rhino-horn collector.

One of the new auxiliary rangers, Mr Elias Musia, proved his worth in no uncertain terms when he caught a man carrying meat from poached game into his house.

Nine caught

Mr Musia ordered the man to give himself up and sent his son off to get a directorate official.

The man told Mr Musia he had no right to search the hut or arrest him, so Mr Musia camped at his doorstep for a night until officials with legislative powers arrived.

This incident led to the arrest of nine poachers and the solving of two rhino poaching cases.

UN peace force to pour millions into SA

w/c ARGUS 28/1/89 221

by JOAO SANTA RITA
Argus Africa News Service
JOHANNESBURG. — South African companies are on the verge of a multimillion rand bonanza financed by their greatest foe — the United Nations.

The UN procurement section has already sent the South African Federated Chamber of Industries 48 pages of requirements that the 4 650-strong peacekeeping force in Namibia will need, ranging from vehicles to septic tank cleaning services.

A UN report states clearly that the UN force will "purchase goods and services from local sources of supply in Southern Africa whenever these are more economical than sources of supply elsewhere".

Any other assumption will call into question the feasibility of the operation in the time

scale already decided," the Secretary-General warned.

A UN spokesman said that in spite of objections by African countries it was obvious that the United Nations has to do business with South Africa.

If the Security Council approves the report, the General Assembly will then also have to approve the estimated budget and there are fears that the whole process could be delayed by Third World countries.

However, United Nations officials are confident that this will not happen and have already identified South African firms regarded as prospective sources of the UN force requirements.

The UN told the FCI that it was supplying it with the lists of its requirements because some South African firms "may have been missed for lack of information".

Vehicle dealers alone stand to make a fortune as the UN

has asked for hundreds of vehicles, including 696 jeeps, 176 trucks from one ton to eight-ton capacity, mobile workshops, bulldozers, mobile cranes, refrigerator trucks, lift trucks, ambulances and dozens of different types of trailers.

Vehicles

In addition the UN is also looking for 81 light sedans of 1 600 to 1 800cc and three luxury cars which the UN chose to describe as heavy sedans. Mini buses (32) and three heavy buses are also demanded.

South African vehicle suppliers will have to take into account one specific requirement that the UN has made — all their vehicles must be white.

It is understood that the United Nations is even considering buying some of its requirements from the SADF which will gradually depart from Namibia.

But the UN is, however, not taking any chances and it has

made it known that it is looking for hundreds of tents, containers for petroleum products and water, freezer and refrigeration units, and at least 608 generators.

In another list in which quantities are not specified the UN says that it will need office equipment (including IBM personal computers), cleaning services, construction materials, catering equipment, shoe-repair services, septic tank cleaning services, newspapers and periodicals.

From the lists supplied it is obvious that some members of the United Nations intend to have as much comfort as possible as they go on duty in Africa's last colony.

One of the UN lists says the officials stationed in Namibia will be needing television sets, video sets, movie equipment, radio sets and hi-fi equipment.

The UN is also looking for sport equipment and even trophies, diplomas and plaques.

SETTLEMENT that leads to national reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia and Angola will enhance South Africa's regional international standing.

It will protect the Government against criticism from the right wing about having "sold out the whites" in South West Africa, create new opportunities for economic co-operation in southern Africa and, in consolidating the political middle ground, point the way to negotiated accommodation in South Africa itself.

A "settlement" that leads to the destruction of Unita or a drawn-out stalemate in the Angolan civil war, the imposition of discredited socialist economic principles in Namibia and the flight of capital and skills from that country, will enter the right wing in South Africa and give comfort to radicals on the left.

It could lead to a sharp increase in political and economic pressure from abroad.

A settlement that falls apart

Reconciliation in Angola and SA is the key

apartheid, the country still labours under the burden of a political system based on the social characteristics of a pre-industrial society, while real demographic and economic changes over the past two decades demand the abandonment of race and ethnicity and the primary mechanisms for political group formation.

The continuing acceleration of the pace at which these changes are occurring means that the gap between the political system and the social and economic reality of the society whose interests it is expected to order is growing at a truly alarming rate.

Yet one's recent experience of the approach to constitutional questions that South African policymakers have adopted in Namibia does not suggest that the implications of this fact are adequately understood.

Likewise, abandonment of the cause of political accommodation in Namibia in pursuit of short-term international kudos can only result in South Africa further un-

goal and pursued energetically throughout the remaining negotiations.

The disregard of the importance of reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia gives rise to concern.

South Africa is without doubt at a multi-dimensional crossroads. Not only must it redefine its relationships with its neighbours; it faces daunting internal challenges as well.

Despite the demise of classical

because of an outbreak of civil violence in Namibia, or gross violations of the agreed schedule of troop withdrawals, could plunge the region into military confrontation on a larger scale than before and invite mandatory — and crippling — economic sanctions.

It is therefore the quality and content of the "settlement" that will be decisive.

National reconciliation in both countries deserves to be elevated to the level of a primary policy

Sean Cleary

a Namibian political consultant, warns that means are just as important as ends in the Namibian imbroglio

determining the legitimacy of its claim that such an approach offers the only solution to its own politico-economic conundrum.

The historical lack of a coherent policy towards Namibia mirrors, one fears, similarly fractured visions and preferences among key actors in the policy process when it comes to South Africa itself.

The rapidity of the policy shifts vis-a-vis Namibia suggests that the Government still lacks a comprehensive insight into the structural features and dynamics of transitional societies of the sort we live in.

While it would be cavalier not

to recognise that the Government has succeeded in the course of the negotiations thus far in playing a poor hand with considerable skill, the absence of a broader vision and a set of policy parameters within which to order the negotiating tactics sharply limits the opportunity to gain strategic advantage.

There are already signs that we may be falling back on the tried and tested myth — now considerably less valid than before — that the primary requirement in our regional policy is military preparedness against the threat of Soviet destabilisation.

If this is to be the basis of the Government's defence against rightwing criticism of a settlement, we run the risk of falling into the twin traps of "feeding the crocodile" and "believing our own propaganda". Southern Africa deserves better.

□ *Extracted from the January edition of South Africa International, journal of the SA Foundation.*

Row over SWA peace force cuts

By PATRICIA CHENEY: Washington

DESPITE its pared-back nature, Untag — which will help in Namibia's passage to independence — will still be the biggest United Nations force of its kind since 19 000 peacekeepers were sent to the Belgian Congo in the early '60s.

The force — the UN Transition Assistance Group — will comprise 6 000 men who, according to this week's report by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, will be charged with "keeping borders under surveillance, preventing infiltration, preventing intimidation and ensuring the safe return of refugees and their free participation in the electoral process".

It has already come under fire from a number of black states led by Zimbabwe, which are, as one official described, "in pandemonium" because the force has been

cut from the 9 000 originally called for in UN resolution 435.

According to the report, "the permanent representative of Zimbabwe expressed grave reservations... because such a move would compromise the secretary general's ability to conduct free and fair elections".

Revised

Efforts by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and a ministerial group from Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia to have Untag kept at full strength also failed.

Under the revised plan, Untag will cost R986-million — down from the original estimated price tag of R1 440-million.

The UN was able to cut down on the Untag force mainly by reducing administrative tasks and doubling the duties to be undertaken by military personnel.

The price tag was also kept low because the normally sanctions-happy member nations swallowed the hard fact that it was cheaper for Untag to buy goods from South Africa than anywhere else.

The national composition of Untag is still to be decided.

Curfew is to be lifted

WINDHOEK — There will be joyful ululating and celebration in villages across northern Namibia's war-ravaged Owambo area on February 10, when the military authorities finally lift the decade-old dusk-to-dawn curfew. *Swambo 20/11/86*

A senior officer of the SWA Territory Force (SWATF), Brigadier Chris Serfontein of the Sector 10 headquarters in Oshakati, made the promise of the curfew lifting on Saturday morning, when he met Owambo tribal leaders. The SWABC reported that he told them the security forces were satisfied that what he called "the night-time activities" of Swapo insurgents had declined to the level where they no longer caused concern.

The brigadier warned

the Owambo leaders, however, that the curfew would be re-imposed, for the "protection" of the people in Owambo if the security situation deteriorated.

Swapo

The curfew was imposed by South African promulgated decree in 1979, following a major increase in Swapo insurgent infiltration into Owambo as the bush war, launched by Swapo in 1966, escalated. The curfew restrictions have been repeatedly criticised by anti-apartheid activists and churchmen.

Police

In late 1986, the territory's major churches launched a major legal action to have the curfew legislation declared invalid — an action which failed.

There has been widespread criticism recently of the failure of the South African military authorities to lift the restrictions in the wake of the Southern African peace initiatives and the impending implementation of the United Nations resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia.

The SWA police has already said that the security situation in

Owambo has declined to the "peace time" levels experienced in the early 1970s, and has begun dismantling its controversial and feared counter-insurgency unit, formerly known as "Koevoet".

Observer

South Africa is to officially resume responsibility for this territory on March 1, with the official resignation of Wind-

hoek's transitional government. UN Special Representative Mr. Martti Ahtisaari is scheduled to arrive on April 1 and will act alongside Pretoria's administrator, Mr. Louis Pienaar, in an observer capacity as the UN peace plan is put into action and the country moves towards majority rule elections and independence in November.

Owambo curfew to go

The curfew in Owambo is to be lifted on February 20. 221

This was announced by the Officer Commanding Sector 10, Brigadier Chris Serfontein.

He said, at Oluno, that the nocturnal activities of Swapo's military wing, Plan, had declined to the extent that there was no further need for a curfew. *Spr 30/1/89*

However, the curfew could be re-imposed if necessary, he said.

The lifting of the curfew comes after a statement by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that the Geneva Protocol had resulted in there being only three terrorist attacks in northern Namibia during the past three months.

He said no formal ceasefire would be arranged. — Sapa. *66*

Assocom to study Namibia

(22)

Star 30/1/89
The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry is currently undertaking an in-depth investigation into the economic and business implications for South Africa of Namibian independence.

"Assocom believes it is important for industry and commerce in South Africa to examine the changes and opportunities which could arise in due course from an independent South West Africa/Namibia," a statement reads.

Professor Ben van Rensburg, an economist from the University of South Africa, has been asked by Assocom to conduct the investigation.

Among the issues which he will investigate are: the outlook for an independent Namibian economy; future trade relations with South Africa and the rest of the world; taxation policy; and Namibia in the southern African context. — Sapa.

New prospect for economic 'club'

Namibia likely to sign up with SADCC

Star 30/1/89

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LUANDA — With the clock ticking towards independence for Namibia this year, southern African nations are looking forward to signing up a new member for their economic club.

Namibia is likely to be a major topic when the nine nations of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) hold their annual conference in Luanda this week from February 1 to 3.

Diplomats say that if Swapo wins Namibia's UN-supervised elections later this year, Namibia is virtually certain to become the 10th member of the nine-year-old regional economic group.

Namibia would add only a million people to SADCC's 73 million, but it would bring significant mineral riches. At present its economy is almost exclusively tied to South Africa.

South Africa, however, is likely to retain Walvis Bay, the only major port on Namibia's coast.

One of SADCC's aims is to reduce dependence on South Africa, which is acknowledged as the region's economic giant but viewed by most SADCC states as the source of their problems.

SADCC members include three which are in the South African Customs Union — Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. They are landlocked and almost entirely dependent on South Africa.

Angola and Tanzania have no ties with South Africa. But Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique all depend on Pretoria to varying degrees for transport routes and vital imports.

Most of SADCC's initial thrust has been towards improving transport and infrastructure to the east.

The organisation has been trying to repair Mozambique's war-battered and neglected railways and ports to provide an outlet to the Indian Ocean free of South African control.

FOREIGN AID

Hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign aid have poured in to repair rail links from Zimbabwe to the ports of Beira and Maputo. But security problems have held up the reopening of two other lines linking Malawi to the ports of Nacala and Beira.

Namibia's independence and the fact that this year's conference is being held in Angola was expected to shift the

focus westwards to the Atlantic.

Already international donors have agreed to back the first phase of a project to reopen Angola's Benguela railway, linking the Atlantic to Zaire and Zambia and closed for more than a decade by rebel attacks.

Still on the drawing board is a plan for another westward rail route across the Kalahari from Botswana via Namibia.

This week's meeting will bring to Luanda hundreds of Ministers and officials from the European Community, the Nordic countries and such nations as Canada, who have made SADCC their favourite channel for aid to southern Africa.

Western diplomats say the SADCC countries are far ahead of the rest of Africa in overcoming rivalries and planning their economic development.

PROJECTS

As well as major projects such as the Benguela railway, the SADCC has a list of hundreds of others ranging from crocodile ranching to beekeeping, all of which may attract aid.

Over the past two years SADCC's small secretariat, based in Botswana, has tried to persuade member governments to consider seeking outside private investment as well as foreign aid. — Sapa-Reuter.

Swapo leader pledges to co-operate with SA

11-6u 30/1/89 221

LUANDA. — A government run by Swapo after Namibia achieves independence would co-operate with South Africa to ensure the economic survival of the territory, a leader of the organisation has said.

Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, secretary-general of Swapo (South West Africa People's Organisation), said at the weekend that the Namibian economy was dependent on South Africa.

Swapo is expected to win elections planned in Namibia this year under a United Nations independence plan that will start on April 1. Pretoria has ruled the former German territory since World War 1.

"An independent Namibia will have to deal with South Africa economically," Mr Toivo ja Toivo said.

But he stressed that the aim would be to free Namibia's economy from dependence on South Africa.

Namibia would rely on its foreign allies and organisations such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to build up its own economy.

The SADCC, a group of nine Southern African states whose aim is to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa, is expected to recommend that independent Namibia be allowed to join as a 10th member.

Detailing ways in which independent Namibia would be forced to co-operate with South Africa, Mr Toivo ja Toivo said that Pretoria apparently intended to keep the port of Walvis Bay.

He said the new government would have to reach an ar-

angement with South Africa to use the port until the sovereignty issue was resolved.

Alternatively, a Swapo government would seek to develop other ports, such as Swakopmund.

Mr Toivo ja Toivo said Namibia might join South Africa's trade and customs union with Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

He said Swapo's long-term goal was a socialist system in Namibia but the movement foresaw a mixed economy, combining private and public enterprise and ownership.

● Cuban President Fidel Castro, meanwhile, has denounced the UN proposal for a 4 650-strong UN inspection force — instead of the original 7 500 — as too small to oversee Namibia's transition to independence. — Sapa-Reuter.

Echoes of Congo operation

ARGAS 30/1/89 221

From the Reuters Correspondent at the United Nations, New York

SECURITY Council members have begun private talks in an effort to end a bitter dispute over the proposed UN operation to grant Namibia independence from South Africa.

Delegates of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, the council's permanent members which have insisted on severe cuts in the size and cost of the operation, conferred as African and other non-aligned states denounced the economies.

First estimates had been as high as \$750-million for 7 500 UN peace-keeping troops and a large civilian staff, but Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar recommended in a report on Tuesday a force of 4 650 troops and a leaner budget of \$416-million.

It would still be the biggest such UN enterprise since the world body entered the Congo in the 1960s, an operation that brought the organisation close to paralysis and cost the life of its second secretary general, Dag Hammarskjöld.

In Addis Ababa, secretary-general Ide Oumarou of the Organisation of African Unity appealed to the major powers to drop their emphasis on costs.

Fearing that South Africa might try through subversion to deny Swapo a decisive victory at the polls, the African states say the force proposed by Dr de Cuellar would be too small to guarantee fair elections under UN supervision.

With an April 1 target for the start of the UN operation and Namibia independence scheduled a year to the day after that, the Security Council and the General Assembly are under pressure to act soon on Dr de Cuellar's plan.

Mr Francois Giuliani, the secretary-general's spokesman, told reporters it was up to the council members to decide whether they wanted Namibia to be independent.

Diplomatic sources said some African representatives seemed willing to keep the row going even if it meant holding up the UN operation and Namibian nationhood.



The late Dag Hammarskjöld in Pretoria in 1961

Swapo accuses SA of sabotage

CAPR TINKS 30/1/89 221

Own Correspondent

Swapo govt to play ball with SA — Toivo



LUANDA. — A government run by the nationalist group Swapo after Namibia achieves independence would co-operate with South Africa to ensure the economic survival of the territory, a leader of the organisation has said.

Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, secretary-general of Swapo, told Reuters in an interview on Saturday that the Namibian economy, which is based on mining, fisheries and livestock ranching, was heavily dependent on neighbouring South Africa.

Swapo is widely expected to win elections planned in Namibia this year under a United Nations independence plan that will start on April 1.

"An independent Namibia will have to deal with South Africa economically," Mr Toivo ya Toivo said. But the secretary-general, number two in Swapo after president Mr Sam Nujoma, stressed that the long-term aim would be to free Namibia's economy from dependence on South Africa.

Mr Toivo ya Toivo said that Pretoria apparently intended to keep the port of Walvis Bay after independence. Swapo says Walvis Bay should be part of independent Namibia but Mr Toivo ya Toivo said the new government would have to reach an arrangement with South Africa to use the port until the sovereignty issue was resolved.

Mr Toivo ya Toivo said Namibia might join South Africa's trade and customs union with Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

Mr Toivo ya Toivo, who was jailed by South Africa for 16 years for his political activities, said Swapo's long-term goal was a socialist system in Namibia but the movement foresaw a mixed economy.

Mr Toivo ya Toivo said Namibia's white minority would be treated like everyone else and should not expect privileges. — Sapa-Reuter

PARIS. — South Africa was doing all it could to sabotage preparations for independence in Namibia, Swapo's representative in France, Mr Eddie Amkongo, said at the weekend.

Addressing a conference of the French Anti-Apartheid movement here, he claimed that:

- South African forces in Namibia had set up arms caches in strategic places to be used by demobilised local units for intimidation of people during the elections and the destabilisation of an independent Namibian government.

- Namibian identity documents were being distributed to pro-Unita Angolans living in Namibia and to "Unita bandits" in Angola itself to enable them to cross the border and vote for anti-Swapo parties in the November 1 election.

- A rebel "Contra" group was being formed to fight a Swapo-run independent Namibia.

- Former Swapo vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo, expelled by Swapo in 1980, had been chosen by President P W Botha to lead this Contra group and Battalion 101, based at Ondangwa.

Mr Amkongo claimed that the South African government was running a propaganda campaign against Swapo.

'Massive display of force'

"Security forces are driving about the country in massive displays of force and organising free barbecues which they call information meetings.

"After attracting people with promises of free food and drink, they project films about famine, starvation and poverty elsewhere in Africa and explain that similar conditions will prevail in Namibia under Swapo rule," he said.

He said Swapo was disappointed at the UN Security Council's decision to reduce the Untag contingent to be sent to supervise the run-up to independence from 7 500 to 4 650 men.

- An SADF spokesman, Commandant Ian Buck, said yesterday that the Swapo statements were virtually the same as statements made in November last year and repeated again in January this year.

"The SADF predicted then that this kind of statement would become an almost daily occurrence as the date for the implementation of the negotiated settlement plan progresses," said Cmdt Buck.

- In Luanda, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos reaffirmed his government's refusal to negotiate a political settlement with Unita.

"There are no contacts with Unita as a political organisation," Mr Dos Santos said.

SADF to lift Ovambo curfew in February

JOHANNESBURG. — The curfew in Ovambo is to be lifted on February 20.

SABC radio news reports that this was announced by the officer commanding sector 10, Brigadier Chris Serfontein, who said at Oluno that the nocturnal activities of Swapo's military wing,

Plan, had declined to the extent that there was no further need for a curfew.

He said, however, that the curfew could be reimposed if necessary.

The announcement of the lifting of the curfew is a sequel to a statement by the Chief of the De-

fence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that the Geneva Protocol had resulted in there being only three terrorist attacks in northern Namibia during the past three months.

He said no formal ceasefire would be arranged between South Africa and Swapo. — Sapa

UN INSPECTION FORCE TOO SMALL — CASTRO

HAVANA — Cuban President Fidel Castro said on Sunday a 4 650-strong UN inspection force was too small to oversee Namibia's transition to independence, the Cuban-based Prensa Latina news agency reported.

He denounced a UN report's proposal for a force of that size instead of the 7 500 originally proposed.

It would be better to send the 7 500 troops and then reduce that number if possible, Castro told more than 2 000 Namibian students.

Castro said the recent UN resolution on Namibia was acceptable enough because it "recommends that the UN secretary-general try to cut down expenses but does not speak of the reduction of troops."

"But, the secretary-general and his team made a report that does not satisfy Cuba and the other peoples of the Third World," he said.

If SA succeeded in thwarting the free self-determination of the Namibian people, the weight of responsibility would fall on the permanent members of the security council, Castro said. — Reuter.

Bleak outlook for proteges

AMCS
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From BRENDAN SEERY, The Argus Africa News Service, Windhoek

IN a month's time the final South African constitutional experiment in Namibia will be tossed into the dustbin of history, as Windhoek's Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) hands back full control of the territory to South Africa in advance of the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan.

The parting of the ways for Pretoria and its Namibian proteges on March 1 will be traumatic for the Windhoek politicians, who have strolled the corridors of power in the capital's Tintenpalast government building since they were installed in office by President P W Botha in June 1985.

A non-elected government, the six-party coalition occupies a unique niche in the history of Southern Africa, in that it asked President Botha to hand over the reins of government to it without first submitting itself to an electoral test. Its resignation — without having fought an election or suffered a "no confidence" defeat in a Parliament made up of only its people is also rare. That it must go is unquestioned, as the Resolution 435 plan provides that the UN Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari will rule the country in conjunction with South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, during the seven-month transition phase before independence at the end of this year.

When historians eventually come to write the history of the TGNU, they would do well to remember the comments of a senior South African Foreign Affairs official at the time of the appointment of the Windhoek administration.

He remarked that a good way of looking at the new government would be in the terms a famous historian once described the Holy Roman Empire (as "neither Holy, Roman, nor an Empire").

principles which has been accepted as an unofficial coda to the Resolution 435 plan. One of the clauses of the 1982 agreement states that a two-thirds majority is necessary for all decisions in the Constituent Assembly to be formed after the UN-supervised majority-rule elections.

At the time of the appointment of TGNU, South African officials claimed the alliance — which began life as the Multi-Party Conference — had the support of as many as 50 percent of Namibians.

That opinion was probably optimistic then, and even more so now, because the coalition has patently failed, in its 43 months in office, to make the significant changes to society that would have weaned grassroots support away from Swapo.

Grand apartheid remains imbedded in the fabric of day-to-day life through the 11 separate ethnic (for that read "own affairs") authorities installed by South African decree in 1980.

The TGNU has itself been racked by tensions between those who favour the status quo and those who don't. Ideological bickering was the main reason why the Windhoek politicians spent more than two and a half years (and more than R2-million) in a futile attempt to reach agreement on a constitution.

For example, the ideological clash torpedoed efforts by the "left" wing of the govern-

ment — headed by Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA and supported by Swanu, Swapo-Democrats and the Coloured Labour Party — to open segregated schools to pupils of all races.

Education Minister Mr Andrew Matjila rashly promised in late 1986 that all schools would be open by the first term in 1987. Those promises not kept could well return to haunt Mr Matjila and the other parties of the TGNU in the election fight ahead.

South African pressure on the Windhoek government was also constantly in evidence during its time in office, in spite of Pretoria's declaration that it would leave the running of day-to-day affairs to the TGNU and only retain control over defence and foreign affairs.

The image of being "South African puppets" is one the government members will find hard to live down. Many were the idle resignation threats uttered by some of the government Ministers since June 1985.

The man-in-the-street, in a country where unemployment has been estimated as running at 25 percent or more, cannot fail to have noticed the TGNU's Ministers drew salaries and perks of more than R120 000 a year.

As an entity, the TGNU will die on March 1, and its component members will be fighting for their very political lives in the weeks and months ahead.

According to the South African Foreign Affairs man, the "Government of National Unity" was not a government, not national and certainly not unified.

What the appointment was, was an attempt by South Africa to nurture a group of Namibian politicians favourably disposed towards Pretoria and who could eventually pose a serious threat to Swapo in a Resolution 435 poll.

Uppermost in the minds of the Union Buildings planners was the 1982 agreement of

Failure of costly gambit

Star 31/1/89
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WINDHOEK — The parting of the ways for Pretoria and its Namibian proteges will be traumatic for Windhoek politicians who have strolled the corridors of power in the capital's Tintenpalast government building since they were installed in office by President Botha in June 1985.

A non-elected government, the six-party coalition occupies a unique niche in the history of southern Africa, in that it asked President Botha to hand over the reins of government to it without first submitting itself to an electoral test.

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BY BRENDAN SEERY

The Star's Africa News Service

On March 1, the final South African constitutional experiment in Namibia will be tossed into the dustbin of history as Windhoek's Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) hands back full control of the territory to South Africa in advance of the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 independence plan.

Namibian leaders missed chances to appease the people

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South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.



UN Special Representative Mr Maarti Ahlisaari.

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in office, in spite of Pretoria's declaration that it would leave the running of day-to-day affairs to the TGNU and only retain control over defence and foreign affairs.

The image of being "South African puppets" is one the government members will find hard to live down. Many were the idle resignation threats uttered by some of the government Ministers since June 1985. The man-in-the-street, in a country where unemployment has been estimated as running at 25 percent or more, cannot fail to have noticed that the TGNU's Ministers drew salaries and perks of more than R120 000 a year.

As an entity, the TGNU will die on March 1 and its component members will be fighting for their very political lives in the weeks and months ahead.

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UN still split on Namibian force

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — Certain non-aligned members of the United Nations Security Council — including Ethiopia, Senegal and Algeria — have continued to block action on a resolution to approve the UN's transition programme for Namibia recommended by the secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The non-aligned states conferred privately on the question and asked for a meeting with Dr Perez de Cuellar to discuss their objections to a proposed peacekeeping force of 4 650, which they believe to be insufficient to maintain law and order and ensure free and fair elections.

The secretary-general has said he would retain the limit of 7 500 officers and men envisaged in the independence plan approved by the Security Council in 1978, but the remaining troops would be deployed only if he were convinced that the smaller group could not do the job.

ALARMED BY SQUABBLE

With an April 1 target for the start of the entire UN military and civilian operation that is supposed to lead the territory to independence a year later, some delegates are becoming alarmed by the squabble over the size of the force, which has pitted the non-aligned states against the big powers.

● The general secretary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Mr Ide Oumarou, says the UN must remain vigilant against any South African attempts to manipulate Namibian independence.

He repeated the OAU's opposition to the reduction of the UN peace-keeping force.

Fresh attempt to stop trial of 4 soldiers



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PW appeals against murder trial ruling

B/D 04/1/89

CAPE TOWN — Government has given notice that it intends appealing against a decision of the Supreme Court in Windhoek that a certificate by President P W Botha stopping the murder trial of four members of the Defence Force was invalid.

Laywers acting for the widow of murder victim Frans Uapota confirmed yesterday Botha and the interim Cabinet in Namibia had given notice they intended appealing against the ruling.

The application for leave to appeal has been tentatively set down for February 24.

The lawyers, representing Victoria Mweuhanga, Uapota's widow, said they had not yet de-

Political Staff

ecided whether to oppose the application or to cross-appeal against a decision to prevent disclosure of the official report to Botha that the Defence Force members acted in "good faith".

The Supreme Court ruled against an application for the disclosure of this report.

However, in December last year it ruled that a report by a certain Col de Klerk, that the four soldiers were acting in "good faith" and that they were acting to prevent or suppress terrorism, was misleading and fell far short of the true position.

It held Botha's certificate stopping the trial was invalid

and murder charges against the soldiers — CJ Harmse, FJ Herbst, D F Esselen and J Fernando — should stand.

Uapoto was killed on November 25, 1985, after soldiers entered a shop near his home in Onengali in northern Namibia.

Mweuhanga said in an affidavit the soldiers had forced them to lie down and proceeded assault her husband.

A post-mortem report indicated the cause of death was a massive subdural haematoma that covered the brain.

After the ruling against the certificate, opposition parties called on government to accept the decision and let the trial go ahead, but it appears government has rejected this.

PW's new bid
to halt trial

THE government has given notice that it intends appealing against a decision of the Supreme Court in Windhoek that a certificate by President P W Botha stopping the murder trial of four SADF members was invalid.

Laywers acting for the widow of the late Mr Frans Uapota confirmed yesterday that Mr Botha and the interim government in Namibia had given notice that they intended appealing.

Mr Uapota died of severe injuries on November 25, 1985, after soldiers entered a cuca shop near his home.

The Supreme Court, Windhoek, in December found that a report saying the four soldiers were acting in "good faith" was misleading.

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Namibia

will be
invited to

SADCC

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LUANDA — The southern African states seeking to reduce economic reliance on South Africa would invite Namibia to join them after it achieved independence from Pretoria this year, an SADCC official said yesterday.

He said the nine countries in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) had agreed at a Ministers' meeting to send the invitation immediately after the new Namibian government was formed.

"We are looking forward to the independence of Namibia and to Namibia joining the family of SADCC," the group's executive secretary, Mr Simba Makoni, said in Luanda.

ELECTIONS

Under a United Nations independence plan, elections in Namibia scheduled for November are expected to be won by the nationalist group, Swapo, which has fought South African rule for more than 20 years.

Dr Sam Nujoma, leader of SWAPO, is expected to become Namibia's first president.

Dr Nujoma is due to address the ninth annual SADCC conference when it formally opens in Luanda today. Its members are: Botswana, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.

Sapa-Reuter.

PW vs Namibian court

The Star's Africa
News Service (221)

The interim government in Namibia and President Botha have lodged an application for leave to appeal against a decision by the Supreme Court in Windhoek that Mr Botha's certificate stopping the trial of four soldiers over a killing was invalid.

The Registrar of the Supreme Court said the application would be heard on February 24.

Star 2/2/89

In December the court ruled that a report stating that the four soldiers had acted in good faith when Mr Frans Uatopa was killed in 1985 in northern Namibia fell short of the true position.

HERE'S NOT A NAMIBIAN WHO THINKS

THE LAST LAP OF THEIR LIBERATION MARATHON WILL BE AN EASY STRIDE

SEATED in a half-built office in Katutura township outside the capital, Swapo internal Deputy National Chairman Danny Tjongarero is both a worried and an excited man.

Outside, a street tableau mirrors his mood. A Casspir rumbles by, packed with brown-fatigued soldiers of the South West African Territorial Force. As they pass, an insolent backdrop reveals itself: "Uncle Sam, Viva" says the hurried work of an inexperienced spray-painter.

Tjongarero is one of the key figures in Namibia's year of reckoning. He's keenly aware that his life's work could soon reach partial fulfillment. He also knows it's a lot more complicated than that.

The query he will hear a thousand times in the coming, critical, months — will Swapo really be in power by the end of the year? — draws a somewhat agitated response.

"Yes, we'll win the election," he says without hesitation; then pauses gravely. "But an absolute majority is an absolute necessity."

He means the two-thirds of the vote Swapo has to capture to have a free hand in a future constituent assembly.

Absolutism is the overarching issue of the transition period, poised to get under way on April 1. And everybody, from the strategist in a Pretoria office to the peasant farmer in the Ovambo village of Tsandi, knows it.

After all, November's scheduled poll is only for an assembly, not a government. The assembly will draft a constitution, and the government which emerges will declare formal independence thereafter. Swapo needs to be free to make its own rules, and pick its own people. That's going to take some hard work.

Implicit in the grand equation, which boils down to Swapo requiring roughly 400 000 correctly-placed crosses, or 67 percent of the vote, are a welter of factors. They constitute a political futurologist's nightmare.

ONLY DREAMERS DARE PRETEND THEY KNOW

221
3-9/2/89

There are two possibilities for Namibia: modest success or utter disaster. The question is not whether Swapo will win (they will) but by how comfortable a margin. Can the Right, unable to win, manage to ruin it for the winners?

SHAUN JOHNSON

reports from Windhoek

peaceful, the economy could survive. But there could also be civil war, leaving us as an economic basket-case. Anyone who thinks they know more than that is dreaming. Although far from being a Swapo supporter, he thinks it's essential that



Winning hearts and minds? A SWATF soldier holds out his hand to villagers ... all of whom ignore him
Picture: THE NAMIBIAN

conclusion, if not the reasoning. He's convinced that South African tactics rest on trying to inject some ambivalence into a Swapo victory. SWATF and South West African Police (Swapol) sources think Swapo won't get 50 percent of the vote.

choose the most extremist leaders". "The conditions are now being created to make it very difficult for Swapo to get the absolute majority," says Tjongarero, and the interventions are eclectic. He cites possible "fiddling with the

could vote, as could some Unita refugees"; and, most importantly, "the hearts-and-minds campaign suddenly undertaken by the security forces." He says reports received from the north show that security forces — from the notorious Koevoet to regular SWATF men — "are now being used in a sort of fieldworker role, some in uniform. They're driving trucks, offering to rebuild houses and replant crops destroyed in the war. It's a forgive-and-forget campaign, trying to turn people against Swapo. We can't stop it."

Coupled with this are pamphlet drives, taking in various approaches. The SWATF's feared 101 Battalion has distributed this message, in Afrikaans and Oshiwambo: "101 Battalion is fighting for freedom, humanity and progress. Why aren't you part of the winning team?"

Less subtle is the unattributed flyer found along the "cutline" between Owamboland and Angola: "The Cubans steal our meat. The Russians steal our oil. These are Swapo's friends ..."

In addition, there is the real concern over the role of the regular Swapol who will serve in an ancillary capacity to the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag).

"Of course we've cause to worry," says Tjongarero, "these are people who for the better part of their lives have had a political motivation. People who have long pursued Swapo with such vigour can hardly be expected to suddenly wake up neutral."

His nervousness is echoed by an official of the Owamboland administrative authority: "The Untag people will not know the country, and they will be gentlemen. Imagine them relying on people from Koevoet, who were killers. We're going to have to stand up and be our own Untag."

Not all of the pitfalls are "Made in South Africa", as Swapo activists readily concede. Their apparent support may dwarf all other political opponents, but the cumulative "anti-

Windhoek commentator puts it this way: "The probabilities — not possibilities — range from relative success to total disaster. Transition could be

The cash till isn't empty. It's awash in red ink

NAMIBIA'S struggle for political liberation is drawing to an end. The battle for economic freedom has not yet been joined.

Even more than its predecessors Africa's last colony faces a gargantuan task in seeking to extricate itself from reliance on the superpower which has controlled it for the best part of a century.

Some economic analysts estimate the Namibian economy accounts for "between five and 12 percent of the South African market" — depending on the industry — giving rise to the somewhat uncharitable description of Windhoek as "a tick on the behind of the Pretoria cow".

And, more than sheer size limitations, the analysts argue, there is the way in which the Namibian economy has been "exploited" by South Africa. "We've been used as Pretoria's pantry," said one disillusioned white resident of Windhoek. "In the past, if there was a meat shortage in South Africa, they would buy all of ours. If there was a surplus, they'd block us.

"We're not even self-sufficient in terms of food — we have to buy agricultural produce from Cape Town. Even under German rule we were self-sufficient in dairy products. Now we import 80 percent."

Regarding the country's major industries, particularly diamonds and uranium, there's a distressed feeling in Namibia that South African companies have taken without really giving. Beneath these surface manifestations, there are a host of other indications, there are a host of other indications of an unequal relationship: Walvis Bay is Namibia's only deep-water port, and it will stay South African for the foreseeable future. (The estimated cost of upgrading Luderitz is half a billion rand.)

The reliance on the South African transport infrastructure — there are

Swapo emerges as the clear victor. "Then there will at least be peace. If not, we explode into pieces." Tjongarero would agree with the

The country has been used as Pretoria's pantry. Not even the banks keep large amounts in Windhoek.

as yet no viable African alternatives to the north or east — will be close to absolute.

The belief that Namibia has been "stripped" is deep-seated. "There's no wealth in Windhoek, just debt," says one entrepreneur who asked not to be named. "Banks keep trivial amounts here: if it's not sitting in Jo'burg, it's in Walvis or Upington. South African parastatals didn't pay taxes here for ages. And the big companies don't even own their typewriters, they lease them.

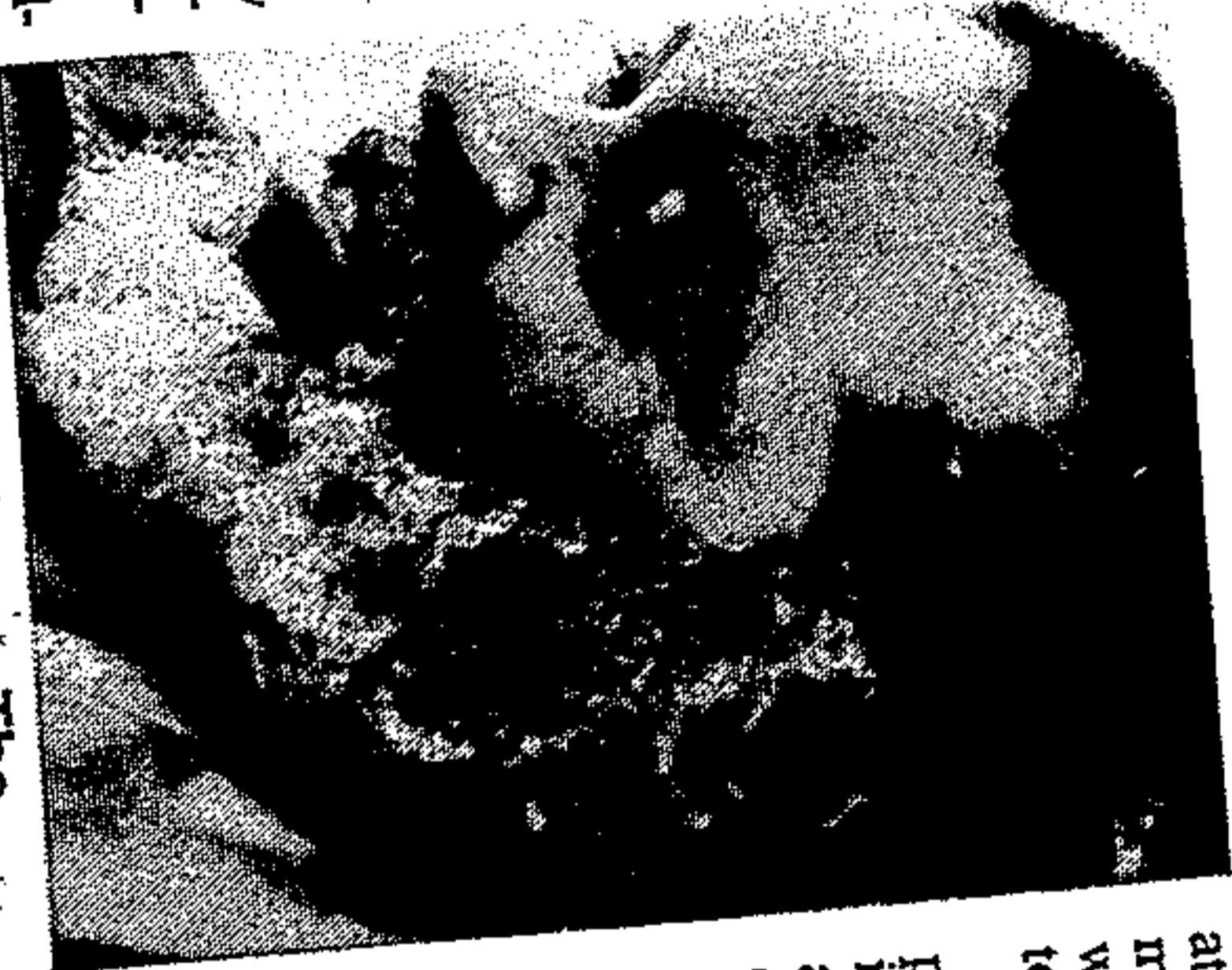
"Windhoek is grossly undercapitalised. There's no Reserve Bank. When Sam Nujoma opens the cash register, it won't just be empty — it'll be awash with red ink."

The economy is already showing "skidmarks", he says. Transitional Government Finance Minister Dirk Mudge concedes that property prices are plummeting, but attributes this to a recent, "unrealistic, overheated high", not the political developments. "Just how bad is it? There seems to be a realisation, cutting across the political spectrum, that the old image of Namibia being 'a big rich country with a small population, and plenty to go around', is a shibboleth.

A Swapo official says the movement is aware that many people believe "all Namibians have to do is take up picks and shovels and dig around to get rich".

The message has to be conveyed that this is simply not the reality. At the same time the heirs-apparent, Swapo, present a relatively upbeat picture of the economic prospects after independence.

However, when pressed, local Action Nationale Party chief Sarel Bekker lets on it's his "impression that Swapo will win. Black people always



Sam Nujoma: The cupboard is bare

They have a point, as there are many positive aspects to their inheritance — some of the best roads in Africa among them.

Hence Swapo's measured intervention, with the release of a major economic policy document indicating there would be "no wholesale nationalisation" after independence; and the direct confirmation that there would be open dealings with South Africa.

None of this precludes Namibia from becoming the 10th member of the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, of course. Swapo has clearly committed a great deal of energy to the economic dimension, and the fashioning of a public position.

A Swapo official in Katutura set it out: "We see the situation inheriting a system that has long been based on a number of inequalities. 'Swapo' has to promote the continu-

attempts to use SWA identity documents as proof of eligibility, meaning virtually any civil servant or soldier

action and heightening of the economy's performance while seeking, with the people in control of that sector, to redress the inequalities.

"It is a difficult task, but there are positive elements. For example, an independent Namibia will open up avenues which have been politically closed for years. If properly managed, the prospects for foreign investment are good.

"An incoming government would naturally have to accept the reality of economic dependence (on South Africa) ... not the so-called budgetary assistance, but in much broader infrastructural terms."

The sub-text is Swapo will quickly have to convince a broad range of business-minded people that the new rulers appreciate the importance of stability — or, to use the jargon, "the promotion of business confidence."

"Our pragmatism is not the sort that leads to the changing of faces at the top, and letting things stay the same," says the official, "but we need to secure a certain degree of infrastructure and capital."

The policy is likely to be played out in relation to the crucial foreign-owned mines: "Contracts will have to be negotiated that ensure the state has some sort of partnership arrangement, progressive taxation or the like.

"We would certainly entertain the idea of a mixed economy for a free Namibia."

The Namibian economy, even more than the country's politics, is a Pandora's box which is about to be opened after many years. The picture is still opaque, but Swapo is working on creating a patch of light. It has to, or the prospect looms of the country becoming — in the words of a Swapo activist — another Lesotho, circa 1986.

Swapo" vote cannot be ignored. Windhoek is regarded as a relatively reliable barometer of support-trends, but these will only begin to cohere when campaigning starts in earnest — at the very earliest in mid-February. The city and its satellite townships house some 100 000 people. This is the most cosmopolitan conurbation Namibia has to offer.

The social price extracted by more than 20 years of war also adds an unpredictable factor to voting patterns. Says Fannuel Kozonguizi, interim justice minister and ostensible foe of Swapo and South Africa: "Thousands of people have been caught between two fires. They've had their asses kicked in the morning, and again in the evening. They don't know who's who. They'll go with whoever seems to be safer at the time."

Joe Pütz, editor of Windhoek's German-language weekly *Nachrichten*, calls it "political whiplash" and agrees it's an unknown quantity.

In party terms, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance is an efficient political structure, but its moving asset Dirk Mudge, is both its biggest asset and greatest drawback. Everyone agrees he's an extremely competent operator, but it is hardly imaginable that a white former Nationalist could lead a predominantly black nationalist country to freedom.

He can't even guarantee the support of the estimated 70 000-strong white population, as the Nationalist Party is active, there is the "German factor", and the HNP believes the time has come for its *biterende* politics. Nevertheless, Mudge is likely to find himself and a few colleagues in the constituent assembly — and even, according to wilder speculation, possibly invited into a Swapo cabinet.

Among the other parties which are more than mere figments of overambitious imaginations is the South West African National Union (Swanu). Already the victim of a rafted split — one bit participating in the interim government, the other attacking Swapo from the left — Swanu is not a serious contender. However, as a Windhoek election-watcher

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Weekly Mail



No car, no suitcases, no place to go: A white worker and his family hitch-hike through the desert to reach South Africa
 Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

Ready, set, run: An exodus to the Cape

WHEN jittery white Namibians look down south for a possible haven from black majority rule, their eyes tend to rest on one town in the Western Cape.

So many of them have bought property in Somerset West that it's referred to up north as *Sommer Suidwes*.

In its implications for the future of an independent Namibia, the joke isn't that funny. Herstigje Nasionale Party leader in Windhoek, Sarel Bekker, says: "If Swapo comes to power, there'll be an exodus of whites without precedent in our history."

This may be bluster but the talk of "ghost towns" and the figures of "ghost towns" — that between 40 flying around — that between 40

small children — hitch-hiking through the desert to reach the "States", as South Africa is widely referred to. "Getting out," was all the man would say.

The family had no car and only minimal baggage: it was a scene uncomfortably reminiscent of the jumbled panic of Portuguese refugees crossing into Namibia.

Swapo, while clearly concerned about the potential loss of skilled, economically active citizens, thinks the situation is exaggerated — scare-talk to make a Swapo government seem even more un-

When the UN troops arrive, the white right-wingers will run so fast there'll be a brown stripe across the Orange River ...

new government, and carry on making profits. That leaves the lingerers, who will wait and see."

Interestingly, sources in the South West African Police say their intelligence confirms that a large proportion of whites will play the waiting game, making their decisions over the two wa-

From inside Namibia, Tjongarero echoes this approach, saying Swapo has no interest in retribution against whites or blacks regarded as "collaborators".

"We don't entertain ideas of people's courts, or Nuremberg-like trials," he says.

Ominously, however, some people talk of an alternative white response, very different to that of mere staying or going. This is the armed resistance, raising the spectre of latter-day commandos on horseback causing havoc in the vast expanses of savannah.

The HINP's Bekker says it's ser-

standsbeweging, which had made the most overt threats of "forcibly stopping the sell-out of whites", has suffered a setback in Namibia in the wake of the scandal surrounding South African leader Eugene TerreBlanche.

There have been no recent indications from the Windhoek branch about planned responses to the arrival of Untag, and some 70 per cent of whites still don't quite believe independence is going to happen.

In any event, say sources in the police, "armed white resistance" is nothing more than the talk of *braggadocios*.

Pütz puts it more earthily: "Sam Nujoma's going to come back, and draw a crowd of about

and run — are danger signals that a government-in-waiting cannot afford to ignore.

Joe Pütz, editor of the Windhoek German-language weekly, *Nachrichtler*, says it's too early to tell because the first "withdrawal symptoms" are only now beginning to show.

But don't think the efflux is a chimera, he warns: "I think 40 to 60 percent of whites will leave, proportionally more Afrikaners than Germans. Practically all the retirees will go."

Bekker says he meets people "every day who say they are leaving, or tell me of people who've gone already. A great number of railway workers have left, and I know of farmers who've sold to neighbours who are going to try and stick it out."

The gloomy picture of flight he paints was given circumstantial backing last week by the sight of a white family — a worker from Walvis Bay, his wife and two

remarked, "it's another ingredient for the anti-Sam (Nujoma) pot".

So is "Swapo-D", the unimpressive "Democratic" offshoot led by renegade and latterly Transitional Government chairman Andreas Shipanga.

Then there are the various "second tier" tribally-based leaders. It would be quite wrong to expect voting on pure tribal lines (thus reflecting the 50 percent Owambo population, 12 percent Kavango, five percent Herero and so on); but some aspirant parliamentarians will try to make ethnicity an issue in rural areas.

Already there are fumbling attempts at forging alliances and fronts, in the hope that just enough support can be drawn away from Swapo to sneak a few seats.

Progress toward even this limited goal has been uneven. Interviewed at his offices at Ondangwa, Owambo administration chairman Peter Kalangua — regarded as an essential element of the putative alliances — said he "knew nothing at all" about a reported front between him and Damara Paramount Chief Justus Garoëb.

So much for voting day itself. At least 10 months stand between now

Internal Deputy National Chairman Danny Tjongarero says an estimated 30 to 40 percent of whites are "South African bureaucrats who would go home anyway if they aren't offered tempting jobs".

The exodus-peddlers, he says, ignore the fact that there are three other important categories of whites who have either decided to stay, come what may, or are waiting to see how the transitional process unfolds.

"There are the so-called 'converted', he says, 'who've already made up their minds to live in an independent, democratic Namibia.

"There are those who simply have to stay. Farmers and the like, people born and bred here. They know the situation in South Africa can only get worse — and they can't go to Europe because of financial constraints.

"And the businessmen are looking to extract concessions from a

and then, and each one will be lit up by its own political fireworks.

When will Nujoma choose to return? When will the thousands of refugees come back? How easily will the reunification of Swapo's "home" and "away" teams be effected? Will — and this brings a look of fright to the face of any Namibian who is asked — there be terrible violence when campaigning gets under way?

For Tjongarero, Nujoma's safety is a matter of the deepest concern: "Yes, yes, yes — we worry about it all the time," he says, "and with the extent to which people have been emotionally prepared to hate Swapo, who can discount the possibility of a Church Square-type massacre here?"

This is not just paranoia. HNP chief Bekker, while distancing himself from the sentiment, speaks of an acquaintance who said he "was just waiting to get Sam Nujoma".

"That happens," says Tjongarero, "and you can kiss goodbye to 435. There will be chaos.

The return of the refugees is the subject of hot debate — there is a dispute over numbers, and fears that many might be prevented from re-

turned periods — Untag's arrival on April 1, and the elections eight months later.

Tjongarero says he's not underplaying the dangers, particularly as far as mobile professionals are concerned: "In a country like Namibia, even if 12 doctors leave for South Africa, it's a sizeable headache for us."

There are just over 70 000 whites living in Namibia — down from a high of close to 100 000 in 1975. Of the current population, about 40 percent are German-speaking, four percent English-speaking (including many people of Portuguese extraction), and the remaining majority is Afrikaners.

It has been noticeable in recent weeks that Swapo president Sam Nujoma recognises the value of persuading the equivocators among them to stay. There's been a clear "reassurance campaign", taking in primarily economic but also social factors.

turning. Their reintegration will be a tortuous process; so much so that Swapo sources say they've set aside a six-week period to achieve it before campaigning can move into top gear.

As a corollary, the unification of the parallel Swapo structures is another hurdle to be surmounted. There is duplication of positions and roles, and internal activists have struggled to get travel documents to allow them direct consultation with the exiles.

"Geographical boundaries have forced us to act in a somewhat disjointed way," says Tjongarero, "and I am realistic enough to see there might be some problems — we've been living under different conditions, doing different things. We don't yet really know each other's individual realities, but it will sort out."

Few Namibians think the last lap of their liberation marathon, a century of colonial rule, will be clean-cut.

It may not unfold as the cynic predicts — "harassment, intimidation, run-out-mongering, everyone cheating so much that it all balances out" — but as he repeats dolefully over his mug of *Windhoek Export*: "Only the dreamers dare to pretend they know."

ious talk: "Look, 20 000 whites 25 000 in Namibia, and 25 000 could easily be mobilised, and will take one look and say 'Ops, just drive the UN troops out of *hier kom die kassers* — *ek is af*'. The country. I'm not saying it's "They just need to see a photocopy of a UN soldier to panic. Westers are a peaceful people. But when the blue helmets arrive, the if violence starts from the Swapo far-righters will run so fast side ..."

The Afrikaner Weer - the Orange River."

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AFRICA

Namibia to join African trade club?

LUANDA. — With the clock ticking towards independence for Namibia this year, Southern African nations are looking forward to signing up a new member for their economic club.

Namibia is likely to be a major topic at the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference's (SADCC) annual conference in Luanda this week.

Diplomats say that if Swapo wins Namibia's UN-supervised elections, Namibia is virtually certain to become the 10th member of the nine-year-old regional economic group.

Namibia would add only a million people to the SADCC's 73-million, but it would bring significant mineral riches. At present, its economy is almost exclusively tied to South Africa.

One of the SADCC's aims is to reduce dependence on South Africa, acknowledged as the region's economic giant but viewed by most SADCC states as the source of their problems.

The SADCC's nine members include three which are in the South African Customs Union — Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana.

Outlet to ports

Angola and Tanzania have no ties with South Africa, while Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique depend to varying degrees on Pretoria for transport routes and imports.

Most of the SADCC's initial thrust has been towards improving transport and infrastructure to the east, repairing Mozambique's war-battered and neglected railways and ports to provide an outlet to the Indian Ocean free of South African control.

This week's meeting will bring to Luanda hundreds of ministers and officials from the European Community, the Nordic countries and such nations as Canada, who have made SADCC their favourite channel for aid to Southern Africa.

Western diplomats say the SADCC countries are far ahead of the rest of Africa in overcoming local rivalries and jointly planning their economic development.

Economic reality in Namibia



Wolfgang Thomas, with the Small Business Development Corp, is author of *Economic Development in Namibia* (1978). The following analysis of the economic prospects for an independent Namibia is taken from an article in the February edition of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.

Three dimensions call for attention: the political and strategic; demographic and manpower shifts; and the direction of the economy.

As regards the internal political and strategic developments during the transitional phase, SA's dominant position as neighbour, its control of Walvis Bay and overwhelming regional power are of cardinal importance. Together with this is the fact that the Western powers, the Soviet Union, the OAU and even Swapo have no interest, with the onset of a power vacuum (as in Angola in 1975), in scrummaging for domination. Namibia's deeply heterogeneous population mix would have made the outcome of such a process particularly unpredictable.

Seen in this perspective, SA's continuing presence in Walvis Bay is thus probably stabilising, and it would seem improbable that Swapo or diplomatic leaders would address this potential point of conflict during the transitional phase.

The internal election process will probably be overshadowed by the general acceptance that independence will only be realised within the framework of a closer economic and strategic interdependence with SA. While party political rhetoric will probably not be dampened by this, the leadership of all the main parties will be thoroughly aware of this framework.

The influence of senior officials in the various State departments — and their continued presence during the transition — should not be underestimated in this regard.

Regarding demographic and manpower changes, the next two years could be relatively traumatic — especially for some groups — but in view of the total population of 1,5m (300 000 households) these problems do not appear to be insurmountable.

It is expected that a part of the almost 80 000 Namibians living in camps in neighbouring states will return. If their return directly coincides with the withdrawal of the security forces in the north, and without provision for financial assistance to households, a critical situation could easily arise. In that case the pressure of the southward migration could increase, creating problems in the Windhoek area.

Parallel to this stream, a number of smaller ones can be expected: the Untag

troops and assistant personnel, skilled Namibians who are spread around the world (but who will probably return after the election), and various foreign experts, businessmen, political observers, and others from countries bordering Namibia (including from SA) who would want to join the "Uhuru bandwagon."

Against that, a fair number of white (and coloured) residents of Namibia will join the present exodus, though probably not in great numbers. Though crunches as a result of the exodus of skilled labour could occur, and while new arrivals could not fill those vacancies in the short-term, one should not expect crises during the transitional period. The proximity of SA and the possibility of recruiting contract workers on a short-term basis should minimise these dangers.

At the same time, no dramatic weakening is expected on the economic side. Namibia's key sectors — mining, agriculture, fisheries and commerce — are well developed and have a couple of years of reasonable growth behind them. The construction sector is growing all the time, and the increasing urbanisation (already about 45%), will retain its momentum.

During the transition, budget financing will be primarily a problem of negotiation, since the deficits will be relatively small in relation to SA's declining defence commitments in Namibia and its total budget.

The general expectation is that foreign aid will be relatively smaller than hoped for. Yet it still seems possible to mobilise funds, other than private capital, for specific aid or bridging programmes (for example, the re-integration of refugees in the north). The single biggest problem is certainly compensation for reduced defence spending in the economy of the north.

The three years after independence will probably be the most crucial phase in the decade ahead. While speculation about specific trends at this stage is very risky, it is worth sketching the outlines of one scenario.

In the 10-year debate over possible developments in an independent Namibia, speculation about the composition of the first independence government often arose. Bearing in mind the limitations imposed by Namibia's dependence on SA, it seems that a "government of national unity" is virtually a *sine qua non* for a more stable new State. Any variant — say the exclusion of Swapo or some of the DTA groups — will probably not remain in power for very long.

Against this background, it seems likely that Namibia's economic system will be a relatively pragmatic mixture of socialist ideals and capitalist realities, more or less along the lines of the pattern in Zimbabwe.

If this route is followed from the outset — which looks possible in the light of Africa's recent past — the dreaded flight of capital

and skills from the country can be significantly contained, especially if the new government resists imposing drastic foreign exchange controls. With such a pragmatic policy it is quite possible that the return of skilled Namibians and other immigrants could fill most of the vacancies caused by emigration.

The same could happen with capital flow if there is a sympathetic attitude towards the mines, industry and financial institutions, to prevent a flight of capital, and if at the same time there is a combination of development aid and foreign private investment.

Taking into account Namibia's population of 1,5m, its work force of just more than 500 000, and an annual population growth of 45 000 as well as a work force increase of between 18 000 and 20 000, its resource base is not that unfavourable, especially compared to other African states.

If the new regime can consolidate its political position within three or four years, a more gradual economic growth process should certainly be possible thereafter. As far as exports are concerned, fish, minerals, meat, wool and tourism should strengthen the balance of payments (and foreign exchange), while a combination of urbanisation, agriculture and land reform, small business development and job creation, should stimulate economic growth in northern Namibia.

Against an urban complex of 250 000 to 300 000 people in Ovamboland, and about 100 000 to 120 000 along the coast (Walvis Bay-Swakopmund-Arandis), the Windhoek-Rehoboth complex could easily grow by 100 000 into a city of 350 000 over the next year.

The mining sector has a planning horizon of 10 to 15 years. With the development of the Koedoe gas field, certain new diamond fields and a series of mineral deposits in the central area of Namibia, mining should in the long-term probably retain a 30% share of the GDP. A partial government shareholding in the major mines should not hinder these developments. Similarly, it may be expected that a flexible land reform policy (aimed at under-utilised farms and the privatising of tribal land), will stimulate the agricultural sector. The further "Namibianisation" of the commercial and financial service sectors can, if sensitively tackled, stimulate domestic growth — without thereby cutting all ties with SA.

Of course, by changing these assumptions a fundamentally different future can be sketched. The basic ideas underlying the above scenario should however be clear: with independence drawing near, it also becomes clearer in Namibia that a changeover of power leaves limited scope for dramatic structural changes or reform — especially if one does not want to run high risks. ■

UN's plan for Namibia is in danger

Swapo confident of election win

3/2/89 (22)

NEW YORK. — Unless the UN secretary-general's latest plan designed to bring Namibia to independence is approved by the Security Council in the coming days, the whole exercise could fall apart, diplomats have warned.

At the same time, Mr Perez de Cuellar has expressed his concern about the delay caused by the African nations who want the size and cost of the UN force in Namibia to be enlarged.

"Time is running out," he is reported to have warned African ambassadors in his office this week.

Recently, the UN announced that it would send 4 560 men to Namibia at a cost of R1bn rather than the original plan for 7 500 troops which would have cost R1,5bn.

Now a Western ambassador has warned that if the April 1 date slips away, "it could make it very difficult for the whole election process to go ahead as planned".

LUANDA. — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma predicted yesterday that his party would win the Namibia independence elections in November despite South's African efforts to obstruct a free and fair poll, reports Ziana, Zimbabwe's national news agency.

He was addressing the eighth Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) consultative conference here on behalf of liberation movements.

Mr Nujoma accused Pretoria of deploying 35 000 troops, registering Angolan Unita bandits as citizens and intimidating rural people to influence the outcome of the United Nations-supervised elections.

He said that despite South Africa's designs which included raising the voting age to 21, Swapo was confident of winning.

He also accused the United States, Britain and France of trying to renege on arrangements for Namibia's transition to independence.

He attacked moves by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to save money by scaling down the size of the UN force that will supervise Namibia's process of independence from South African rule starting on April 1.

Without mentioning the Soviet Union and China, which have supported the cut, he pinned the blame on the three Western permanent members, accusing them of trying to go back on agreements made in 1978.

Meanwhile, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in his opening address that there were enormous prospects for establishing peace in Angola, following the recent New York agreement.

The president called on SADCC members to increase their support in order to consolidate peace and stability in the region. — Sapa-Reuter

Castro to ^{Star 6/2/89} send students ⁽²²¹⁾ to Namibia

By Neil Lürssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Hundreds of Namibian students are to be sent home from Cuba to play an active role in this year's elections under Security Council Resolution 435.

Last week, at the Hendrick Witbooi School on Cuba's Isle of Youth, Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro told the youngsters that those of the right age would have to go back to Namibia ... "to work on the tasks of educating and training the people, as well as to vote in the elections".

"Not a single vote can be lost," he said.

RETURN

Many of the students have not completed their courses at high school, technical college and university levels, but Dr Castro promised them that most would be given an opportunity to go back to Cuba to finish their studies.

It was more important, however, he told them, to win the election and not to allow the "racists, fascists and oppressors" to manipulate the election.

"You are ready to leave, to move to Namibia when Swapo indicates



Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro.

it is time," he said.

President Castro said he had no doubt that the people of Namibia would vote for a Swapo government.

"The issue right now is to guarantee the impartiality of the elections, to avoid manipulations of the electoral process, to avoid traps and fraud in the elections and to prevent the racists and their allies from sowing fear in the people of Namibia, thereby preventing them from freely expressing themselves," Dr Castro said.

"The friends of the Namibian cause have been denouncing this and issuing warnings about it, and they will continue struggling, fighting and mobilising public and international opinion so that it will be very difficult for the racists to manipulate the elections."

UN ties cut after April 1

(22)

Secret checks will put Swapo out on a limb

WASHINGTON — The checklist of steps pressed on Swapo by Frontline states, to ensure UN impartiality in the run-up to Namibia's independence elections, confirms that Swapo will be on its own once the UN plan goes into effect.

From that moment — target date is April 1 — the organisation will be subject to the joint authority of the SA-appointed administrator general and the UN special representative.

All UN support to the movement will cease and the General Assembly will not be permitted to discuss Namibia during the transition.

Approval

Business Day has obtained a copy of the checklist that has remained secret since it was presented to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar in 1982.

Perez de Cuellar had intended to release it as part his January 23 report detailing how, subject to Security Council approval, he intended to implement to the UN plan.

He was persuaded to withhold it by Frontline states.

These are understood to have feared embarrassment by the number of concessions they persuaded Swapo to accept.

The list comprises 17 agreements and understandings on key aspects of

SIMON BARBER

the plan. Six prohibit all special ties between Swapo and the UN:

□ The UN will not provide funds for Swapo nor any other party during the transition period.

□ The UN Council for Namibia should refrain from engaging in all public activities once the Security Council authorises implementation.

□ The Commissioner for Namibia should suspend all political activities during the transition.

□ Swapo will voluntarily forego special privileges granted to by the General Assembly.

□ Consideration of the question of Namibia should be suspended during the transition period.

□ At the Security Council meeting to authorise implementation of resolution 435 speakers should be kept to a minimum. None of the parties to the election or ceasefire would speak.

□ PETER DELMAR reports the SADF will supply a significant proportion of equipment the UN's military wing, Untag, will use during the transition to independence, says Finans en Tegniek magazine.

According to Dermot Hussey, UN co-ordinator of purchases, the UN is negotiating with the SADF. These negotiations are not affected by the UN's ban on weapons deals with SA.

The SADF, he says, has so far given good co-operation with negotiations on the matter.

Namibians in Cuba to go home for poll

ARGUS
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From NEIL LURSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Hundreds of Namibian students are to be sent home from Cuba to play an active role in elections under Security Council Resolution 435.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro gave a pep talk at the Hendrick Witbooi School on Cuba's Isle of Youth last week, telling the youngsters that those of the right age would have to go back to Namibia ... "to work on the tasks of educating and training the people, as well as to vote in the elections".

"Not a single vote can be lost," he said.

Swapo government

Many of the students have not completed their courses at high school, technical college and university levels but Castro promised them that most would be given an opportunity to return to Cuba to finish their studies.

He said it was more important, however, to win the election and not to allow the "racists, fascists and oppressors" to manipulate the election.

"You are ready to leave, to move to Namibia when the Swapo indicates it is time," he said.

President Castro said he had no doubt that the people would vote for a Swapo government but that it was important that they be organised and guided.

He and other Third World leaders rejected the United Nations report, drawn up by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and "his team of collaborators" which said that the number of Untag troops to be sent to Namibia to monitor the elections should be reduced from 7 500 men to 4 650.

The report satisfied only the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, who had acted closely on this issue, he charged.

"The issue right now is to guarantee the impartiality of the elections, to avoid manipulation of the electoral process, to avoid traps and fraud in the elections and to prevent the racists and their allies from sowing fear in the people of Namibia, thereby preventing them from freely expressing themselves," Castro said.

"The friends of the Namibian cause have been denouncing this and issuing warnings about it and they will continue struggling, fighting and mobilising public and international opinion so that it will be very difficult for the racists to manipulate the elections."



Plea for full UN Namibia force

22/1/89
HARARE. — Church organisations, representatives of liberation movements and journalists attending the symposium on world peace which ended in Harare today have called on UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, not to reduce the number of Untag forces bound for Namibia.

In a statement released at the end of the symposium this afternoon, delegates told Mr de Cuellar they were concerned that South Africa might deny Namibia the opportunity to fully realise its right to self-determination.

MRGWS 6/2/89
 Represented were church councils from Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, the ANC, PAC and Swapo and the Union of African Journalists.

"We are convinced that the full Untag force is the minimum necessary to ensure that the election to the constituent assembly of Namibia will be free and fair," the group said in a statement to the UN secretary-general.

They also raised the concern that South Africa might now or in the interim period, take decisions "that may deny the Namibians the opportunity to

fully realise their right to self-determination".

The group said they had heard "with alarm of manoeuvres of the South African administration in Namibia to sell off social facilities and public institutions to private interests". Those affected could include health, postal and telecommunications services, railways and civil aviation.

"We call on your excellency to investigate with a view to preventing the Pretoria regime from undertaking such action which would impede the use of such services by all Namibians regardless of colour, race, origin and creed," the statement said. — Sapa.



Mr Perez De Cuellar

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NOT TOO LATE TO DITCH 435, SAYS TREURNICHT

By *Don 3/2/87* Political Staff

(221)

CAPE TOWN — Government should at this late hour reconsider and reverse its support for the implementation of resolution 435 in Namibia, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He wanted to know why government was hasty regarding the implementation of 435 because it had never been wholeheartedly in favour of it.

"If the government is secretly planning to let resolution 435 be shipwrecked, it naturally cannot say so, but if it does want to wreck it because it does not want to throw the people of South West Africa to the wolves, because it wants to face its responsibilities and it cannot run the risk of putting in Swapo and see the red flag flying in Windhoek, then the government does not have much time to turn around and shake off resolution 435, then, it must not be seen to be in a hurry to get rid of South West.



● TREURNICHT

"As matters stand, the majority of Cubans will remain in Angola when Swapo takes over power.

"We ask: who from SA will monitor the withdrawal of the Cubans out of Angola? On whose trust or promises are we negotiating?

"There was a time when it was absolutely certain that Swapo would overwhelmingly win the majority for a legislative body in SWA. What reason is there for not believing this any longer?

"If it is still true, how is the government planning to protect the inhabitants of SWA against Swapo and a communist takeover of SWA?" he asked. — Sapa.

Swapo's leader calls for sincerity

Argus Africa
News Service

MAPUTO. — Only the goodwill and sincerity of all parties will ensure the success of the peace accords that will lead to Namibia's independence, Swapo's leader Sam Nujoma has said.

In an interview with the Namibia Press Agency, Mr Nujoma said, however, that because South Africa had in the past broken several accords "nobody can be very sure that the racist regime will honour its part of the bargain".



He accused the South African administration in Namibia of issuing Namibian identification cards to members of the Angolan rebel movement Unita to influence the next elections in the territory.

He said another attempt to influence the election was the intention to set a voting age limit of 21 while in South Africa the voting age was 18. He said this was aimed at disenfranchising the youth in Namibia.

He also criticised the United Nations decision to reduce the peace keeping force to be sent to Namibia during the transitional period.

"We believe that enough injustices have been done to our cause by those who are powerful," he said.

'SA influence in Untag cuts': OAU

MAPUTO. — Close ties between some members of the United Nations Security Council and South Africa is the reason behind the attempts to reduce the size of the UN force (Untag) to be sent to Namibia, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Secretary General, Mr Ide Oumarou, has said.

Speaking at a press conference here at the end of an official visit to Mozambique, Mr Oumarou said he did not think that economic factors were the principal cause for the reduction of the troops as stated by the Security Council.

"We think that it is not out of the question that certain members of the Security Council continue to think in terms of preserving their privileged links with South Africa," he said.

He said South Africa's troops in Namibia could be an intimidating factor in the elections and, therefore, the UN should be represented in Namibia "in a manner sufficient to counterbalance the South African presence".

He said South Africa was working to ensure an election result in its favour so the UN should take measures to ensure free and fair elections.

He warned that if Namibia's independence came about "in an irregular fashion, then we shall face a much more complex situation than we have today". — The Argus Africa News Service.

... appeared for Mr Alexander.

Ramphal: 'Risky to trust Pretoria'

CHE (14) 2/2/87 (22)

HARARE. — The five permanent members of the Security Council, by voting to reduce United Nations peacekeeping forces in Namibia, were asking the world to risk trusting South Africa, Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal said on Sunday.

"The permanent members are asking the international community to accept that it was a justifiable risk to take with the future of Namibia — to place trust in South Africa to fulfil its part of the 435 operations," he said, addressing the third meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa.

"The real question here is the confidence to be reposed in South Africa to fulfil the requirements of resolution 435. The permanent members are asking this against the unbroken record of South African perfidy in relation to Namibia, and all its other relationships in Southern Africa," he said.

Using economy as the excuse for the reduction of UN peacekeeping forces in Namibia from the proposed 7 500 to 4 650 was not valid, he said.

"On the best estimates we have it was a saving to them of about \$160 million (R384m). What does that amount mean to the five permanent members?

"It is the cost of seven fighter aircraft. It is about two weeks of United States spending on 'star wars' research. It is, almost unbelievably, about two hours of their collective military spending." — Sapa

Apartheid 'will remain menace'

HARARE. — Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe told Commonwealth foreign ministers yesterday that even after peace was obtained in Angola and independence in Namibia, apartheid would continue to menace Southern Africa.

He was officially opening a three-day meeting of the eight-nation Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa which lobbies for the intensification of sanctions against Pretoria.

Referring to the United Nations Security Council decision to advise Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cueller to reduce the size of the UN's transition force in Namibia, Mr Mugabe said that nothing should be allowed to hijack Namibia's march to freedom.

Mr Mugabe, who is also chairman of the 101-nation Non-Aligned Movement, warned against over-enthusiasm about developments in Angola and Namibia, saying: "Any optimism this agreement may have generated must be tempered by anxiety about potential hurdles and landmines lying on the way."

He said the committee would be told in detail of how, through armed bandits and surrogates, Pretoria had maimed and murdered civilians in Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and other Southern African states. — Sapa

Source of conflict removed, says Pik

5/2/89

Parliamentary Staff

(221)

Southern Africa was on the threshold of a new era, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Parliament yesterday in a speech on the Namibian settlement.

Through its firm negotiation, the South African Government had secured a number of significant advantages in the settlement, he said, adding that when Resolution 435 was first approved in 1978, the Cuban troop withdrawal was not linked to it.

"We have succeeded in negotiating that and it is an important advantage which has far-reaching implications for the peaceful development of South Africa. We have secured the removal of a source of conflict and war, the consequences of which I could not indicate."

Mr Botha said important constitutional safeguards for Namibia had been secured in negotiations, as well as the entrenchment of principles guaranteeing an independent judiciary, free and fair elections and the protection of human rights.

Namibian deal a victory for SA — Pik

221) 6/Dec 21/89

MIKE ROBERTSON



CAPE TOWN — The successful conclusion of the Namibian peace talks was a historic victory for SA which put the country on the brink of a new era, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told Parliament yesterday. Botha said the SA government was adamant that UN resolution 435 would be implemented on April 1.

This means first- and second-tier authorities in Namibia will have to hand over their functions to the Administrator-General on that date. Botha reportedly had a difficult meeting with the second-tier authorities last week, but they are believed to have accepted the inevitability of giving up their functions and getting down to mustering support for the November constitutional elections.

Earlier in the day Botha said in December he had written to the then US Secretary of State George Schultz offering SA's help in launching a peace initiative, similar to that which succeeded in Angola/Namibia, to end the Mozambican war.

Foreign Affairs officials are convinced that by working together with the US and USSR they can bring an end to the civil war.

Botha, who was the first Cabinet Minister to speak in the debate on the acting

President's opening speech to Parliament, attacked CP leader Andries Treurnicht for taking government to task for implementing resolution 435.

Treurnicht, he said, conveniently forgot that he was a member of the NP caucus under former Prime Minister B J Vorster which had approved resolution 435.

Even the National Party of South West Africa (NPSWA) had accepted that the SA government had acted in SA's best interests in achieving the settlement and thanked it for the diplomatic and military successes it had achieved.

Treurnicht had no right to meddle in Namibia's internal affairs, he said.

"The people of SWA must decide on their future. It's not a subject for internal political conflict in SA."

Botha said SA had much to gain from the independence of Namibia.

Foremost among the advantages that had been gained by negotiation was the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

At SA's insistence a clause was inserted in resolution 435 requiring that a two-thirds majority be obtained before any party could implement its version of a constitution without negotiation with the others.

By insisting on UN impartiality it had succeeded in getting the UN to stop all activities and funding in support of Swapo after April 1.

Swapo's status as the sole and authentic representative of Namibia would cease after that date. It would have to forego violence and campaign along with the rest of the internal parties for support in the November elections.

South Africa 8/21/89

Pik urges UN: don't delay

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SOUTH African Foreign Minister Pik Botha urged the United Nations yesterday not to delay Namibia's transition to independence from Pretoria.

Mr Botha said the UN Security Council should this week ratify Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar's 416 million dollar proposal to deploy 4659 troops in Namibia to supervise the move to independence.

UN troops are scheduled to arrive in Namibia on April 1 but

final ratification of the timetable has been delayed by a row over the size of the force.

A number of African states have said at least 7500 men are needed to prevent South Africa interfering in the independence process.

"I do not contemplate a delay," Mr Botha told reporters at a briefing in Cape Town. "It just has to be April 1. It must be. We cannot go on like this. The moment we slip on that, then I predict big problems." — Sapa-
Reuter.

Swapo, De Beers in 'talks'

CHC TABS 8/2/89 221

LONDON. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma flew home yesterday after a secret two-day visit to London during which he held talks with the De Beers diamond group. The meeting took place on Monday at the Fitz, a top London hotel. Also present were Swapo foreign affairs secretary Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab and De Beers deputy chairman Mr Nicholas Oppenheimer. Neither party would release any details. As far as can be ascertained, the

Swapo leader did not meet anyone else during his stay. A Foreign Office spokesman said there had been no contact with the British government. The visit is being interpreted here as a follow-up to last month's general economic policy statement by Mr Nujoma in which he said Swapo was committed to a mixed economy. The Guardian used its "secret talks" story on its front page.

The newspaper said the talks were certain to anger the South African government, but were "an important overture from one of the dominant Namibia after independence". "Though traditionally dependent on the Soviet Union for support in its guerilla war, Swapo is committed to a mixed economy and a plural political system for an independent Namibia. "It is a strong signal that South African business interests in Namibia are distancing themselves from Pretoria and from the South African-run interim government well ahead of the UN-powers in the rich, empty territory to

the unknown men they apparently supervised elections." De Beers, through its wholly-owned subsidiary CDM (Consolidated Diamond Mines) produces about a million carats of rough diamonds a year in Namibia. CDM employs about 6,000 people and is believed to be the country's biggest single source of revenue. Last December De Beers announced the development of another mine near Oranjemund at a capital cost of R90 million. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Ch. T. W. S.
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Angolan forces are billeted in Namibia

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — MPLA troops monitoring South Africa's disengagement from southern Angola are currently billeted inside Namibia under South African protection because Unita will not let them operate on their own side of the border, US and Unita officials said yesterday.

The troops are part of the joint monitoring commission created under the South African-Angolan ceasefire agreement reached in Geneva last August.

The JMC was to have established 12 monitoring posts along the 1300km Angola-Namibia border, but Unita has barred the Angolan contingents from operating in territory it controls.

An MPLA force was reported to have been mauled last month as it attempted to set up posts. According to a Unita spokesman, Mr Marcos Samondo, the SADF took the survivors into protective custody.

DOUBT CAST ON IMPARTIALITY OF SWEDISH TROOPS

STOCKHOLM — A Swedish newspaper said yesterday SA had informed the UN it could not accept Swedish troops in a multinational force to oversee Namibia's independence process this year.

Expressen reported Pretoria had said Sweden's strong anti-apartheid stance meant it could not be trusted to be impartial.

Swedish Foreign Ministry spokesman Bo Heineback would not comment on the report because it was up to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to request troops

from individual countries.

Sweden, which participates in many peacekeeping forces around the world, had previously said it was willing to send soldiers to Namibia.

A spokesman at the SA mission in Stockholm declined to confirm the report but said Sweden should not be surprised if Pretoria had decided on such a move.

He cited Sweden's support for Swapo and its imposition of sanctions.

"With that in mind it is difficult to believe Swedish troops could be unbiased," the spokesman said.

Sweden has pledged full support for the UN independence plan for Namibia which is to start on April 1 and end with elections seven months later.

The multinational force, expected to total about 4 500, was agreed to as part of the regional peace settlement signed in the UN's New York headquarters between SA, Angola and Cuba which has pledged to repatriate an estimated 50 000 troops to Havana.

SA companies are expected to supply much of the equipment and transport for the UN force now being assembled. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA queries safety of Namibian refugees

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9/2/89

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721

Staff Reporter

THE Canadian government, which chaired the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers conference which ended in Harare yesterday, has been asked what steps it has taken to ensure the safety of Namibian refugees in Zambia.

The request, from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, results from a petition sent by the refugees to the Zambian government, claiming that "Swapo intelligence" had decided to kill all Namibian refugees who did not support Swapo.

The refugees asked for "urgent rescue".

A copy of the petition, signed by 36 alleged refugees in the Makeni transit camp on May 20 last year, was also addressed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva.

Copies were sent to the High Commissioners of Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom, as well as the Ambassadors of Germany, the US, Netherlands and Sweden, the Parents Committee of Namibia and the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva.

RESOLUTION 435

The South African government pointed out that in terms of UN Resolution 435, it was the duty of the UN Special Representative to ensure that all Namibian refugees or Namibians detained outside the country be allowed to return peacefully to participate in elections.

They allege that "our beloved brother" Mr Kally Nghinyeka Shafoli, a Namibian, was shot dead by "Swapo intelligence" on May 14 last year and they feared for their lives.

"We are now filled with terror... We do not move about, sleep well, or attend toilets during the night or take the sick to hospital at night..."

Referring to the "frightening allegations" in the petition, the letter from the South African government said the Makeni camp was not the only one of its kind and "there is no reason to believe that the situation in other camps is less serious".

36 Namibian refugees fear Swapo 'execution'

M/Dan 10/2/88
CAPE TOWN — Thirty-six Namibian refugees have called on the international community to rescue them from execution in a Swapo transit camp in Zambia.

A copy has been delivered to the Canadian embassy in Cape Town with a covering note from SA Foreign Affairs describing the allegations as extremely frightening.

The note said: "We have concrete information that Swapo Intelligence has decided to kill all Namibian refugees who do not support that party."

The petition was signed at Makeni transit camp in Lusaka and dated May 20 1988.

It notes the "tragic death of our beloved brother, Kally Nghinyeka

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Shafooli, a Namibian shot dead by Nekondo and Kasamali of Swapo Intelligence on May 14 1988."

The note said that killing had made them realise the terrible situation they were in. They were filled with terror and one of their number was mentally disturbed as a result.

They refugees direct their request to the Zambian government, which they thank for "humanistic treatment of UNIP", the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the international community "to recognise the seriousness of this horrific situation".

They asked to be transferred to refugees camps in Western countries "but not in Africa or Asia".

The petition pleaded: "We need urgent rescue." — Sapa.



Namibian refugees earmarked for death petition

Mr Botha

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CAF TWPB 10/2/89
Political Staff

The Department of Foreign Affairs, headed by Mr Pik Botha, has sent the Canadian government a copy of a petition from 36 Namibian refugees which claims that all refugees who do not support Swapo are earmarked for death.

In a letter accompanying the petition, the department drew to the attention of the Canadian government the fact that detainees held in transit camps in Zambia should be released in terms of UN resolution 435.

It pointed out that in terms of 435 all Namibians outside the territory had to be permitted to return peacefully and allowed to participate fully in the elections.

It stated the allegations contained in the petition were "extremely frightening", adding that it was well known that the transit camp mentioned was not the only one of its kind.

The South African government would be "grateful" to know what steps the Canadian government would take to ensure the lives of the refugees were not endangered.

The petition asked that the refugees be taken to any settlement outside Africa or Asia and cited the "horrific death" of a refugee shot on May 14 last year by Swapo intelligence. The shooting is said to have taken place at the Makeni transit centre in Lusaka.

In-dependence? Ag, don't talk about that in the Los Angeles Hot Box Life Centre

SHAUN JOHNSON reports from a Cuca shop in Oshakati

THREE local landmarks have survived Owamboland's 20 cruel years of war. They are the ubiquitous *makalani* palm trees, the scattered cone-shaped anthraps and — most memorable of all — the *Cuca*-shops.

The *Cuca*-shop is an allegory of Owamboland's uncomplaining, almost impish approach to suffering. In a reluctant war-zone — the fulcrum of the fighting only because of its unfortunate location — these unique Namibian shebeens have been social rallying-points for a shattered community.

In the *Cuca*-shops, Owambos have attempted to live as if their remote, sprawling region was what it used to be — Namibia's peaceful pastoral enclave.

Within the garishly-painted and wildly-named matchbox structures which dot the roadside from Ondangwa to Ruacana, there is enough beer and loud music to shut out the incessant rumble of Casspirs and Ratel's on Owamboland's single strip of tarmac. And, if the coast is clear of Koevoet, politics may be discussed. This is what was happening on a weekday night after the curfew, two months before the planned implementation of UN Resolution 435.

A grizzled patriarch from Ongwediva township held court. He was drinking warm Windhoek Lager (in the early 1970s it would have been the legendary *Cuca* beer the Portuguese brewed in Angola, whose name still graces the shebeens), and eyeing the visiting journalist.

colleague wondering.

As we talk, a call comes through to say the Lutheran mission, half an hour away, has been "surrounded by soldiers".

A frantic drive to Onipa reveals no siege: a relieved, vaguely embarrassed worker says a column of "about 80 Casspirs and Ratel's" had drawn up outside the mission. It turned out they were just stopping on their way to the outpost of Eenhana, just below the "cutline", the strip of cleared bush that separates Namibia from Angola.

The false alarm was characteristic of the atmosphere in Owamboland. The Lutherans' printing presses had previously been bombed, twice. Now, although the war seemed to be stopping, they weren't taking any chances.

Neither, it would seem, are the security forces. There are still innumerable roadblocks, more or less rigorous depending on the unit involved. Koevoet still mans Oshivelo (the "gateway to Owamboland"), and the "counter-insurgency specialists" are characteristically thorough.

White travellers are grilled and searched; blacks have, in addition, to walk past a window covered with camouflage netting. Behind the glass, it's said, sit captured and "turned"

Swapo guerrillas —

their task is to point out members or sympathisers of the nationalist movement. Everyone sweats when going through Oshivelo.

Koevoet's relative in-



Victory's in sight: Fists up at a Swapo rally in Katutura township last week.

The mere

mention of the

UN plan is

announced in

Three officials with nowhere to go

By SHAUN JOHNSON,
In Windhoek

"If Sam Nujoma wants me out of Namibia," says Transitional Government Chairman Andreas Shipanga, surveying the sumptuous office he must shortly vacate, "he'll have to take out my bones. He won't get my soul."

At the opposite end of the hall in the *Tintenpalast*, Windhoek's administrative seat, Transitional Finance Minister Dirk Mudge is also in his office, talking about the future.

"Look," he says, "I'm 61 years old. I'm a Namibian. All I want is to stay in Windhoek and watch my five children grow up in a country where there is peace and democracy."

"I don't have a cent outside this country. I have confidence in the future. I'm not going anywhere."

At the halfway mark of the self-same corridor is the office of the Transitional Minister of Justice, Fannuel Kozonguizi. He's not quite so sure.

"Well, I just don't know where I'm going to be or what I'm going to do," he says. "All I know is I'm getting out of government."

The three men have been key figures in the multi-racial government that was supposed to keep Swapo out. Whatever else it may have achieved, it failed to do that.

Not even the defiant Shipanga can have much doubt that Nujoma will be moving in to the *Tintenpalast* come November. And the Transitional Government cabinet has let it be known it's not going to wait around that long — it will voluntarily dissolve at the beginning of March, well before the required time.

All three insist they have "nothing to be ashamed of" regarding their involvement in participating politics, and bristle when asked to rebut Swapo's charges that they're "Pretoria's puppets."

So what will happen to the transient men? Officially, they say they'll win the elections — but



Going, going ... less-than-happy Kozonguizi and Mudge

pictures: Courtesy THE NAMIBIAN

then they would, wouldn't they? The likely truth is that some of them will find their way into the constituent assembly which emerges from the November 1 polls. Some most certainly will not. For those that do, they will be hoping that the combined "non-Swapo" presence is significant enough to constitute some sort of brokerage alliance.

But they know their time in power is coming to a swift end. Kozonguizi, for one, wants to get it over and done with as soon as possible.

"Let it come," he says, "let 435 come for better or worse. I think it's time to settle this whole thing once and for all."

He says he'll stay in Namibia, but he's not sure if it will be in politics. "I started as a civil servant," he muses.

Shipanga and Mudge will defiantly fight the elections, with the latter's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance standing a far better chance of achieving meaningful results

than the Swapo-Democrats of Shipanga.

If they are afraid of retribution from Swapo, they are quick to disguise it. Shipanga is dismissive; Mudge philosophical.

The official Swapo position on "collaborators" is that they are irrelevant. They are welcome to contest the elections, says interim Deputy National Chairman Danny Tjongarero, and let the people of Namibia judge them.

Swapo does not countenance "Nuremberg trials," he says, although the possibility of maverick revenge attacks cannot be ruled out. "But as long as people are working in the interests of Namibia, and not South Africa, that's fine by us," he says.

Shipanga says he couldn't care less. "I've bought a property in Klein Windhoek — that's my home. I have a plot in the country. I'm staying; Swapo are not the only strong men born of the mothers of Namibia."

"Time will tell," says Mudge. "I'll still be here."

"In-dependence?" he asked rhetorically. "Ag, don't talk to me about that. Come back when the boers have packed up their Casspirs and are half-way to Upington. Then we can speak of independence."

The rest of the clientele in the "Los Angeles Hot Box Life Centre" concurred. Whether this was due to the beer or bitter experience was unclear.

The good citizens of Owamboland have seen it all. Known in the de-personalising argot of the security forces as the "PBs" (*plastlike bevolking*), they have played host to an ugly, vicious war which refused to leave them out of things.

Owamboland is also known as Operation area Sector 10, and it is fair to say that 90 percent of the struggle between guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia and the combined SADF/SWATF/SWAPOL has taken place within its boundaries.

Now, with Swapo having declared a unilateral ceasefire, insurgency has come to a sudden stop. Koevoet members relax at their recreation camp on the banks of the Okavango River. The dusk-to-dawn curfew is about to be lifted. Having got used to life during wartime, Ovambos are trying to adjust to the creeping peace.

At the Human Rights Centre in Ongwediva, a freshly-painted white brick building normally packed to the rafters with people seeking help, two staffers sit in an empty office and discuss the changes.

"There's been no drop in the military presence here," says one. "If anything it's increased. But it's changing from violence to propaganda."

"Look, this place used to be overcrowded every day. The only report we had yesterday was from a boy who had his Mineworkers' Union of Namibia T-shirt torn off his back by soldiers, and found himself thrown into a truck."

"Compared to what went before, that's not bad." "And no-one's been shot recently for breaking the curfew," adds his

cause uproar in the bar. 'Sit daardie ding at,' yells a soldier

activity, as locals know, is small comfort. If a rogue guerrilla is heard roar out of Oshakati once more.

The omnipresence of Koevoet — which will live in the Owambo psyche for generations — is most graphically symbolised on a mountainside near Otavi. A huge white footprint, made out of painted rocks, stands out of the green slopes. It marks a cave from which PLAN guerrillas conducted operations in the 1970s. The footprint announces that they were stamped on.

But if the black townspeople of Ondangwa and Ongwediva don't know what to think about the imminence of independence, many white soldiers choose not to think about it at all.

In an army bar at Oshakati — the forward base that sustained several Swapo stand-off bombing attacks — ears prick up as an SWABC news broadcast comes on.

"Die Administrateur-Generaal het gesê dat Resolusie 435 ..." says a voice distorted by static. The mere mention of the United Nations independence plan is enough to cause a commotion in the bar. "Sit daardie f.... ding af!" shouts a burly corporal to the black barman. He obeys promptly, and the soldiers settle back into drinking, declining to contemplate their futures. And so the uncertainty of the war-zone comes full circle, over glasses of beer.

Back in the *Cuca*-shop, a story is causing much mirth. "Do you remember when those *Cucas* were painted in Swapo colours?" says a patron. Everyone knows the tale, but they roar encouragement anyway.

"Well, when one *Cuca* owner heard Koevoet was coming, he rushed outside with a pot of paint and started adding all sorts of colours to the walls to disguise it."

"Koevoet didn't notice that half the bloody paint was soaking wet!" The laughter mixes with the faint sound of SWATF convoys, some going north, some going south.

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By SHAUN JOHNSON
 A DRAFT "independence constitution", believed to be circulating in the top echelons of Swapo, stands in stark contrast to the one-party hard-line Marxist state the South African government says Swapo is planning for Namibia.

Details of the constitution, which have come into the possession of the *Weekly Mail*, reveal a policy platform providing for a multi-party democracy in an independent state.

Article 1 of the document, believed to have been completed as recently as December last year, provides a detailed description of a "Republic of Namibia".

It will be "an independent, sovereign, unitary, democratic and secular state, founded upon the principles of democracy, the rule of law and social justice".

In terms of a definition provided in an earlier Swapo constitution, a "secular state" is one which is "not theocratic or church-controlled".

According to the London-based journal *Frontfile* — which has had access to the full draft constitution, understood to run to well over 60 pages — it is a "moderate document". (It contains) ... "no reference to the

Revealed: Swapo's 'moderate' plan for a non-socialist society

No major nationalisation • Free market system • Multi-party democracy

'scientific socialism' which formed a basic part of Swapo's constitution as amended and adopted by the Second Enlarged Central Committee meeting on April 17-20 1983 at Capriva, Kwanza-sul Province, Angola ...

"Many of (the new document's) articles could be found in the constitutions of Western states."

The document comes in the wake of a major economic policy statement which suggested that a Swapo government would not undertake widespread nationalisation, and would have no objection to a "mixed economy".

If adopted, the constitution will be

the policy platform for Swapo's campaign for the independence elections scheduled for November.

Moreover, should Swapo achieve a two-thirds majority in the polls, the document is likely to form the basis of the new, independent Republic of Namibia's formal constitution.

The new document consists of a preamble, followed by the constitutional provisions divided into nine sections and comprising 150 separate articles.

- The sections are:
- General provisions
- Rights, responsibilities and guarantees

• The economic system and its institutions

- Organs of state power
- The executive power
- Finance
- The administration of justice
- Local government, and
- Amendment (of the constitution)

Within these sections, the constitution guarantees the right to work, social benefits, health care, education, housing, culture, electoral rights, human dignity, association, life, property, trade unions and demonstrations.

There is special reference to the labour movement: "Workers have the right to form and belong to trade unions, and through their unions, to strike."

It also provides for freedom from forced labour and discrimination, freedom of travel, expression, conscience and religious belief. Specific mention is made of the right of "access to public position" and the "right against forcible entry into homes".

In terms of international relations, the new Namibia will "respect and defend the principles of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations and the general principles of international law".

Elsewhere the qualification is added that Namibia "shall not in the context of power blocs join or conclude military pacts or alliances or allow the establishment of foreign military bases on her territory".

Namibia will also "reserve the right to denounce as void treaties and concessions that the former colonial administration entered upon that served the apartheid system, exploit the national wealth, or contradict the interests of the Namibian people".

According to the draft constitution, a "National Assembly" — emerging from the elections for a "Constituent Assembly" in November — will be the "supreme organ of state power".

It will comprise 60 members, elected by "direct, free, equal and secret ballot", serving for five-year periods. In addition, the National Assembly "may elect 10 (non-voting) members from lists submitted by national mass organisations, or other organisations, as the law may provide".

Members "shall account for their activities at a public meeting in the constituency at least once a year."

The constitution contains the following (unspecific) restriction on participation in the electoral process in a future Namibia — no party or individual may participate if the constitution or programme of such party in any way advocates or accepts "discrimination on grounds of race, colour, ethnic origin, language, sex or religion ..."

The president of Namibia will be in powerful position. In addition to being chief of the armed forces, he will preside over a Council of Ministers, and appoint key people, from the prime minister to the attorney-general and the governor-general of the Reserve Bank.

He also has the power to negotiate treaties with foreign countries, and can declare states of emergency.

The constituent assembly will act as an electoral college for the first president. The council of ministers, drawn from the national assembly, will be wholly accountable to that assembly.

Local government is provided for, serving regions, districts, sub-districts and municipalities.

Local organs "shall consist of a council elected by free, universal and secret suffrage, and an executive". Within its brief will be the power to "enact by-laws for the governance of that region", although no specific parameters are outlined.

An unusual element in the draft is the provision for an ombudsman, who will be constitutionally required "systematically to seek to discover instances of corruption among officials, and to take appropriate steps to remedy instances of corruption discovered". The ombudsman will have the power to issue subpoenas.

If the draft is approved in its current form, it seems certain the new Namibia will retain Windhoek as its capital, and English will be the official language, although there will be protection for vernacular languages.

Asked to comment on the draft document, Swapo's London office said in a statement: "Any draft constitution would need to be endorsed by the Central Committee before it could be released to the public ... we have forwarded your (query) to our provisional headquarters in Luanda."

Attempts by the *Weekly Mail* to contact officials in the Luanda headquarters, proved unsuccessful. The precise status of the document therefore remains unclear.

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WMAHC 10-16/2/89

TWO DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WILL SHAPE THE NAMIBIA ECONOMY

Powerbrokers meet: De Beers talks with Swapo

By VICTORIA BRITTAIN

THIS week's talks in Angola between De Beers and Swapo were a major diplomatic coup and are likely to enrage the South African government.

The meeting, which De Beers was anxious to keep quiet, was a significant political overture from one of the dominant powers in the rich, empty territory due to become independent of South Africa later this year, to the unknown men they apparently expect to be the next government.

A De Beers representative refused to confirm the meeting, saying, "it is not our practice to comment on who we do or do not meet".

Though traditionally dependent on the Soviet Union for support in its

guerrilla war, Swapo is committed to a mixed economy and a plural political system for an independent Namibia. Based in Luanda, its president, Sam Nujoma, has been in exile for 29 years, and its secretary general, Toivo ja Toivo, served 16 years on Robben Island.

The high-level London meeting had Nujoma and his foreign affairs secretary, Theo-Ben Gurirab, hosted by the South Africans in the luxurious Ritz Hotel in Piccadilly.

It is a strong signal that South African businessmen in Namibia are distancing themselves from Pretoria, and

from the South African-run transitional government, well ahead of the United Nations supervised elections due to be held in November this year.

For Swapo the meeting with top men in De Beers, was important enough for Nujoma to fly in from Luanda for just one day before returning for a key central committee meeting, and for Gurirab to leave the UN during the long-drawn out power-struggle over how the independence process will be implemented.

De Beers' interest in a stable transition period in Namibia, and the formation of a strong enough government to provide business as usual in the fractured country, may be Swapo's strongest card in lobbying for

more international supervision of the withdrawal of South African troops and the return of about 90 000 Namibians from all over the world.

Swapo last year initiated meetings in Zambia and Sweden with several dozen Namibian businessmen, commercial farmers and church groups in a process which paralleled the better-known meetings of the ANC with South African businessmen.

Occasional meetings of Swapo with major foreign interests, such as German business, began as early as 1980 when the independence process under the 1978 UN Resolution 435 was expected to be implemented by South Africa within months. — The Guardian, London

Surprise Wiehahn boost for Namibia labour

The man who refashioned South African labour law jetted into Windhoek this week to finish what could be an equally major plan for Namibia, reports EDDIE KOCH

NAMIBIA'S labour movement, poised to play a prominent part in ensuring a victory for Swapo during the colony's path to independence, may receive an unexpected boost from the territory's transitional government.

Professor Nic Wiehahn, architect of South Africa's system of labour relations, jetted into Windhoek this week to put the finishing touches to a report that is likely to recommend wide-ranging provisions for the recognition of trade unions for black workers in Namibia.

The 40 000-strong National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW), arguably the most potent network of organised support for Swapo inside the territory, is likely to be further bolstered during the run-up to pre-independence elections if Wiehahn's recommendations for the labour movement's official recognition become law.

Wiehahn told the *Weekly Mail* that the first section of a two-part report, prepared by a commission he headed to inquire into a collective bargaining framework for Namibia, was complete. He was in Windhoek this week to finalise plans to hand the report to the cabinet of the transitional government as well as the administrator general of the territory.

Swapo needs a two-third majority in the elections to ensure its ability to devise a constitution for the new nation and the union movement is the force best placed to help the liberation



Jubilant workers march home after Swapo's first rally of the year held in Katutura

workers in Namibia's factories, mines, municipalities and railways.

Namibia has a population of little more than one million and a probable electorate of 600 000. This means one in every 12 voters will be a NUNW supporter and likely to vote for Swapo. The labour federation also has a disciplined network of shop stewards and activists in every town who will be able to extend their

cabinet, in conjunction with the administrator general, to decide on how it should be used.

The transitional government has the power to make laws before April 1 — the date on which the administrator general, who rules the territory on behalf of South Africa, assumes sole legislative powers in terms of Resolution 435.

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG, Afrapix
ment will be obliged, if only because of the international scrutiny it is coming under, to grant these basic rights.

What is less clear is whether the administrator general, Louis Pienaar, will be prepared to turn Wiehahn's commission into law. Pienaar, who is briefed by conservative advisers in the security forces, is known to be less enthusiastic.

movement achieve this. And regardless of Swapo's performance in the elections, NUNW is likely to play a major role in pursuing the demands of Namibia's working people in the post independence period. Since NUNW's revival in 1986 by Swapo cadres, many of them former guerrillas who had served long stretches on Robben Island, NUNW has recruited more than 40 000

influence way beyond the unions' formal membership. Wiehahn was tight-lipped about the contents of his report and refused to comment on the possibility of its recommendations being turned into legislation before the independence process is put into process. Wiehahn said the report had been commissioned by Namibia's interim government and that it was up to its

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W. Mark

10-16/2/89

Wiehahn's presence is an indication that the cabinet is trying to hurry through labour legislation — and the union movement, which has hitherto criticised the cabinet as being a caretaker for the colony's rulers in Pretoria, is surprisingly pleased by this prospect.

"We think the puppet government wants to pass legislation right now so that it can claim some credit for reform in Namibia before they disappear and also to prevent a situation where an independent government can pass important laws," says Ben Ullenga, general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union of Namibia.

"But for the next 12 months, during the move to independence, the unions may need all the leeway they can get. So this thing they (the cabinet) are doing may be useful to us even though they have their own political intentions."

In its submissions to the commission, which has been sitting for about 18 months, NUNW stressed the need for a labour system that adheres to international labour codes.

Included were demands for the right to strike without dismissal; the right of farmworkers, domestic workers and government employees to join trade unions; and the right to picket without police harassment.

These are all absent in South Africa's labour law — but most observers believe the transitional govern-

In a recent interview Ullenga made it clear NUNW would continue to play an important role in moulding a free Namibia.

"I don't think the situation will immediately change when Resolution 435 is implemented. The unions will still have to organise and make the voice of the workers stronger. We will continue putting our demands to the companies and to the government of the day," said Ullenga.

"If a Swapo government does come to power we hope it will facilitate our struggle but I don't think the role of the unions will change ... Until we reach the situation where we dictate to companies, then maybe we can look again at the role of the unions. If we are faced with a capitalist situation, the role will stay basically the same."

Recent announcements by Swapo that it will not nationalise any major sectors of the economy when it takes power is likely to bolster Ullenga's vision of the labour movement as an independent force for change in post-colonial Namibia.

NUNW's membership is divided between five affiliates. The Mineworkers' Union of Namibia and the Namibian Food and Allied Workers' Union each have 12 000 members; the Metal and Allied Namibian Workers' Union has 7 000 members; and unions in the public and transport sectors have 8 000 and 4 000 members respectively.

De Beers gets set for Swapo

5 Times 12/2/89

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By Richard Rolfe

LONDON. — De Beers has taken several steps to prepare for a Swapo government in Windhoek after the November general election.

This week's meeting between Nicholas Oppenheimer, chairman of the Central Selling Organisation diamond syndicate, and Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo, was one of the moves.

The CSO said Mr Oppenheimer and Mr Nujoma met at a lunch hosted by an unnamed third party at the Ritz Hotel in London.

It said there were no plans to meet Swapo representatives in the near future, "though after April they will be an important part of the political constituency in Namibia".

RTZ, which manages the Rossing uranium mine in Namibia, was not involved in this week's meeting. The company said it had made several informal contacts with Swapo in the past.

"We are always ready to

talk to interested parties," RTZ's spokesman said.

Mr Oppenheimer recently visited Luanda, where he met President dos Santos. Speculation is that De Beers hopes to entice Angola back into the CSO.

Apparently on Anglo business, Mr Oppenheimer also saw President Mugabe in Harare early in January.

Mr Nujoma has moderated his tone since the days when he threatened to nationalise all Namibian mines. Swapo now says it is committed to a mixed economy.

Peter Manning, Swapo's London representative, says the policy will be "to negotiate with each individual mining company". The outcome will almost certainly be higher tax than at present.

De Beers subsidiary CDM is to spend R90-million on developing a mine at Auchas about 45km north-east of Oranjemund.

A De Beers spokesman says it is "part of a broad effort to increase reserves and extend the life of CDM

Four die in floods, two swept away in car

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Four people drowned near Keetmanshoop in southern Namibia and two are missing in floods.

Rivers have burst their banks after heavy rains in the territory and South Africa at the weekend.

Two bodies were recovered from the Wasser River and police said a search was continuing for two people whose car was swept away.

A woman and her daughter drowned after their house was flooded by the Schaap River in the Keetmanshoop area.

A number of areas have been isolated by the floods.

Repairs have been started to the national road between Keetmanshoop and Mariental. It is expected to reopen tomorrow.

The inflow into the Hardap dam near Mariental has decreased considerably since Saturday when the sluice gates were opened following a content increase of 165-million cubic metres in three days.

In South Africa good rains fell over the central and eastern parts of the country, disrupting sports events.

The assistant director of the Weather Bureau in Pretoria, Mr Hannes Olivier, said although only light rain fell over the Eastern Cape — declared a drought distaster area last week — good falls should occur in the Kruger National Park, another stricken area, from today.

THE CAUSE

The belt of rain which has settled over the central and eastern parts of the country was not unseasonable.

Mr Olivier said the rain was being caused by a high-pressure system south-east of the country which had advected moist, cooler air across the country, and a low-pressure system over the western parts on the surface and upper air.

"Widespread rain occurred over the central and eastern parts of the country. This high-pressure system is slowly moving eastwards, causing it to clear over the western parts.

"There will be further clearance over the central interior with rain over the eastern half of the country. Moderate falls are expected over the Free State and south-western Transvaal.

"Over Natal and Free State it will be mainly cloudy with rain. It will clear in the west."

Good rains fell over parts of the country. De Aar reported 135mm yesterday, Prieska 104mm and Douglas 39mm.

Cool, cloudy weather was experienced over the whole of the Transvaal, except for the area north of the Soutpansberg.

Cool and overcast weather during the past three days brought some relief from the soaring temperatures, but rain is badly needed throughout the Lowveld, particularly in the northern parts.

Two kinds of news come from Namibia

Chr Times 13/2/89

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Defence Correspondent

THE good news from Namibia is that the border ceasefire is working, with only three incidents recorded since November 1 — the quietest it has been in the operational area since 1971.

The bad news is that several serious or potentially serious problems loom over the progress towards independence — not least of them a recent report of a large-scale Unita offensive.

Both the good and the bad developments stem from provisions in the Geneva protocol which was signed last year, and which laid down, *inter alia*, that:

● South African forces would not venture north of the Namibian border;

● An Angolan/Cuban/South African joint military monitoring commission would be set up, which would ensure adherence to the protocol by deploying joint patrols in the field from a chain of 12 border control posts erected eastwards from Epupa in Kaokoland;

● Swapo insurgents would not come further south than the so-called "Quiteve Line", drawn through the 16th parallel.

The South Africans seem to be keeping their forces in place, but neither of the other two conditions appear to be functioning as envisaged.

Major problems

The Angolans are encountering major problems in carrying out their part in the monitoring operation because the south-east is so completely dominated by Unita that Luanda's forces cannot open lines of communication.

At least one Angolan column last month reportedly suffered heavy casualties when it was attacked by insurgents on its way to the south-east, and the chances of a short-term improvement in this regard seem unlikely.

The Angolans' troubles in the

south-east were recently outlined by the chief of the South African army, Lieutenant-General Andre Liebenberg, at a briefing in Pretoria.

He said "good progress" had been made in establishing the monitoring machinery until the seventh border post had been erected at Santa Clara (the Angolan half of the old central Ovamboland crossing at Oshikango).

However when the eighth post had been established at Beacon 54, about 340 km east of Ruacana, and the joint monitoring troops had been installed, it had become apparent that the Angolans "had difficulty in supplying their troops", the result being that "up to now we are still feeding them".

'No avail'

According to Gen Liebenberg "we urged them to continue with (the establishment) of the remaining three posts, but to no avail." The South Africans then went ahead and established the posts unilaterally, manning them with the SADF components of the joint monitoring forces.

All this had been completed by November 1 of last year, he added, "but till now (January 30) they have not yet placed their troops".

Gen Liebenberg added that "we have even offered them (the opportunity) to go there across South West African soil", but the Angolans had not taken up the offer. Since then there has been a Washington-sourced report claiming that Angolan monitoring troops "are currently billeted inside Namibia because Unita will not let them operate on their side of the border". The SADF has refused to comment.

The Angolans have blamed their failure on South African obstructionism, claiming the SADF was acting in concert with Unita to make Luanda's participation in the joint monitoring patrols impossible.

Top SADF officers say, on the other hand, that the Angolans are resorting to their time-honoured tactic of blaming South Africa in order to avoid giving Unita any *locus standi*.

SA influence weaker

One irony of the situation is that as far as can be seen South Africa's ability to influence Unita is now far weaker than it has ever been, thanks to that organisation's move into the American camp.

The bottom line, however, is that an Angolan ceasefire is obviously still as badly needed as ever — and as far away as before, particularly if Unita claims that it has launched a major rainy season offensive are true.

The SADF is worried about what it describes as Swapo's failure to stay north of the Quiteve line, and a lack of Angolan/Cuban will to make them do so.

As long ago as October last year South Africa was complaining that it had failed to reach consensus with the Cubans and Angolans on five violations of the protocol, stemming from proof found on Swapo insurgents killed or captured south of the border that they had originated north of the Quiteve Line.

Attempts at reaching consensus were met by the Angolans' attitude that the insurgents must have been deserters, and that in any case they could not control them as Swapo was an "independent" organisation — a specious excuse, since Swapo relies absolutely on them for its very bread and butter.

These complaints have still not been settled, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has lodged a high-level protest about this and the fact that large numbers of Swapo insurgents are concentrated in the "shallow area" just north of the border in violation of the Geneva protocol.

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Swapo elects a ⁽²²¹⁾ white to council *Star 14/2/89*

By Esther Waugh

UPINGTON — Swapo yesterday dismantled barriers between its internal and external wings.

During a two-day extraordinary meeting of the central committee in Luanda chaired by Mr Sam Nujoma, several internal-wing members were brought on to the central committee as well as the secretariat.

The purpose of the meeting was to consolidate the external and internal leadership of the organisation as well as planning Swapo's election campaign.

One of the members chosen, Mr Anton Lubowski, a Windhoek advocate, was the first white

public Swapo member. He is also the only white elected during yesterday's election.

The five internal members elected to the central committee include Mr N Maxuilili, Mr N Bessinger and Mr D Tjongarero. Previously, Swapo vice-president Mr Hendrik Witbooi was the only internal-wing member represented on the Swapo governing body.

Speaking from Upington, Mr Lubowski denied being a token white on the secretariat. "I have certain competencies to contribute to Namibia's future, he said".

It is expected Mr Lubowski will be involved in the drafting of a new legal system for Namibia.

Namibia gets a UDF

Sowefam 14/2/89

(22)

WINDHIEK — Namibia now has its own United Democratic Front (UDF).

Four political parties met this weekend to form the alliance, which will contest the coming majority-rule election under the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for the country.

The parties with full membership of the UDF are the Damara Council, the Coloured Labour Party, The Namibia National Independence Party and the Original People's Party.

The German interest group, the Intepressengemeinschaft, will have observer status on the front.

'Insiders' for key Swapo body

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Swapo today announced the appointment of four of its "internal" Namibian leaders to the organisation's Central Committee as part of a process of preparation for the coming electoral campaign under the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan for the territory.

The new members of the Central Committee are former deputy national chairman Mr Dan Tjongarero, former joint foreign affairs secretary Mr Nico Bessinger, veteran political campaigner and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Nathaniel Maxuilili and Mr Goliath Matongo.

One of the few white members of Swapo, Mr Anton Lubowski, was appointed to the organisation's secretariat.

Mr Tjongarero said the new appointments were intended to eliminate the distinctions between the "internal" and "external" wings of Swapo.

CLEARING THE DECKS

Previously the Central Committee was made up only of members of the exiled leadership although internal leaders were always regarded as being eligible for membership of the body.

Mr Tjongarero said the consolidation was part of a process of clearing the decks to enable Swapo to tackle the electoral campaign.

It has been generally accepted by political observers here that the external leadership of Swapo has dictated the movement's policy and general direction.

The inclusion of local leaders on the Central Committee should help the organisation to avoid accusations that its leadership was out of touch with the situation inside Namibia.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

General Affairs:

Security Council Resolution 435: original conditions

Mr T Langley to ask the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) What conditions were originally stipulated by the South African Government for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978);
- (2) whether these conditions have been met; if so, to what extent; if not, why not?

*THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the reply is as follows. There cannot, of course, be any question of conditions for the commencement of the settlement plan in terms of Resolution 435 until after that resolution has been adopted. Before that resolution was eventually adopted by the Government on 25 April 1978, and subsequently by the UN Security Council on 29 September 1978, there was a continuous string of proposals, negotiations and standpoints which, until the all-embracing trilateral agreement was signed in New York on 22 December 1988, constantly caused problems and were therefore subject to negotiation. I first want to clarify a matter here, and that is that there is an important distinction between proposals for negotiation and the ultimate agreement.

It is nevertheless worth noting that on 22 December 1978, when the South African Government was on the point of implementing Resolution 435 the following year, 1979, Mr A H du Plessis, then leader of the National Party of South-West Africa, moved the following motion, *inter alia*, in the Constituent Assembly:

Aangesien hierdie vergadering 'n groot waarde heg aan internasionale erkenning van 'n onafhanklike Suidwes-Afrika, aanvaar hy in beginsel Veiligheidsraadsbesluit 435, behoudens die volgende voorwaardes:

Dat—

- (1) Die Administrateur-generaal die wetge-

wende en administratiewe gesag in Suidwes-Afrika gedurende die oorgangstydperk tot onafhanklikheid sal uitoefen;

- (2) Die handhawing van wet en orde in Suidwes-Afrika die primêre verantwoordelikheid van die bestaande polisie magte sal bly;

- (3) Behoortlike en billike raadpleging met die Administrateur-generaal plaasvind oor uitstaande sake, soos die grooite en samestelling van die militêre komponent van Untag in die lig van wat die werklike behoeftes aan so 'n komponent is; wat betref magte, die magte nie sodanig moet wees dat dit onnodige onrus in Suidwes-Afrika kan skep nie, en ook ander aangeleenhede wat mag voortspruit uit die skikingsplan wat op 25 April 1978 deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering aanvaar is;

- (4) Geen vermindering van Suid-Afrikaanse troepe in die gebied sal plaasvind tensy en totdat 'n algehele staking van geweld en vreedelikhede plaasvind en 'n sigbare toestand van vrede heers nie;

- (5) 'n Vaste en onveranderlike datum vir 'n verkiesing in ooreleg tussen die spesiale verteenwoordiger van die Sekretaris-generaal en die Administrateur-generaal so gou doenlik en in die lig van redelike verwagtings bepaal word.

It is gratifying for me to be able to say that each of these conditions, which the leader of the NP of SWA stipulated for the commencement of Resolution 435, has been met. Not only have all the conditions been met, but the South African Government has also since succeeded in bringing about fundamental improvements. Firstly the Cuban withdrawal has been accomplished. It was not an issue in 1978. We did, however, enter into negotiations about that over a period of some years and succeeded in negotiating Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister knows full well that the questions here relate to the cardinal issue of the implementation of Resolution 435. The hon the Minister also knows full well that up to the present time the NP of SWA has not yet accepted Resolution 435 and is opposed to it, but they must accept with

resignation that they are being forced into it by the SA Government, and they can do nothing about it. That is what they told us, and we must understand their position. It is stated in their publications, and in one of their election pamphlets, the one from which the hon the Minister quoted last week.

The withdrawal of the Cubans is the most cardinal aspect of the whole discussion. The hon the State President made the following two statements concerning the withdrawal of the Cubans in one speech: At one stage he said that the withdrawal of the Cubans would be completed by the time the election took place. At another stage he said that by that date there was to have been a complete withdrawal of Cubans from Angola. The reason he gave was that it should take place in such a way that no single group could, at any given moment, get the better of any other group. That is what this is all about! Any attempt at watering-down or relinquishing this cardinal proposal would mean that one did not have the favourable package mentioned by the hon the State President. It would prejudice South Africa's position.

In an interview on the subject the other day, Dr Crocker said that the changes to the conditions for withdrawal constituted a compromise. This illustrates the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs' obsession with the settlement. It must take place at all costs, regardless of South Africa's position. This capitulation prejudices South Africa's and SWA's position in relation to Swapo. On 1 November, the day of the election, there will only be a token South African force in SWA, which will be confined to camps. On the 13th parallel, however, there will be 25 000 Cuban troops.

What is the bush-telegram going to make of that? It will say that it is the SA Government. Can I also tell the hon the Minister the following? He spoke about infants. This indicates that a Cabinet of infants, led by a babe-in-the-woods, has in fact made a prejudicial concession, as far as South Africa is concerned, whose political consequences on polling day, 1 November 1989, cannot be foreseen in SWA at this stage.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I have no fault to find with the package as it is. We actually believe that this package should have been arrived at some time before.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(221)

Humwanda

Following the visit of Mr Clark in 1981, the package was extended to include the Cuban situation. It was also extended significantly by the agreements in New York and Geneva to include:

(d) respect for the sovereignty and sovereign equality and independence of states;

(e) non-interference in the internal affairs of states, etc.

These have become integral parts of the package and I want to ask the hon the Minister, in light of this and of his statement at the time, what the extent is of South Africa's ongoing commitment to Unita. Do we have any commitment to Unita in the financial, military or logistic field? I ask this because of a statement by the hon the Minister of Defence in this House only last week, when he said:

We have not abandoned Unita. Dr Savimbi knows—as does the rest of the world—that South Africa will not abandon a good friend with such democratic goals.

Secondly—

South Africa must see to it that Unita's interests are taken into account.

We would like to know whether South Africa has any extra-territorial commitment to Unita or Renamo or anyone else and whether that commitment would not be in defiance of and contrary to the spirit of the agreement which our officials have negotiated in New York and Geneva.

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I am amazed. The hon member for Soutpansberg is harking back to the story he told in the joint meeting about what the State President allegedly said about the timetable for Cuban withdrawal. As far as his standpoint on the mandate is concerned, it seems as if, by this time, he has probably begun to realise that his story about the mandate having lapsed is so erroneous that he does not want to repeat it at all. Hon members will remember what a fuss he made about that.

Secondly, when he raised the matter of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, why did he not simply read the following paragraph of the hon the State President's speech? Why did he stop? Why did he not simply read a little further, because in the very next sentence the hon the State President said (Hansard, 24 August 1988, col 15509):

The timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans must still, however, be negotiated, and this must be done before 1 September 1988. This is the hardest nut to crack. Delegations from the four countries concerned are meeting at this very moment in Brazzaville to try to iron out this problem. Consequently I do not want to make any further comment today on this critical subject.

Can one get a clearer picture than that? The hon member stopped short just this side of that categorical indication, by the hon the State President, that the whole timetable still had to be negotiated. I am not the one who says so. It is Hansard that says so.

This brings me to the hon member for Sea Point.

†The South African Government, in coming to a bilateral agreement with Angola on the closing down of ANC camps in Angola, indicated in those negotiations and in the agreements mentioned by the hon member that we shall not interfere in their internal affairs. It is quite clear that we are obligated not to render any material assistance to Unita or any other party fighting in Angola. [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, if the hon the Minister had merely read two further paragraphs from where he stopped, he would have seen that the hon the State President said (Hansard, 24 August 1988, col 15509):

Our proposal that the Cuban forces shall have withdrawn completely from Angola by the date on which the elections take place in SWA seems to me to be obviously logical and fair.

[Interjections:] Consequently there had to be a timetable which had to be concluded by the time the election took place. [Interjections.]

My second point concerns the mandate. As far as the mandate is concerned, we shall give due attention to that at a later stage. [Interjections.]

I merely want to tell the hon the Minister the following. If he says the mandate has lapsed, his statement is a half-truth, because in this speech made by the hon the State President—the hon the Minister probably wrote it for him—it is stated that it is South Africa's opinion that the mandate had lapsed. We know the whole story about that, but that is, in other words, a submission. It is not a straightforward standpoint. He can put this question to his caucus, and also to the two

academics who are writing theses about this. [Interjections.]

If the mandate has lapsed, however, can the hon the Minister get ready to tell us what South Africa has been doing there since the mandate lapsed and up to this juncture. What was actually South Africa's title in SWA?

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, I marvel at the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs referring to a standpoint that Mr A H du Plessis adopted on 22 December 1978, and not rather to his own letter written to the UN, a letter contained on page 152 of this bundle of documents from his department. In it, amongst other things, he lays down as a condition that Swapo bases in Angola should be monitored by South Africa. That is a standpoint that does not appear anywhere in the agreement that was concluded.

Secondly I should like to point out that it has consistently been the South African Government's standpoint that Swapo's privileged position as "sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia" should be relinquished as an express condition for the implementation of Resolution 435. [Interjections.]

Let me ask the hon the Minister: Where is the resolution which is now being adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organisations, a resolution in which Swapo relinquishes this standpoint about being the "sole and authentic representative of the people"?

The hon the Minister must not come along now with the standpoint that Dr Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary-General of the UN, said so, because he is merely a spokesman for the UN. He is not a body . . . [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, it has categorically been agreed that Swapo will be monitored in bases in Zambia and Angola. It amazes me that the hon member does not read the reports before he opens his mouth here and talks a lot of nonsense. [Interjections.] It has categorically been resolved.

It has also categorically been resolved—I have the report here before me; if the hon member wishes to read it, he may do so—that all UN assistance to Swapo will cease; that Swapo will relinquish its privileged position in the UN; that all UN funds will any longer go to Swapo; that all parties will receive equal treatment and that

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HUMANWA

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there will be complete impartiality. All these aspects have already been decided by the Security Council or will be decided when the enabling resolution is adopted by the Security Council . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: When?

*The MINISTER: Resolution 435 cannot be implemented if the Security Council does not adopt that resolution this week. So, what is the hon member's problem? If the Security Council does not adopt the resolution, Resolution 435 will not be implemented. If the Security Council does adopt the resolution, Swapo must lose its privileged position. I cannot understand the hon member's standpoint at all.

Lastly, the UN's story about Swapo being the "sole and authentic representative" of SWA is no longer applicable. It is specifically because Swapo has seen this coming that Swapo wants to initiate discussions with us. Swapo has seen the writing on the wall. Swapo is telling us: "It makes no difference what is going to happen in the future; we shall have to co-operate with you people."

As far as the hon member for Soutpansberg is concerned, I have before me the proposal about which the hon the State President spoke:

Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution . . . Proposal submitted by South Africa at the four-party discussions in Geneva.

That is a "proposal". He said it was a proposal. If one makes a proposal about dates and timetables, and if one says that it is a proposal, that it is going to be a hard nut to crack and that there still have to be negotiations about the timetable, how can the hon member try to make us believe that it was an undertaking? [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Dr Kane-Berman: details of transfer

Dr M S Barnard to ask the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether the Superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital has been dismissed and/or transferred; if so, what are the relevant details?

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, I would like start my reply by quoting from a statement released by Mr Gene Louw, the

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Administrator of the Cape. This statement is dated 8 December 1988 and reads as follows:

Dr J Kane-Berman's much vaunted statement in an edition of the *Weekend Argus* of 22 October 1988, in which she suggested a government selected on "merit" for South Africa consisting of among others, Nelson Mandela as Prime Minister, Dr Mamphele Ramphele as Minister of National Health and Anna Starcke as Minister of Finance and others, immediately evoked criticism and protest from the public and physicians alike, particularly on account of the fact that the Chief Medical Superintendent of the largest training hospital in the Cape and through it also the Hospital and Health Services Branch of the Cape Province were thereby placed firmly in the political arena.

As a result, the Provincial Hospital Service unfortunately suffered incalculable damage. It also became clear from the outcry that numerous objectors did not find that the remarks had been light-hearted. The matter is even more delicate because of the ethical requirement that a medical service must never be associated with politics, race, colour or religion especially when human lives are at stake.

The matter was immediately examined by Mr A J van Wyk charged with Hospital and Health Services, Mr V A van der Vyver, the Provincial Secretary and Dr G S Watermeyer, Executive Director of Hospital and Health Services who interviewed her jointly after she had a discussion with Dr Watermeyer. All actions were taken strictly according to directions and all three gentlemen agreed that it was in the interests of the Provincial Administration that Dr Kane-Berman be transferred with the retention of all benefits to the important post of Regional Medical Superintendent of the Western Cape under which 33 hospitals including the Karl Bremer, Somerset, Con-radic and Victoria Hospitals as well as the whole day hospitals' organisation.

In terms of Public Service Act, 1984 the head of the State department, in this case the Provincial Secretary, is responsible, *inter alia*, for the effective utilisation of staff and the maintenance of discipline. In the execution of this responsibility it happens frequently that staff are transferred between posts either at their own request or in the interests of the administration. Dr Kane-Berman's transfer was dealt with accordingly.

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Apart from an interview which I personally granted Dr Kane-Berman, I have recently had several discussions about the matter with persons within and outside the Provincial Administration, and among other things determined beyond all doubt that apart from a warning the action taken against Dr Kane-Berman is the lightest of several options and that she has been transferred to an extremely responsible post.

[Time expired.]

Dr M S BARNARD: Mr Chairman, I find it interesting that the hon the Minister of National Health and Population Development is replying and not the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, because surely provincial affairs belongs squarely in his department.

Up till now every question I have asked in this House concerning provincial affairs has been replied to by that hon Minister's department. I have a feeling that the hon the Minister knows nothing about this affair.

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING: But you put the question! [Interjections.]

Dr M S BARNARD: Listening to that hon Minister's reply I believe that he does not know much about it either because he did not reply. He just read a statement which we all have read but I thank the hon the Minister. I have come here to appeal to the hon the Minister of National Health and Population Development not to continue with this and to intercede on behalf of Dr Kane-Berman to have her reinstated as the Chief Superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital. That is what I am asking him for.

The hon the Minister has given many reasons—we do not have time to debate them—but I would like to ask the hon Minister if it is not a fact that Dr Kane-Berman was the most devoted medical administrator with ability and a personality which was appreciated and respected by everybody. Is it not a fact that Dr Kane-Berman has been punished for a five line comment in *The Weekend Argus*? If one looks at it on its own one might think it is radical politics, but one must look at the whole article. Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, makes a flippan remark in that article that if women were to take over South Africa's Government it would be much better than it is. If one reads the whole article one could see it was like that. [Interjections.]

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I would like to continue. [Interjections.] Is it not a fact that there was no public outcry afterwards? There were no medical people reacting to this. Only five weeks later, when it became public that she had been demoted, was there a public outcry. [Interjections.]

Is it not a fact that her demotion resulted not only in a local outcry, but also in an international one? Is it not a fact that she was not reprimanded and that her sentence was severe? The transfer is punitive, with loss of rank, grade and joint staff benefits and conveniences. Yet the hon the Minister makes very little of it.

Is it not a fact that Dr Kane-Berman was supported by her colleagues at Groote Schuur Hospital, by the Medical School, by the University of Cape Town, by MASA and by everybody, saying that it was unbelievable? Is it not a fact that this decision came from the hon the State President who felt insulted by one of her remarks?

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, I should like to continue my reply to the hon member for Parktown and tell him that this was a considered opinion. In fact the hon the Minister for Administration and Privatisation wrote to the MEC on 23 November 1988 saying that a transfer to another position should be suggested and considered in this case.

Furthermore I want to point out to the hon member that Mr Van der Vyver, the Provincial Secretary, wrote to the Commission for Administration on 30 November 1988 requesting that a transfer be effected in terms of section 3(1) of the Public Service Act—Act No 111 of 1984. [Interjections.]

It is very important to note that the Secretary of the Commission for Administration, Mr Robson, indicated on 8 December that this transfer had been approved upon the request of the Provincial Secretary. It was therefore a considered opinion which was approved by the Commission for Administration.

Secondly there was no question of her being downgraded. She retained all her benefits and her salary, everything. I can quote to hon members from letters in this regard. She also retained her benefits, as well as her fringe benefits.

Finally, it is very clear to me why the hon member for Parktown and that party have bronched the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hundreds
APR 15 15/2/89
would have
ZCI
been shot

Supreme Court Reporter
HUNDREDS of witdoek vigilantes would have had to be shot dead if police were to stop their advance on KTC, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was said by Major Charles Roger Brazelle in the R200 000 damages action bought by the Methodist Church of Africa and 17 KTC residents against the Minister of Law and Order arising from the destruction of most of KTC by witdoeke between June 9 and 11, 1986.

Referring to incidents on June 9, he said he saw witdoeke massing in Dune Road and smoke starting to rise from KTC, which indicated that an attack on KTC was under way.

Soon after he arrived in Dune Road, rifle shots fired from a sand dune hit his Casspir. He returned the fire with his R1 rifle.

Hundreds of witdoeke then crossed Dune Road and entered KTC while elsewhere they advanced on the squatter camp down sidestreets.

Asked by Mr F D J Brand, for the minister, why he had not shot dead or at least wounded some witdoeke as a deterrent, Major Brazelle said he would have had to shoot dead hundreds of witdoeke.

The hearing continues today.

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**Assembly's
last session**

WINDHOEK. — The National Assembly of Namibia began its historic last session yesterday afternoon before it is dissolved on February 28, prior to the implementation of the settlement plan in terms of United Nations Resolution 435.

The SABC's political news staff reports that it is expected that Resolution 435 will be implemented on April 1 and that the transitional government has decided unilaterally to resign a month earlier. — Sapa

Toddler

Assocom announces Untag's shopping list

16/2/89
ZILLA 221

UNTAG would be chartering and leasing fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters, Assocom announced yesterday, after receiving an updated list on expected requirements for the peace force to be based in Namibia.

The provision and erection of prefabricated or portable housing — including domestic, military and warehousing configurations — would also be required.

Assocom foreign trade secretary Bess Robertson said Untag had received many quotations, but had not allocated orders as the final budget had not been passed by the UN.

Assocom had been monitoring developments at the UN over the past few months concerning the implementation of UN resolution 435 — and particularly the requirements for the Untag peace force — to alert business to the economic opportunities available.

It was also watching developments at the UN High Commission for Refugees to establish its requirements at

ZILLA EFRAT

the nine transit camps where returning Namibians would be received.

The list of products ranged from fresh, frozen, processed and canned foodstuffs, to all types of vehicles, domestic and office furniture, office machines and office supplies, rented vehicles and water purification and treatment equipment.

Catering services, fencing and barbed wire, pickets and sandbags, tents of all sizes, electric generators, refrigerators and freezers were needed, as were essentials like pharmaceuticals, sanitary supplies and stationery.

Quotations were requested for heavy equipment, including construction and workshop equipment.

Alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages were also included.

Assocom said interested parties should contact Dermot Hussey, commercial purchase and transport service, UN, New York.

CAPE TOWN 16/2/89 **SACC to observe poll** *221*

JOHANNESBURG. — Noting that factors such as the reduction of the Untag force and the use by South Africa of its army and police in campaigning against Swapo had diminished the chances of free and fair elections in Namibia, the Executive Committee of the South African Council of Churches resolved yesterday to support the Council of Churches in Namibia by sending a team of experts to observe the process.

Profits
 from UN
 in offing

By Kaizer Nyatumba

South African businessmen are set to reap a rich harvest as the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 in Namibia draws near.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of South Africa (Assocom) yesterday received yet another list of materials and equipment to be required by the UN peace-keeping force which will monitor the Namibian independence elections.

The list, according to Assocom's foreign trade secretary, Mrs Bess Robertson, has been circulated to all Chambers of Commerce and Industry countrywide.

Mrs Robertson suggested that interested businessmen contact Mr Dermot Hussey at the UN's Commercial Purchase and Transportation Service department in New York.

A spokesman for the world body said in New York recently that it was "quite obvious that the reality of the situation is that the UN has to do business with South Africa." This departs from the UN's long-standing policy of advocating mandatory sanctions.

The new list of materials required ranges from chartering and leasing of fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters, purchase of vehicles of all types, water purification and treatment equipment, to both alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages.

(22) 16-22/2/89.

Road to freedom

WINDHOEK. — Concern is mounting over a serious shortage of accommodation and facilities for tens of thousands of Namibian refugees expected to return when the South African colony begins its transition to independence on April 1.

The date not only marks the influx of up to 10 000 members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), but also means that about 100 000 Namibian refugees will be pouring into the country.

About 70 000 of these refugees are Swapo members or sympathisers.

Most refugees are living in Swapo-run camps in neighbouring Angola and Zambia, while several thousand have been studying abroad on Swapo bursaries.

There are also roughly 30 000 Herero-speaking refugees in Botswana, and they, too, will return after April 1, once United Nations Security Council resolution 435 has been implemented.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma went into exile shortly after the formation of Swapo (then the Ovamboland People's Organisation), and most of the leadership of the movement soon followed.

It is not known when Nujoma will return to Namibia, but most believe he will wait for a clear indication that South Africa has no intention of either overtly or covertly disrupting the independence process before he does so.

The Swapo leadership would make prime targets for right-wing elements opposed to the implementation of resolution 435.

There is also the awkward question of finding adequate accommodation and providing facilities for the refugees.

While most still have family or relatives living in Namibia, particularly in the war-torn northern regions, a considerable number have been left homeless after more than 22 years of fighting.

Some children may return to find their parents have been killed in the fighting. Thousands of civilians in the north have died in the conflict.

The Council of Churches in Namibia has already begun a programme for the rehabilitation of refugees, and intends building large camps to accommodate those with nowhere else to go.

A spokesman for the Council said these refugees would probably remain in the camps until independence elections planned for November.

"Primarily the camps would serve to give these people a safe place to stay where they can slowly re-adjust to life in Namibia," said the Churches spokesman.

He added that "quite a few" of the refugees will be ex-guerrillas who fought on the side of Swapo.

"They have been fighting not only against South Africa, but also against fellow Namibians conscripted into the so-called South West African Territory Force.

"We hope that any feelings of bitterness and revenge will fade during the period leading to elections," he said.

With UN personnel, diplomats and journalists pouring into the country, space will be at a premium. It is anticipated that all available accommodation in Windhoek will be rapidly taken up.

Estate agents are reporting a boom in business as Foreign Offices around the world search for premises in Windhoek.

Half the office space in Windhoek is taken up

African countries, angry about cutbacks in the size of the UN peacekeeping force to oversee Namibia's transition to independence, fear South Africa will take advantage of the lower deployment. Their fears, reports MARK VERBAAN, look increasingly well-grounded. Another problem is looming too — how to accommodate refugees expected to return home for independence.

by the civil service and government departments.

As far as UN-supervised elections are concerned, all returning refugees will be eligible to cast their vote. But a crisis is looming.

Members of Jonas Savimbi's rebel Angolan movement, Unita, are believed to be crossing the border into Namibia to vote against Swapo in independence elections.

This has been claimed by residents of northern Namibia, particularly Ovamboland, Kavan-

go and the Caprivi.

Swapo has already publicly accused South Africa of attempting to influence the outcome of an election by giving Unita rebels Namibian identity cards.

Groups of Portuguese-speaking blacks have been seen in Windhoek's city centre, and there is widespread speculation that the "Unita infiltration" is on a far larger scale than initially believed.

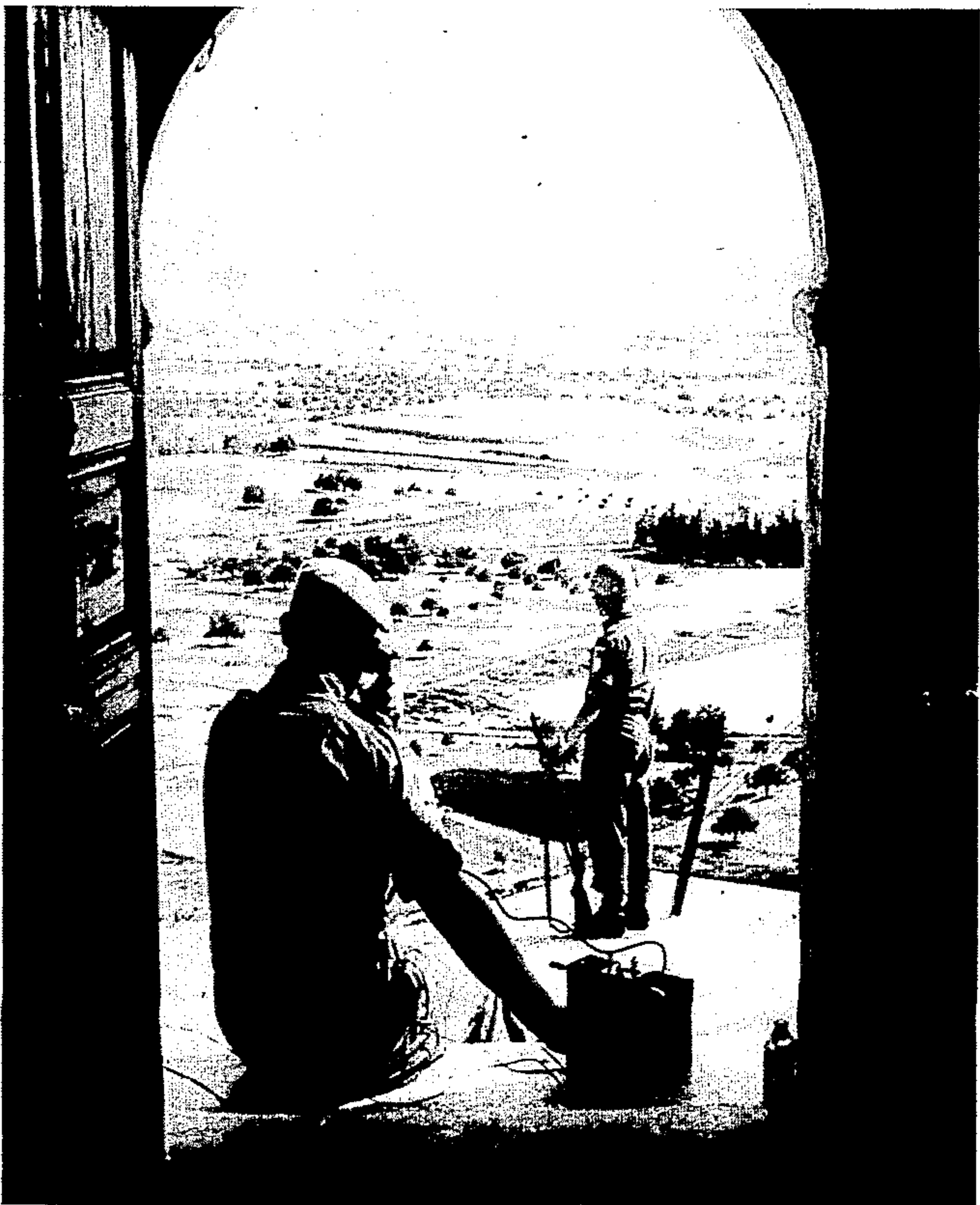
And while the UN is expected to monitor and supervise the elections, it will be an extremely difficult task to screen all voters to ascertain whether they are genuine Namibian refugees, or Unita members masquerading as refugees to vote against Swapo.

Many feel such problems need to be addressed immediately.

Remarked one observer: "Instead of haggling over the costs of the operation, and trying to reduce Untag, the Security Council should be concerning itself with the real issues such as the possibility of a rebel army being trained by Pretoria to fight against an elected Swapo government."

But apart from the negative aspects, resolution 435 will at least bring with it long-awaited family reunions.

Sam Nujoma himself will see his aged mother, who still lives in the north, for the first time in almost 30 years. — *GEMINI NEWS*



UN peacekeepers in Cyprus

Fighting to keep peace

NORDIC troops are training in snow and polar temperatures for United Nations peacekeeping duty in the bush and desert of Asia and Africa.

At the UN training school outside Stockholm, 200 men and women are being trained for duty in Namibia, where the UN will oversee the withdrawal of South Africa and the country's march to independence.

Field conditions are simulated as far as possible given the difference in terrain and climate between northern Europe and Africa, as well as Cambodia, where the UN is likely to deploy another mission.

Training includes manning mock checkpoints and observation posts currently in deep snow and sub-zero temperatures.

In some respects, combat training is a disadvantage because, as pointed out by Colonel R K Jakobsen, the Danish commander of the UN Forces Training Headquarters near Copenhagen, "there are no battles to be fought ... no victories to be won" in UN peacekeeping.

The troops, only lightly armed, are under strict orders to fire in self-defence only.

UN peacekeeping forces are more in demand than ever this year, having won the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize. New operations are being mounted in Angola, Namibia, Western Sahara and perhaps Cambodia. Almost every operation, reports TED MORELLO, includes troops from the Nordic countries.

Military observers are totally unarmed.

As a result, UN troops undergo careful training in diplomacy and negotiations because, a Danish officer explained, "our first line of defence is persuasion".

The very concept of UN peacekeeping by "soldiers without enemies" was a Nordic invention — the brainchild of secretary-general

Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden.

All four participating Nordic countries — Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway — maintain standby peacekeeping contingents that undergo integrated training, the only UN troop contributors to engage in such joint exercises.

Every six months the four defence ministers (Iceland, the fifth bloc member, does not maintain an army) meet to coordinate their forces' participation in UN missions.

The next meeting is scheduled for Denmark in May. With demands for peacekeepers at an all-time high this year, the Nordics will be going into action alongside Blue Helmet troops from other nations in the new operation to be mounted by the UN.

On January 3 Norway was called on to contribute a team to the 70-man, 10-nation UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) — the first UN operation in 1989.

UNAVEM is monitoring the withdrawal from Angola of 50 000 Cuban troops under a triangular agreement linked to the independence of Namibia. — GEMINI NEWS

221 16-22/2/89

SACC to send team to Namibia

Staff Reporter 221

The South African Council of Churches is to send a team of experts to observe the independence elections in Namibia, the council announced yesterday.

An SACC statement said its executive committee, noting factors like the reduction of the Untag force and "the use by South Africa of its army and police force in campaigning against Swapo", had resolved to support the Namibian Council of Churches by sending the delegation.

"The executive resolved to provide whatever help it can to the Namibian churches as they deal with the problem of reintegrating refugees into the population," the statement said.

Prem Chand due in Windhoek

The Argus Foreign Service

17/2/89 221

NEW YORK. — General Prem Chand of India, who will command the UN force in Namibia in the transition to independence, will go to Windhoek with his deputy commander next week.

Shortly afterwards the first of the civilian administrative staff will arrive, top UN officials said at a press conference yesterday. The Secretary-General has set April 1, 1990 as the target date for independence.

Swapo 'hampering Namibian elections'

Cape Times 17/2/89

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PRETORIA. — The Namibian elections could be affected by the fact that Swapo fighters had not retreated north of the 16th parallel in Angola in terms of the Geneva protocol, military correspondents were told at a briefing here yesterday.

The chief of the SADF, General Janie Geldenhuys, said 40% of Swapo's fighting forces — a "couple of thousand" men — were still south of the parallel.

In terms of the Geneva protocol, Angola should have used "their good offices" to get Swapo's forces north of this parallel, about 150km north of the Namibian border.

Gen Geldenhuys warned that if the undertaking was not honoured, it would "affect public faith in the rest of the (Namibian peace plan) agreements".

The Angolan and Cuban components of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) had refused to

permit inspection visits to the region, and South Africa would consider its next step, Gen Geldenhuys said.

The issue would be addressed again when the JMMC met in Luanda within the next week.

The Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, told the conference Angola had undertaken, in terms of the Geneva protocol, to use its good offices to get the Swapo fighters to retreat, "and we would like to see them use those good offices".

Gen Geldenhuys said Swapo had earlier said it would abide with the protocol's provisions.

Asked whether the issue could derail the Namibian peace plan, Mr Babb said it "could affect the elections" in Namibia.

Gen Geldenhuys also dismissed Angolan allegations of South African involvement in recent Unita-Fapla skirmishes as "complete and utter nonsense". — Sapa

Bystander nabs muggers

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UN gives Namibia plan the green light

CPE-Trans
17/2/89
221
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NEW YORK. — The Security Council yesterday authorized an independence plan and UN peacekeeping force for Namibia.

April 1 was set as the date to begin the one-year plan — in readiness since 1978 — for Namibia's transition to an independent nation.

Yesterday's resolution also approved a recent report by UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar on implementing the plan, which calls for sending 4 650 UN peacekeepers, 500 police supervisors and at least 1 000 civilian election monitors to Namibia.

Mr Perez de Cuellar has estimated the project will cost \$416 million (about R998,5m) in its first year, making it the biggest UN peacekeeping mission since the Belgian Congo operation of 1960-64.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly prepared to authorise funds for a 70-man team of UN military observers who will monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

That group, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), is budgeted at \$9,2m (about R22,1m) for this year and a total of \$19,4m (about R46,6m) over its entire 31-month mandate of overseeing the Cuban withdrawal.

In London, meanwhile, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said yesterday that Britain believed it was vital for change in South Africa that an independent Namibia was a success.

Untag chief due in SWA

WINDHOEK. — The first members of Untag, the UN Transitional Assistance Group, are expected here today.

They are the head of the Untag police contingent, Commissioner Steven Fanning, and the UN legal representative, Miss Rachel Majangya.

In London, meanwhile, an anti-apartheid group yesterday angrily accused the UN of sanctions-breaking against its own arms embargo on South Africa. Arms deals expert Mr Abdul Minty said Untag was risking its integrity by negotiating to buy and lease SADF equipment to use in Namibia.

And in Dublin the Irish parliament has agreed to send 35 policemen to Namibia as part of the UN team. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

In an address to the Foreign Press Association in London, he said Britain and the rest of the European Economic Community were ready to help an independent Namibia economically and the territory was eligible for membership of the Commonwealth.

In Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that the approval by the Security Council of the implementation of Resolution 435 was the final step in bringing the settlement plan for Namibia's independence.

In a statement, he said this meant that a force of 4 650 UN troops had been approved and the UN would have to act in a strictly impartial way towards all the parties involved. — Sapa, Sapa-AP

Russia presses for SA solution

Cap 21/187

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Moscow and Washington have reached a tacit understanding to co-operate in Southern Africa in ways that extend considerably further than the agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence, Dr Chester Crocker hinted this week.

The co-operation would include working for an end to the Angolan civil war, the emergence of a pragmatic, non-socialist government in independent Namibia and a non-violent, negotiated solution in South Africa.

Dr Crocker, the soon to be departing assistant secretary of state for Africa, portrayed Soviet policy towards the region in words he could have used to describe his own approach.

The Soviets, he said, now agreed that: "The armed struggle is not the way to solve the problems of Southern Africa; secondly, that we should all be seeking political settlements based on compromise and accommodation; thirdly, that it does not make sense to

destroy the economic base of SA, which is the region's strongest economy and strongest state."

Speaking in a teleconference with Brazilian reporters, the US official went out of his way to cite a remark by "a senior Soviet official that it would be unwise for anyone to try to build socialism in Namibia".

"That is one of the most realistic statements about the likely prospects in the territory that I have heard recently."

Dr Crocker also noted that while the US and the Soviets continued to arm Unita and the MPLA respectively in Angola, Moscow now accepted that the civil war had to end.

"The Soviets recognise there must be a political settlement. It would not surprise me if, behind the scenes, they are using their influence to encourage such a settlement."

"We developed a relationship of co-operation at the negotiating table," the official said, adding that Moscow had "brought its influence to bear" on Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

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Tele

(LAA26130)

BUSINESS

Big business meets Swapo: Better the devil you know

Namibia's owners met the would-be new rulers when De Beers talked with Swapo in London last week. Times are changing indeed, and De Beers is taking no chances.
By DAVID PALLISTER in London

THE last time executives from the Anglo American/De Beers group met publicly with members of an African liberation movement it was in a game park in the bush. This time, last week, it was in London's Ritz Hotel. The matter in hand for the businessmen was the same on both occasions: what accommodations can be expected when the biggest and richest mining empire in the world is not protected by a white minority government? For the leaders of South Africa's African National Congress and Namibia's South West African People's Organisation the question was the economic, and indirectly, the political survival of their countries after independence.

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly came away from the meeting with the ANC in Zambia in 1985 comforted by the view that the ANC leadership "would be more interested in a viable and vibrant South African economy that they would be in the Marxian form of economy".

After the meeting at the Ritz between senior Swapo officials, including its president Sam Nujoma, and De Beers executives, both sides maintained a tight-lipped silence, embarrassed that news of the encounter had leaked out.

But in fact these discussions between the liberation movements and the principal mining conglomerates — the main foreign exchange earners of both countries — have been continuing in private for some time, according to sources close to the exile leaderships in London.

Like the ANC's Freedom Charter, Swapo's Political Programme speaks of the need to return the national wealth to the ownership of the people. Mining, however, will almost certainly be treated as a special case. As

the United Nations Institute for Namibia has put it: "There is no doubt that the government of an independent Namibia will adopt a more rational approach towards this sector."

With the need for technical expertise and huge investment, the mining companies can expect at the very least management contracts and even some compensation in return for continuing capital programmes. But their losses will still be enormous. Any independent government in Namibia would want to reverse the present position where most surplus is remitted to South African private interests rather than invested in national development.

It is this prospect which many analysts believe has prompted Anglo's recent attempts to take over Consolidated Gold Fields, part of a long term strategy to shift the group's resources and centre of gravity away from southern Africa.

Anglo's bid for Consgold, through its international investment arm, Minorco, has been rich in ironies and unusual alliances. Both sides have indulged in public fantasies, with the anti-apartheid movements in Britain uncertain about how to respond. Luxembourg-based Minorco,



Anglo's Relly



Swapo's Nujoma

through its new chairman, Sir Michael Edwards, has tried to maintain the fiction that it will not in future be controlled by Anglo and the Oppenheimer family, even though the group is a past master at engineering control through minority interests.

Consgold, the company after all of Cecil Rhodes, has hilariously insisted that Minorco — that is, South Afri-

of Nova Scotia joined the consortium while Canada, through its chair of the Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee on sanctions, was proposing tougher financial measures against South Africa.

In this fog of hypocrisy, British anti-apartheid groups wobbled in their search for a political advantage.

Erd Loans to Southern Africa came out with a straight condemnation of both the Minorco bid and Consgold's record on its gold mines. The Anti-Apartheid Movement belatedly endorsed this approach. But initially it protested only about Minorco's South African roots, while deliberating ways of putting private pressure on Consgold's management to disinvest. Rudolph Agnew, Consgold's chairman, realising that he needed all the friends he could get, tentatively opened up a private dialogue with AAM and hinted that the GFAA connection would in the long term be run down.

Now that the Monopolies Commission has given Minorco the go-ahead to reactivate the bid, a curious calm has descended on the battlefield. It is suggested that Minorco is waiting for Consgold's buoyant share price to level out before it comes back with an offer.

In the meantime, the affair has turned the spotlight on Anglo's undisputed monopoly in diamonds, with the Office of Fair Trading examining a Consgold spoiling complaint that the De Beers business is a restraint of trade.

But De Beers has seen it all before and survived. The company has avoided similar scrutiny in the United States from the Justice Department for nearly fifty years yet the US remains the biggest market for the London-based Central Selling Organisation marketing arm.

When Sam Nujoma met with De Beers last week he knew he was treating with the men who have been accused by the Thirion Commission of rapping Namibia of its mineral resources. But in the art of politics, as in business, it may be better to deal with the devil you know.

MARKHOSEKAZI

FEDERATION

Road clear for Resolution 435

Namibia go-ahead is an 'historic moment' — Pik

Political Staff and Associated Press

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has welcomed the United Nations Security Council agreement on the implementation of Resolution 435 for the independence of Na-

mibia as an "historic moment".

Mr Botha said in a statement the acceptance by the Security Council of the implementation of Resolution 435 "marks the last enabling step to the settlement plan for the independence of Namibia.

"This means 4 650 troops are approved and the United Nations will now strictly have to treat all parties in SWA/Namibia impartially.

"With the acceptance of this resolution, the road is now clear for the attainment of independence of SWA/Namibia."

Utmost importance

Mr Botha said he had instructed South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer, to inform the Secretary General, Dr Javier Peres de Cuellar, that it was of the utmost importance that all people from Namibia — detained in camps in certain African countries due to differences with Swapo — be permitted to return to Namibia.

The Security Council yesterday authorised the independence plan and the General Assembly agreed to dispatch the first UN peacekeepers to the region.

In a departure from the usual Security Council decorum, applause and handshakes swept the chamber after the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which begins the transition toward Namibian elections supervised by the United Nations.

The council approved a recent report by Dr Perez de Cuellar on implementing the plan, which calls for sending 4 650 UN peacekeepers, 500 police supervisors and at least 1 000 civilian election monitors to Namibia.

"The decision also marks the

last major step toward decolonisation," said council president Mr Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal.

"We look forward to welcoming Namibia as a fellow member of this family of nations before long."

Untag officials

The first Untag officials are to arrive in Namibia next week, said the secretary-general's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Commissioner Steven Fanning, the head of Untag's police unit, is expected in Namibia next Friday for weekend talks with that country's commissioner of police, General Dolf Gouws, said Mr Ahtisaari.

Namibia's police will remain responsible for civil order, but will be supervised by UN police.

Dr Perez de Cuellar has estimated Untag will cost \$416 million (about R998 million) in its first year, making it the biggest UN peacekeeping mission since the Belgian Congo operation of 1960-64.

The General Assembly yesterday approved funds for a 70-man team of UN military observers who will monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, as neighbouring Namibia becomes independent.

That group, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), was budgeted at \$9,2 million (about R21,6 million) for this year.

General Assembly President Mr Dante Caputo, announced that the assembly probably would meet next week to approve funding for the Untag force.

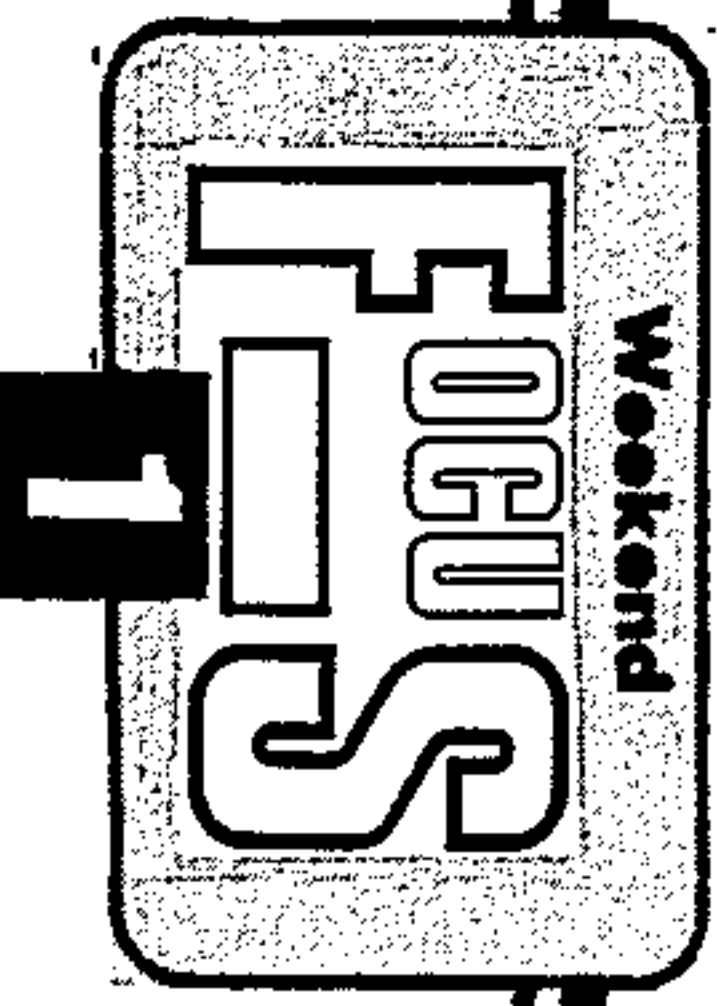
WITH the acceptance of an internationally-supervised settlement in Namibia, the prospect of great change is loom-

ing on the horizon. What do ordinary people think, people who are not necessarily members or leaders of the political

parties who will shortly be competing for power? Photo journalist CLOETE BREYTEN-BACH finds out . . .

THE NEWS IN NAMIBIA

— by people living there



Mr JORGE HENRICHSEN businessman, mayor of Swakopmund

Q: Do you think independence this time round is real?

A: I think it is. I would hate the idea of it being postponed once again. Some 10 years ago the people were ready for it or for something new — then nothing came of it. People have lost complete interest in politics. They have to be mobilised by their politicians, so to speak.

One of the things we have not solved is how to ease mistrust between the population groups. The situation was better 10 years ago because everybody thought, okay, let's give it a chance.

Q: Do you think the UN can give the motivation, or trust, back to the people?

A: Obviously the people, especially the white people, do not trust the UN. But the black people regard the UN as their hope. I would say the feeling in Swakopmund is 50-50.

Q: Were you born here?

A: I am a third generation Swakopmunder. My family has been living here since the German times.

Q: Can you live with a UN presence here?

A: Yes, because I believe the UN has a reputation to keep, and there will be impartiality. After all, the South Africans and the police are all there. So the two will try to keep the balance.

Q: Swakopmund is mainly a tourist centre. Being next to Walvis Bay, South African territory, do you think the town might become a convenient venue for moving money out of the country, i.e. Walvis Bay?

A: I wouldn't say so. Everybody living in this country would have had a chance to do this already, for the past 10 years, because, let's face it, everybody knew there was the Resolution 435, and many people did move. Actually I do not expect that more than, let's say, another 10 per cent of the whites will move. There might be a couple of coloured who will also move.

Mr Jorge Henrichsen



Whether Swapo can really get the two-thirds majority right after election for the constituent assembly I'm not so sure. I know that many say so.

We've got to bear in mind that the dominant factor is the Owambo people. I am not a party member and I have looked at the situation in a very pragmatic way. Very much against my own conviction I have to state that, at present (I'm not only the mayor but also chairman of the council) I am chairman of an out-and-out apartheid government system, because, in 10 years, local government form was never changed — it is purely embedded in apartheid philosophy.

But being a man with practical ideas I said "Okay I've got to accept it, I can't change it". Because it's not the municipality that will change it, that's the government's duty. So make the best of that situation — this is what we've done.

Q: Would you take out a Namibian passport?

A: I was never asked whether I wanted a South African passport or not. I never felt a South African, although all my life — and you can see I've got grey hairs already — I've had a South African passport.

I am of mainly German blood — a little bit of Scandinavian — but I've never had a German passport. The five years I lived in Germany to get experience, I lived there as a foreigner. So, it is no problem for me to change my passport.

I am a Southwester, a third generation Southwester. I can quite happily live with the word Namibia — from the melody in that word it's a beautiful word. I do understand that because it is a political name many people do not like it.

Mr JACH JN KAZAPUA Head of Education, Vocational Training Centre Windhoek

Q: You are the director of a new project — the aim being to educate local citizens in running small businesses etc. When was this project started?

A: This project is about technical training and we started last year (1988). It is a two-year course, so next year we will take some more first-year students. It is basically to empower people with skills which they can then use in both the formal sector and the informal sector of the economy.

Q: What is your background?

A: I was born in Windhoek (Herero). I studied at the Universities of Nairobi, Manchester and London where I earned a master's degree in education and practical management.

Q: Are you con-

the people you are in contact with — how do they feel?

A: Yes, sometimes they are uncertain what is to come after independence. Some are very cheerful about the change. I tell them that independence is not all that different from the situation today — it's just a change of political system — life will continue the same way. The general feeling is that Swapo will win, with the DTA providing a very strong opposition group, with other groups not affiliated either to Swapo or DTA. For Swapo to have the two-thirds majority in order to govern they will need the support of other parties.

Q: Would you take out a Namibian passport?

A: I have a South African passport. I will immediately take out a Namibian passport as I have always considered myself a Namibian.

Mr SIEGFRIED STUMPHE farm, hotel and store owner, Asap

Q: What are your views on Resolution 435 and independence — do you think it will work?

A: I doubt if independence will happen, because they are sure to invent another postponement story. I have now lived 20 years with this story, so I do not think it will materialise. I also feel it should not become a reality — not with 435.

Q: What do you have against 435?

A: To be honest, I do not know what it's all about, but what they spelled out — to base UN troops here to take over the government, this sort of thing — it can't work. It will be like Rhodesia and Zambia.

Q: I take it you are in contact with your farm workers and others in the area. Have you discussed developments with them — what are their views?

A: Forty percent see it as a solution. The other 60 percent want us to continue as now — they are quite happy with the present situation. Here you get the Nama and the Damara. The Damara are for 435 and the Nama are in favour of the present set-up.

Q: What do you think of the DTA, and the other parties, now in government — are they qualified and are you happy with their administration?

A: The DTA is doing a good job among the people — it is also the only element against communism and Swapo. The other parties are fairly inefficient around here.

Q: In the event of an election, many people seem to think that Swapo will emerge the winners. What do you think?

A: I also think so. Swapo will win. Then we sit with an Owambo population 10 times greater than other groups, and 80 percent of them are

Cubans will come in again.

I have no faith in these agreements. It appears most people are serious about the election, but I don't know if it will ever happen.

Q: Will independence change your lifestyle?

A: Well, the first thing Sam Nujoma said on television the other evening was that as soon as they take over they will stop all trade with the Republic. Then we as cattle farmers are doomed because our only market is South Africa.

Q: Some predict a Swapo victory. Can you live with a Swapo government?

A: Not according to what Tjongarero said on TV — he said all farmers with two or more farms will have these taken away and given to those with no farms. Other properties as well. This means sharing your possessions. This cannot work. The person getting property for nothing did not work for it — I never got anything for nothing in my life.

Q: Would you consider going back to South Africa?

A: The best I can do, in the event, is to go directly to Botswana — then, at least, I know I'm directly under a kaffir government.

Q: Do you think the government keeps the country informed about what's going on?

A: No. Many decisions are made which we know nothing about. We only hear about it afterwards.

Q: Do you trust the UN?

A: No. Whenever they go they mess things up.

Q: Can you compare this situation with that of Rhodesia?

A: Let me say this — in Rhodesia it was a case of England selling out — here the whole world wants to sell us out.

Q: Will you take out a Namibia passport?

A: No, I will always stay a South-wester, as long as I live here. The name Namibia sounds very baboonish.

Mr ANTONIO JOSÉ MANO Portuguese shopowner, Rundu

Q: How do you view the proposed independence?

A: There are going to be many problems. If the Afrikaners leave, particularly the Defence Force and the civil service, there will be no work for the local population, particularly in agriculture and the civil service.

The Kavangos are all beautiful people — I have no problems with them — but I don't think they know what it's like to work on their own.

Q: Are you staying on?

A: Yes, if Swapo and DTA are just — and if the South Africans stay to help, it will be a beautiful place. But if the South Africans do not stay and assist in the transition process, it will be a disaster.

called a 'kopkaart', which is still in my maiden name. So I might as well wait and get a new identity after independence.

The Rev GEORGE HIKUMUAH Evangelical Reformed Church in Owambo, Oshakati

Q: Do you think this time there will be true independence?

A: I feel there will be independence if there is true reconciliation within the hearts of the people.

Q: Does it matter to your church which political party gets into power?

A: Yes, it will have an effect because our church is originally from the NG Kerk (Dutch Reformed) and, as the NG Kerk is a white church, a Swapo win will be our encounter. If Swapo agrees to true Christianity, it will allow the NG Kerk to operate.

Q: Does Swapo believe in true Christianity?

A: At the moment, no.

Q: There is talk of Swapo intimidating churchgoers. Is this happening here in Owambo?

A: No, not directly, the church, which is Erco (the Owambo branch of churches affiliated to the NGA) not being a "white" church. The church has expanded as far as the border. We also have a preaching post in Angola. But when the MPLA took control our members fled. It shows to us that our members couldn't work together with Swapo and the MPLA.

The Rev Hikumuah



Q: In the conversations with members of your church and other colleagues — what do they think of independence — do they know what's at stake?

A: We do not really have an idea of what is going to happen. We think that if South Africa can have a part in this independence then everything will be all right. But if South Africa is not involved, then something wrong will happen.

Q: There's a possibility of UN troops moving into this area — how do you feel about that?

A: I feel it will go right. If there are also members of the SA Defence Force with the possible, new forces. They must be united — ev-

A: To the south, although some Europeans might go back to Great Britain or Germany, or the Netherlands or wherever they came from.

Q: Do you think there will be free elections, without intimidation?

A: I am sure there will be intimidation on both sides. I hate it when one talks of, say, the past 10 years and one takes Swapo and says: "They are murderers, you can't talk to murderers". Let's face it, our boys were not angels, otherwise we wouldn't have had the State President (P W Botha) intervene twice in our legal system. This has always been my philosophy — look at both sides.

I am sure there will be intimidation — somebody is going to try it. Let's face it, look at the election fraud that happened in Hillbrow in the last elections in South Africa — these things always happen. We can only hope that we can keep it to an acceptable level.

Q: Some fear a Swapo victory. Do you share this?

A: I would prefer a democratic government to a socialist or communistic one. It is difficult at the moment to judge what Swapo wants, because whatever they said when meeting white South-westers in Zambia or in Sweden — there were many opportunities to meet Swapo leaders — the impression was created that Swapo told them what the white man wants to hear, which means it's not quite truthful.

'We want everybody to work together'

Mr DAVID HAUFIKU
businessman (Owambo),
Oshikati

Q: What is your opinion about independence?

A: If Resolution 435 works, then we will get independence. We need independence. Maybe, this time, it's going to work. We want everybody to work together in peace — black and white, that's what we want. People are ner-



Mr David Haufiku

this project will be a success?

A: There's a lot of hard work ahead. With our ethnic distribution of teaching and so on — after independence we are going to have a centrally situated and single education department — it's going to mean hard work to satisfy everybody and to provide equal opportunities. Q: So it seems that independence is not going to affect your organisation.

A: I think it is going to fit in very well. It is meant for the people of the future, no matter what government is in charge. This is purely an educational organisation. It is meant for the people.

Q: After all the false starts, do you think independence is on, this time?

A: I think this time there is quite a serious structure about it. If it does not happen it's going to cause a lot of embarrassment to all involved.



Mr Jach J N Kazapua

Q: What will you do if Swapo wins — stay or leave?

A: We will have to see if we can live with this lot. If they don't want us here we'll have to move.

Q: Where to?

A: That's a good question — either to hell or the hotel.

Q: How is independence going to affect your business?

A: I don't think independence is going to give us more business because who is going to invest more money around here?

Q: Have the locals heard of UN troops?

A: They don't know what it means — to them it's just some more men in uniform — they don't know what it involves.

Q: Will you take out a Namibian passport?

A: No. I will, however, take out a South West passport. We don't go for the name Namibia around here. We still talk about South West Africa. This is the general feeling among the neighbours and local people.

Mr F P BOOYSEN

farmer, Gobabis

Q: Do you think independence is for real this time?

A: My opinion is that at this stage there will be no Cuban withdrawal according to 435, the UN will implement it. They will walk all over us, and then the come here and walk all over us, and then the

then I'm gone. I think I speak on behalf of most Portuguese around here — there are almost four hundred, mostly in business. They all think that if the South Africans stay involved, it might work out all right.

Q: Do you think the Cubans will leave Angola?

A: Angola will be a better place once the Cubans are gone. They create a lot of problems. I had two businesses in Angola and also dealt with Cubans. They don't work. They are useless. The whole of Africa will be better off if they leave. This is important.

Q: Will you return to Angola?

A: Maybe once the Cubans are gone. I can get on with either the MPLA or Unita.

Q: Is the Windhoek administration doing a good job?

A: Yes. There are many DTA people here and they are doing a lot of good.

Q: And Swapo?

A: There are many Swapo members here. I get on well with them. They play snooker in my shop. I think the balance between Swapo and DTA is about 50-50.

Q: Can you live with a Swapo administration?

A: Swapo is no problem. The problem is South Africa. If the South Africans do not keep an eye on the situation here we will have many problems — no matter who is in charge, DTA or Swapo. The South Africans must stay to supervise the situation.

ANNA PLATT

shop owner, Rehoboth

Q: Where do you get your supplies from?

A: All my dresses and supplies come from South Africa — I get nothing from Windhoek.

Q: Do you think independence will affect your business?

A: I don't think it will make any difference. It depends on what kind of government we get — everybody talks about that — that might affect our lives. If everyone can keep the promises they usually make, I can't see problems.

Q: Are you satisfied with the present system of government?

A: Yes. Normally people are not happy with everything. I am happy if we can continue with the present government because they are our people — we know them and we know what is in store for us if they continue to run an independent government.

Q: Will a Swapo victory upset you?

A: Actually, there's nothing we can do about such an eventuality. We will have to accept the situation, whether it's Swapo or DTA. I think these two organisations are the strongest at present. It will be a contest between them.

Q: Do you think good relations with South Africa should be maintained after independence?

A: Definitely. People can say what they like, including the outside world, but South Africa is the only country supporting us, and has done so over the years.

As far as I know we get no financial assistance from any other country. We have had our budget cut already by South Africa. Now, no one has stood up and said: "We will help you, because your budget was cut." So, I believe we can and should maintain good relations with our neighbour.

Q: Will you take out a Namibian passport?

A: Yes. This is my country. I have never had a South African passport. Years ago, when I was still single, I took out an identity card,

Q: Are there many Swapo members in Owambo?

A: Not so many, but there are many organisations in favour of Swapo.

Q: Would you care to make a prediction as to who will win a free election?

A: I think if the central government is going to inform the people and give them full information, they will win the election.

Q: Would you take out a Namibian passport?

A: I think it's too early to decide about that.

WILLIE OLIVER

JOURNALIST, WINDHOEK

Q: Can the existing parties work together in a election?

A: If you look at the important parties in South West over the past few years, then there is no doubt that a lot of in-fighting took place. I doubt that a lot of in-fighting will be what the long run, however, it's going to be whether the population brings out a pro-Swapo or anti-Swapo vote. I think there will be a tendency towards alliance.

At the moment the DTA is an established alliance. Eventually, other parties will also for alliances.

Q: Is Swapo going to find an election as much a walkover as most of the media believe?

A: The media in general give Swapo the powwow. But in Swapo circles, there is doubt whether the organisation will get the two-thirds majority in order to govern.

One of the factors is the return of refugees from Angola. Many had relatives and so eliminated by Swapo — conditions in Swa camps are not good — and these people know it. They will spread the word. Swapo is worried about its image.

Q: What about intimidation — is there a proof of this?

A: By using student organisations and trade unions, Swapo has been doing just that. had, for example, the first real boycott, organised by trade unions. This was in sympathy with a schools boycott where students insisted on the removal of SA Army bases from certain areas in Owambo.

I think Swapo will make more and more use of this "soft" method of intimidation. In the north they might resort to "hard" intimidation. It is unlikely that Swapo, in the event of losing the election, will refrain from taking up the armed struggle again.

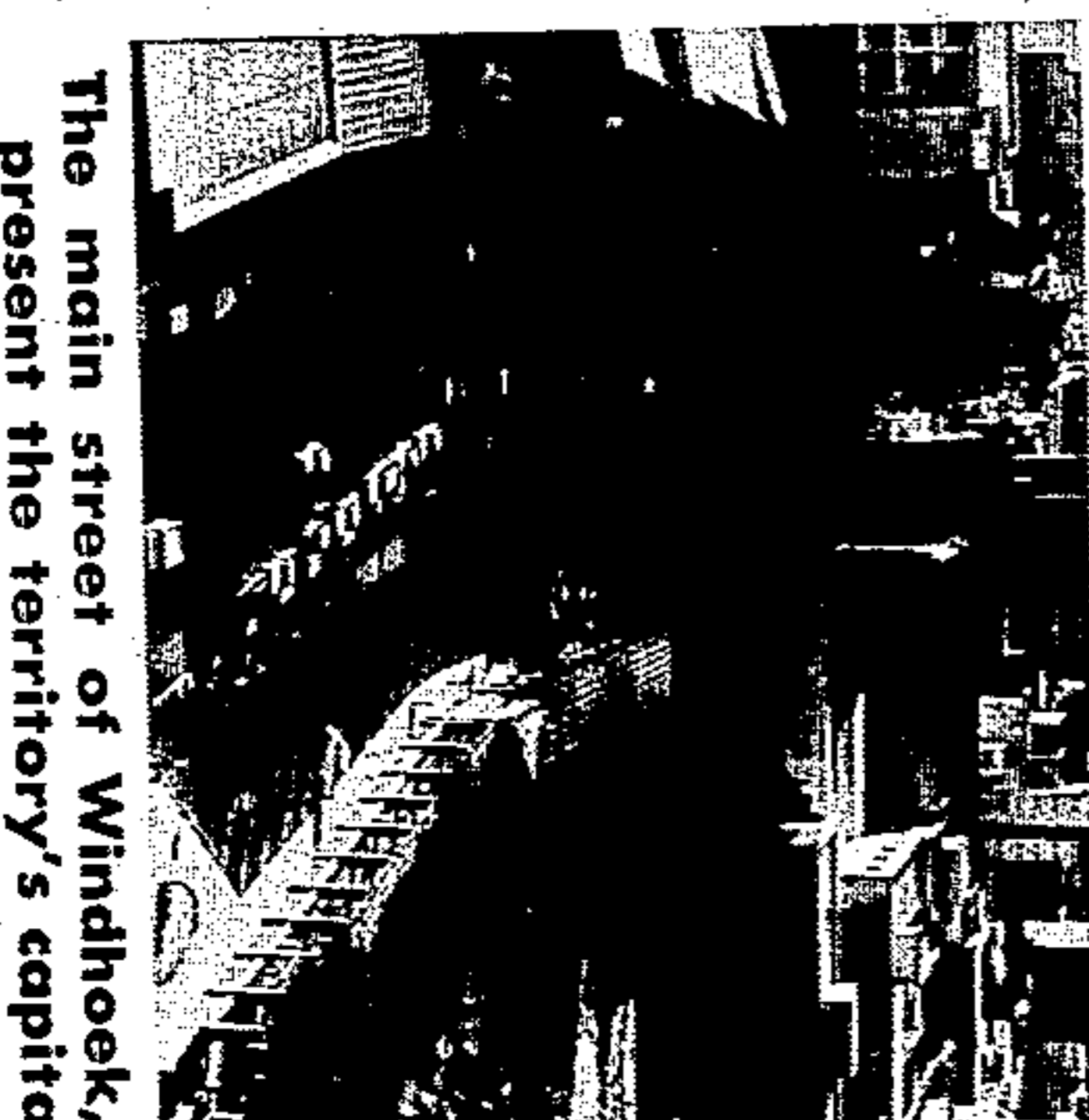
It's a case of "I have the gun in my hand, vote for me and the war is over. If you don't vote for me and the war is over, the war will continue." Up north the people are tired of war and here Swapo has an important card to play.



Mr Siegfried Stumpe, hotel and store owner.



Anna Platt, shop owner in Rehoboth.



The main street of Windhoek, the present the territory's capital.

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Cost of Namibian peace is R545-m

CAPE TOWN — Peace in Angola/Namibia is to cost South African R545 million. This is apart from about R30 million to negotiate the peace settlement.

And if the military has its way, when the troops have withdrawn from Namibia no saving will be passed to the taxpayer.

That money is earmarked for development of a new generation of weapon systems.

This emerged in documents to support the plea Finance Minis-

BRUCE CAMERON
Political Correspondent

ter Mr Barend du Plessis will make to Parliament for the R1 762 million he under-estimated on the past year's budget.

This means he was almost five percent over his proposed spending of R38 000 million.

Major cause is an extra R460 million for defence and R535 961 000 to pay for the civil servants' salary rise.

Of the R460 million required

by the Defence Force, R345 million was needed to change tactics as a result of the withdrawal from Angola.

Previous tactics were to keep the enemy far from the border, so little had to be spent on protecting bases in Namibia.

But now Fapla and Cuban forces have moved up, bringing the bases within range of conventional attacks. Air defences also have to be improved.

Other costs were incurred

speeding up development of weapons systems, including the Rooikat armoured car.

The SADF also seeks an initial R17 million to start its Namibian withdrawal.

However, Admiral M Bekker, chief of staff (finances), said total withdrawal and re-establishment of bases would cost up to R200 million in the next financial year.

● Foreign Affairs underestimated its budget by R167 million.

CROCKER SAYS KREMLIN HELPING SETTLEMENT

WASHINGTON — Moscow and Washington have a tacit understanding to co-operate in southern Africa.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker indicated their work would extend considerably the agreement on Cuba's troop withdrawal from Angola and independence in Namibia.

The co-operation would include working for an end to the Angolan civil war, emergence of a non-socialist government in Namibia and a non-violent, negotiated solution in SA.

SIMON BARBER

Crocker said the Soviets agreed "first, that the armed struggle is not the way to solve the problems of southern Africa; second, that we should all be seeking political settlements based on compromise and accommodation; third, that it does not make sense to destroy the economic base of SA, which is the region's strongest economy and strongest state".

He told Brazilian reporters a senior Soviet official had said to him "it would be unwise for anyone to try to build socialism in Namibia".

Crocker added: "That is one of the most realistic statements about the likely prospects in the territory that I have heard recently."

Crocker noted that while the US and Soviets continued to arm Unita and the MPLA respectively, Moscow accepted the civil war must end.

"The Soviets recognise there must be a political settlement," he added.

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UN's big-spender due soon

Cape Times 20/2/89 221
JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations' official task force, with R1 billion to spend on commercial purchases and transport for the Untag forces, is to arrive in Windhoek on Thursday.

Mr Dermot Hussey, UN head of the supplies for the Untag forces due to be positioned by April 1, will be staying at the Kalahari Sands.

A FCI spokesman said the chamber has tried to keep members informed of business opportunities that could arise.

Assocom last week released a list of goods the UN advised them of. The list ranged from leasing helicopters and aircraft to stationary and beverages.

Swapo deserter tells of ceasefire violations

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A deserter has given more evidence that Swapo is deploying units south of the 16th parallel in violation of the ceasefire pact, says the South West African Territory Force.

Simon Shilongo, 22, a section leader of the Red Square Battalion, deserted this month from the Angolan town of Peu-Peu and walked 90km to surrender to security forces.

Peu-Peu, where Swapo is reported to have a number of bases, is more than 60km south of the 16th parallel.

The security forces said Shilongo told them he deserted because of bad conditions in Swapo camps, lack of food and clothing and ill-treatment by Swapo and Cuban officers.

According to the security forces, he revealed that Swapo still had the following bases south of the 16th parallel:

The operational commanding headquarters (OCHQ) at Peu-Peu;

The Red Square Battalion, who protect the headquarters;

The headquarters of the western area, north of Peu-Peu;

Central headquarters, near the OCHQ;

The Ongehete clinic west of Xangongo; and

The Katanga logistics unit northwest of Xangongo.

Emergency meeting

The information was discussed at an emergency meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC).

However, the Angolan-Cuban delegation said there was nothing they could do because the jurisdiction of the JMMC covered only a kilometre on either side of the border between Namibia and Angola.

The issue will be discussed at a "second level" meeting of the JMMC tomorrow.

The joint commission — consisting of delegates from South Africa, Cuba and Angola with Soviet and United States officials as observers — will hold its first meeting since the signing of the ceasefire accord in Luanda on Thursday.

The security forces say Shilongo also told them Swapo leaders were living a good life, but not the ordinary members, and that Cubans who regularly visited Swapo bases swapped clothes taken from civilians for food and abused the women at the bases.

Curfew lifted in northern ²²¹ Namibia ^{sta} ^{21/2/89}

WINDHOEK — Military officials said a dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed eight years ago in northern Namibia was lifted yesterday, six weeks before the formal start of the transition to independence.

The South African-led territorial army said the curfew was being lifted because of a virtual halt in military activities in the Ovamboland region by Swapo guerillas.

However, the army said Swapo continued to maintain bases in southern Angola in violation of the peace accord signed between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Under the agreement, Angola is to prevent Swapo from maintaining bases south of the 16th parallel — 150 km north of the Angola-Namibia border.

The territorial army announced that a Swapo defector said Swapo has six bases south of the 16th parallel. — AP.

SA won't have Swedes in UN transition group

STOCKHOLM — South Africa has formally rejected Swedish participation in a multinational force to oversee independence for Namibia later this year, a senior Swedish official said yesterday.

He said the Swedish government received official notification from the United Nations on Sunday.

Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson would brief the parliamentary foreign affairs committee and intended to issue a statement afterwards.

The official said the Pretoria government maintained that Sweden's strong anti-apartheid stance and support for the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) meant its troops could not be trusted to play an impartial

role. *Star 21/2/89*
Sweden, which participates in many peacekeeping forces around the world, had already begun training soldiers for the Namibia mission.



In Helsinki, a Finnish government spokesman said Finland had been asked to participate in the force and would formally accept later.

The UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will oversee the South African military pullout and Namibian elections as part of a US-brokered peace plan which also includes the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Dal 22/2/87

Much hope in Namibia, says Mudge

SA'S right wing would be boosted if "things go wrong in Namibia", Namibian Finance Minister Dirk Mudge said in Johannesburg yesterday.



● MUDGE

He also made a thinly veiled appeal to local German businessmen to support his Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's election campaign.

Mudge told the SA German Chamber

PETER DELMAR

of Commerce and Industry outside investors were not prepared to invest in Namibia until after the territory's UN-supervised independence.

"We are experiencing all the disadvantages of what is happening and none of the advantages that will come with independence."

Mudge said it was in SA's interests to prove to the world that Namibia could not survive without its help. "I knew from the start SA would only stay in Namibia as long as it was in its

interests."

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He said he never doubted Namibia would eventually gain independence, adding that "no-one can stop it and whoever tries it is in for trouble".

"Whoever tries to stop it will find the rest of the world on their backs. There is so much enthusiasm, so much hope, that for once there will be a success story in Africa and not just another banana republic."

Mudge said he was not on a fundraising campaign, but added: "I tell you, you cannot fight an election campaign without money."

Handwritten notes and stamps at the bottom right of the page.

Swapo fears a loaded deck

ARCUS
22/12/89
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In the coming independence election in Namibia, Pretoria, unlike Ian Smith and his colleagues in Rhodesia, is holding most of the cards and is in a position to cut the deck and shuffle as it wishes, says **BRENDAN SEERY** of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

WHEN Swapo sits down at the UN Resolution 435 poker game (which starts promptly on April 1), it could be forgiven for thinking it was playing against a card-sharp with a loaded deck.

After all the comfortable years as the UN-acknowledged "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", the organisation goes into the transition to independence with disadvantages that Robert Mugabe or Joshua Nkomo would not have tolerated when the British plan for Zimbabwean independence was foisted on them at Lancaster House in 1979.

South Africa, unlike Ian Smith and his colleagues in Rhodesia, is holding most of the cards and is in a position to cut the deck and shuffle as it wishes.

For a start, Swapo will not have access to the very powerful weapon of armed men coming back into the country and, rightly or wrongly, proclaiming they had won the war.

In 1979 and 1980, tens of thousands of Zanla and Zipra guerillas streamed into "assembly points" across Zimbabwe, with their weapons and a very obvious aura of victory.

Not only did this provide Zanu and Zapu with political clout, but it also gave the exiled leaders the muscle they needed to resist if anything went wrong, or if the Rhodesians decided to dictate things — such as the result of the elections.

Under the Resolution 435 peace plan approved by the UN Security Council in September 1978, Swapo fighters will be confined to their camps. Subsequent negotiations and the fact that Swapo has not managed to establish permanent camps inside Namibia, effectively mean that its fighters will be restricted to an area north of the 16th parallel in Angola. South Africa has already let it be known that it is unhappy there are still Swapo people inside this cut-off line.

In Namibia, the South Africans have made it clear they believe the local arm of the SADF, the SWA Territory Force, will be demobilised (that is, sent home on full pay) rather than disbanded. That these demobilised personnel may well have access to weapons, must worry Swapo.

While in their camps in Angola, the Swapo cadres will



PIENAAR ... he'll head the administration



NUJOMA ... his charisma is likely to be missing in early stages

be monitored by troops of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), and will eventually be disarmed prior to coming back to Namibia as "ordinary" refugees.

After being allowed back to Namibia they will be given temporary residence permits, which will be confirmed at one of a number of centres by officials of the existing administration — an administration which will be headed by Pretoria's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar. Before they will be allowed

to vote in any election, they will have to be registered, a process also controlled by the South Africans, who say they wish to be satisfied that only true Namibians, and not foreigners, vote in the election.

However, anti-apartheid activists have already claimed that South Africa has registered, and is continuing to register, thousands of Angolan refugees who have found shelter in the Owambo and Kavango areas of northern Namibia. There have also been allegations, denied by the authorities in Windhoek, that hundreds of South African soldiers are also being hurriedly registered for the election. Herero-based anti-Swapo parties have also talked about bringing back an estimated 40 000 Hereros in Botswana.

As far as election campaigning is concerned, Swapo will also be at a disadvantage, despite its undoubted popular support, simply because it will probably not at first have access to the substantial amounts of funds inside the country necessary to mount voter spectaculars of the type in which Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance specialises.

Although matters may be slightly different when UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari arrives here on April 1 for the start of the process, Swapo currently does not enjoy the same television or radio coverage as do its potential opponents. It has only one newspaper, out of about nine which are published regularly in Windhoek, which is openly sympathetic to its cause.

It probably also has to contend with the fact that there is already a substantial flood of anti-Swapo propaganda being circulated in the north of the country, through the army and the police, who have been travelling around, ostensibly "educating the people about Resolution 435".

On top of all that, Swapo's own organisational abilities inside the country are open to some criticism, and it is unlikely that the crowd-pulling charisma of the "Old Man", Sam Nujoma, will be available to the election machine during the early stages, as it is considered unlikely the Swapo president would risk returning to Namibia until his safety could be guaranteed.

Swapo does, however, have the ace of world opinion up its sleeve, and that might help to even the odds in the high-stakes tussle that lies ahead.

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22/2/89
Swafish ups final div

SOUTH West Africa Fishing Industries Ltd declared a higher final dividend for the year ended December 31, 1988. The final dividend was 175c (135c), making 240c against 200c a year ago. The company also declared a special dividend of 225c per ordinary share. Net profit for the year totalled R8,39m (R8,46m), equivalent to earnings of 266c (231c).

SWATF officers for SA?
CPI-Top 22/2/89 22/

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Namibians who are conscripted officers in the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) might be transferred to SADF bases in South Africa when the force disbands on May 13, a SWATF spokesman said.

party times, would be extended to other countries.

will increase Sander.

SWATF military officers might move to SADF bases

17/Day 22/2/89

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NAMIBIAN citizens who are conscripted officers in the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF) might be transferred to SADF bases in SA when SWATF disbands in terms of Resolution 435 on May 13.

Conscripted officers were told they would spend the remainder of their two-year compulsory military service at SADF bases in SA, a SWATF source said.

SWATF spokesman Cmdt Fanie Krige said yesterday they intended "working according to Resolution 435". There was "not yet clarity" on the issue of offi-

RIAAN SMIT

cer transfers, he said.

In terms of Resolution 435, conscripts must be demobilised and the command structure of the SWATF, including commando and citizen force units, must cease operating on May 13.

Transferring Namibians to SADF units would be "anomalous", said Windhoek Legal Assistance director Dave Smuts.

□ About 3 000 new Namibian conscripts began basic training in mid-January despite impending SWATF demobilisation.

10 MINUTE X-WORD 7280

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23/2 - 1/3/89

From MARK VERBAAN WINDHOEK. — The arrival of the first members of the United Nations peacekeeping force in the past week has "forced" the sceptics to believe that independence for the South African colony is at last a reality.

There were many who viewed last year's rounds of negotiations between Pretoria, Luanda and Havana with more than a degree of cynicism and caution. But opinions seem to be changing.

The UN Commissioner of Police, Mr Steven Fanning, was the first to arrive last Friday accompanied by Ms Rachel Myangya, a legal representative of the world body.

He has been consulting with

his Namibian counterpart, General Dolf Gouws, on logistics and methods of liaison between the 500-strong UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) police contingent, and the 6 000 members of the Namibian police who are to "keep law and order".

Fears have been expressed that the ratio of one United Nation's policeman to every 12 Namibian policemen is hopelessly inadequate.

Fears are compounded by the fact that an estimated half of the local police force will be made up of former members of the dreaded police counter-

insurgency unit Koevoet, known for their violent anti-Swapo sentiments.

With the peacekeeping force being slashed from the original size of 7 500, as proposed in 1978, to 4 650, two schools of thought have consistently argued over the reduction.

The pro-South African parties in the territory are satisfied that the reduced force will be able to effectively monitor and supervise the period before and during elections.

However, groups such as Swapo vehemently maintain that a smaller peacekeeping force can only result in South Africa having a free hand to influence the outcome of the UN-supervised election.

It's sinking in — Namibia will be free!

is pñmpe

Joint committee begin talks today

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Monday 23/2/89

CAPE TOWN — The Joint Commission of Angola, Cuba and SA is scheduled to meet in Luanda today in its first "substantive meeting" to discuss progress and problems with the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday confirmed the SA delegation, headed by director-general Neil van Heerden, would leave for Luanda this morning where talks were expected to take at least two days.

Van Heerden would be accompanied by SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys and head of the National Intelligence Service Neil Barnard.

No details of the agenda have been released yet but recent allegations by Angola that SA had contravened last year's peace pact by sending in troops to back rebel Unita forces fighting government FAPLA units in southern Angola, are likely to feature prominently.

Release of prisoners

Counter claims that Swapo is maintaining bases south of the 16th parallel, also in contravention of the peace agreement, will also feature.

Negotiations for the release of prisoners of war, including SA's Rifleman Johan Papenfus are likely to be given prominence.

The spokesman said the commission, which first met in New York a few weeks ago to lay down ground rules for its operations, had a wide brief and general progress in implementing the peace treaty between the three countries would be assessed. — Sapa.

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Swapo's disadvantages in independence stakes

star 23/2/89
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BY BRENDAN SEERY of The Star's Africa News Service

When Swapo sits down at the UN Resolution 435 poker game (starts promptly on April 1) it could be forgiven for thinking it was playing against a card sharp with a loaded deck.

After all the comfortable years as the UN-acknowledged "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", the South West African People's Organisation goes into the transition to independence with disadvantages that Mr Robert Mugabe or Mr Joshua Nkomo would not have tolerated when the British plan for Zimbabwean independence was foisted on them at Lancaster House in 1979.

Unlike Mr Ian Smith and his colleagues in Rhodesia, South Africa is holding most of the cards and is in a position to cut the deck and shuffle as it wishes.

For a start, Swapo will not have access to the powerful weapon of armed men coming back into the country and, rightly or wrongly, proclaiming they had won the war.

Assembly points

In 1979 and 1980, tens of thousands of Zanu and Zipra guerillas streamed into "assembly points" across Zimbabwe, with their weapons and a very obvious aura of victory. Not only did this provide Zanu and Zapu with political clout, it also gave the exiled leaders the muscle they needed to resist if anything went wrong, or if the Rhodesians decided to dictate things, like the result of the elections.

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Subsequent negotiations, and the fact that Swapo has not managed to establish permanent camps inside Namibia, effectively mean that its fighters will be restricted to an area north of the 16th parallel in Angola. South Africa has already let it be known that it is unhappy there are still Swapo people inside this cut-off line.

SA holds all the cards and can cut as it wishes

In Namibia, the South Africans have made it clear they believe the local arm of the SADF, the SWA Territory Force, will be demobilised (sent home on full pay) rather than disbanded. That these demobilised personnel may well have access to weapons must worry Swapo.

While in their camps in Angola, the Swapo cadres will be monitored by troops of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), and will eventually be disarmed prior to coming back to Namibia as "ordinary" refugees.

After being allowed back to Namibia, they will be given temporary residence permits, which will be confirmed at one of a number of centres by officials of the existing administration — an administration which will be headed by Pretoria's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Registration

Before they will be allowed to vote in any election, they will have to be registered, a process also controlled by the South Africans, who say they wish to be satisfied that only true Namibians, and not foreigners, vote in the election.

However, anti-apartheid activists have already claimed that South Africa has registered, and is continuing to register, thousands of Ango-



United Nations police adviser Commissioner Stephen Fanning (right) being greeted in Windhoek by Namibian Administrator Mr Louis Pienaar and UN representative Miss Rachel Mayanja.

lan refugees who have found shelter in the Owambo and Kavango areas of northern Namibia.

There have also been allegations, denied by the authorities in Windhoek, that hundreds of South African soldiers are also being hurriedly registered for the election. Herero-based anti-Swapo parties have also talked about bringing back an estimated 40 000 Hereroes in Botswana.

Swapo's disadvantage

As far as election campaigning is concerned, Swapo will also be at a disadvantage, despite its undoubted popular support, simply because it will probably not at first have access to the substantial amounts of funds inside the country necessary to mount voter spectacles of the type in which Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance specialises.

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On top of all that, Swapo's own organisational abilities inside the country are open to some criticism, and it is unlikely that the crowd-pulling charisma of the "Old Man" Mr Sam Nujoma, will be available to the election machine during the early stages, as it is considered unlikely the Swapo president would risk returning to Namibia until his safety could be guaranteed.

Swapo does, however, have the ace of world opinion up its sleeve and that might help to even the odds in the high stakes tussle that lies ahead.

7 nations sending infantry to Namibia

RR645
24/2/89
221

NEW YORK. — The Security Council has approved a list of 21 countries which will provide troops for a United Nations operation to monitor Namibia's transition to independence, a UN spokesman said.

The UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), as the R998,4-million military-civilian operation is called, will include 4 650 troops, plus a further 2 850 held in reserve in their own countries.

The Security Council has approved April 1 as the starting date for a Namibia independence plan expected to take about a year to complete.

Its approval for the make-up of Untag's military component was given after closed-door consultations among members, but there has been controversy over the size of the force.

The UN spokesman said infantry battalions would be provided by Bangladesh, Finland, Kenya, Malaysia, Togo, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

Other sources said Finland, Kenya and Malaysia would each send to Namibia an enlarged battalion, numbering about 850 officers and men, while battalions from Bangladesh, Togo, Venezuela and Yugoslavia would be held in reserve.

The five permanent members of the Security Council — the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, China and France — who will have to pay 57 percent of the costs, have insisted on a pared-down force.

African and other non-aligned countries, worried that South Africa might try to influence the outcome of elections set for November, wanted the UN to stick to a figure of 7 500 laid down in an earlier plan.

MISGIVINGS OVER WITHDRAWAL

As a compromise, Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar proposed fielding 4 650 troops while retaining an authorised upper limit of 7 500 in case reserve battalions were needed.

Untag's civilian component will include 500 police, about 760 administrative staff and 620 electoral personnel. A further 820 civilians will be recruited locally.

Meanwhile, South Africa's misgivings about the UN monitoring of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola are high on the agenda at the first meeting in Luanda of the joint commission set up to monitor the peace process.

Inadequate monitoring of the Cuban withdrawal is considered by the South Africans to pose one of the graver threats to the success of the peace process.

Both the South Africans and the Americans — who, with the Soviets, have observer status on the tripartite commission — are believed to be unhappy with the approach adopted by the Brazilian commander of the UN force monitoring the Cuban troop withdrawal.



The US is so unhappy with the monitoring directed by General Pericles Ferreira Gomes that it has decided to send its own representative to Angola.

MUTUAL ACCUSATIONS

Other matters that will be discussed when the South Africans sit down tomorrow with the Angolans and the Cubans include the mutual charges of violating the agreement signed in New York last December.

The South Africans accuse the Angolans of allowing Swapo military forces to operate in Angola south of the 16th parallel in contravention of the agreement.

The Angolans have accused the South Africans of breaching the pact by sending troops into Angola to help Unita rebels.

But the monitoring of the Cuban withdrawal is, according to diplomatic sources, considered to pose an immediate threat to the peace process if it raises serious doubts that the Cubans are being pulled out according to schedule. — Sapa-Reuter and The Argus Foreign Service.

Put aid on hold, says Swapo

NON-GOVERNMENTAL development organisations (NGOs) should put project planning on hold and get as many people as possible into Namibia to witness the run-up to elections.

This is the message being given to official and NGO development agency representatives by top Swapo officers in Luanda.

The Swapo offices here have become a mecca for the gleaming white Toyota Land Cruisers which grind through the streets carrying their international cargo. But anyone wanting to talk development is told to look to the short term. Swapo officials are saying that elections are uppermost and development projects come later.

Swapo needs to marshal all political opinion for this test of their popularity and their belief that freedom of any kind is far from assured.

Swapo officials point to rumours of South African plans to integrate Unita forces into the Namibian population, covert operations of the hated Koevoet squads within the police force, and stalling on the disbandment of the South West Africa Territorial Force. They say potential Swapo voters in northern Namibia are being intimidated by army and civilian supporters of right-wing extremists.

In addition, says one Swapo official, South Africa is trying to sell off the railroad and hospitals to private interests. As one economist put it, "They want to destabilise an independent Namibia. Private owners will jack up the price of these resources. A Swapo government will be held to ransom. If they don't re-purchase the railroad and hospitals there will be fewer services which can be oriented to the needs of the people. This could contribute to a crisis of rising expectations.—AIA

24/2 - 2/3/89 - chh

Briefing

Bagani Bridge (Caprivi Strip) — Swollen by good rains in its catchment area in Angola, the Kavango River flows faster and wider than usual under the concrete bridge at Bagani. Travellers going in both directions wait patiently as South African soldiers at the military checkpoint meticulously record details of vehicles and their occupants.

A national serviceman chats amiably as he writes — and expresses scepticism that he and his mates will soon be back in South Africa because of the South African troop withdrawal stipulated in the Resolution 435 settlement plan for Namibia.

Bagani is at the western end of the Western Caprivi, a 200 km strip of bush which is supposed to be a game reserve but is also an important rear base area for the SADF.

Star 24/2/89
Near Bagani, at an impressive camp on the banks of the Kavango, is Buffalo, home of the SADF's 32 Battalion. The battalion's black soldiers, some of its NCOs and a few of its officers are former members of the Angolan FNLA rebel movement who first joined South African troops during the chaotic days of the Angolan civil war in 1975.

Further along the Western Caprivi is Omega base, where 201 Bushman Battalion has its home.

Travellers are allowed no more than four hours to traverse the 210 km through the Western Caprivi to the next checkpoint at Kongola. Travel is not permitted

The Caprivi Strip — for animals or people?

2021
As the date for Namibian independence draws nearer there is still plenty of activity in the Caprivi Strip. **BRENDAN SEERY** of The Star's Africa News Service looks at the present and future of this strategic area.

after dusk and nobody is allowed to stay overnight in the area.

In the past there has been speculation that the restrictions were imposed because the area was close to the Unita strongholds in southern Angola and therefore probably a major conduit for South African supplies to Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels.

But Pretoria says it has stopped its military support for Unita.

A considerable amount of heavy truck traffic is nevertheless still to be seen in the Western Caprivi.

Both military and civilian transporters, many of them carrying containers, are seen in the Bagani area and all along the road from Rundu, about 200 km further west. Whether they are all heading for Katima Mulilo, which is the only major settlement on the eastern side of the strip, is difficult to determine.

Many of the trucks belong to a transport company called Road Runners which operates out of Grootfontein, a railroad where there is a major South African military base. At the Bagani bridge, the soldiers on duty have a special register for all Road Runners trucks.

A spokesman for Road Runners in Grootfontein, a Mr Vermeulen, said he could not disclose any information about the cargoes or destinations of the Road Runners trucks seen in the Caprivi.

But he confirmed that the company was "under contract for the Defence Force".

Despite fears of some conservationists that game numbers would dwindle in the

Western Caprivi under military occupation, it appears that the wild animal populations, including elephant, are thriving.

Conservation officials are known to be looking forward eagerly to an eventual South African troop withdrawal from the area, which has not been proclaimed a game park but has tremendous potential for tourism. One of the big problems for such a project will be the hundreds of Angolan Bushmen families who have been settled in the area by the SADF.

The wild game of the Western Caprivi could be under further pressure after a withdrawal of South African forces and independence for Namibia, as their comparatively well-watered home will be in demand as a resettlement area for the tens of thousands of Namibians returning home from exile.

Reserves in four countries

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UN troops line up for Namibia

13/Day 24/2/84

NEW YORK — Finland, Kenya and Malaysia will each provide an infantry battalion as part of the UN military and civilian operation to oversee Namibia's impending transition to independence.

Diplomatic sources said four reserve battalions, on stand-by in their home countries, will be earmarked by Bangladesh, Togo, Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

The military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will consist of 4 650 troops — three enlarged infantry battalions each of about 850 officers and men, plus 300 military observers, 1 700 logistics troops and 100 headquarters staff.

The logistics troops will come from Australia, Britain, Canada,

Denmark, Italy, Poland and Spain. Military observers will be provided by 14 countries.

Untag's military make-up, proposed by UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar, will be announced when the Security Council gives its formal approval.

Untag will also have a civilian component consisting of 500 police, about 760 administrative staff and 620 electoral personnel. Another 820 civilians are to be recruited locally.

Much of the material support for the Untag operation is expected to be supplied by SA companies.

The Security Council has set April 1 as the start-up date for the Namibia independence plan with elections tentatively set for November to choose a constituent assembly. — Sapa-Reuter.

Refugees refuse to...

It's UDI if Swapo wins, say Basters

5/Times 24/89 221
THE 30 000-strong Baster nation is threatening UDI if Swapo wins an election in Namibia.

Contingency plans, including "a corridor to the sea", are being drawn up to provide for an independent state if the "worst scenario" happens in November.

Speaking from his home in Rehoboth, Baster leader Kaptein Hans Diergaardt said he had a mandate from his people to declare an independent Baster state.

"We are not prepared to be suppressed by a Swapo government in a unitary state," he said. "We are willing to make tremendous sacrifices to maintain our freedom."

Mr Diergaardt said his people were vehemently opposed to any form of a one-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

man-one-vote system which would scrap the present system of ethnic-based second-tier authorities.

Even the Hiemstra constitution, adopted by the interim government of Namibia as a platform to fight Swapo in an election, was unacceptable to him.

Mr Diergaardt is presently a member of the interim government, but has also aligned himself in recent months with the South West National Party, which is also strongly in favour of the retention of ethnic authorities.

A committee appointed by the Baster people is investigating the feasibility of an

independent Republic of Rehoboth.

The committee will report before April 1, the date on which the United Nations formally takes over the administration of Namibia.

Mr Diergaardt said one of the options would be to buy out a number of farmers between Rehoboth and Walvis Bay to provide access to a harbour for the fledgeling state. Rehoboth is approximately 280km from Walvis Bay.

"Our main problem is lack of funds to purchase farms as we have not yet negotiated with the South African Government about the possible use of the harbour," he said.

As for the coming election, Mr Diergaardt said the Basters would assist the "democratic parties" against Swapo, but afterwards they would keep their options open.

Fear

He believes a Swapo government will lead to economic collapse, tribal strife and the suppression of minorities. The Basters also fear that their land will be confiscated and handed over to landless blacks.

The Baster nation first declared UDI in 1870, shortly after they had moved up from the Cape in search of farm land.

Since then they have exhibited a fierce independent spirit to the point of resisting the German colonial army which attacked them in 1915 when the Basters refused to take up arms against the Allied forces.

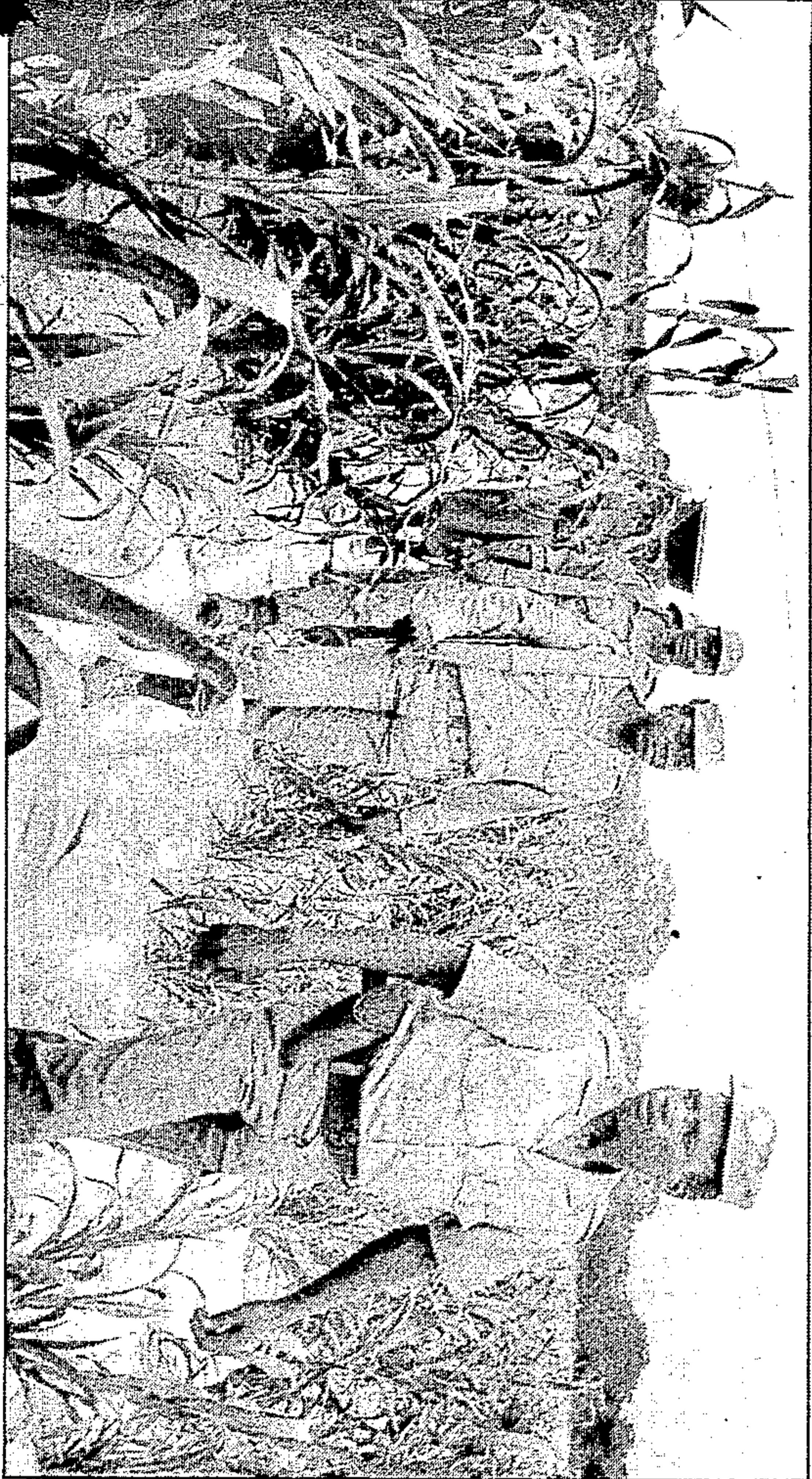
**'Keep UN force
to 75 000'**

So - efan 6/2/89

THE size of the UN peace-keeping force in Namibia should be maintained at the original 7500 members to prevent the peace process from being sabotaged, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference urged in Pretoria yesterday.

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KOEVOET A NAME THAT STILL STRIKES FEAR IN THE BATTLE-SCARRED BUSH...



ADLY ARMS . . . a police unit patrols along the Angolan border in continued anti-insurgency operations against Swapo

FOR the first time in years, the silence of the bush is not shattered by explosions and the rattle of gunfire in this remote part of Namibia.

The skeletons of civilian cars litter the dusty road between Eenhana and Nkongo in the eastern part of Owambo where fighting was fiercest in Namibia's 22-year bush war.

But while Namibia's debilitating conflict appears to have halted, counter-insurgency vigilance and the search for arms caches by battle-hardened police units continue.

Policemen from the once dreaded Koevoet counter-insurgency units still patrol to ensure that Swapo guerrillas are no longer infiltrating from nearby Angola or burying arms.

Two months ago, South Africa officially disbanded the Koevoet or "Crowbar" unit as a goodwill gesture in the quest for regional peace.

Its members, however, now serve in the SWA Police. Koevoet became the scourge of guerrillas fighting in Namibia with its sparse population of about only 1.3-million people.

Chills

For the first time since the start of the war in 1966, Western journalists have been allowed to accompany patrols of the men who fought in the deadly Koevoet — a name said to send chills of fear through many of those fighting South Africa's presence in the territory.

PETER KENNY reports from Eenhana, Namibia Pictures: TREVOR SAMSON of AFP

Our team went on a patrol with four Casspir armoured personnel carriers in the eastern part of Owambo, travelling through areas which, last year, were the main Swapo guerrilla infiltration route, inaccessible to normal vehicles.

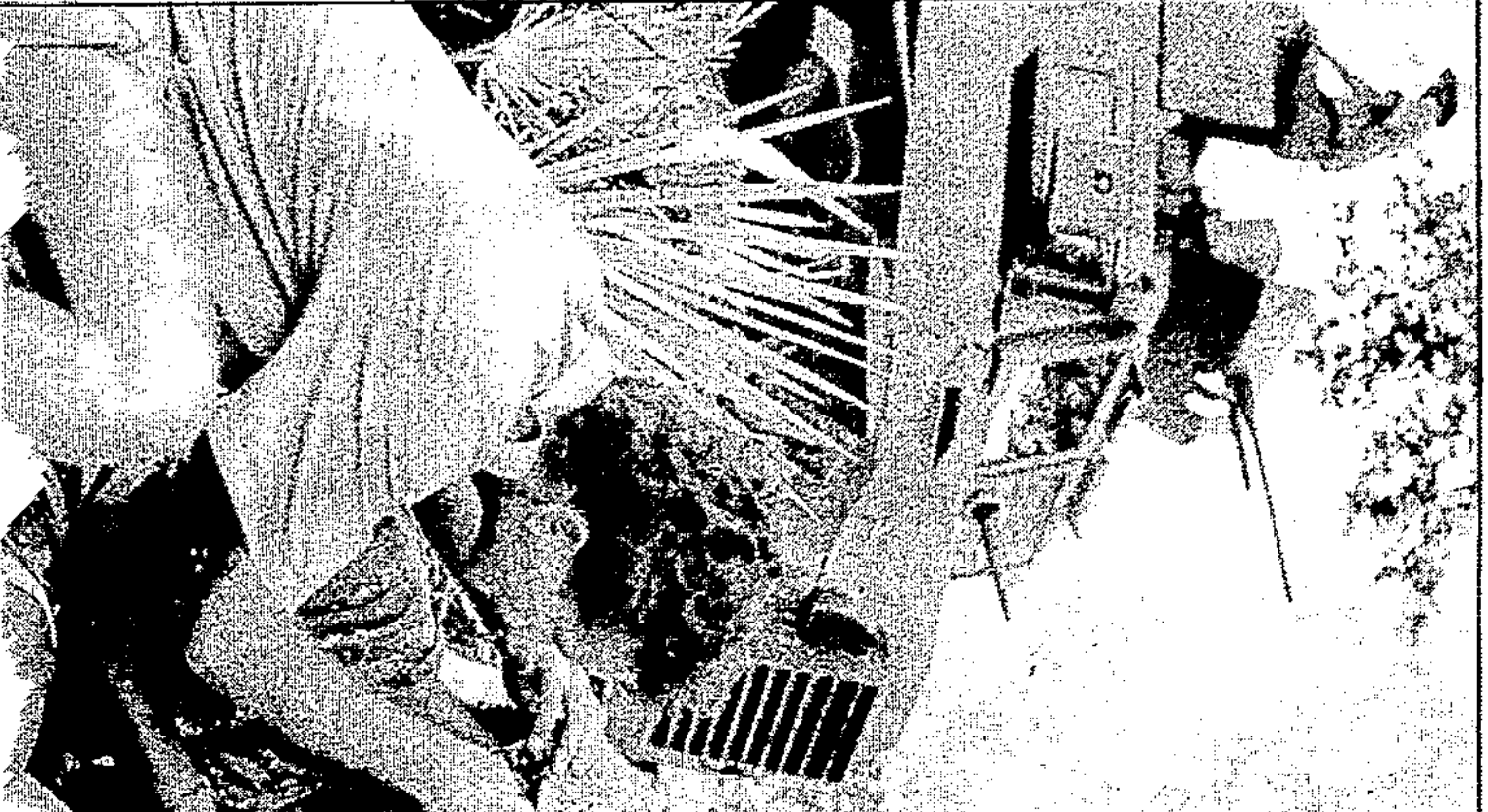
The task of the patrol was to try to uncover arms caches and to persuade local people to report them. A police medic came along to administer to the civilians in the kraals.

Inspector Chris Rompe, his face corrugated by deep sun lines, points to the landmine

car wrecks on the side of the road running from the new police station at Eenhana to the army base at Nkongo.

The slightly built inspector, a Durbanite seconded to the SWA Police, has travelled the road often. He points to a large hole in the road. "That's where an arms truck detonated a landmine last week," he says.

"This is the middle of the rainy season. Normally infiltration by Swapo and fighting would be at its worst at this time. But there have been no real war incidents since September last year . . . It looks as if the war has



stopped," the inspector says.

But his view is contradicted by Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, from Onajokwe in Owambo, who heads Namibia's largest church, the mainly black Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCin).

Some police and army members disparagingly murmur: "It is the Swapo church."

Bishop Dumeni says bitterly: "No, the war is not over, the army and police are still here. Look at all the vehicles, they are still intimidating and harassing us. The brutalities continue."

He says the army and police are campaigning vigorously and says the army fired off cannons the evening before, scaring many civilians, but he does not cite specific brutalities.

The bishop's congregants are the civilians who have borne the brunt of the war. Many of his church members have been in guerrilla units. The church's printing press was burnt down twice. Church leaders say it was not guerrillas who sabotaged the press.

Fears

The bishop does not believe Koevoet has been disbanded. The Koevoet unit was started 10 years ago with five people to counter the burgeoning bush war by Swapo.

Some Swapo members have expressed fears that the Koevoet fighting machine might be used to undermine a Swapo government which could come into power. They say police who were in Koevoet are politicising the people to vote anti-Swapo.

The battleship grey, close-cropped head of Major-General Hans Dreyer, the founder of Koevoet, shakes vigorously to deny accusations that the tough unit were "legalised terrorists" during the no-holds-barred war.

He also denies flatly that his men are engaged in politicking, stressing their "impartiality". Officials say the



BUSH DOCTOR ... a South West African police force medic treats a villager in a remote part of Namibia



MAJ-GEN DREYER
Impartial



PETER KALANGULA
Voters pressured

army has informed Owambo's beleaguered population they are leaving and the 4 650-man United Nations peace-keeping force is about to arrive to supervise elections leading to independence.

Peter Kalangula, who heads Owambo's ethnic administration, says the army, police and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance are operating in cahoots, telling people not to vote for his

Christian Action Party and Swapo.

But Gen Dreyer says: "We are now engaged in the normal overseeing of law and order and are just an ordinary unit in the SW Africa Police, carrying out normal police duties. The fighting groups have now been disbanded."

He admits: "As in any large organisation, we also had our black sheep... if any complaints against our men of a criminal nature or against the rules of the unit were proved, they were automatically discharged."

Atrocities

At some Swapo meetings speakers have charged that Koevoet members should be charged as war criminals after independence because of the atrocities they allegedly perpetrated.

This does not appear to disturb Gen Dreyer, a 57-year-old seconded officer from South Africa. "We have not had any and we are not afraid of any so-called war crimes because such things don't exist... during the last 10 years we have just acted as police officers maintaining law and order.

"If armed terrorists come across the border it is breaking the law of this land. What do you do with people who wreck other people's lives with murder, assaults, sabotage of infra-structure, damage to property?"

"How can you operate against that other than what we have done in the past 10 years..."

06/2/89
Sunday Times

122

S/Times 26/2/89

Bid to woo the voters will be pricey

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

NAMIBIAN political parties are expecting to spend many millions in their efforts to get elected in the UN-supervised polls scheduled for the territory later this year.

A top Namibian official said this week: "This will go down as the most expensive election ever in Africa, the most expensive decolonisation process."

This week, the Organisation of African Unity set itself a target of R12,5-million as a campaign contribution to Swapo.

The liberation movement's main domestic opponent, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, is one of about 30 internal parties and is said to be looking for anything up R100-million to fight the election.

DTA officials would not comment on their fund-raising targets, but said the collection campaign was under way and that "feelers" had been put out overseas.

South African Government sources this week ruled out the possibility of SA taxpayers' money being channelled to the DTA.

Troops

Meanwhile, Windhoek continued to swell this week with arriving UN officials. General Prem Chand, the Indian commander of the 4 650-strong military contingent, is due to arrive today.

He is to make arrangements for the inflow of troops from 21 nations.

Top representatives of the UN High Commission for Refugees arrived on Friday.

They must prepare the way for the return of an as yet unknown number of refugees — setting the scene for a major potential embarrassment for Swapo.

Swapo has claimed there are 80 000 refugees and has been receiving UN grants on the strength of the claim.

However, some reports, claiming Angolan government sources, say the number could be as low as 16 000.

Pledge of Times on rebel 26/2/89 threat to SWA peace (22)

Sunday Times Reporters
 ANGOLA, Cuba and South
 Africa have reaffirmed
 their commitment to a
 regional peace treaty for
 Namibia, promising not to
 let the actions of two
 guerrilla movements jeo-
 pardise the pact.

The joint declaration came
 at the end of three days of
 talks in Luanda — the first
 meeting of the joint
 monitoring commission
 established to nurse
 Namibia to a United
 Nations-sponsored settle-
 ment.

Two critical issues have yet
 to be dealt with by the
 commission:

- Cuban and Angolan
 complaints that actions by
 rebel Unita forces could
 jeopardise the peace
 accord;
- South African charges that
 Angola has allowed Swapo
 guerrillas to move south
 towards the Namibian
 border in contravention of
 the agreements.

Angola agreed to use its
 influence with Swapo and
 South Africa pledged to do
 likewise with Unita to
 ensure that the peace
 agreement was adhered
 to.

In a joint statement at the
 end of yesterday's meet-
 ing, South Africa, Angola
 and Cuba "reaffirmed
 once again their commit-
 ment to comply strictly
 with the agreement".

Neither guerrilla movement
 was included in the peace
 agreement, although
 Swapo has announced a
 ceasefire.

The next meeting between
 the three countries will be
 held in Cuba in March.

Namibians welcome task force leader

WINDHOEK — Thousands of Namibian black nationalists welcomed the arrival of the Indian head of a UN task force yesterday as a visible sign that independence for the SA-run territory was finally at hand.

Dozens of riot police sealed off Windhoek's biggest hotel as General Prem Chand and his team of colonels and aides arrived from the airport.

Chand is the head of the military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

Swapo members thronged a nearby

car park singing freedom songs.

"We hope the coming of the UN to Namibia means a definite end to South African colonialism," said one placard.

Earlier, the crowd gave Chand a tumultuous welcome at the airport, where he told reporters he regarded the implementation of the Namibian independence plan — due to start on April 1 — as "a fascinating challenge".

There were no incidents at the airport, or hotel, although traffic was chaotic. The noisy but orderly crowd later moved to the nearby black township of

Katutura, a Swapo stronghold.

The Swapo show of strength in Windhoek appeared to have been organised to show support for the organisation, which is widely expected to win the November election.

None of the many other political groups which will fight the election appeared to be represented in the crowd.

The independence plan, which seemed unthinkable a year ago, was worked out as part of a deal which included the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. — Sapa-Reuter.

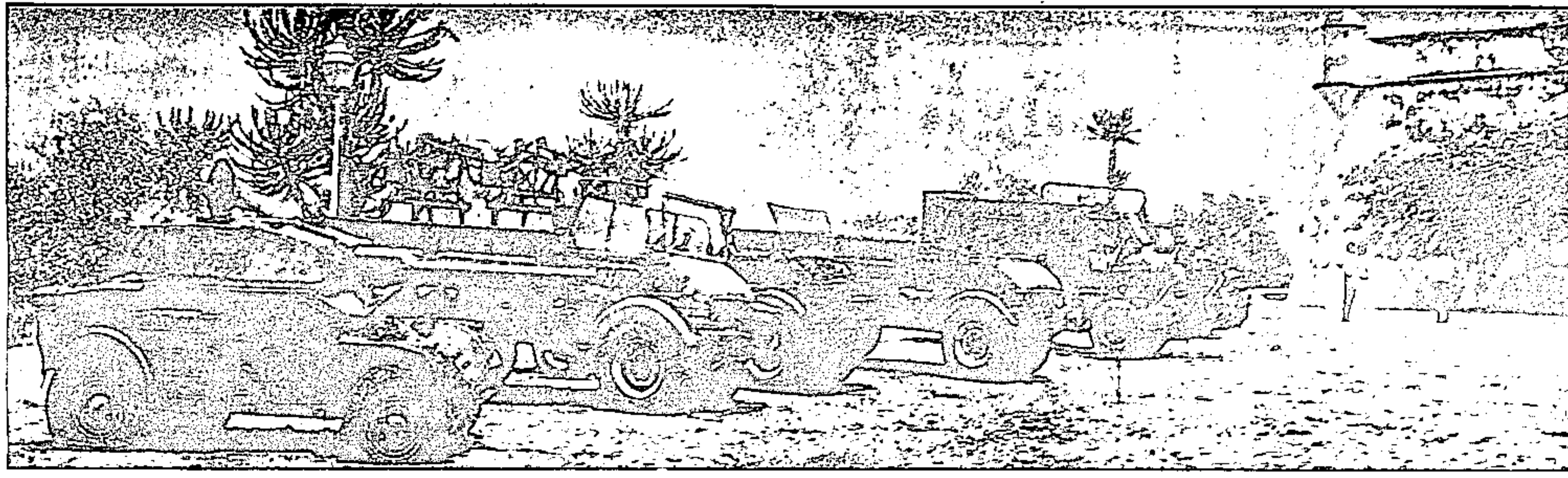
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Unita and Swapo remain threat to peace agreement

Luanda talks fail to resolve disputes



Military vehicles, said by Angola to be captured South African Defence Force equipment, on show at the old San Miguel Fort military museum outside Luanda.

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa News Service

The two rebel groups that were excluded from last year's Angola-Namibia peace agreement — Unita and Swapo — are creating problems in the implementation of the pact.

These problems featured prominently in the talks held in Luanda over the weekend by the five-nation joint commission set up to oversee the agreement.

The commission was not able to solve either Angola's complaint that South Africa has breached the agreement by sending troops into Angola to aid Unita or South Africa's complaint that Angola has failed to force Swapo to stay north of the 16th parallel.

South Africa has denied the charge. The Angolans said they had confronted them with proof but refused to make the details public.

The alleged proof was obviously rejected by the South Africans, and the two sides "agreed to disagree" on the issue.

There has been speculation that the Angolan allegations arose from Unita's use of long-range G5 or G6 artillery left for them by the SADF when SA troops withdrew from Angola.

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, who led the US observer team at the talks, told journalists he thought Unita did have long-range artillery but he could not say whether they had G5s or G6s.

The South Africans were unable to get satisfaction on their claim of Angolan foot-dragging over keeping Swapo north of the 16th parallel.

Monthly meetings

The issues are likely to be carried over to other meetings of the joint commission. It is scheduled to meet monthly, alternating between the capitals of the three principal parties: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the US and Soviet Union as observers.

Swapo did, in fact, have a representative at the talks in Luanda on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, but he was not an official delegate.

Despite the failure to resolve any of the problems, diplomatic sources expressed satisfaction at the progress made. Participants felt that the will to resolve the conflicts that led to the New York agreement were still strong.

Nothing has yet happened to torpedo the agreement and its logistical functions — the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia — are going ahead on schedule.

Unita and Swapo nevertheless remain as threatening elements in the shadows outside the agreement.

● Sapa reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he would raise the issue of Swapo's alleged activity south of the 16th parallel with UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.



WELCOME: Swapo supporters line the street to welcome the commander of the UN force, Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand, to Windhoek.

ARGUS 27/2/89 221

Swapo greets Chand

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — If Namibia's whites wanted to know what it would be like when Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma returned to the territory, they could have had a preview at Windhoek's J G Strijdom Airport.

The blue, red and green colours of Swapo were everywhere yesterday as between 2 000 and 3 000 singing and ululating supporters greeted the arrival of Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand, head of the UN peace-keeping force.

The clenched-fist "Black Power" salute was everywhere, while here and there were placards: "Welcome to colonised Namibia Gen Prem Chand"; "Namibia will be free"; "SA troops should stop intimidating civilians"; "Reduction of Untag is UN's partiality towards South Africa".

FREEDOM SONGS

The 40km route to the airport was clogged with vehicles and white motorists were given the "Black Power" salute.

A German tour group, arriving at the airport to return home via Johannesburg, was subjected to a barrage of freedom songs and slogans, while



TALKING: General Prem Chand and General Willie Meyer, commanding officer of the South West Africa Territory Forces, at a Press conference.

nearby an exuberant clutch of youngsters danced and sang songs punctuated by frequent cheers of "voetsak, voetsak".

There was a negligible police presence at the airport, and there were no incidents of violence involving the generally well-disciplined crowd.

NOISY CONVOY

Traffic officers stood by as the slow-moving, noisy, joyful Swapo convoy snaked its way back to Windhoek, but closer to

the city centre they stopped several cars for overloading.

Perhaps disturbing for those who think Swapo will struggle to win the Resolution 435 majority-rule election is that the demonstration was orchestrated and co-ordinated without the presence of any of the recognised Swapo internal leaders, most of whom had flown to Harare on Friday for a meeting with their organisation's executive.

Progress made Swapo, Unita

LUANDA. — The tripartite peace-plan monitoring talks ended here at the weekend with all three parties agreeing to use their "respective good offices" to influence Swapo and Unita not to impede implementation of last year's agreement for Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

After three days of talks the South African, Angolan and Cuban delegations also agreed to improve the operation of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission to prevent problems arising in future, such as the alleged attack by SA forces in southern Angola in support of Unita on February 8.

According to a senior Cuban official, Mr Alcibiades Hidalgo, Unita could hamper the April 1 start of an independence plan for Namibia as the rebels are grouped along the eastern part of the Angolan-Namibian border, preventing them from setting up three ceasefire-monitoring posts.

The posts are vital for supervising the terms of peace accords signed in New York on December 22, which include a UN independence plan for Namibia and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, set for completion by mid-1991.

Mr Hidalgo said South Africa had agreed to persuade Unita to allow the missing ceasefire-monitoring posts to be set up.

But South African delegation chief Mr Neil van Heerden gave a different version, saying South Africa would comply with its pledge under the accords not to help or supply Unita.

LUANDA. — The cordial, even lavish, treatment given to the first official South African visitors to Luanda since independence, was regarded in Pretoria as a sign that its efforts to improve ties with black Africa were paying off.

Angola said the two-day visit that ended on Saturday was a measure of its commitment to regional peace accords signed in New York in December. Western diplomats said the contacts

Luanda hospitality for 'pioneers'

were unlikely to extend beyond the purely technical.

Far from being received with hostility as some had expected, the South African diplomats and military officials were spared no courtesy or commitment to regional peace accords signed in New York in December. Western diplomats said the contacts

He made it clear that South Africa did not consider itself responsible for what Unita did on the Angolan side of the border.

Mr Van Heerden said South Africa was ready to set up the border posts and had invited the Angolans and Cubans to pass through Namibia if they wanted to reach the areas without risk of Unita attack.

Diplomats said Angola was unlikely to accept this, as it would mean admitting that Unita effectively controlled parts of south-east Angola.

Of equal concern, but to South Africa, was Swapo activity south of Angola's 16th parallel, in contravention of the peace agreements.

This activity, according to the South Africans, was aimed at influencing the UN-supervised elections in favour of Swapo. In a press statement released in Cape Town on

military raids in the south or trips by South African leaders to territory held by Unita.

The leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, told reporters on arriving last Thursday: "I feel like a pioneer."

The South Africans left Luanda without an agreement for the release of Sergeant John Papenfus, captured in southern Angola last year. — Sapa-Reuters

The parties' agreements on Swapo and Unita activities were phrased by all three in terms of a joint commitment to use their respective "good offices" to ensure the implementation of the programme was not interrupted or hampered.

South Africa has consistently maintained its control over Unita's activities within Angola, but Van Heerden confirmed at a press conference that the talks ended that his government's commitment to using its "good offices" included Unita.

The Cuban spokesman Mr Hidalgo confirmed his government's attitude, as far as Swapo was concerned, was the same.

The joint release of prisoners of war was discussed, including the fate of South Africa's Ruman Johan Papenfus, but although some progress was made, no finality was reached, Mr Van Heerden said.

Good news for Rfn Papenfus, however, is that parcel from his family was taken to Luanda with South Africans and accepted by the Cuban delegation to take back home for him.

Mr Hidalgo gave the assurance that the South African prisoner-of-war was in good health being well treated.

Observer delegations from the United States, by outgoing Assistant Under-Secretary of State Chester Crocker, and the Soviet Union, led by joint mission diplomat Mr V Usinoy, attended the joint meetings held since Friday. — Sapa-Reuters

Saturday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said he would be raising the issue directly with the United Nations' Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

"On the issue of Swapo's presence south of the 16th parallel, I will take up the matter directly with the UN Secretary-General."

In Dr Perez de Cuellar's report of 23 January, which was approved by the UN Security Council, the Secretary-General had stated that Swapo had agreed to comply with the agreement of the cessation of all hostile acts in accordance with the Geneva agreement between the three parties last year, Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also said that there were a number of issues on which agreement could not be reached, "but these were not of such a nature that they would

interfere with the implementation of the settlement plan".

The three delegations agreed to disagree about an Angolan allegation, denied by Pretoria, that South Africa violated the accords by sending troops into Angola on February 8.

A brief communique issued on Saturday said they had reaffirmed their commitment to comply with the accords.

A positive sequel, however, was another agreement to sharpen the ability of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission. The commission was specifically set up to investigate alleged contraventions of the peace plan.

Seven 27/12/87

OAU plea to UN on peace in Namibia

AFRICAN Foreign Ministers have ended their annual conference with a request to the United Nations to ensure there is a formal ceasefire between South Africa and the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation.

The request to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar was in a form of resolution adopted in a Saturday night — long closing session of the Organisation of African Unity's Council of Ministers.

Another resolution declared "part and parcel of the territory" Walvis Bay, an enclave South Africa insists would remain under its control after Namibia's independence.

Walvis Bay is Namibia's only port.

The OAU has long recognised Swapo, which has been fighting to oust South Africa from Namibia since 1966, as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Elections

Under an agreement reached in December, South Africa is to remove its troops from Namibia, which it has ruled since World War I. A 4 650 UN peacekeeping force is to be sent to the country in April to monitor the withdrawal, Namibia's transition to independence and the ultimate elections.

The agreement was reached after US-sponsored talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa. — Sapa.

Whites have preview of what's ahead

By Brendan Seery

WINDHOEK — If Namibia's whites wanted to know what it will be like when Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma returns to this country, they could have had a preview at Windhoek's airport yesterday.

The blue, red and green colours of Swapo were everywhere as singing and ululating supporters of the organisation swamped the arrivals area.

The clenched-fist Black Power salute was everywhere, while here and there were sprinkled placards — "Welcome to colonised Namibia, Gen Prem Chand", "Namibia will be free", "SA troops should stop intimidating civilians", "Reduction of Untag is UN's partiality towards South Africa".

The 40 km route to the airport was clogged with what looked like the majority of the road-worthy vehicles from the Katutura townships.

A German tour group, arriving at the airport to return home via Johannesburg, was subjected to a barrage of freedom songs and slogans.

There was a negligible police presence at the airport and there were no incidents of violence involving the generally well-disciplined crowd.

Untag's leader looks forward to co-operation

By Brendan Seery, 5/27/89
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Independence for Namibia moved one step closer yesterday with the arrival here of General Prem Chand, the commander of the military component of the United Nations group that will monitor the Resolution 435 settlement process.

General Chand and about 20 other senior military officers and officials of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) flew in to Windhoek's airport on an SAA flight from Frankfurt yesterday to a colourful welcome from about 2500 Swapo supporters.

After being met officially by the commander of the SWA Territory Force (SWATF), Major-General Willie Meyer, General Chand held a press conference.

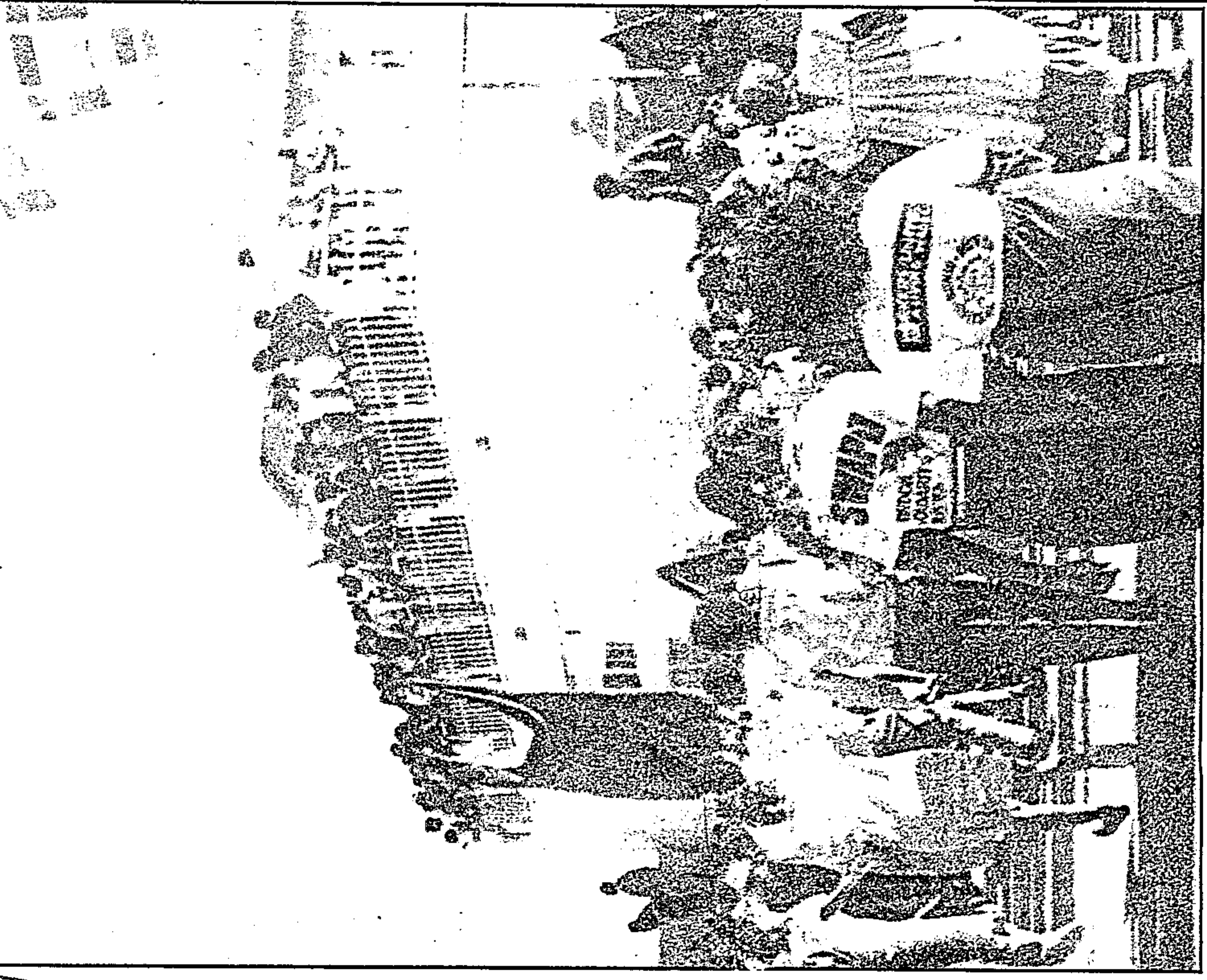
VETERAN

A veteran of the UN's previous peace-keeping missions in the Congo and Cyprus, he said he was looking forward to the full co-operation of the South African authorities and others involved in the Namibian situation.

He will meet South African Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar early this week and will be briefed by senior SWATF officers on the current military situation in Namibia.

General Chand said he would travel extensively to see the change that had taken place in Namibia since Resolution 435 was passed by the UN in September 1978.

He remarked that although he was not aware of the weekend discussions in Luanda between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, he would welcome anything that would help Untag "in our somewhat difficult task".



Swapo supporters storm towards the control tower building at Windhoek's airport yesterday to try to catch a glimpse of Untag military commander General Prem Chand as he steps off the SAA Boeing 747 from Frankfurt.

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Unita, Swapo are creating problems

By GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

THE two rebel groups that were excluded from last year's Angola-Namibia peace agreement — Unita and Swapo — are creating problems in the implementation of the pact.

These problems featured prominently in the talks held in Luanda over the weekend by the five-nation Joint Commission set up to oversee the agreement.

The commission was able to solve neither problem — neither Angola's complaint that South Africa has breached the agreement by sending troops into Angola to aid Unita, nor South Africa's complaint that Angola has failed to force Swapo to stay north of the 16th parallel as required by the agreement. South Africa denied the charge.

The Angolans said they had confronted them with proof but refused to make the details public.

The alleged proof was obviously rejected by the South Africans and the two sides "agreed to disagree" on the issue.

There has been speculation that the Angolan charges arose from Unita's use of long-range G5 or G6 artillery left for them by the SADF when they withdrew from Angola but the speculation has not been confirmed.

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States assistant secretary of state for Africa, who led the US observer team at the talks, told journalists he thought Unita did have long-range artillery but he could not say whether they had G5s or G6s.

The South Africans were unable to get satisfaction on their charge of Angolan foot-dragging over keeping Swapo north of the 16th parallel.

The issues are likely to be carried over to other meetings of the Joint Commission, which is scheduled to meet monthly, alternating between the capitals of the three principal parties: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States and Soviet Union present as observers.

Next month's meeting will be in Havana and in April the commission will meet in Cape Town.

Swapo did in fact have a representative at the talks at the conference centre in Luanda on Thursday, Friday and Saturday but he was



CROCKER ... long-range artillery

not an official delegate — only a member of Swapo's information section who mingled with the large body of South African, Angolan, Cuban and Russian journalists covering the meeting.

Despite the failure to resolve any of the problems, diplomatic sources expressed satisfaction at the progress made.

Participants appear to feel that the will to resolve the southern African conflicts that led to the New York agreement is still strong.

Nothing has yet happened to torpedo the agreement and its logistical functions — the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola and the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia — are going ahead on schedule.

Unita and Swapo nevertheless remain as threatening elements in the shadows outside the agreement.



Namibia under SA control again until independence

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — Namibia's Transitional Government spends its last day in office today before South Africa re-assumes full control over the territory prior to the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan on April 1.

The six-party multiracial coalition took office in June 1985 after being appointed by South African President P W Botha.

Styled as the "Transitional Government of National Unity", the administration was given wide powers to run many of the day-to-day affairs of Namibia. South Africa retained control over Defence and Foreign Affairs.

Wrangles

During its 42-month term in office, the Transitional Government, which was touted as a possible united alternative to Swapo, was often beset by internal wrangles, primarily over the future of the apartheid-style system of separate ethnic authorities.

There were also a number of disputes between the more lib-

eral members of the coalition and its South African mentors.

Ministers of the government will hold their last Cabinet meeting this morning in Windhoek's Tintenpalast (Palace of Ink) government building and this afternoon members of the 60-member National Assembly will meet in the historic Landesrat debating chamber to confirm their own motion for dissolution.

Yesterday, South Africa issued a proclamation in the Government Gazette which will officially bring down the curtain on the government in Windhoek.

Thief in the night

From tomorrow, full authority will rest with South Africa's Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, a former South African diplomat who has served here since 1985 and who once warned the Transitional Government that the implementation of Resolution 435 could come "like a thief in the night".

The UN Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will arrive here on April 1 to oversee conditions for free and fair majority rule elections in November.

UN plan to buy from SA attacked

NEW YORK. — African leaders have criticised United Nations plans to buy or lease military equipment from South Africa for the peacekeeping force in SWA/Namibia.

On April 1 UN peacekeepers are scheduled to begin implementing a one-year plan for the territory's independence.

UN officials have said some purchases of military equipment will be made from South Africa.

Zimbabwe's UN ambassador, Mr Isack Mudenge, speaking yesterday on behalf of the non-aligned movement, said the UN shouldn't have to depend on South Africa for vehicles, ammunition and other military equipment.

UNHAPPY

Accepting South Africa dominated the region's economy, he said the peacekeepers might have to buy other supplies from South Africa.

221
MRCAS 28/2/89

hall at Giyani yesterday morning

Case files 28/2/89

(221)

Nujoma flies to Zambia

HARARE. — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma left here yesterday for Zambia after a weekend visit during which he had talks with the internal leadership of the liberation movement.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

SA pledge on peace

SOUTH Africa is committed to the holding of free and fair elections under UN Resolution 435, and will not do anything to subvert the peace plan, vows Pretoria's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

In an interview at his offices at South West Africa House here, Mr Pienaar said that both he and his administration were committed to the principle of free and fair elections, and they were bound to act impartially.

Mr Pienaar said that,

SOWETAN Africa News Service

under Resolution 435, he would no longer be the "representative of South Africa", but would be bound, as a prisoner of the terms of Resolution 435" to "act as impartially as a judge hearing the case".

The Administrator-General dismissed suggestions that Swapo, for example, would be at an unfair disadvantage during the transition period to independence, which officially begins on April 1, with the arrival here of the UN special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari. He said the whole process would always be subject to the scrutiny of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Unag), and that, in any case, Swapo had itself accepted the administrative arrangements agreed in Resolution 435.

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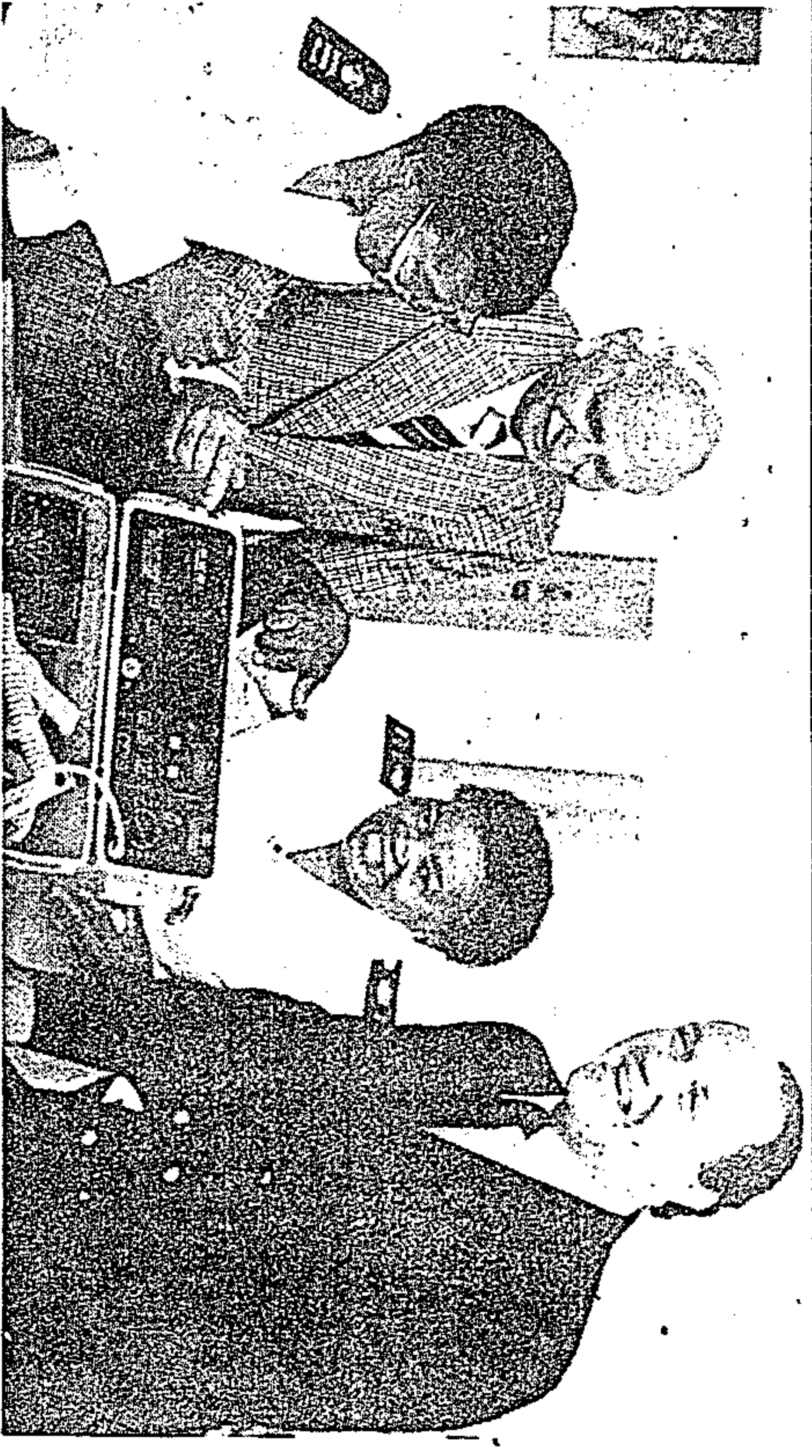
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PHILADELPHIA Hospital in Dennilton was given a shot in the arm when it received a heart machine from Premier Contract. Admiring the new machine are matron Twinkle Ndala, superintendent Dr Louw Steyn, matron Elizabeth Malisa and Mr Mike Caradoc Davies.

Blast: 3 injured

TWO 13-year-old girls and a 29-year-old man were injured — in an explosion at a house in Bishop Lavis, about 25 km from Cape Town, last night.

Police found a handgrenade at the scene and confirmed the explosion was caused by Mr Paul Kleinsmidt.

Rent row in Thokoza hotting up

TENSION is rising in Thokoza township on the East Rand over electricity tariffs which were increased in January and are to be effective this week.

Robber cop jailed

SOWETAN
REPORTER

SIX men were sent in the Johannesburg magistrate's court yesterday to a total of 97 years' imprisonment for a robbery which they will serve an effective 97 years.

The six members of the gang, one of whom was a former policeman, were convicted on charges of armed robbery, assault, intent to cause grievous bodily harm and attempted armed robbery.

The ex-policeman, Themba Nkhave, who was leader of the gang and committed offences during a period of service in the police force, was sentenced to 34 years' imprisonment. The other five will serve an effective 97 years.

Gang

The effective sentences of the

GET YOUR

NAMIBIA - GENERAL

1989 - MARCH

Namibia transition handover today

WINDHOEK — The South African-installed territorial Cabinet held its last meeting yesterday before dissolving to clear the way for transition to independence.

The multiracial Cabinet and territorial assembly, both established in 1985, will today formally hand over duties to Administrator-General Louis Peinaar, top SA official in Namibia.

Peinaar, in co-operation with UN officials, will govern Namibia during transition, which begins on April 1.

Most Cabinet members plan to participate in the UN-monitored elec-

tions. Voting for an assembly to draw up Namibia's constitution starts in early November. (221)

Swapo is favoured to gain a plurality in the election, but it needs two-thirds of the votes to have full control over forming a new government.

On Monday black African leaders criticised UN plans to buy or lease military equipment from SA for the world diplomatic body's peacekeeping force in Namibia.

Ambassador Isack Stanislaus Gorrazvo Mudenge of Zimbabwe, representing the non-aligned movement,

said the UN should not have to depend on SA for vehicles and ammunition. B/D on 1/3/87

The General Assembly was expected to approve \$416m for Untag last week, but it cannot act until the budget committee finishes its work.

Britain, the US and France are opposing Frontline states' insistence on writing into the funding resolution references to UN embargoes on buying military equipment, oil or other goods from SA.

UN sanctions resolutions against SA apply to the UN force, African delegates said. — Sapa-AP.

Pienaar in row with Swapo

APC Times 2/3/89 221

New SA governor plans to repeal 'some' discriminatory laws

WINDHOEK. — South African governor Mr Louis Pienaar took control in Namibia yesterday and immediately became embroiled in a row with Swapo.

Mr Pienaar took charge at midnight following the scheduled resignation of the interim government on Tuesday.

He will administer the territory in consultation with United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari during a run-up of between seven and 12 months before UN-supervised independence.

Mr Pienaar told reporters at a news conference in his official residence that he planned to repeal only some of the discriminatory laws.

"It is not discriminatory legislation as such that must be repealed," he said. "It is discriminatory legislation that could inhibit free and fair elections that must go." He cited as an example of an unacceptable

law the right of soldiers and police to detain people without charge.

But he said it "would be stretching a point too far" to suggest that white town councils, including the municipality of Windhoek, should be abolished.

Mr Dan Tjongarero, a member of the Swapo central committee and chairman of the movement's internal wing, said in an interview afterwards: "This is the sort of thing that makes me so fed up with South Africa."

He said Security Council resolution 435, the UN blueprint for Namibia's transition to independence, specified that all discriminatory legislation should be repealed.

"Pienaar is jumping the gun. We have our own lawyers preparing a submission to the United Nations on discriminatory laws," Mr Tjongarero said. "It is not for South Africa to decide what can stay and what must go. They have to satisfy the UN before the process can go on."

He accused South Africa of trying to manipulate world opinion by taking unreasonable positions before the installation of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) that will monitor the handover.

"Then they will compromise on those positions and tell the world how reasonable they are," he said.

Mr Tjongarero said Swapo, which is widely expected to win the November 1 election of a council to draft an independence constitution, would also oppose Mr Pienaar's suggested election rules.

Mr Pienaar said he wanted a voting age of 21 and a minimum residence period of one year.

Mr Tjongarero said Swapo would insist on a minimum age of 18 and four or five years' residence as conditions of eligibility.

"South Africa has made its calculations on what it will take to stop Swapo getting the

two-thirds majority that would give us control of the Constituent Assembly," he said.

"They have calculated that the strong and revolutionary youth vote would go to Swapo. By raising the voting age to 21, they would rob Swapo of sizeable support."

Meanwhile in towns across Namibia, conservative whites went to the polls yesterday to elect a whites-only council that is likely to be disbanded within a month.

Opponents of the election, including moderate white political leader Mr Dirk Mudge, said the poll was a waste of time, energy and money.

But right-wing white leader Mr Kosie Pretorius said the vote, involving only two far-right white parties, would demonstrate the depth of white opposition to independence.

Whites number about 75 000 in Namibia, which has a total population of about 1.5 million. — Sapa-Reuter

Vow of SA commitment to elections in Namibia

Star 2/3/89

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Mr Louis Pienaar ... SA won't subvert peace plan.

WINDHOEK — In an interview at his offices at South West Africa House, Mr Pienaar said both he and his administration were committed to the principle of free and fair elections, and that they were bound to act impartially.

Mr Pienaar said that, under Resolution 435, he would no longer be the "representative of South Africa", but would be bound "as a prisoner of the terms of Resolution 435 to act as impartially as a judge hearing a case".

Completely divorced

He added that, while it was once true that he had been a "South African messenger in Namibia", the advent of Resolution 435 would ensure that he became "completely divorced from South African political action".

The Administrator-General dismissed suggestions that Swapo would be at an unfair disadvantage during the transition period to inde-

BY BRENDAN SEERY

The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa is committed to the holding of free and fair elections under UN Resolution 435, and will not do anything to subvert the peace plan, vows Pretoria's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

pendence, which officially begins on April 1, with the arrival here of the UN Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

He said the whole process would always be subject to the scrutiny of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), and that in any case Swapo had itself accepted the administrative arrangements agreed in Resolution 435.

Although the current administration would be deeply involved in the voter registration process and the granting of residence permits to returning refugees, there was no possibility that South Africa would try to make mischief, added Mr Pienaar.

He also dismissed fears that the soldiers of the existing SWA Territory Force would somehow be used to influence the result of the election, which is scheduled for the beginning of November.

He said the UN, Swapo and South Africa had agreed that the troops of the SWATF would be demobilised on full pay until at least the end of the election. Their weapons, however, would be handed in at "drill halls" or armouries under the supervision of the Untag military forces.

Eligible to vote

On the registration of voters, Mr Pienaar said there would be two classes of people eligible to vote: Those people born in Namibia and those who have lived here permanently for some time.

The exact period of residence to qualify as a voter still had to be negotiated between him and Mr Ahtisaari, but would probably be between one and four years.

Mr Pienaar said that Angolan refugees, some of whom have been living in the border areas of Kavango and Owambo for ten years or so, and who have been given local ID documents, would probably be entitled to vote in the same way as other foreigners resident here for the required period.

He said he had personally investigated allegations that large numbers of South African soldiers were being registered as local residents to allow them to vote, and had been assured by the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower in Windhoek that the allegations were "completely unfounded".

Pienaar, Swapo row over laws for Namibia

B/D 2/3/89

WINDHOEK — South African-appointed Governor Louis Pienaar took control in Namibia yesterday and immediately became embroiled in a row with Swapo.

Pienaar took charge at midnight after the scheduled resignation of the Pretoria-sponsored interim government on Tuesday.

He will administer the territory in consultation with UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari during a run-up of between seven and 12 months before UN-supervised independence.

Pienaar said he planned to repeal only some of Pretoria's discriminatory laws. He said: "It is not discriminatory legislation as such that must be repealed. It is discriminatory legislation that could inhibit free and fair elections that must go."

Fed up

An unacceptable law was the right of soldiers and police to detain people without charge. But, Pienaar said, it "would be stretching a point too far" to suggest that white town councils should be abolished.

Swapo central committee member Dan Tjongarero said: "This is the sort of thing that makes me so fed up with SA."

He said UN Security Council resolution 435 specified that all discriminatory legislation be repealed.

Tjongarero said: "Pienaar is jumping the gun. Our lawyers are preparing a submission to the UN on discriminatory laws. It is not for SA to decide what can stay and what must go. They have to

satisfy the UN before the process can go on."

He accused SA of trying to manipulate world opinion by taking unreasonable positions prior to the installation of Untag which would monitor the handover. "Then they will compromise on those positions and tell the world how reasonable they are."

Tjongarero said Swapo would also oppose Pienaar's suggested election rules.

Pienaar said he wanted a voting age of 21 and a minimum residence period of one year.

Tjongarero said Swapo would insist on a minimum age of 18 and four or five years' residence as conditions of eligibility.

He said: "SA has made its calculations on what it will take to stop Swapo getting the two-thirds majority that will give us control of the Constituent Assembly."

"It has calculated the strong youth vote will go to Swapo. By raising the voting age to 21, it will rob Swapo of sizeable support."

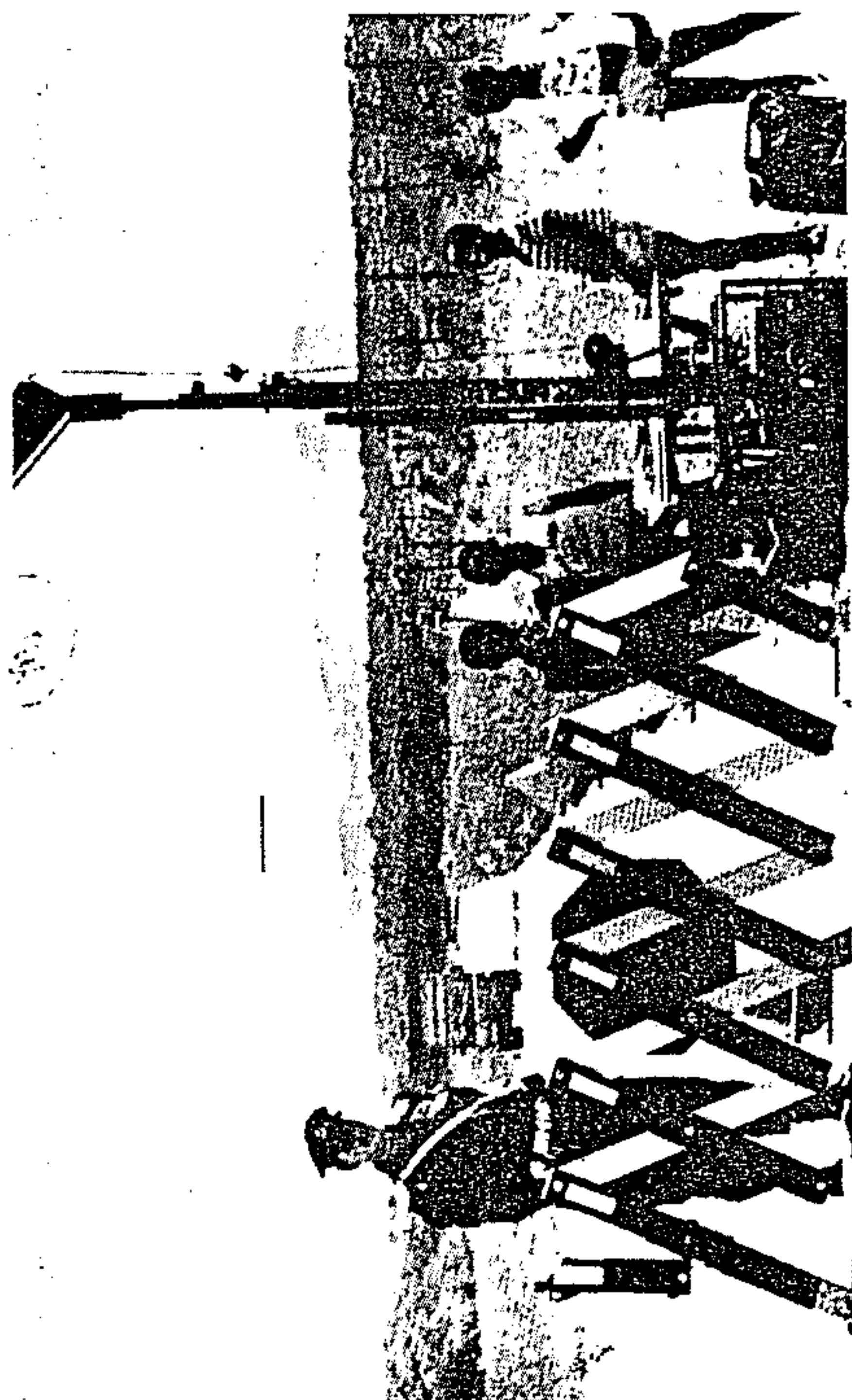
Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn yesterday urged private enterprise to play a constructive role in securing democracy in Namibia after independence.

He told the Private Sector Foundation in Windhoek that economic enfranchisement had to be the handmaiden of political emancipation.

Emphasising the importance of agriculture, Steyn said opportunities associated with UN investment would provide a valuable kick-start. — Sapa-Reuter.



ROADBLOCK ... Local children keep a military policeman company at a roadblock at Otavi near the Namibian border with Angola.



BEER BATHING ... South African soldiers at Rundu enjoy cold beers while bathing in the Kavango River on the border between Namibia and Angola.



Picture: REUTER

Swapo 'will win election'

CAT THIS 3/3/89 221

DURBAN. — While Swapo did not enjoy the same high internal image as had Zimbabwe's Zanu, it could take an estimated 58% of the vote in the coming Namibian election, a Stellenbosch academic predicted yesterday.

The prediction was made by Professor W J Breytenbach of the Department of Africa Studies at the University of Stellenbosch at a seminar held by the Natal Chamber of Industries in Durban.

Prof Breytenbach said Namibia had a "world record" of 42 political parties. Many of these suffered from image problems. He believed the main contenders would be the groupings round Mr Sam Nujoma (Swapo) and Mr Dirk Mudge (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance).

Because of the diverse nature of the Namibian population, it was difficult to make predictions. He believed Swapo would fail to get "monopoly power" — 67% of the vote. It should, however, gain more than 50% and would form an alliance with parties to its right.

He believed Mr Nujoma's policies would prove more accommodating than those of Zimbabwe's Zanu under Mr Robert Mugabe.

Most white businessmen would stay in Namibia, he said. But there would be an exodus of white civil servants, soldiers and some farmers, reducing the domestic market.

Australia to send 350 troops to Namibia

CANBERRA. — The Australian government yesterday pledged to send 350 troops to join international peace-keeping forces in Namibia, the largest Australian army contingent to be sent overseas since the Vietnam War.

Defence Minister Mr Kim Beazley and Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans said in a joint statement that the troops were requested by the United Nations

to help monitor Namibia's transition to independence. The group, which is to fly out later this month, will join the UN Transition Advisory Group (Untag), the statement said. The Australian contingent to Untag will help build roads, bridges, airfields, water systems, barracks and a hospital, as well as providing defensive positions for the three infantry battalions making up the force.

Africa would grow, being the only country with institutionalised inequality. It was difficult to say what effect this would have — though the clamour for sanctions appeared to have peaked. It was clear that support for armed struggle was no longer fashionable with the West or with Russia, which had reason to be pleased with its role in the peace accord.

In South Africa, he said, Citizen Force requirements might gradually be eased.

There were also benefits flowing from reduced war expenditure — at a time when debt repayments were relatively high, an opportunity to re-equip with defensive weapons and the opening of new opportunities in Africa.

Furthermore, there were opportunities of entry to European markets through Namibia. For the African National Congress, the peace settlement had proved a major setback.

It was being forced to move from yet another Southern African country — pushing its bases even further back to countries such as Tanzania.

Meanwhile in Harare, a Swapo representative said yesterday that South Africa was again trying to complicate the situation in Namibia by seeking to be involved in the reception of exiles returning to Namibia.

Mr Kapuka Nauyala told a symposium on Education Against Apartheid, attended by West German and Zimbabwean MPs, that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Council of Churches in Namibia were supposed to work together to receive, rehabilitate and resettle returning exiles.

However, according to the latest information from Windhoek South Africa, through its Administrator General, had told the UNHCR and the churches that it was establishing its own reception programme.

"In our view this will create a lot of problems," he said. — Sapa

Pretoria will not interfere

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SOUTH Africa is committed to the holding of free and fair elections under UN Resolution 435, and will not do anything to subvert the peace plan, vows Pretoria's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

In an interview with the AANS at his offices at South West Africa House here, Mr Pienaar said both he and his administration were committed to the principle of free and fair elections, and they were bound to act impartially.

Mr Pienaar said that, under Resolution 435, he would no longer be the "representative of South Africa", but would be bound, "as a prisoner of the terms of Resolution 435" to "act as impartially as a judge hearing a case".

He added that, while it was once true that he had been a "South African messenger in Namibia", the advent of Resolution 435 would ensure that he became "completely divorced from South African political action".

The Administrator-General dismissed suggestions that Swapo, for example, would be at an unfair disadvantage during the transition period to independence, which officially begins on April 1, with the arrival of the UN Special Representa-

vows Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, interviewed by BREN-DAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek



PIENAAR ... no longer Pretoria's "messenger boy"

tive for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari. The whole process would always be subject to the scrutiny of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), and that, in any case, Swapo had itself accepted the Administrative arrangements agreed in Resolution 435.

Although the current administration would be deeply involved in the voter registration process and the granting of residence permits to returning refugees, there was no possibility that South Africa would try to make mischief, added Mr Pienaar. He pointed out that the current civil service could not be regarded as South African, because it had been "indigenised" some years ago, and there were now no more than a handful of seconded South African civil servants working here.

The Administrator-General also dismissed fears that the soldiers of the existing SWA Territory Force would somehow be used to influence the result of the election, which is scheduled for the beginning of November. He said the UN, Swapo and South Africa had

agreed that the troops of the SWATF would be demobilised on full pay until at least the end of the election.

Their weapons, however, would be handed in at "drill halls" or armouries under the supervision of the Untag military forces. After the election it would probably be up to a new government to decide whether the soldiers would be integrated into a new national army with the former Swapo fighters.

On the registration of voters, Mr Pienaar said there would be two classes of people eligible to vote: those people born in Namibia and those who have lived here permanently for some time.

The exact period of residence to qualify as a voter still had to be negotiated between himself and Mr Ahtisaari, said Mr Pienaar, but would probably be between one and four years.

People who will not be allowed to vote will be those who are dependants of Namibians, such as wives and children, who were born outside this country, and who have not lived here for the required period before the polls.

Mr Pienaar said that Angolan refugees, some of whom have been living in the border areas of Kavango and Owambo for ten years or so, and who have been given local ID documents, would probably be entitled to vote in the same way as other foreigners resident here for the required period.

The Administrator-General said he had personally investigated allegations that large numbers of South African soldiers were being registered as local residents to allow them to vote, and had been assured by the Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower in Windhoek that the allegations were "completely unfounded".

58% vote for Swapo forecast

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Swapo could take an estimated 58 percent of the vote in the Namibian election, according to a Cape academic addressing the Natal Chamber of Industries here.

Professor W J Breytenbach, of the department of Africa studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said yesterday that Namibia had a "world record" of 42 political parties.

He believed the main contenders would be the groupings around Mr Sam Nujoma (Swapo) and Mr Dirk Mudge (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance).

ALLIANCE WITH RIGHT

Professor Breytenbach thought Swapo would fail to get "monopoly power" — 67 percent of the vote. However, it should gain more than 50 percent and it would form an alliance with parties to its right.

He believed Mr Nujoma's policies would prove more accommodating than those of Zimbabwe's Zanu under Mr Robert Mugabe.

Most white businessmen would stay in Namibia. However, there would be an exodus of white civil servants, soldiers and some farmers, reducing the domestic market.

WELL-OFF ECONOMY

In many respects Namibia's economy was well off and its government would not inherit a war-ravished country like Angola. Industrial employment and personal incomes were among the highest in Southern Africa.

Windhoek could be expected to become a Third World city, with returning exiles and others flocking to new slum areas on its periphery. Standards could drop.

With the emergence of Namibia as an independent country, Professor Breytenbach warned that the focus on South Africa would grow, being the only country with institutionalised inequality.

It was uncertain how though — the sanctions clamour appeared to have peaked and support for armed struggle was no longer fashionable with the West or Russia.

SA-Namibia border control posts proposed

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Border posts would be set up between South Africa and Namibia if the government acceded to recommendations by the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Louis Pienaar, a spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said.

South Africans would not require passports to enter Namibia — identity documents would suffice. The same would apply to Namibians. But aliens travelling from Namibia to South Africa would require passports.

Exact positions had not been decided on, but eight or nine road posts would be set up on all main routes between South Africa and Namibia as well as on main roads into Walvis Bay. A post was also likely in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park.

Rail movement between Upington and Ariams- vlei as well as Walvis Bay and Windhoek would also be subject to control, as would flights between Windhoek and South Africa.

• Interview with Mr Louis Pienaar — page 10

SA help for Namibia vital after elections

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Star 2/7/89

JOHN RYAN of The Star's Africa News Service reports on a suggestion that the South African Government should sign an Nkomati-type agreement with a new government in Namibia.

Two former South African diplomats have urged the Government to help Namibia come to terms with its past after independence and achieve internal reconciliation in the future.

Writing in the latest edition of "South Africa International", the South Africa Foundation quarterly, they agree it will be vital that South Africa adopts a positive attitude by offering its assistance to the independent territory.

David Willers, the Foundation's London correspondent and a former foreign affairs official, says the principal danger now would be a "sudden headlong dash" through the Namibian election process and "an equally precipitous withdrawal" by South Africa, leaving the territory ill-prepared for self-rule.

Withdrawal

"One viewpoint," he says, "is that the South Africans cannot wait to get out and that if the Namibian ad-



Namibia . . . What does the future hold economically under

ministration and finances fall into chaos as a result of a sudden withdrawal . . . then Pretoria can always say 'I told you so'. Any realistic appraisal suggests this is nonsense, however.

"Pretoria would have nothing to gain by such an action and everything to lose."

Instead, Willers says, the Government should sign an Nkomati-type accord with the new government in Namibia, similar to that it negotiated in Mozambique.

"This will allow for a 'business as usual' approach and a phased reduction of subsidies to Windhoek with the shortfalls being made up



an independent government?

by the Western countries."

If South Africa helps a post-independence Namibia to come to terms with the past and achieve internal reconciliation in the future, Willers adds, much of the suspicions about Pretoria's true regional designs that still linger in certain (southern African) countries will, it is hoped, be laid to rest.

Sean Cleary, the managing director of Strategic Concepts, who once was based in Windhoek for the Department of Foreign Affairs, says national reconciliation in both Angola and Namibia should be the goal of all parties involved in the present peace process in south-western Africa.

"A settlement that leads to national reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia and Angola," he writes, "will enhance South Africa's regional and international standing.

"It will protect the Government against criticism from the right wing about having 'sold out the whites' in South West Africa, create new opportunities for economic cooperation in southern Africa, and, in consolidating the political middle ground, point the way to negotiated accommodation in South Africa itself."

Cleary says there is a tendency in the media to hail the settlement of the Namibian dispute through negotiation as a self-evident good, as an end in itself.

This is a dangerous proposition,

he maintains, not only because it underestimates the pitfalls facing South Africa, both in the region and domestically, but also "because it takes no account of the divergent streams of policy in the ranks of the (South African) political leadership, the contradictions that have in the past prevented the emergence and maintenance of a coherent policy towards the territory".

Cleary says it is the substance of the settlement, not its form, that will determine its impact in South Africa, the region and the international community.

Hopes that a settlement in Namibia and disengagement from Angola will buy time for South Africa itself are misplaced.

Concessions

In fact, he says, there is ample evidence in the United Nations and elsewhere that South Africa's willingness to make concessions under pressure has revitalised the anti-SA lobby, encouraging it to make new demands for change in South Africa itself.

"While it would be cavalier not to recognise the Government has succeeded in the course of the negotiations thus far in playing a poor hand with considerable skill, the absence of a broader vision and a set of policy parameters within which to order the negotiating tactics sharply limits the opportunity to gain strategic advantage."

Camp-fire in the desert

by BRENDAN SEERY

Weekend Argus Africa News Service
TSUMKWE (Bushmanland). — Flickering light from the flames holds back the Kalahari night as the wrinkled, wiry Bushman speaks with quiet bitterness about his time in jail.

Now on parole after serving some weeks of a three-month sentence behind bars for illegal hunting, N.Ani says that the women and children at his n.Ore (water place) were forced to move and stay with other people, as all their men, including himself, were arrested together and taken away to jail in Tsumeb.

N.Ani says he knows he was wrong in hunting for gemsbok using dogs, but he is angry that a well-meaning nature conservationist urged his son to sell their only cow to pay the court fine.

The beast was sold, against his wishes, for far less than it was worth, but the fine was not paid anyway. N.Ani makes it plain he would rather have spent the three months in jail than lose his only material wealth.

"Man versus animals"

The incident is another which could worsen relations between the Ju/Wasi people of eastern Bushmanland and Windhoek's Department of Nature Conservation who sometimes seem to be locked in a grim, "man versus animals" struggle.



Bits of plastic sheeting are interwoven with grass in this Bushman's hut and a plastic container (rather than the traditional ostrich egg) for holding water lies at the door. But like other aspects of Western culture, they are still peripheral to the Bushman's way of life.

Bushman, nature

officials try to settle disputes

On the other side of the fire, conservation officer Brian Jones listens intently. It is his unenviable task to mend fences between the department and the Ju/Wasi, who live on the edge of one of the last game-rich wildernesses in Namibia.

The Bushmen have reason to be defensive. As one of Africa's most-persecuted and misused peoples, they have been regarded almost as sub-human by blacks and whites alike and have had their easy-going, peaceful nature taken advantage of by others who systematically dispossessed them of their traditional hunting grounds.

In Namibia, the march of apartheid has seen the Bushmen shunted around, into their own "homeland": the area now officially designated as Bushmanland, on the eastern border with Botswana.

Torn loose

When Kavango, to the north, and Hereroland, to the south, were proclaimed in 1970, many Bushmen were forcibly removed from their n.Ores in those areas and sent to Bushmanland.

The close-knit social fabric of the people was shredded in the process, as they were torn loose from places where they had lived for centuries.

In the 1,8 million hectares of Bushmanland, there are at present about 4 000 people from three separate Bushman or Bushman-related ethnic groups.

The majority live in the west in a well-treed but waterless area whose only distinguishing feature is its army camps, such as those at Aasvoelsnes or Mangetiduin.

Military

Most of them are the Hel//om people or the Kung Bushmen, who were brought to Namibia from Angola by the SADF, and who are totally dependent on the military for their survival.

The old hunter-gatherer ways, so beguilingly portrayed in Laurens Van Der Post's "Lost World of the Kalahari", have vanished almost entirely in that area.

But, it is in the east of Bushmanland, in the comparatively well-watered "pannefjes veld", where the Bushmen live closest to their traditional ways, that the conflict between man and the animals is being played out.

After the forced removals to Bushmanland in the 1970s, many of the Ju/Wasi people gravitated to-



With an outstretched arm, Tsumco-toma, leader of the local Farmers' Association, makes a point during a meeting with Nature Conservation officers in Gaucha village. The Farmers' Association is the closest thing the Bushmen have to political representation.

wards the dusty "capital" of Tsumkwe. Well-meaning government schemes to give them houses and to teach them how to garden backfired.

Eventually, the town became wracked with violence, alcoholism and prostitution as the Ju/Wasi began to disintegrate as a people.

That was how American anthropologist and filmmaker John Marshall found them when he returned to the country in 1978 after an absence of 20 years.

Marshall's family had lived with the Bushmen around Tsumkwe in the 1950s and made films about them and their way of life. When he saw the appalling conditions Marshall, a sometimes short-tempered and abrasive, but nevertheless dedicated man, decided something should be done.

At the same time, there was a feeling among the Ju/Wasi at Tsumkwe that they should move back to their original n.Ores and try to re-establish themselves before their way of life disappeared.

Mr Marshall was one of the founders of the Ju/Wa Bushman Foundation, which helped the people acquire cattle and taught them the basics of cat-ranching.

The foundation, which fights a constant battle against a shortage of funds, has also helped provide safe drinking water by drilling a number of wells in the east of Bushmanland around Tsumkwe.

It has helped establish 14 Ju/Wasi farms on about 14 000ha of land and a Farmers' Association — the first rudimentary form of political representation the Ju/Wasi have experienced — has also been set up.

Running battles

Since 1981, Mr Marshall has fought running battles with government officials from both the Bushman Administration and the Department of Nature Conservation.

There are a number of problems which have soured relations between the foundation and conservationists. The Bushmen lose many cattle every year to lions, while elephants have trampled their simple vegetable gardens.

Trophy hunting is allowed in Bushmanland, but the Ju/Wasi say they have seen none of the money generated by it.

Last year, Nature Conservation finally shelved a proposal to convert eastern Bushmanland into a game park — an idea vehemently opposed by Mr Marshall and the foundation, which enlisted considerable overseas sympathy.

Lion attacks

For their part, conservationists argue that the foundation has not given the Ju/Wasi sufficient education in proper farming methods, particularly on how to reduce losses through attacks by predators such as lions.

In addition, the Bushmen have been known to employ illegal hunting methods, such as using dogs, despite the fact that conservationists turn a blind eye to any killing of animals done with the traditional bow-and-arrow.

Some ecologists warn that the well-intentioned action by the foundation could be killing the Bushmen with kindness, as there is already evidence of over-grazing in their cattle areas.

Mr Marshall, on the other hand, says the Ju/Wasi are natural conservationists and would never run enough cattle to ruin the veld.

Game paradise

Both sides are now tentatively trying to mend fences. Around the flickering fire, Brian Jones and the foundation's Megan Biesele agree that hardened attitudes have stalled dialogue between two groups of people who would probably have a surprising amount in common.

Ms Biesele relays the feelings of the Ju/Wasi, while Mr Jones says his superiors in Windhoek are willing to listen to what the Bushmen have to say.

After all, both sides might have more in common than they believe — particularly as Bushmanland might be under severe threat very shortly as it is both a game paradise and the Ju/Wasi home.

Thousands of refugees will soon be returning to Namibia, and they, along with many land-hungry people already here, will be looking enviously at the comparatively rich, but sparsely-populated land along the Botswana border as a place to resettle.

Such a prospect would probably mean the end both of the Ju/Wasi as a distinct entity and of the game population.

Namibia's agony not over

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NO CELEBRATORY bonfires were lit in the black townships of Namibia after South Africa made the seemingly historic announcement of its intention to allow UN monitored elections in the territory.

Nor indeed did the right-wing parties haul out their shotguns and organise a mighty *samitrek* in protest at the supposed threat to their cultural identity.

It is usual that when a government says that it will implement a treaty, it is believed. Not so in Namibia, where blacks have all too often learnt to live with their disappointment.

A fair and free election held in terms of UN Resolution 435 will inevitably bring about a black majority government committed to the destruction of apartheid.

This will signal the end of apartheid in its legal or *de facto* forms in schools, hospitals, municipalities, trains and swimming baths.

A one-man, one-vote Swapo, will together with

their anti-apartheid allies in the south constitute a majority vote in the National Assembly of the future — sufficient to put an end to apartheid structures.

In the face of all this,

DAVID SOGGOT

The author is a Senior Counsel of the Johannesburg Bar, has appeared in major political trials in South Africa and Namibia, and is the author of "Namibia: The Violent Heritage". He now lives in London.



NO EASY TASK: In 1980, Pretoria's Council of Ministers was received amid angry protests. Namibia's one-man, one-vote poll will see the Owambos led by Swapo win a majority vote, but after 22 years of war fears run deep, not only among whites but also among Hereroes, Basters and others who historically fear the paramourncy of the Owambos.

will whites in Namibia carry out an often-repeated threat: to gather together in a vast trek into the Republic?

Or will they resort to violence, with or without the collaboration of the Hereros, Basters and others who historically have feared the numerical paramourncy of the Owambos?

Jannie de Wet, a prominent leader in the NP of Namibia, has vowed that whites will resort to violence if their infrastructure and "civilisation" is threatened.

Hendrik van Ass, the AWB's supremo, claims massive white support and the collaboration of



African forces struck at a refugee camp at Kas-singa, deep in Angola, killing over 600 young refugees and injuring many more. The South Africans said that they were guerrillas, photographers from the international Press and churchmen claimed, however, that

senior officers in the security forces.

At AWB meetings, in Windhoek, where handguns were much in evidence, seditious calls for violent resistance have been publicly expressed. They have also gone unpunished.

Chiefs

Beyond the theatre of threatened white violence there are thousands of tribal chiefs, headmen and their followers, many of whom are armed. They and the ministers and civil servants in the 10 ethnic governments depend on the continuation of the *status quo* for their power and their income.

The clouds of civil war and the possibility of nascent MNR-type groupings are there. The churches in Namibia have recently received information that an Herero army is being trained by Unita, and that other ethnic groups are preparing arms caches.

In the last 10 years a vigorous pattern of vigilante violence has established itself. DTA supporters have, for example, again and again banded together to launch attacks against Swapo and other anti-apartheid supporters.

Leading churchmen and Swapo have repeatedly complained: they have also protested that police have stood by without intervening.

Against the threats of persecution, if not annihilation, who will there be to protect Swapo and other anti-apartheid-minded activists in Swapo, NNF, NIP and other organisations?

When members of Swapo enter Namibia to participate in the elections, they will come in unarmed.

In terms of the scenario tersely sketched by Resolution 435, the SADF



will be confined to barracks at Grootfontein.

The sole responsibility for the maintenance of law and order will then lie with 6 500 members of the police, almost half of whom are former members of Koevoet who — according to their own evidence before the courts — have been trained to “exterminate” Swapo.

From the 4 650-man UN contingent, the Blue Helmets, no meaningful protection can be expected. Their weapons will be there strictly for their own protection.

No campaign has been launched by the South African Government calling for a revision of attitudes, for reciprocal ethnic accommodation and an acceptance of the outcome of the elections.

This contrasts strongly with the Government's campaigns prior to the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference in 1975. The mandarins of the administration were then sent out to prepare whites for the multiracial talks in the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference.

On the contrary, the contemporary emphasis in the media relates to the dangers of Resolution 435.

In terms of the provisions of Resolution 435, all apartheid laws must be repealed. The homelands-type governments, as well as the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) must be dissolved.

Uncontradicted reports from Windhoek, however, indicate that the administration intends to keep thousands of civil servants, ministers and politicians on the payroll, including 25 000 SWATF troops who have been trained to perceive Swapo as the enemy and kill them.

Army

This will create a vast informal army available to be deployed against the political opponents of apartheid.

The assumption is widely made that the South African Government, having opted for an unmonitored election, will not dare to flout world opinion by calling off or sabotaging the electoral

process. This perception involves, perhaps, a fundamental misunderstanding of the essential quality of South African strategy over Namibia.

After years of fighting off UN advances, the South African Government, in 1978, abruptly accepted the notion of elections in terms of Resolution 435 and declared — just as it is doing at the present moment — that there should be no delays in the run-up to the election.

In a monumental rebuff to the world body, the Government appointed its own administrator-general to control the elections, giving the UN Special Representative no role other than the power to certify that the elections were not fair and free.

The South Africans also insisted that their police alone should be responsible for the maintenance of law and order during the elections. For obvious reasons Swapo hesitated before accepting such conditions.

Then, when Swapo was about to accept, South

they were refugees.

Photographs of mounds of bodies of young men and women clad in ordinary clothing provided eloquent corroboration.

What was the timing and quality of the attack on Kassinga about if not an attempt to “persuade” Swapo to keep out of the elections?

After that the South Africans, through their administrator-general, unilaterally formulated and promulgated election regulations.

Outrage

When UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim announced that the UN forces would comprise 7 500 men, the South African Government declared itself to be outraged, as if the Blue Helmets were to be invaders rather than monitors.

Finally, on September 20 1978, Prime Minister John Vorster, announcing his resignation, also declared South Africa's rejection of the UN plan.

The Government has experimented with various constitutional forms but has never faced up to the possibility of an independent black majority government.

From Prime Minister Vorster onwards, South African spokesmen have vowed that the Swapo flag would not fly over Windhoek.

Has Pretoria really undergone a revolution in its thinking?

Times have admittedly changed since 1978. There has been the emergence of the Reagan-Gorbachev *rapprochement*.

The war is more expensive and the SADF is apparently no longer able to wreak havoc in Angola without risking appreciable white losses.

But for the South African Government, obsessed with its own survival at the polls in South Africa, have times changed that much?

Firms ²²¹ braced ^{Govt} for an ^{4/3} Untag ¹⁵⁰ windfall

MICHAEL CHESTER

SOUTH African companies have been alerted to expect the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Namibia to provide the potential of an export bonanza worth R500 million or more.

The estimate of possible contracts for feeding supplies to the UN task force comes from the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg.

The Federated Chamber of Industries agrees with the estimate of foreign exchange earnings for South African businesses from supplying items that range from the fleets of vehicles needed by the 4 650 UN peacekeeping team to the mountains of office stationery that will be used.

The estimates make allowance for South Africa to reap at least a half of the \$416 million — about R1.040 million — that the UN General Assembly has approved as expenditure for its UN Transition Assistance

SA and Swapo: ballot battle looms

WINDHOEK — The guns have gone quiet in South Africa's 22-year border war against Namibia's South West Africa People's Organisation, but hostility continues. *Star 4/3/89*

Thousands of Swapo guerillas and hundreds of South African troops died in the conflict that started in 1966.

Now the two sides must cooperate under United Nations supervision to bring independence to the territory that was their battleground. The confrontation has moved from the bush to Windhoek, where the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) is set to begin monitoring the territory's transition to independence from April 1.

"We know what sort of thing to expect from South Africa and we will appeal to the United Nations. But if we feel our



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position is being jeopardised in we will take to the streets for mass protests," said Swapo Chairman Mr Dan Tjongarero.

South African Administrator General Mr Louis Pienaar, who will rule Namibia until independence, acknowledged there would be many disputes before independence is achieved.

"There are many rapids to be negotiated. Make no mistake, it will not be easy," he said.

He has met with leaders of Namibia's many moderate black and white political parties, has no plans to make contact with Swapo.

"If they want to see me they can ask for a meeting, but I think they should rather speak to the UN representatives here," he added.

South African officials pri-

vately acknowledge they expect Swapo to win more than half the vote in the November 1 election of an assembly to draft an independence constitution.

Their goal is to prevent Swapo from gaining the two-thirds majority that would allow them to adopt their own socialist constitution without compromise.

With only 75 000 whites among Namibia's estimated 1,5 million people, Pretoria will need some black support to prevent a sweep by Swapo.

Pretoria is setting up reception centres for returning guerillas and refugees without consulting Swapo or the United Nations. Some are in former South African army camps.

Broadcasting remains under Mr Pienaar's control with no immediate plans to give Swapo or other left-wing parties ac-

cess to the airwaves.

Mr Pienaar has outlined election rules that would give voting rights to hundreds of demobilised South African soldiers and civil servants and, by raising the voting age from 18 to 21, disenfranchise thousands of young blacks loyal to Swapo.

Though his proposals must be approved by the UN he said he had prepared a draft proclamation as a basis for negotiation with UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

In Windhoek's township of Katutura, Mr Tjongarero vowed to fight every South African attempt to manipulate the November election.

"They are already out there, spreading horror stories about Swapo and what they say a Swapo government would mean. We have to follow behind them, telling people the real story." — Sapa-Reuter.

Border posts for Namibia

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C/11/89

5/3/89

BORDER posts might soon be set up between South Africa and Namibia.

The Administrator-General of Namibia, Louis Pienaar, said in Windhoek that submissions had been made to the South African government and the matter would soon be concluded.

At a media conference in Windhoek, the Administrator-General also announced that reception centres for returning exiles would be established soon.

Pienaar, who has now taken over the day-to-day running of the country from the transitional government, said discriminatory legislation that might hamper free and fair elections in the territory, such as detention without trial, would soon be abolished. — Sapa

Swapo mobilises for Namibian elections

News 5/3/89

CP Correspondent (22)

SWAPO held discussions at the weekend to consolidate pro-Swapo Namibian forces into a single command structure to improve its chances of winning a two-thirds majority in the November election.

The meeting between the internal wing of Swapo (Swapo-D) and the external wing of the movement was held in Harare under the chairmanship of Swapo President Sam Nujoma.

Present at the meeting were five of the seven members of Swapo's internal wing who were elected to Swapo's central committee in Luanda on February 18.

The central committee is regarded as the major policy-making body and it was the first time internal members have been elected to the committee.

The new 50-member central committee pronounced itself ready for April 1 - the date set by the UN Security Council for the start of the implementation of Resolution 435, which will lead to independence.

In an interview in Harare, Swapo secretary general Toivo Ja Toivo - who also attended the joint Swapo meeting - expressed concern at the reduction of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag).

Sources in Zimbabwe added that two political coalitions had already been formed inside Namibia which merged some seven internal political parties into fronts which might make it more difficult for Swapo to get the majority.

These are the United Democratic Front - bringing together the Damará Council, the Labour Party

and the Namibian National Independence Party - and the National Patriotic Front, merging the oldest political party in Namibia, SWA National Union with Action National Settlement and the Caprivi National Union.

Swapo received another shot in the arm last week at a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity when African countries pledged about R12-million to boost Swapo's election campaign.

It is believed that the Harare meeting was not the last in attempts by Swapo to consolidate political support behind it. Although Swapo is confident of winning a two-thirds majority, central committee member Hage Geingob noted earlier that Swapo would consider alliances with other parties inclined to support a Swapo victory. - Ano

Help new SWA, Pretoria urged

By JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service

TWO former South African diplomats have urged the government to help Namibia come to terms with its past after independence and achieve internal reconciliation in the future.

Writing in the latest edition of "South Africa International" — the South Africa Foundation quarterly — they agree it will be vital that South Africa adopts a positive attitude by offering its assistance to the independent territory.

Mr David Willers, the foundation's London correspondent and a former Foreign Affairs official, says the principal danger now would be a "sudden headlong dash" through the Namibian election process

and "an equally precipitate withdrawal" by South Africa, leaving the territory ill-prepared for self-rule.

"One viewpoint," he says, "is that the South Africans cannot wait to get out and that if the Namibian administration and finances fall into chaos as a result of a sudden withdrawal . . . then Pretoria can always say 'I told you so'."

"Any realistic appraisal suggests this is nonsense, however.

Pretoria would have nothing to gain by such an action and everything to lose." Instead,



WILLERS . . . no headlong dash

Mr Willers says, the government should sign an Nkomati-type accord with the new government in Namibia, similar to the one it negotiated in Mozambique.

"This will allow for a "business as usual" approach and a phased reduction of subsidies to Windhoek with the short-falls being made up by the Western countries." If South Africa helps a post-independence Namibia come to terms with the past and achieve internal reconciliation in the future, Mr Willers adds, "much of the suspicions about Pretoria's true regional designs that still linger in certain (Southern African) countries will, it is hoped, be laid to rest."

Mr Sean Cleary, the managing director of Strategic Concepts who once was based in Windhoek for the Department of Foreign Affairs, says national reconciliation in both Angola and Namibia should be the goal of all parties involved in the present peace process in south-western Africa.

"A settlement that leads to national reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia and Angola," he writes, "will enhance South Africa's regional and international standing.

"It will protect the govern-

ment against criticism from the right wing about having "sold out the whites" in South West Africa, create new opportunities for economic cooperation in Southern Africa, and, in consolidating the political middle ground, point the way to negotiated accommodation in South Africa itself."

Mr Cleary says there is a tendency in the media to hail the settlement of the Namibian dispute through negotiation as a "self-evident good" — as an end in itself.

This is a dangerous proposition, he maintains, not only because it underestimates the pitfalls facing South Africa both in the region and domestically but also "because it takes no account of the divergent streams of policy in the ranks of the (South African) political leadership, the contradictions that have in the past prevented the emergence and maintenance of a coherent policy towards the territory."

Mr Cleary says it is the substance of the settlement, not its form, that will determine its impact in South Africa, the region and the international community.

Hopes that a settlement in Namibia and disengagement from Angola will "buy time" for South Africa itself are misplaced.

In fact, he says, "there is ample evidence in the United Nations and elsewhere that South Africa's willingness to make concessions under pressure has revitalised the anti-SA lobby, encouraging them to make new demands for change in South Africa itself."

"While it would be cavalier not to recognise that the government has succeeded in the course of the negotiations thus far in playing a poor hand with considerable skill, the absence of a broader vision and a set of policy parameters within which to order the negotiating tactics sharply limit the opportunity to gain strategic advantage."

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'Peaceful' Namibia impresses Chand

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Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — The commander of the United Nations peacekeeping force in Namibia, Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand, says he is impressed with the air of stability and peace in the areas of northern Namibia which were the focus of the 22-year bush war between Swapo and South Africa.

General Chand told Windhoek newspaper Die Republiek that the situation in northern Namibia had changed considerably since he last visited the area — more than eight years ago.

He believed the atmosphere of peace would greatly help the task of the military component of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which will help oversee the transition to Namibian independence under the Security Council Resolution 435 peace plan.

General Chand returned to Windhoek over the weekend after visiting the north of the country with senior officers of the SWA Territory Force. The UN force will take over many of the existing SADF and SWATF military camps in the north once the withdrawal of South African troops begins officially from April 1.

The UN force, totalling 4 650 members, will consist of three enlarged infantry battalions. The first peacekeeping troops, soldiers from Denmark, are expected in Windhoek this week.

The rest of the force should be in place by April 1, marking the official start of the peace plan and the scheduled arrival of UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

GW 10

Berserk soldier guns down six

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — An SWA Territory Force soldier went berserk at a school hostel in the Namibian border town of Rundu, shooting six pupils with his service rifle.

An SWA police spokesman said they were slightly injured and were sent home after being treated in hospital.

About 4am on Saturday a drunk soldier from 202 Battalion went to the police station at Rundu claiming he had been assaulted. As he was too intoxicated to make a formal statement officers sent him away and told him to return when he was sober.

LOVE TRIANGLE

About 9am he appeared at the hostel with a rifle and opened fire.

It is believed the incident may have been a love triangle involving a girl at the school hostel. The soldier allegedly tried to see her on Saturday night but was assaulted by other pupils.

Police have arrested Robert Sizungu in connection with the incident.

Berserk soldier ^{Star 6/31/89} shoots 6 children

The Star's Africa 221
News Service

WINDHOEK — An angry soldier of the SWA Territory Force's 202 Battalion went berserk at a school hostel in the Namibian border town of Rundu on Saturday, shooting six children with his service rifle.

A SWA Police spokesman in Windhoek said the six pupils had only been slightly injured in the incident and, after being treated in hospital, were sent home.

The soldier, Robert Sizungu, who was earlier reported to be drunk and sent back to barracks to sober up, has been arrested.

It is believed the incident may be connected to a love triangle involving one of the girls at the hostel of the secondary school in Rundu.

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same speech, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

SADF: immovable equipment in South West Africa

1. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) What is the total value of immovable defence equipment, including buildings and roads, which has been erected by or on behalf of the South African Defence Force in South West Africa;
- (2) what is to be done with it when South Africa withdraws from that territory?

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Mr Speaker, the immovable defence equipment and property referred to by the hon member are regarded as all the fixed assets which were developed, purchased or installed in terms of the capital account and which consequently became part of a specific geographic locality on a relatively permanent basis, including buildings, earth-works, sewerage services, water reticulation, electricity distribution, roadworks, runways, fuel installations and storm-water services. The total value of these structures in South West Africa is estimated at approximately R480 million.

Gen Prem Chand, commander of the UN forces in South West Africa, has just arrived in the area, and is at present visiting all the bases. Initially the UN indicated that they wanted to make use of the SA Defence Force's existing bases. Because of reduced numbers of troops, a re-appraisal is now being made to determine the final needs. Some of these facilities can then be made available to Untag for a consideration.

It is envisaged that airfields and associated services will be leased to Untag. Certain hangars, store-rooms and buildings can be disassembled for reutilization in the Republic of South Africa. A detailed study is being made at present to

Howard
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The hon the Deputy Minister said he could not calculate the price of a road, but I think he can tell us what the road cost. I do not know whether or not that is included in the R480 million. [Interjections.] Perhaps it is included in that amount. [Interjections.]

I do not know why hon members are so sensitive about these questions. [Interjections.] I do not know whether they are afraid that something is being concealed again. That is the question at issue here. [Interjections.]

I put a question to the hon the Deputy Minister, and now I am going to tell him and the Government what bothers me in this connection. [Interjections.] I am sorry that the hon the Minister is not here himself, because I do not think the hon the Deputy Minister will be able to help me. I do hope he can! It bothers me that in this whole process of negotiation, nothing has been negotiated for South Africa with regard to compensation for the development of that area and those properties. The hon the Deputy Minister has said that the Untag force may lease the properties, but what is going to happen once they have been withdrawn? I understand that the infrastructure and facilities must be kept there until the last South African soldier has left. After that it seems the Deputy Minister envisages that some of the places will be leased. Once South West Africa has become independent, what is going to happen to that infrastructure? Is South Africa going to have access to that area in order to dismantle and sell it? [Time expired.]

Mr R R HULLEY: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister's reply did not reveal whether the figure or cost that he mentioned was original cost, depreciated book value, replacement cost or current market value. It would be interesting to have those figures.

The hon the Deputy Minister's reply does however highlight the frighteningly high cost of waging war on foreign soil. Any capital expenditure within the country to defend its borders creates a long-term asset for South Africa, but money spent outside the country could have been better used inside the country for peaceful purposes. [Interjections.]

Mr C J VAN R BOTHA: Would you surrender? Mr R R HULLEY: That excludes the money spent on the running costs of waging the war.

My hope for the future is that much of this infrastructural investment can be used, in negotiations, to help secure a stable peace and friendly relations with the future Namibia. I hope that a Nkomati-type treaty of co-existence can be negotiated which will contribute to the overall stability of the region.

When South Africa finally withdraws from Namibia much of this capital expenditure will simply have to be written off in our books. I believe that most of the balance should be privatised on tender wherever possible. Let the office blocks be sold off to commerce; let the camps in urban areas be used for emergency housing where necessary and later sold to private individuals; let the schools be handed over to the education authorities of the new country and let the rural camps, such as the camp at Omega in the Caprivi Strip, be developed for tourism.

The considerable money which privatisation could generate could be brought back to the Republic to be used for vital purposes in the interest of our own people.

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Mr Speaker, apparently the hon member for Soutpansberg did not listen properly to my answers. I want to tell the hon member that the SA Defence Force is withdrawing very honourably after the negotiation process on South West Africa. We are leaving the people of South West Africa a certain legacy of possibilities. The SA Defence Force has always been constructive, also with regard to that area and its people. We did not break things down. [Interjections.] We were not destructive. The SA Defence Force also created opportunities in South West Africa so that development could take place. [Interjections.]

The same principle applies in South West Africa as when the TBVC countries became independent of South Africa. We must not become obsessed by isolated ideas such as the one concerning immovable property. This should rather be seen as part of our total war effort in South West Africa.

†With regard to the hon member for Constantia, I wish to say that I think he made some very good suggestions in the latter part of his speech about ways of disposing of some of the structures in South West Africa. I do, however, want to point out something that the hon member for Soutpansberg said.

*He said we had not negotiated about anything. If we do lease some of our structures to Untag, there will not have been any negotiations whatsoever about how we shall get them back. We are in the process . . . No, not at all, I withdraw that. [Interjections.] Let me say instead that we are in the process of negotiating measures in terms of which they will give us time to bring back those structures which can be brought back.

†We shall dispose of the rest by selling it to people in South West Africa or in the ways suggested by the hon member for Constantia. [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, I said Resolution 435 would be implemented in less than a month, and now the hon the Deputy Minister tells us they are still in the process of negotiation . . .

*An HON MEMBER: He withdrew that.

*Mr T LANGLEY: No, that is not what he withdrew. He said they were still in the process of negotiation. Do they want this to have been concluded by 1 April? That is part of our problem. [Interjections.] What was of concern to us in the whole observation we did, was the haphazard way—that was how it appeared—in which the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Defence Force wanted to get out of the South West African situation. They want to be rid of it. They are like the man who shook the locusts off his chest and when he went to the psychologist, the psychologist told him not to shake them off onto him. That is the situation.

Cuba negotiated through the mediation of the United Nations for compensation for its withdrawal from Angola. What did South Africa negotiate? The hon the Deputy Minister talks about movable property. I did not ask him about movable property, because I accepted as a matter of course that the movable property which belonged to South Africa would be withdrawn and removed from that area in good time.

Now the hon the Deputy Minister says we were constructive, and I know we were. That is why I put this question. That is why I said it was among the best infrastructure parts of Africa. If the South African and the UN troops move out of there, is Swapo going to be able to move in? Can the Cubans move in? That is what we want to know, because that infrastructure of trenches, breastworks, runways, aircraft hangars and all the things the hon member mentioned will re-

main there and still be available to whoever is there. [Time expired.]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, in the first place we should like to know from the hon the Deputy Minister whether this R480 million to which he referred also includes the cost involved in the roads built in South West Africa. With reference to the dismantling he referred to, the dismantling is not what is at issue here. What is at issue, as stated in the Interpellation, is what is being done in this respect with reference to the compensation. Untag is going to rent it and pay for it only for a certain number of months, until they withdraw. What is going to happen to the infrastructure in South West Africa once Untag has withdrawn? Is South Africa going to receive compensation for it or not?

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE: Mr Speaker, it would behove the hon member for Soutpansberg to wake up sometimes and to listen to what is said in this House, because I stated clearly what was going to happen to the structures in South West Africa. The point I made concerning negotiations with Untag was as follows. Gen Chand arrived in South West Africa only last week, but there were constant prior negotiations with Untag and the people who are there already. The hon member can rest assured on that point. We shall know how to deal with the matter.

*Dr F HARTZENBERG: But you have no answers!

*The DEPUTY MINISTER: The Bismarck principle is applicable to the CP here today. When they are driven into a corner internally, as is the case at present, they seek problems abroad. [Interjections.] They are interfering in the process of South West Africa's independence in an improper way. The successes attained there by the South African Defence Force and the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs and his department are creating the best and most favourable circumstances we have ever had for obtaining a negotiated settlement plan for the independence of South West Africa, yet now one is interpellated with a number of senseless questions instead of their displaying a winning spirit.

That is a losing party with a losing policy and a losing spirit. [Interjections.] They are not setting the South West Africans an example by displaying a winning spirit and saying that the pro-democratic parties in South West Africa are

going to win the election. They are not promoting South West Africa's cause in this regard. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs

Bloekombos: visit by SAP members

*1. Mr J J WALSH to ask the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) (i) At what time did members of the South African Police visit the squatter camp known as Bloekombos, in the Kraaifontein municipal area, on the night of 4/5 February 1989 and (ii) when did this visit end, (b) what was the purpose of the visit and (c) how many Police (i) members and (ii) vehicles were involved?

B224E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(a) (i) and (ii) 22h30 until 22h45.

(b) It was a planned action to combat crime.

(c) (i) and (ii) Sufficient police officials and vehicles to complete the action as swiftly and efficiently as possible.

Bloekombos: persons arrested

2. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, during the course of a visit by members of the South African Police to the Bloekombos squatter camp in Kraaifontein on the night of 4/5 February 1989, any persons were arrested or removed for questioning; if so,

(2) whether any charges were laid against any such persons; if so, what charges;

(3) whether teargas was used during this visit; if so, (a) why and (b) on whose instructions;

(4) whether any municipal officials were

given prior notice of this visit; if so, what are the relevant details?

B225E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes.

(2) No, they were only detained for questioning and were released again shortly after their detention.

(3) Yes.

(a) and (b) The officer in charge of the group of police officials used a tear-gas aerosol can to disperse a group of persons who wanted to prevent their withdrawal from the squatter camp.

(4) No.

Mr Stanza Bopape: investigation into disappearance

3. Mr J VANECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 30 August 1988, the South African Police are still investigating the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape from police custody on 12 June 1988; if so, what progress has so far been made with this investigation?

B231E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

Yes. All possible endeavours are being made to trace and re-arrest this person.

Liason officer for church affairs abroad

4. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether his Department has appointed a liaison officer for church affairs abroad; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the purpose of this appointment, (c) who is the person concerned and (d) what are the particulars of this curriculum vitae?

B239E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) 1 January 1988.

(b) To promote a greater understanding and a

7/3/87
**SWA soldier
fires on kids**

WINDHOEK. — A soldier of 202 Battalion opened fire on a group of schoolchildren at Rundu in northern Namibia at the weekend, wounding six, police said yesterday.

The 21-year-old soldier fired at random with an R4 automatic army issue rifle, claiming the children had assaulted him.

A man was arrested in connection with the incident and was expected to appear in court soon, police said. — Sapa

First UN ^{AKW 2/3/89} troops move into Namibia

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The first United Nations troops assigned to what the world body calls the "decolonisation exercise" in Namibia have begun to arrive there, but officials are unable or unwilling to say when the bulk of the 4 500-member force will be in place.

Miss Nadia Younes, a spokesman for the Secretary-General, said it was impossible to offer a precise estimate because officials were still working on many logistical problems connected with the operation.

Mr Marrack Goulding, an Under Secretary-General who is the ranking British member of the Secretariat, is in charge of these matters.

About 30 UN civilian staff are understood to be in the territory, with more due to arrive this week and next — well in advance of the scheduled April 1 start of the military-civilian operation.

"Staff are now getting their marching orders," Miss Younes said.

Contrary to earlier information, she said she did not believe that the South African authorities could veto any nominees for UN duty in Namibia, but she confirmed the UN had to obtain visas for staff.

Purchases

Miss Younes indicated that the question of buying goods in South Africa continued to be a problem. "We have not decided whether to buy or lease mine-resistant vehicles (from South Africa)," she said.

Mr Luis Gomez, the UN financial controller, said a week ago that the vehicles would have to be leased in South Africa "in the first phase" of the operation.

The Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, created a storm when he proposed in January that, to save money, he would have to make some procurements in South Africa. The row forced a delay in obtaining approval for the \$416-million budget and Miss Younes's statement indicated that it was still simmering.

Louis Pienaar goes into Swapo territory

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, who now holds the reins of government in Namibia, has met traditional leaders and other political figures in Owamboland, the heart of Swapo support.

Mr Pienaar was to hold talks with Mr Peter Kalangula, leader of the Christian Democratic Action (CDA) party and chairman of the executive committee of the Administration for Owambos.

The Administrator-General was also scheduled to address a formal sitting of the Owambo Legislative Assembly.

Owamboland, with a population of 700 000 of Namibia's total of 1.3-million, was the focus of the 22-year bush war between South African troops and Swapo.

Mr Kalangula has always been regarded as a key figure in South African strategy to promote internal, moderate Namibian political leaders in opposition to Swapo. A former church minister, Mr Kalangula was at one stage head of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, but resigned after falling out with Mr Dirk Mudge in the early 1980s.

Although Mr Kalangula has had bad relations with the South African military in northern Namibia for some years because of his repeated calls for Pretoria to leave and for the implementation of UN Resolution 435, it is not certain where he now stands politically.

He is known to have been very upset at his treatment by Swapo last year when the organisation withdrew at the last minute an invitation to him to visit them in Lusaka with a group of other Namibian businessmen, farmers and politicians.

The CDA is believed to have significant support among the older middle-class people in Owambo, but particularly among those who owe their jobs in the Owambo Administration to the patronage of Mr Kalangula.

Mr FW de Klerk will meet Mr Pienaar in Windhoek this weekend.

A spokesman for Mr Pienaar's office said Mr de Klerk would meet various Namibian political leaders during a reception to be held at the Administrator-General's official residence, South West House, on Saturday.

It is not known how long Mr de Klerk will stay in Windhoek.

High level talks with Owambo

WINDHOEK — The head of the military component of Untag, Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand, left for talks in the Owambo region yesterday.

General Chand and his staff were to have talks with a senior Owambo leader his aides did not identify.

South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, also flew to Ovamboland yesterday.

He was to meet traditional leaders and other political figures in the area, which is the heartland of Swapo's support.

Mr Pienaar was due to hold talks with Mr Peter Kalangula, leader of the Christian Democratic Action (CDA)

Party and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Administration for Owambos.

The Administrator-General was to address a formal sitting of the Owambo Legislative Assembly at Ongwediva.

Ovamboland was the focus of the bush war between South African troops and Swapo insurgents.

Mr Kalangula has always been regarded as a key figure in South African strategy to promote Namibian political leaders in opposition to Swapo. — The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa.

Exhorting whites ²²¹

LUSAKA — The leader of the South-West Africa People's Organisation claimed yesterday Pretoria was exhorting Namibian whites to oppose independence plans. *Suebin 8/1/89*

Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, said in the Zambian capital of Lusaka whites-only elections held on March 1 by the Namibian branch of the National Party proved white opposition to independence.

Takeover by Untag under consideration

Talks being held on use of SADF assets

Parliamentary Staff

Negotiations were under way between South Africa and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) peacekeeping force in Namibia over the future use of defence equipment and infrastructure installed by the SA Defence Force in the operational area, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr W M Breytenbach, told Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during an interpellation debate on a Conservative Party question on the fate of immovable SADF equipment and infrastructure in the operational area, Mr Breytenbach said negotiations were being held to decide which camps and equipment the UN soldiers would use during the independence process and which movable facilities would be ultimately brought home by the SADF.

It was likely certain facilities and equipment would be let to the Untag force.

The estimated value of immovable defence equipment and

infrastructure was about R480 million, he said. The withdrawal of the South African forces did not mean this sum represented a loss, but rather an investment in the development of a neighbouring country.

It showed the SADF was a "builder" not a "destroyer" in the region.

CP concerned

Mr Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) said his party was concerned at the absence of compensation for South Africa for the loss of the facilities, and also at the risk that the military camps and immovable equipment could be used in future by Swapo or even Cuban troops.

He had the impression the SADF and the Department of Foreign Affairs "just want to be rid of South West Africa".

Mr Roger Hulley (PFP, Constantia) said developments in Namibia "highlight the frighteningly high costs of waging war on foreign soil".

Capital expenditure on de-

fences on home borders was a long-term asset, but money spent on the Namibian/Angolan border "could have been far better spent for peaceful purposes here in South Africa".

He suggested that when the SADF finally withdrew, the Government should privatise facilities on tender ... selling office blocks to commerce, allowing urban camps like Oshakati and Katimo Mulilo to be used for emergency housing and later sold, handing over schools to the Namibian education authorities, and developing rural camps like Omega in the Caprivi Strip for tourism.

Responding to the debate, Mr Breytenbach described Mr Hulley's proposals as "good suggestions", but lashed the CP for raising "silly questions" at a time when "the success of the SADF and the Department of Foreign Affairs has created the most favourable circumstances we have ever had" to have a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

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No ceasefire on the attitudes front

Star 8/3/89

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The campaign by the military to win the hearts and minds of the Namibian people could backfire in Swapo's favour in the independence election in November, according to politicians in the territory. **BRENDAN SEERY** of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

WINDHOEK — "The real war takes place in the minds and thoughts of people by means of aspirations and wishes of the people. This is a war of attitudes, it is a war of influencing the attitudes of the people."

So wrote one of the SWA Territory Force's (SWATF) leading "psychological warfare" experts, Colonel Johan Vorster, three years ago in the SWATF newspaper *Pergamus*.

"That is why", he continued, "a military patrol does not only patrol to find the enemy but also to make contact with the local people. They educate the people in terms of political systems."

For the last decade of the 22-year bush war in northern Namibia between the SADF and Swapo insurgents, the government forces have given a high priority to the battle for the hearts and minds of the people in the war zones. Few independent political observers believe, however, that the military have won many converts.

Since September, with the signing of the Brazzaville accords that paved the way for implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for the territory, the guns have fallen silent. But security forces are apparently still out in the field trying to influence the attitudes of people and "educate" them "in terms of political systems".

Heavy-handed approach

And the men who fought Swapo tooth and nail since the first incursions into Namibia in 1966 might be doing more harm than good to their professed desire to see Swapo defeated at the polls in November, when Namibian voters choose their own government for the first time.

A number of credible reports have been reaching Windhoek over the past few weeks about what appears to be an intensive campaign by military units of the SADF and its Namibian arm, the SWATF, to convince Namibians to vote against Swapo in the November election.

Lending the reports credibility is the fact they have come not only from those radical, anti-apartheid quarters traditionally at odds with the military. One of those most concerned about the military's heavy-handed approach to politicisation is the man often reviled by the Left as a "South African puppet" — Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) leader Dirk Mudge. He stood up in the National Assembly in Windhoek recently to accuse the military authorities of blatantly interfering in Namibia's internal politics by attempting to influence voters' choices for the elections.

The SWATF last month admitted it had been engaged in a "briefing and information" campaign for defence force personnel and civilians about a number of aspects of the Resolution 435 plan. Topics covered, according to the SWATF, included the background to the negotiated settlement, the withdrawal procedures of the Cubans from Angola and the SADF from Namibia, demobilisation of the SWATF and the role of the UN Transition Assistance Group.

'No political aims'

SWATF commander, Major-General Willie Meyer, stressed that it was defence force policy not to get involved in party politics and that it had "no political aims in the information-giving campaign".

However, one middle-of-the-road newspaper in Windhoek wrote about army-distributed pamphlets which said Swapo had been defeated on the battlefield and "now we must defeat them at the ballot box". In a column in *Pergamus*, General Meyer himself wrote disparagingly about Swapo's efforts in the bush war and its promises for the future. Talking about the majority-rule election, the commander wrote to his troops: "You and your family, the residents of South West Africa, will now get the opportunity to show Swapo that they have lost."

Mr Mudge's DTA political colleagues and other moderate opponents of Swapo are known to be particularly disturbed by the military's "psychological action" as, in many places, the heavy-handed approach by soldiers — who are not well-liked — could have the effect of taking away votes from the DTA and its allies and giving them to Swapo.

The SWATF knows it has little time left to get in a last few blows against its enemy, as the Force will begin demobilising from the official start of the peace plan, which is scheduled for April 1. By May 13 the SWATF will have been completely demobilised, and its soldiers will have handed in their weapons and been sent home on full pay.

Colonel Vorster might well watch with interest to see the results of the hearts and minds campaign he and his "psychological action" colleagues worked so hard for. But he will be watching from South Africa, where he was transferred last year after being named as one of six SWATF personnel accused of murdering a Swapo official during a rally in Windhoek in October 1987.

Danger money for Aussie troops in Namibia

The Star's Foreign News Service (22)

MELBOURNE — The 300 Australian troops who will fly to Namibia this week as part of the United Nations force will be their country's best paid servicemen.

Their year's service will net them an extra R12 000 to R18 000, depending on rank and marital status.

Benefits will include increased pay, special allowances, reduced tax, a R3 000 interest-free loan, free mail and seven

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days pre-embarkation leave.

Defence Minister Mr Kim Beazley said the generous pay and conditions had been arranged because Namibia was a dangerous assignment.

"It is possible that fighting could break out and that there could be casualties."

The Australians are engineers who will form part of the UN-Transitional Assistance Group monitoring the ceasefire until elections in November.

● Media representatives from all over the world are streaming

into Windhoek to cover the implementation of the independence plan.

A spokesman for Namibia's Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower, Mr Willie Brisley, said yesterday that 75 applications from foreign correspondents for temporary residence permits had been granted since January.

"We have had applications from all over the globe, including one from Russia, and they are still pouring in," he said.

Peacekeeping force chief sees SWATF

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WINDHOEK — Delegations from the United Nations peacekeeping force in Namibia and the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) met in Windhoek yesterday for detailed discussions about the implementation of the Resolution 435 peace and independence plan.

The head of the military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, led the world body delegation, while SWATF commander Major-General Willie Meyer sat at the head of the local delegation. An official statement said details of the discussions would probably be released at a press conference scheduled for tomorrow.

General Chand has already visited a number of military bases in the north of Namibia, and it has been said that the Untag's 4 650-strong military force will take over many of the existing base facilities.

No decision has apparently yet been made on whether the Untag force will buy or lease some of its vehicle requirements from the SADF.

The world body's top soldiers have already acknowledged they may require at least some mine-protected vehicles of the type of which South Africa is one of the world's leading producers. However, the UN has approved an arms embargo on South Africa, and the fact that Untag may have to either buy or rent some of its requirements from the South African arms industry or the SADF has upset a number of UN member countries.

It is expected that the first UN troops — probably Danish soldiers tasked with arranging movement control for the rest of the force — will begin arriving in Windhoek later this week.

Finns cut Swapo aid

APC Truis 9/3/81 221

HELSINKI. — Finland has cut off financial aid to Swapo to secure a place for Finnish troops in the UN peace force monitoring the transition to independence.

Government officials and members of Swapo here said Finland cancelled a grant of about R240 100 to meet South Africa's demand that participating countries display neutrality toward it.

The government's move could stir up political trouble in a country which traditionally has taken a tough stand against apartheid. — Sapa-AP

Pik: Nujoma 'moves from violence'

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Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, claimed yesterday that Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma had distanced himself from the use of violence.

Mr Botha claimed the commitment was made during a meeting with South African ambassador to West Germany Mr Willem Retief.

In one of the first meetings at an official level between South Africa and the Swapo leader, Mr Nujoma also indicated he had instructed his followers to pursue peace as their objective.

Mr Botha said the meeting had been arranged through the West German government and had taken place on March 3.

It took place in the context of the agreements on the implementation of the settlement plan for Namibian independence and was part of a continuous process of informing all parties of the implications of the plan.

At the meeting Mr Nujoma distanced himself from the use of violence and indicated that Swapo was prepared to work with all the people of Namibia to build a peaceful and



Mr Pik Botha

stable country free from fear and intimidation.

"He indicated that he had instructed his followers that they must pursue peace as their objective and accept that Swapo had a responsibility to eliminate division and work towards the creation of a peaceful society," Mr Botha said.

The foreign minister said he hoped the meeting would contribute to the peaceful transition to independence.

Nujoma embraces peace 221

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced yesterday that Swapo leader Sam Nujoma had distanced himself from the use of violence in a meeting with the SA Ambassador to West Germany, Willem Retief.

In one of the first meetings at an official level between SA and the Swapo leader, Nujoma also indicated he had instructed his followers to pursue peace as their objective.

Botha said the meeting had been arranged through the West German government on March 3. In the context of agreements on the implementation of the settlement plan for Namibian independence, and was part of a continuous process of informing all parties of the implications of the plan. At the meeting, Nujoma distanced



● NUJOMA

MIKE ROBERTSON

himself from the use of violence and indicated that Swapo was prepared to work with all the people of Namibia to build a peaceful and stable country free from fear and intimidation.

Botha said he hoped the meeting would contribute to the peaceful transition to independence.

Retief will shortly assume duty in Windhoek, in charge of SA interests in Namibia during transition.

□ Sapa-AP reports that Finland has cut off financial aid — a 400 000 mark grant — to Swapo rebels in Namibia to secure a place for Finnish troops in the UN peace force monitoring the transition to independence, officials said yesterday.

SA last month vetoed the participation of Sweden and Denmark in the 4 560-man force because of their continued support for guerrillas who fought the SA-backed government.

● Comment: Page 6

Cuba 'violating war-zone pact', Congress told

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Cuba is violating the Geneva Protocol by continuing to field its troops against Unita in a zone from which it had agreed to withdraw.

The ranking Republican member of the House of Representatives' Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on Africa, Mr Dan Burton, claimed during congressional hearings on US foreign aid for Africa that he had collected evidence of Cuba's violation of the Geneva agreement, which was a vital prelude to the Brazzaville peace accord, while on a recent visit to Unita's headquarters at Jamba, in southern Angola.

Mr Burton said he had videotaped the evidence of two MPLA soldiers who were captured on February 4 and who said they had been supported in battle by a company of Cuban soldiers.

● In Gaborone, the heads of the frontline states expressed a fear that South Africa would wield an undue influence over the independence election in Namibia, reports Argus Africa News Service.

After a one-day summit in the Botswana capital, the frontline presidents condemned what they said was an anti-Swapo campaign being waged by the South African security forces.

They condemned the "registration of non-Namibians by the South African forces", with the aim of "tipping the scales of the election".

PEACE PLEDGE

Also taking part were the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and Mr Thomas Mlambo of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

Mr Nujoma, had "distanced" himself from violence and pledged to work for a peaceful and stable Namibia, said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that the distancing of Swapo from violence as well as the direct approach initiated by Mr Nujoma was being seen by the government as a signal that Swapo wanted close relations with South Africa.

The pledge was given to South Africa's ambassador to West Germany, Mr W Retief, who is to head the South African office in Namibia during the transitional period.

The meeting between the two men in Germany was held at the request of Mr Nujoma.

Mr Botha said the meeting between Mr Nujoma and Mr Retief on March 3 "took place in the context of the agreements on the implementation of the settlement plan for the independence of SWA/Namibia and formed part of the continual process of informing all parties of the implications of the settlement plan prior to implementation...



Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma (left) and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo arriving at yesterday's meeting of the Frontline states to discuss Namibian independence.

Fears of undue SA influence over election

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Fears that South Africa would wield undue influence over Namibia's independence election were expressed yesterday by leaders of the Frontline states.

In a communique issued after their one-day summit in the Botswana capital, the Frontline presidents condemned what they said was an anti-Swapo campaign being waged by the South African security forces.

They condemned what they described as the "registration of non-Namibians by the South African forces" with the aim of "tipping the scales of the election".

Genuine peace

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, chairman of the Frontline group, said they were banking on South Africa realising the election must be free and fair, as this was the only way genuine peace would come to Namibia.

The communique characterised apartheid as the root cause of the problems of southern Africa and condemned what it said were South Africa's policies of deliberate destabilisation in the region.

The summit was also attended by Presidents Quett Masire of Botswana, Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania. Angola was represented by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Afonso van Dunem.

Also participating were the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma; the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo; and Mr Thomas Mlambo of the Pan Africanist Congress.

At a news conference after the sum-

order a question to Mr Nujoma about when he planned to return to Namibia from his long exile.

In answer to another question, Mr Nujoma claimed the South African army had been rounding up people in villages, distributing sugar and foodstuffs, and urging them to vote for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

Mr Nujoma referred to reports that white right-wingers in Namibia had threatened to take up arms (he cited an alleged statement by Mr Kosie Pretorius of the SWA National Party) and said: "We have not heard any repudiation by the South African Government concerning extreme right-wing Afrikaners making such threats."

Asked about Walvis Bay, he said the independence of Namibia came first. He added that Walvis Bay had never been and would never be part of South Africa.

The summit communique claimed South Africa was preparing to execute political prisoners. It called for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.

No mention was made of allegations by Swapo opponents that large numbers of Namibians were being held in detention by Swapo and that Swapo intended to execute them.

Appeal made

The United States was requested to cease its support for Unita, the Angolan rebel movement.

The international community was urged to support the restoration of the cuts made by the Security Council in the United Nations peacekeeping force for Namibia (Untag), if it should become necessary to bring the force back to its full strength.

In a statement before the summit

Swapo leader pledges a peaceful Namibia

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma had distanced himself from violence and pledged to work for a peaceful and stable Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

The direct approach initiated by Mr Nujoma is being seen by the Government as highly significant and a signal from Swapo that it would want close relations with South Africa if the organisation wins the elections in Namibia.

The pledge was given to South Africa's ambassador to West Germany, Mr W Retief, who is to head the South African office in Namibia during the independence transition period.

The meeting between the two men in Germany was held at the request of Mr Nujoma and authorised by the South African Government.

Mr Botha said that Mr Nujoma had "indicated he had instructed his fol-

lowers that they must pursue peace as their objective, and accept that Swapo had a responsibility to eliminate division and work towards the creation of a peaceful society".

Mr Botha hoped the meeting would contribute to the creation of conditions "which will facilitate the peaceful transition to independence in the territory".

He also said the meeting between Mr Nujoma and Mr Retief on March 3 "took place in the context of the agreements on the implementation of the settlement plan for the independence of SWA/Namibia, and formed part of the continuous process of informing all parties of the implications of the settlement plan.

"Mr Retief intimated that he was meeting Mr Nujoma on the assumption that Swapo had abandoned violence as a means of achieving political goals."

● See Page 5.

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R2,5-m for repatriation

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Canada is to provide the equivalent of R2,5 million to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the repatriation of about 58 000 Namibian exiles in Angola and Zambia.

A spokesman for the Canadian High Commission here said the funds would be used to provide transport for the refugees returning home.

"This operation will facilitate the speedy repatriation of Namibians in time for the UN-supervised pre-independence elections," the spokesman said.

The funds will also be used to supply the returning refugees with domestic utensils, tents, agricultural tools and seeds. The Namibian Council of Churches will help with the distribution.

plementation of the independence of Namibia was a test for the whole of southern Africa.

● Finland had cut off financial aid to Swapo rebels in Namibia to secure a place for Finnish troops in the UN peace force monitoring the transition to independence, officials said.

Members of Swapo confirmed that Finland had cancelled a grant of R2,4 million to meet South Africa's demand that participating countries display neutrality.

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Space snag for UN peace force

WINDHOEK — The UN peace operation in Namibia has run into a major logistics problem — it cannot find sufficient accommodation for its civilian officials.

Senior UN official Abdou Ciss told a Press conference in Windhoek yesterday: "We are experiencing difficulty in finding accommodation, particularly in Windhoek. Six hundred staff will eventually be stationed there and there are simply not enough rooms."

The head of the UN military force, Gen Prem Chand, said the first airlift of equipment, accompanied by a small contingent of peace-keepers, would arrive in the territory today.

Meanwhile, Swapo is seeking to allay the fears of whites in the territory who,

facing the prospect of a socialist black government, are leaving in increasing numbers.

Swapo central committee member Dan Tjongarero said in an interview: "Reconciliation is going to be our first priority. Our biggest challenge is going to be to create a trust to such a level we don't have a large number of people fleeing to SA or elsewhere.

"The people of Namibia have been subject to anti-Swapo propaganda for years. They have been told that we are going to kill their children, rape their daughters and take their homes. We are going to have to convince them

otherwise.

"We must convince them that there is nothing to fear and much to hope for," he said.

Tjongarero added: "We are aware of a lot of people leaving Namibia, but none that we will deeply miss at this stage."

Swapo has moderated its broadly Marxist stance and is actively trying to persuade white investors and businessmen to remain.

"We are for a mixed economy. We have ruled out wholesale nationalisation without adequate compensation," Tjongarero said. — Reuter.

UN to monitor Swapo bases in southern Angola

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General Prem Chand at his press conference in Windhoek yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has received an assurance from the commanding officer of the United Nations supervisory forces in Namibia, General Prem Chand, that Untag is responsible for monitoring of Swapo bases in southern Angola.

In a statement, Mr Botha confirmed, on inquiry, that he had contacted General Chand after a report broadcast yesterday morning had claimed that General Chand had said it was not the UN peacekeeping force's responsibility to monitor Swapo bases.

General Chand, meanwhile, said a firm schedule for the build-up of Untag (United Nations transitional assistance group) personnel in Namibia could not be provided in view of the complexity of deploying more than 5 000 UN military and civilian personnel in the country.

He said, though, that the mili-

tary component of Untag had carried out an extensive reconnaissance of Namibia last week.

His staff were working on a plan for monitoring the withdrawal of the SADF and the demobilisation of Namibian military units.

National servicemen of the SWA Territory Force are to be demobilised on April 30 to comply with the requirements of Namibian independence.

The officer commanding the SWATF, Major-General Willie Meyer, said yesterday that servicemen would be paid a lump sum as partial compensation for their earnings in the remainder of this year.

SA troops have to withdraw from Namibia within 12 weeks of implementation of the settlement plan. A residual force of 1 500 men will be confined to bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo. They have to leave upon certification of the election results in the first week of November.

General Chand said the advance parties of the Kenyan battalion were already in Namibia. Advance parties of the Finnish and Malaysian battalions and of the Australian and British logistical units were due to arrive today. The battalions from Kenya, Malaysia and Finland will be stationed in Windhoek, north-western Namibia and north-eastern Namibia respectively.

Military service

Gen Chand said the UN director of the elections unit and the legal official had been in the country for the past 10 days and would be returning to New York soon to report to the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Compulsory military service in Namibia will be suspended in the transitional period before independence, General Meyer said yesterday.

"It is clear that in terms of the spirit and intention of the negotiated settlement plan, national service cannot be legally enforced during the transitional period," he said in a statement.

The administrator-general had been asked accordingly to determine in terms of the Defence Act that national service periods set down for members of the SWATF after April this year were to end on April 30.

General Meyer said SWATF members who wanted to do so could complete their military courses at institutions of the SA Defence Force. — Sapa



TOUGH TOMMY: Lieutenant Philippa Owens will be in charge of the advance party of the British Untag contingent which arrives in SWA/Namibia tomorrow.

The British are coming back — led by a woman

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — British troops will be back in SWA/Namibia tomorrow for the first time since World War 1 — and they will be commanded by a woman.

Lieutenant Philippa Owens, 26, of the Women's Royal Army Corps, will be in charge of an advance party of 70 men from 30 Signals Regiment, who will form part of the United Nations Untag force supervising the territory's transition to independence.

The party leaves RAF Brize Norton, in Oxfordshire, today for Windhoek in a US Air Force Galaxy transport plane. The remainder of the 162-strong British group will fly out early next month.

The British contingent will provide communications for the UN force throughout SWA/Namibia, and a satellite rear link to Britain.



It will be bringing sophisticated radio equipment, specially reinforced Land Rovers and generators to supply power in isolated places.

SANDHURST GRADUATE

Lieutenant Owens, from Taunton, Somerset, studied at Durham University, where she obtained a B Sc (Hons) in natural science, and also graduated from Sand-

hurst Military Academy. She has served with the British Army of the Rhine in West Germany.

But she has many interests other than the army, which she has made her career. She has worked in Norway, travelled around Australia, Singapore and Malaysia, and has led an exploration party to the Yukon Glaciers in Canada. She is also a mountain expedition leader.

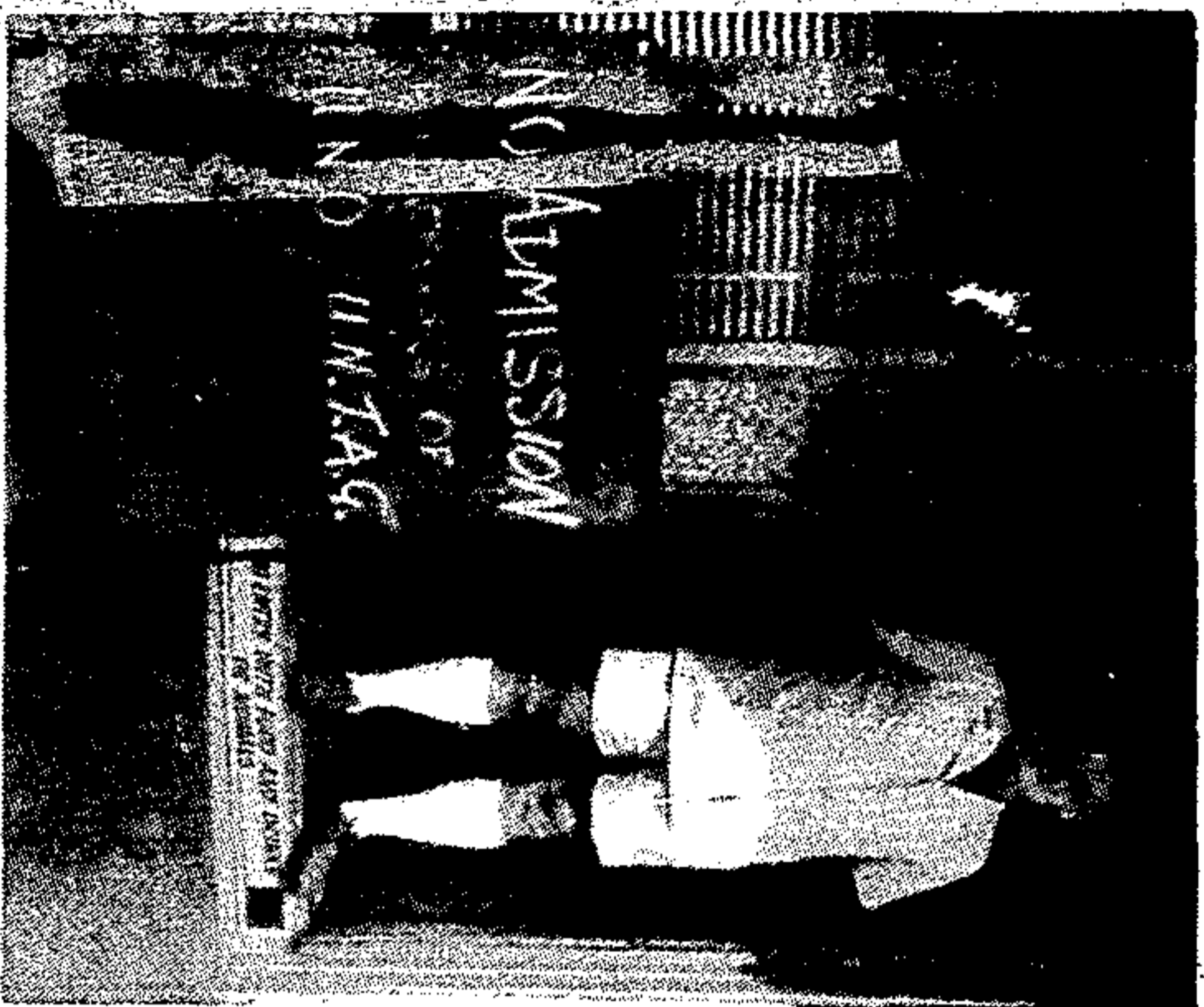
Her hobbies include rowing, skiing and hockey.

● Amid a blaze of publicity the advance guard of Australia's Untag contingent for Namibia flew out of Richmond Air Base in Melbourne on Wednesday.

In a United States Air Force Galaxy transport were 38 engineers who will set up the headquarters for Untag.

This is the 11th Australian contingent to join a UN force since 1947 when 17 Australians went to Indonesia and one to the Balkans to oversee peace agreements.

Two Australians have died while serving with UN forces. A police officer was killed by a land mine in Cyprus and an army captain was also killed by a land mine in Lebanon.



UNTAG REFUSED ENTRY: National Party member Mr Jan van den Berg has put up a notice outside his Windhoek restaurant barring United Nations personnel because he is opposed to the implementation of resolution 435.

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'Firm but fair': Untag's man in charge

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IT took nine years before Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand could assume on the ground his position as commander of the United Nations forces in Namibia.

But, as a man used to the obstacles faced by all UN peace-keeping operations, General Chand was certainly fully aware of the political difficulties that others still had to resolve before he could assume the position to which he was appointed in January 1980.

PROFILE

Although a peace agreement was then far from being accepted, in that year General Chand travelled to Namibia for talks on the creation of a demilitarised zone between Namibia and Angola, which was regarded as an essential part of the negotiations then going on.

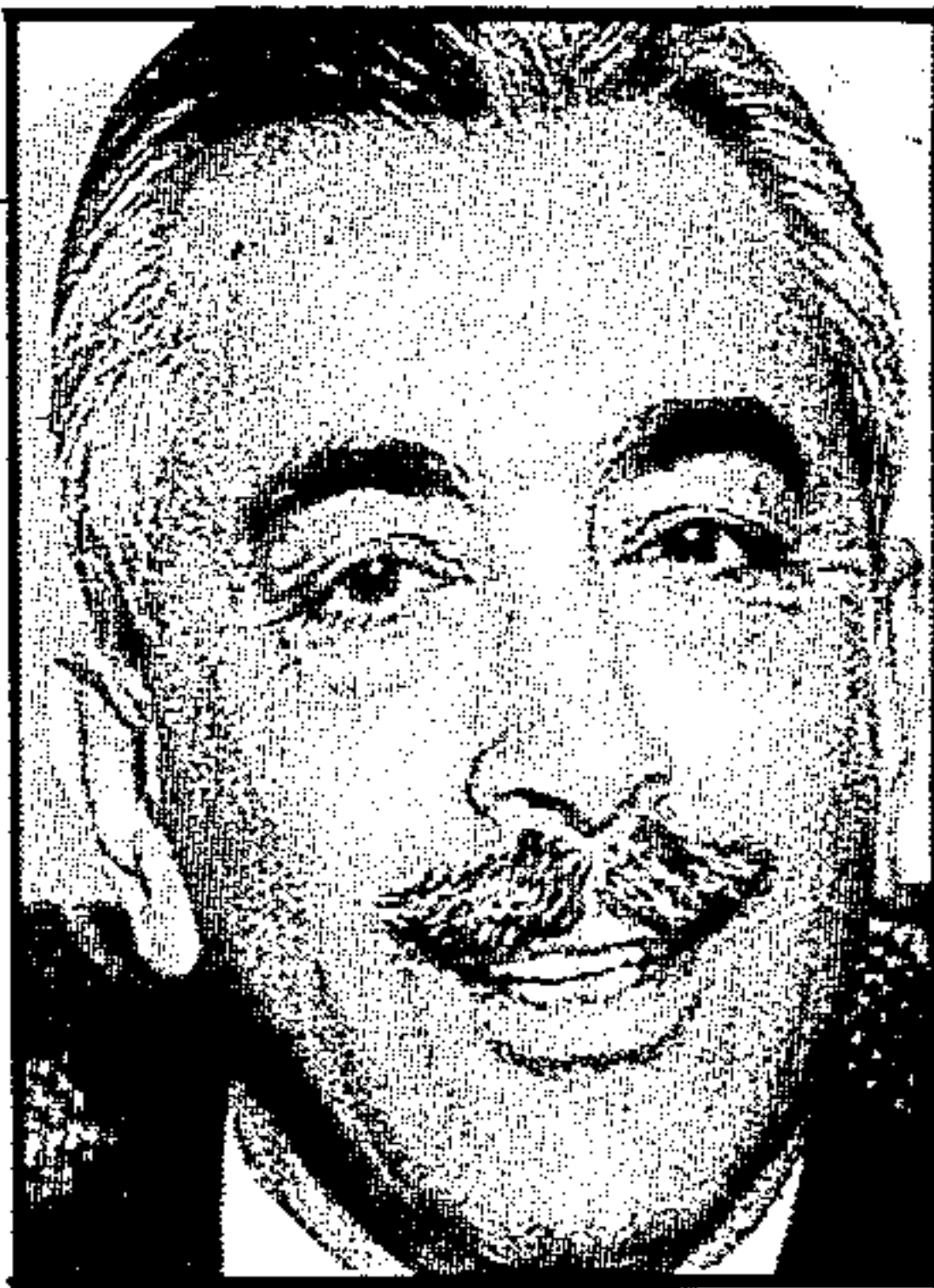
General Chand, fit and trim-figured despite being 73, is a handsome man who dresses immaculately and speaks precisely. He is a stranger neither to Africa nor to the United Nations and has been asked several times to come out of retirement to work for the UN.

While still with the Indian Army, he commanded the UN peace force in the then Belgian Congo, during the bloody clashes there in 1962 and 1963. The UN troops under his command in the Katanga area (now Shaba province) helped restore peace after a secessionist rebellion.

He retired from the Indian Army in 1967 but was asked to come out of retirement in 1969 to command the UN troops sent to Cyprus, where he had to cope with the 1974 Turkish invasion and its aftermath, a task for which the lightly armed 4 000 troops he led were never intended.

After he retired from there at his own request in 1976, the then Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim, described General Chand's work in Cyprus as "a near miracle".

One year later General Chand was appointed United Nations special representative for Rhodesia as part of a UN settlement plan that was never



General Prem Chand, left, will be the man in the middle during Namibia's transitional period to independence. As commander of the 4 650 soldiers of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag), General Chand will have to ensure that there are no violations of the independence agreements and that the transitional period will be peaceful. Once known in the Congo as "the umbrella man", General Chand has had long military experience in India and throughout the world. JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

implemented. Although his appointment never had any practical effect, General Chand managed to meet several African leaders as part of the diplomatic efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Rhodesian war.

□□□□

According to former army colleagues, he has a particularly good understanding and appreciation of the potential and operational capacity of the UN peace-keeping forces.

"He knows what they can and cannot do," one former colleague was quoted as saying.

Possessing great charm, he has been described as both looking and being exactly the sort of Indian general that Sandhurst would have turned out, if only he had actually been to Sandhurst.

He was in fact trained at the Indian Army's Staff College at Quetta.

General Chand is also described by those who know him as a man of scrupulous fairness and integrity. He is said to be a popular commander and a man who carries out orders firmly and compassionately.

While in the Congo he was nicknamed "the umbrella man" because the United Nations force stationed

there was known as the "UN umbrella" force, but in Windhoek some local journalists have started calling him "Salvador", saying that he resembles the late Spanish painter, Salvador Dali.

□□□□

General Chand was born in 1916 of Hindu parents and did his military training at Lahore and Quetta.

He served on the North-West Frontier and in Malaya during the closing stages of World War 2.

He has served with the First Gurkha Rifles and was given command of the regiment's regimental centre at Dharamsala, and later held appointments as deputy director of military training, director of selection of personnel, director of personnel services and director of military intelligence.

In 1959 General Prem Chand was appointed Brigadier General of staff at the headquarters of the Western Command at Simla, and was promoted to Chief-of-Staff in 1961 with the rank of major-general.

He was later appointed Chief-of-Staff at the headquarters of the Eastern Command in Calcutta. He was then posted at the Ministry of Defence as director general of the National Cadets Corps, from where he retired.

Frontline States to monitor independence

THE Frontline States will send a delegation to monitor Namibia's progress to independence, says the group's chairman, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

President Kaunda said at the end of the one-day Frontline summit in Gaborone that the Frontline States were "going to make sure that the elections in Namibia are free and fair".

NAMIBIA

Fears that South Africa would wield an undue influence over the independence election in Namibia were expressed by the Frontline presidents in

Argus Africa News Service reports from Gaborone

a communique issued after the summit. They condemned what they said was an anti-Swapo campaign being waged by the South African security forces.

They condemned what they described as the "registration of non-Namibians by the South African forces," with the aim of "tipping the scales of the election".

President Kaunda said the group was banking on South Africa realising that the election had to be free and

fair as this was the only way genuine peace would come to Namibia.

The communique said apartheid was the root cause of the problems of Southern Africa and condemned what it said were South Africa's policies of deliberate destabilisation in the region.

In addition to Dr Kaunda, the summit was attended by Presidents Quett Masire of Botswana, Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania. Angola was represented by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Afonso van Dunem, in the absence of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Untag bill will top R1-bn

SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

UNITED NATIONS — In a subtle shift of emphasis, the United Nations has decided to designate the military-civilian operation in Namibia in the territory's transition to independence a "decolonisation exercise", rather than a peace-keeping one.

A summary of current yearly costs for all peace-keeping activities by the world body shows that the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), due to be in place on April 1 and already gearing up, will be more expensive than all other comparable operations combined. The net cost, approved by the General Assembly after a bitter argument about how and where the money would be spent, is \$406,6 million (R1,01 billion). This represents substantially more than 50 percent of all UN peace-keeping costs for the year, and is equal to about half the regular UN budget for all activities other than peace-keeping.

Costs for the UN force in Lebanon are paltry by comparison, according to the UN financial summary for only \$140,6 million (R351 million).

Least costly operation

The least costly such operation is one of the long-lived — the UN military observer group in India and Pakistan — which has been on duty since a violent row over Kashmir first erupted decades ago. Its expenses for a year are \$3,9 million (R9,7 million). The newest peace-keeping activity, the Iran-Iraq military observer group is budgeted at \$94,7 million (R236 million). Other UN peace-keeping operations are in the Golan Heights, other parts of the Middle East, Cyprus, Afghanistan and Pakistan and Angola. The mission sent in to verify the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, which was part of the Namibian settlement, will cost the United Nations \$9 million (R22 million) for the year, the report said.

An asterisk was placed alongside the Untag item, with this footnote following: "Untag is more properly characterised as a decolonisation exercise rather than a peace-keeping operation." Virtually all the peace-keeping accounts are heavily in deficit. Perhaps the UN authorities felt they might keep Untag out of the red by renaming it. Saturday Star's Africa News Service reports from Windhoek that two senior UN legal advisers attached to the Untag arrived there yesterday to study racially discriminatory legislation which should be scrapped in terms of the Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for the country. The two experts paid a courtesy call on South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis

Namibian

exercise is most costly of its kind

Plenaar. Mr Plenaar sparked some controversy there earlier in the week when he told local and international journalists that he did not believe that all discriminatory legislation would have to be repealed to comply with Resolution 435.

Mr Plenaar said he and his legal experts were identifying those pieces of legislation, such as security laws, which they believed were discriminatory in such a way they would prevent the holding of free and fair elections under the UN plan.

Meanwhile, a senior UN official has said that most of the civilian and military members of Untag will be on Namibian soil by the end of this month, in time for the start of the implementation of the peace and independence plan on April 1.

Mr Anouar Sharif of Tunisia, who will act as the Untag media spokesman during the 12-month transition period to Namibian independence, said most of the world body's personnel would be flying into the country.

Danish troops

It is expected that the first soldiers of the 4 650-member Untag military component will fly into Windhoek early next week. They will be Danish troops who will be responsible for arranging movement control and transport schedules for the rest of the troops.

The commander of the UN troops, Lieutenant-General Dewan Pram Chand, arrived here last Sunday and has spent the past few days visiting SADF bases in northern Namibia — the focal point of the 22-year bush war between South Africa and Swapo insurgents.

General Chand is expected back in Windhoek over this weekend to hold talks with his local counterpart, SWA Territory Force commander Major-General Willie Meyer.

© See Page 8.

Star 10/3/89

(22)

UN group to hold talks on Swapo bases

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A United Nations delegation will fly to Luanda next week to discuss with the Angolan government preparations for the monitoring of Swapo bases in their country by peacekeeping troops of the world body.

The commander of the military component of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), Major-General Dewan Prem Chand, told a press conference in Windhoek yesterday that the monitoring of Swapo bases was one of his force's tasks during the implementation of the Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia.

General Chand said Mr Murrack Goulding, of the UN's section dealing with peacekeeping operations, would head the UN delegation to Angola.

General Chand said he was not aware of South African accusations that there were still some Swapo bases inside the 16th parallel in Angola — a violation of the Brazzaville accords and agreements which paved the way finally for the implementation of the UN plan.

HOPE FOR WITHDRAWAL

He hoped the armed Swapo personnel in these camps would be withdrawn north of the 16th parallel before the start of the implementation phase on April 1, or soon thereafter.

Asked about whether he was concerned that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels might attack the UN peacekeepers, as they have threatened to do, General Chand said: "I do not like to anticipate events."

It was revealed at the press conference that the airlift of UN troops and equipment was scheduled to begin today and that advance parties of the Kenyan, Finnish and Malaysian infantry battalions of Untag would be among the first arrivals.

The head of administration for Untag, Mr Abdou Ciss of Senegal, said most of the troops would be "self-sufficient" in supplies when they arrived, bringing with them rations for a certain number of weeks. Mr Ciss would not comment on where the bulk of other supplies needed by the group would be bought, but did not exclude the possibility that fuels would have to be bought from South African sources.

Demobilisation plan announced

WINDHOEK — National servicemen of the SWA Territory Force will be demobilised on April 30 to comply with the requirements of UN Security Council Resolution 435 concerning Namibian independence.

The settlement plan comes into operation on April 1.

According to an announcement in Windhoek yesterday by the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, servicemen will be paid a lump sum as partial compensation for their earnings for the remainder of this year.

UN Resolution 435 specifies that troops of the South African Defence Force have to withdraw from Namibia within 12 weeks of implementation of the settlement plan.

A residual force of 1 500 men will be confined to bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo. They have to leave upon certification of the election results in the first week of November.

POSTINGS RECEIVED

The SWATF consists of black and white Namibians who have to be demobilised from the army in order to participate in election campaigns due to begin on July 1 and end on October 31.

It is understood that many senior permanent force members of the SWATF have received postings in South Africa.

"The shortening of the service period may leave servicemen unable to meet their financial commitments because they were relying on their anticipated army pay," General Meyer said.

"To solve this dilemma, a one-off payment will be made to national servicemen as partial compensation for the remaining period of the transitional phase (eight months) to afford members the opportunity to settle their personal affairs."

General Meyer said SWATF members who wanted to do so could complete their military courses at institutions of the SA Defence Force.

Others who had completed courses could join units of the SADF if there were vacancies available. — Sapa.

Officials on the hunt for places to stay

WINDHOEK — Accommodation for United Nations personnel has been a major headache since the members of the peacekeeping force started arriving in Windhoek.

The chief administration officer of the UN, Mr Abdou Ciss, told a news conference yesterday that housing was a real problem for the 40 UN administrative officials.

Another group of about the same number is expected to start arriving today with advance groups of military personnel. — Sapa.

CHANGING CAPITALS

WINDHOEK

w/c News 11/3/89

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'Troopies' take a break from the monotony of waiting for the big convoys rolling south and enjoy a draught beer in one of the Windhoek pubs. Just over two years ago, a foaming tankard of the beer cost just over R1,20. Now, lovers of 'das echte Sudwester bier' must fork out more than double.

by BRENDAN SEERY, Weekend Argus Africa News Service

JUST over two years ago, a foaming tankard of the best Windhoek draught beer would have cost you just over R1,20 at the pubs in the city's Kalahari Sands hotel. Now, lovers of 'das echte Sudwester bier' must fork out more than double — R2,50.

Plain, three-bedroomed houses, which three years ago would have been rented for about R600 a month, are now fetching R1 800 and more — if you can get them. Getting on to a scheduled SAA flight into or out of Windhoek becomes a major achievement in itself.

Even in a cosmopolitan city like Windhoek, where there could be people of a dozen nationalities taking morning coffee at Schneider's or the Central Cafe, the influx and presence of foreigners has become noticeable. Pale European pinks mingle with the ebionies of Africa, and strange accents fill the air over the sidewalks of Kaiser Street.

WITH less than three weeks to go before the official start of the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan on April 1, independence is now a palpable reality, after more than a decade of disappointments and false starts. Even the most cynical and sceptical residents must now concede that Pretoria is surrendering its hold on the territory it has ruled for many years in defiance of world opinion.

Some, however, are hoping the whole nightmare will go away. Staunch National Party of South West Africa supporter and local restaurateur, Jan van den Berg, has erected a sign outside his Apollo Restaurant which says "No admission for UNO/Untag". Not that members of

Untag, the UN's Transition Assistance Group of soldiers and civilians which will oversee the ceasefire, one-man, one-vote elections and transition to independence, would probably want to visit Mr van den Berg's eatery.

The crusty businessman, whose bar is festooned with signs saying "Weg met 435" (away with 435), has gained notoriety by his stubborn and well-publicised segregation and refusal to serve non-whites on his premises.

Around people like Mr van den Berg, the winds of change have already started blowing. The Verwoerd Park, alongside Kaiser Street in the city centre, has been renamed Zoo Park. J G Strijdom airport has been renamed Windhoek Airport just in time to avoid embarrassment as the UN troops and officials start flying in. Not yet finalised, though, is the future of the current system of separate ethnic administrations, which effectively enables whites to hang on to their segregated schools, social and health services.

SOUTH African Administrator-General Louis Pienaar has indicated already that he does not believe the system will have to go. Political observers, however, feel the UN — through the Secretary-General's Special Representative Mr Martii Ahtisaari — will adopt a different view. The UN plan specifically says that all discriminatory legislation must be scrapped from April 1.

Meanwhile, for the "troopies" on duty at a newly-erected army checkpoint on the outskirts of Windhoek, there are the dulcet tones of Bles Bridges to help ease the monotony of waiting for the big convoys rolling south. And, of course, for them, the watchword is "why worry, be happy".



PEACE-KEEPERS . . . A group of Finnish UN peace-keeping soldiers arrived at Windhoek airport yesterday. The airlifting of UN forces into Namibia started yesterday with the arrival of a flight from Frankfurt bringing a group of Finnish and Danish military officers into the country.

Picture: REUTERS

CMV TINKS 11/3/89 221

Namibia: Finns and Danes arrive

WINDHOEK. — Advance military contingents of Finnish and Danish officers arrived here yesterday to join the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) in Namibia to prepare for the monitoring of the UN settlement plan due to begin on April 1.

A group of Malaysian administrative personnel and small numbers of Yugoslavs, Canadians, Spaniards and Italians were also on board the scheduled South African Airways flight from Frankfurt.

Seventy members of a British army signals unit flew to Namibia yesterday to provide communications for Untag forces. The advance party from the 30th Signal Regiment is led by Lieutenant Philippa Owens, 26, of the Women's Royal Army Corps.

A UN military consultant, Major John Hutchings, said 35 Australian engineers bound for Windhoek from Sydney on a United States Air Force Lockheed Galaxy C5 transport aircraft had been delayed at

Nairobi. They were expected to arrive here late yesterday.

Major Hutchings said the aircraft from Australia was the first of three flights organised by the US as its contribution to the start of the UN effort.

A second US Air Force Galaxy with a 70-strong signalling corps from the United Kingdom would fly in today, while a second group of Australian engineers would land at Grootfontein tomorrow.

The flight from Sydney expected here late yesterday also has on board 70 tons of equipment, including eight vehicles.

The main contingents of the UN peace-keeping force would be arriving by ship at Walvis Bay within the next few weeks to bring the UN forces to their full strength of 4 650 men.

The head of the Finnish group, Colonel Hanno Paronen, said he was looking forward to the mission ahead.

He said he had no objection to using equipment supplied by the South African

Defence Force.

Finland, Malaysia and Kenya each supply a battalion to the UN operation in Namibia.

The Finns will be stationed in Caprivi in north-eastern Namibia, the Malaysians in the north-west and the Kenyans around Windhoek.

The spokesman for the Danish group, Major J Koevfoed, said small Danish groups would be stationed around Walvis Bay, Keetmanshoop and Grootfontein.

Denmark would also supply administrative personnel to be based in Windhoek.

Meanwhile, Finland is to lift economic sanctions against Namibia, the leader of a Finnish trade mission, Mr Olli Noramaa, said here.

The trade mission arrived here on February 24.

The mission ended yesterday after which delegates will return to Finland to convey their findings to the Finnish government. — Sapa-AP

Star 11/3/89 221

Baster leader warns of UDI within Namibia

SHAUN JOHNSON

KAPTEIN "Hans" Diergaardt, leader of the Basters of Namibia's Rehoboth region, has given Mr Chris Heunis a dramatic warning: "Abolish the Rehoboth authority and Resolution 435 will become *Revolution 435*."

The rest of Namibia could have its independence, said Diergaardt, but he wanted his own independent republic.

If not, his people would launch a resistance campaign with all the means at their disposal.

Namibia's "second-tier" ethnic leaders had been summoned to Cape Town recently by the Government to discuss the implications of independence. It was less of a discussion than a lecture.

Stripped of its niceties, Mr Heunis' message was that with independence the tribal representatives would lose their jobs, and there wasn't a damn thing they could do about it. There could be no guarantees for those who had long served Pretoria's local, racial government structures.

The ethnic emissaries acknowledged the inevitable. All except Kaptein Diergaardt.

Johannes "Hans" Diergaardt's threat was not an idea prompted solely by the sudden spectre of a Swapo government.

Ever since his ancestors, a 300-strong northern Cape "coloured" clan, settled in Rehoboth in 1870, they have fought against a variety of "occupiers".

Over the decades there were battles with Namas, Germans and South Africans, as the tiny nation sought to preserve its "separate identity".

"With a history like that, we're not about to submit to Owambos now," Diergaardt said this week. "We've fought against the South



Kaptein 'Hans' Diergaardt

Africans for 53 years... and we're not prepared to be taken over by Marxists now.

"There'll be a revolution."

Can the Basters act upon their threats?

Diergaardt holds sway over a landlocked, featureless tract of middle-Namibia, home to — he estimates — some 65 000 people.

The "capital" is to be found between Kalksrand and Windhoek near Wortel on the interminable road that stretches, vein-like, from South Africa in the south to Angola in the north.

Demographically, then, Diergaardt's domain is hardly a key area. But to deny all significance is to ignore history.

When the Basters — the product of liaison between blacks and whites in the Cape Colony — trekked to Rehoboth from the northern Cape in the late 19th Century in search of land, their leader Kaptein ("chief") Hermanus van Wyk bought permission to settle from Nama chieftain Abraham Swartbooi.

The price, not inconsiderable at the time, was eight horses up front and more, plus wagons every year until freehold rights were eventually acquired.

Within a few years Baster history was characterised by (unselective) co-operation with those who were useful — while they were useful — followed by the unceremonious dumping of erstwhile allies as conditions changed.

The demand for independence was persistent: the younger Diergaardt travelled to Pretoria with a Baster delegation in 1969 to petition Prime Minister B J Vorster. By 1976, the South African government conceded some ground, passing the Rehoboth Self-Government Act, which allowed for a measure of self-rule. It remains in force to this day.

Hans Diergaardt came to power soon after — 1979 and the Rehoboth administration therefore formalised its "different" status within Namibia and, in order to bolster its claims at various times, has co-operated with the Pretoria and participated in Windhoek's interim government structures.

Diergaardt was, until very recently, a Cabinet Minister.

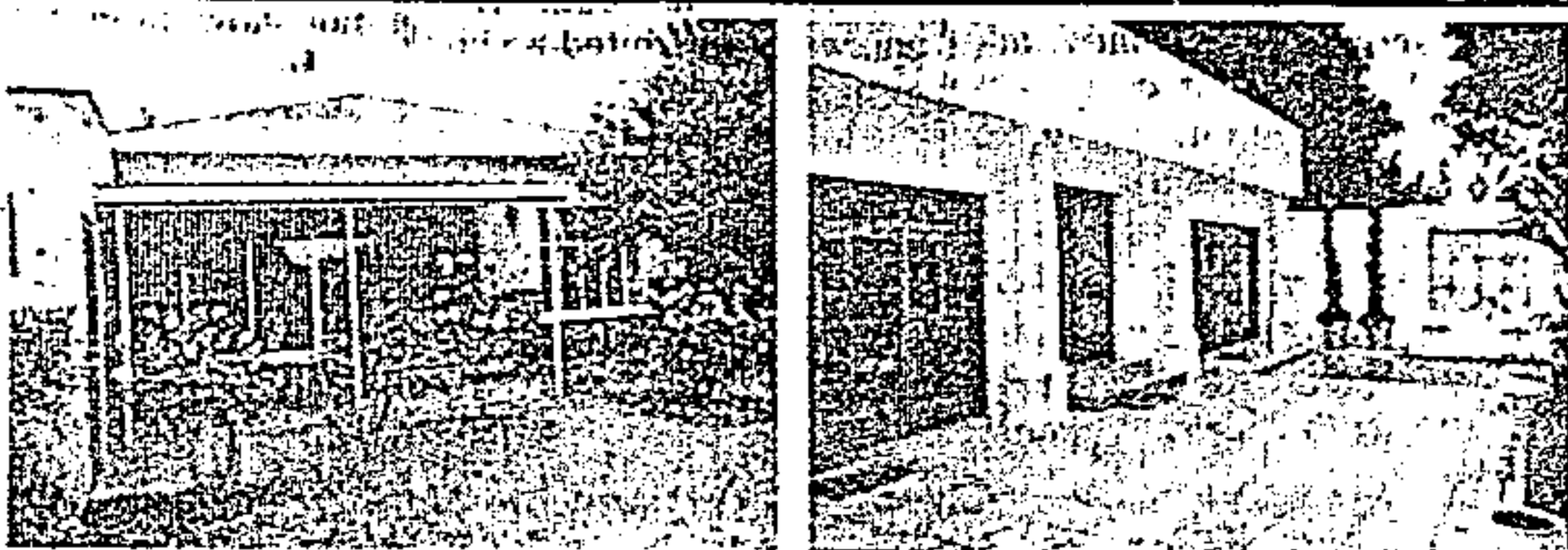
This was not necessarily inconsistent: Diergaardt is a profoundly conservative man, fiercely "anti-Marxist" and stressing the "Christian basis" of his territory. Swapo is his bete-noire, and the old "any-enemy-of-theirs-is-a-friend-of-mine" adage is powerfully applied.

The 62-year-old farmer-leader has no time for the Namibian "liberation struggle", and it is unlikely he could be sufficiently placated by Swapo to cease being a maker of trouble for them.

How much trouble that will amount to remains an open question. Diergaardt claims he enjoys the support of 95 percent of Basters — which would translate into some 30 000 voters, or around 5 percent of eligible Namibians — but there is no way of testing this before November 1. The depth of their commitment to his fierce xenophobia has likewise not been established.

Swapo, understandably, believes it has bigger issues than Rehoboth on its mind.

For his part, Diergaardt has set about establishing the "Second National Convention" as an electoral coalition front with the aim of securing, along with "like-minded" groups (for which read "anti-Swapo"), 34 percent of the vote.



BEFORE AND AFTER: The Norwood home that was upgraded.

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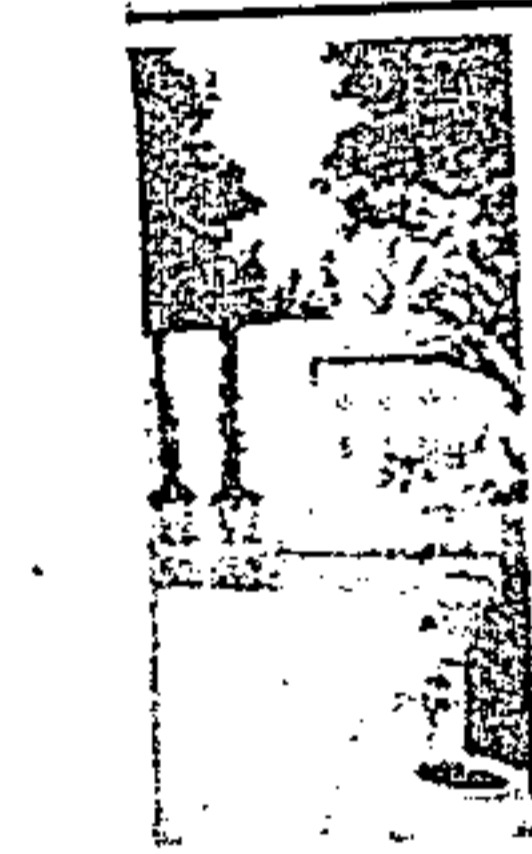
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For his part, Diergaardt has set about establishing the "Second National Convention" as an electoral coalition front with the aim of securing, along with "like-minded" groups (for which read "anti-Swapo"), 34 percent of the vote.

That is Rehoboth's "option one". If it fails, says Diergaardt, "we will resist". Then "option two" comes into play.

"The UN has asked the Administrator-General for the historical details of Rehoboth," says Diergaardt, "and we are hopeful they will recognise our claims."

His planners are believed to have worked out a scheme whereby Rehoboth would try to purchase a strip of farmland snaking out to the west of the territory, thereby hoping to create a 280 km Baster corridor to the South African-held port of Walvis Bay.

The scheme, like the grander one of independence, is fanciful. The coming months will reveal whether Diergaardt's passions are more properly the subject of Namibian mirth, or melancholy.

• This article first appeared in The Weekly Mail yesterday.

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Nujoma VOWS to obey treaties

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma has promised South African officials that his guerrilla forces will comply with international agreements on their deployment.

He gave the undertaking at a Lusaka meeting this week with Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at which unnamed SA officials were present, according to a senior SA source.

Mr Nujoma assured the meeting that Swapo would comply with a United Nations-sponsored agreement that Swapo forces would be north of the 16th parallel in Angola by April 1, the official starting date of Namibia's UN-supervised independence process.

This follows a meeting on March 3 between Mr Nujoma and the SA Ambassador to West Germany at which Mr Nujoma bound himself to a cessation of hostilities with SA.

The developments have led to hopes that a formal cease-fire pact could be signed with Swapo before April 1.

On Friday, the first of 4 650 UN troops arrived in Windhoek to begin their peace-keeping role in three weeks' time.

U.S. flies in UN men

THE first of three groups of Untag personnel expected to be flown into Namibia by the United States Air Force arrived yesterday.

Thirty-one Australian engineers and 70 tons of equipment were aboard the giant G-5 Galaxy transporter originally expected in the country on Friday.

Another group of Australian engineers is expected today in Windhoek.

SA Times 12/5/89

SA Times 12/5/89

REPE

Windhoek agog as first UN troops arrive

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Heads turned on Windhoek's Kaiser Street today as workers hurrying to their offices encountered a blue-beretted group of UN peacekeeping soldiers striding out purposefully.

The soldiers — officers from the Finnish Army who will command one of the infantry battalions of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) — were on their way to confer with other commanders who are billeted at the Kalahari Sands Hotel.

Welcome

Windhoek has been agog since Friday, when the first UN troops arrived in Namibia to help oversee the peace and independence plan.

A newspaper cartoonist greeted the peacekeepers with the siren: "Welcome to my world," while Windhoekers

waved warmly on Saturday as a convoy of British army Land-Rovers, painted in the white-and-blue of the UN, wound its way through the city.

Scores more spectators thronged Windhoek Airport — renamed from J G Strijdom — to see the arrival on Saturday of a 300-ton C-5A Galaxy of the US Air Force Military Airlift Command, which brought in 36 Australian soldiers and 70 tons of equipment. The Aussies were wearing their standard-issue camouflage fatigues and carried American-made M16 and Nato-issue 7.62mm automatic rifles.

Journalists were surprised by the no-nonsense approach of the US flyers, who came complete with their own Press and public relations unit.

The Galaxy, based in Travis, California, flew first to Australia and then to Kenya, where it refuelled. At Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta Airport the plane was delayed by technical prob-

lems. These were later rectified when an aircraft from England flew in spare parts.

A second Galaxy, painted in the camouflage drab greens and browns of the Military Airlift Command, arrived yesterday with 70 British signallers and tons of equipment, including Land-Rovers.

Two circuits were flown before the final landing approach.

Large wheel base

The pilot of one of the planes explained that a thorough look at the Windhoek runway was necessary because the Galaxy would have only about a metre clearance on either side when it landed, because of the width of its wheel base.

Dr Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has told Britons that, on balance, he thinks there is a good chance for "decent and fair elections" in Namibia, reports The Argus Foreign Service in London.

"There is going to be a great deal of effort made to assure that they are," he said yesterday during a BBC radio programme.

"I think that of all the transitions from a colonial situation to independence in Africa since World War 2 this will be an election which is one of the most heavily monitored by a variety of international observers and, of course, with the key role of the UN Secretariat and Untag.

"So I have confidence in the intentions and the effort and the abilities of the UN personnel that we have had contact with, and I'm certain that's their goal as well."

But not everyone shares Dr Crocker's optimism, listeners were told. The elections were still viewed by some with grave mistrust and there were reservations about whether they could possibly be free and fair.

RIGHT: Overawed children surround Senior Airman Smith after his American C-5 Galaxy aircraft arrived in Windhoek with members of the Untag forces. The Untag exercise is the biggest military-civilian operation in UN history.

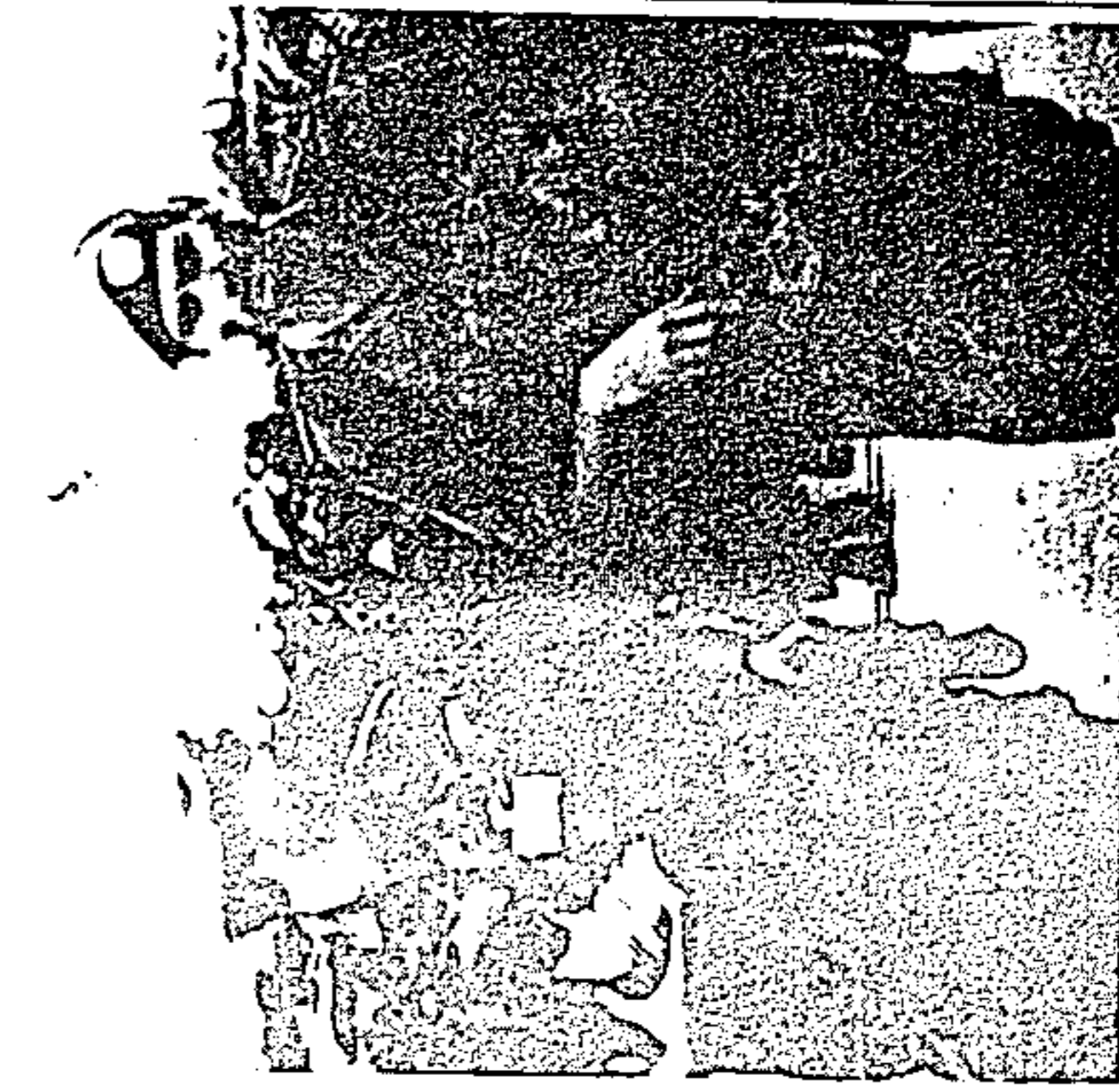


BELOW LEFT: British soldiers unload some of the 70 tons of equipment after their arrival in Windhoek aboard the American Galaxy.

BELOW RIGHT: Part of the first group of Australian forces for Untag. They were also aboard the Galaxy.



the Brits... and the Aussies!



By WILLEM van de PUTTE

Sports Reporter

THE chairman of the Western Province Pedal-Power Association, Mr Lawrence Whitaker, has described The Argus/M-Net Cycle Tour on Saturday as a "great day".

"But we are looking at making it better," he said.

"I believe the new finish was a big success. There were a few bottlenecks, but those can be ironed out. We'll be looking at how to improve the carnival atmosphere afterwards as well.

"We'll probably raise the limit of competitors a little but will have to put a ceiling on it. On the whole, though, we were delighted."

Cape Town's assistant traffic organisers did their homework.

manager, Mr Jan Minnie, said traffic control was "satisfactory".

Cars parked in Camps Bay side streets near the finish caused problems.

"I must thank the Camps Bay residents for their excellent co-operation," said Mr Minnie. "We sent out notices early in the week asking them not to block traffic by parking in the side streets."

But near the finish spectators "did their own thing" and parked where they could find space.

The cyclists were generally well behaved and the marshals and officials had done their jobs efficiently.

"We are satisfied that the organisers did their homework."

Argus/M-Net Cycle Tour hailed as a 'great day'

More Untag forces heading for Namibia

^{13/3/89}
WINDHOEK — More than 70 British troops, who will form the communications backbone of the UN peace-keeping force in Namibia, were expected to arrive in Windhoek late yesterday.

The were en route from Nairobi aboard a US C5 Galaxy — the largest aircraft in the West. (221) (335)

The first group of armed Untag troops — 36 Australian members of the engineering construction squadron — landed in Windhoek on Saturday.

Meanwhile NP leader F W de Klerk said at the weekend developments in Namibia were of extreme importance in an overall economic and development strategy for southern Africa.

De Klerk, on a brief private visit to Windhoek, also said in as much as government was involved in the implementation of Resolution 435, it would strictly adhere to the agreed international framework. — Sapa.



General Prem Chand

Mr F W de Klerk

CHE Times 13/3/89

Clashes feared as Untag moves in

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The first group of United Nations troops to supervise the withdrawal of South African soldiers from Namibia and free elections in November arrived in the territory on Saturday.

Last night an advance party of 70 British servicemen flew into Windhoek to establish radio communications for the 4 500-man force which will build up to full strength over the next fortnight.

The British unit, drawn from 30 Signal Regiment, landed amid fears that the UN's largest-ever peace-keeping force may become embroiled in bloody clashes, as did UN troops in the Belgian Congo in 1960.

Observers fear the UN could be caught between retreating South Africans and Swapo guerillas in the run-up to the elections.

The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) will be commanded by General Prem Chan, former commander of UN troops in Cyprus, and will rely primarily upon infantry battalions from Finland, Malaysia and Kenya to control the disputed area along the Angolan border.

Pretoria's estimated 15 000 troops on Namibia's northern border with Angola will begin a staged withdrawal on April 1, while the South West African Territory Force — trained, equipped and controlled by the South Africans — will be disarmed by the UN and confined to barracks until the November elections.

Namibia: Vision of regional ties — FW

WINDHOEK. — Present developments in Namibia leading ultimately to the country's independence were of extreme importance in an overall economic and development strategy for the countries of Southern Africa, the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, said here at the weekend.

Mr De Klerk is on a brief private visit here at the invitation of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, who is hosting a dinner to be attended by business and community leaders.

He said on Saturday that he would present a vision to guests of what could happen in Southern Africa if the new state of Namibia, "South Africa and all the neighbouring countries from the west coast to the east coast stand together and fully explore their economic potential".

South Africa had much to offer in know-how which was particularly suited to African conditions to help "this part of the world to a position where it will play its full role and attain its full potential". He said the government would strictly adhere to the framework regarding UN Resolution 435. Sapa

Crocker hopeful of 'free and fair' Namibian election

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, has told Britons that, on balance, he thinks there is a good chance for "decent and fair elections" in Namibia.

"There is going to be a great deal of effort made to assure that they are," he said yesterday during a BBC radio programme on the territory's coming independence.

Think of all the transitions from colonial situation to independence in Africa since World War 2, this will be an election which is one of the most heavily monitored by a variety of international observers and of course with the key role of the UN Secretary-General and Utag," he said.

But not everyone shared Dr Crocker's optimism. Listeners were told. The elections were still viewed by some with grave distrust, and there were reservations among leaders in the territory about whether they could possibly be free and fair.

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The first British troops arrive at their tented camp on the outskirts of Windhoek yesterday. They will be deployed as communications technicians for the United Nations peacekeeping force throughout the territory while monitoring the implementation of UN Resolution 435 from the beginning of April.

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Southern African states should stand together, says De Klerk

WINDHOEK — Present developments in Namibia leading ultimately to the country's independence were of extreme importance in an overall economic and development strategy for southern Africa, leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk said last night.

Giant G-5 Galaxy flies in Utag personnel

WINDHOEK — Three groups of Utag personnel arrived in Namibia yesterday aboard a US Air Force aircraft. Thirty-one Australian engineers and 70 t of equipment were transported aboard the giant G-5 Galaxy, originally expected to arrive on Saturday.

A senior crew member, Lieutenant-Colonel J A Hinchley, confirmed that technical problems had caused a delay in Nairobi. The party was met at the airport by the most senior Australian officer in the country, Colonel Richard Warren; the Australian ambassador in South Africa, Mr Alistair McDonald; and Utag (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) personnel. Another group of engineers, also from Australia, and 70 British signalers arrived yesterday. Scores of media representatives and members of the public watched the massive aircraft, claimed to be the largest one operational in the West, touch down. — Sapa.

the neighbouring countries from the west coast to the east coast stood together and fully explored their economic potential. He said South Africa had much to offer in know-how. Mr de Klerk said that in as much as the South African Government was involved in the implementation of UN Resolution 435 it would strictly adhere to the agreed international framework.

"However, the decision is in the hands of the inhabitants of this country themselves. I will implore them to make use of the opportunity which the international world is giving Namibia."

In reply to a question, Mr de Klerk said the implementation of UN Resolution 435 did not close the borders for anyone from South Africa, including Cabinet Ministers, who came to Namibia with good intentions.

But South African Ministers "will have to be careful not even to give the impression — because it is never our intention to do so — to be interfering in the free process that is taking place here". — Sapa.

From the in the area

territory about whether they could possibly be free and fair.

of UN Resolution 435 non-military

Windhoek agog at arrival of UN troops

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By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Heads turned on Windhoek's Tier Street this morning as workers hurrying to their offices encountered a blue-bereted group of UN soldiers striding out purposefully.

The soldiers — officers from the Finnish Army who will command one of the infantry battalions of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag) — were apparently on their way to confer with other commanders of the peacekeeping force, who are currently billeted at the Kalahari Sands Hotel.

Windhoek has been agog since Friday, when

the first UN troops arrived in Namibia to help oversee the world body's Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for the country.

A local newspaper cartoonist greeted the peacekeepers with the serenade: "Welcome to my world", while Windhoekers waved warmly on Saturday as a convoy of British Army Land Rovers, painted in the white and blue colours of the UN, wound its way through the city.

NO NONSENSE

Scores more spectators thronged the Windhoek Airport — renamed from the former JG Strijdom — to see the arrival on

Saturday of a 300-ton C5A Galaxy of the US Air Force Military Airlift Command, which brought in 36 Australian soldiers and 70 tons of equipment.

The Aussies were carrying American-made M16 and Nato-issue 7,62 mm automatic rifles.

Local journalists were surprised by the no-nonsense approach of the US fliers, who came complete with a press and public relations unit.

The Galaxy, which is based in Travis, California, flew first to Australia, and then on to Kenya, where it re-fuelled.

On the ground at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta airport, the huge aircraft was delayed by technical problems. These were

later rectified when an aircraft from England flew in spare parts.

GRAND SHOW

A second Galaxy, painted in the camouflage drab greens and browns of the Military Airlift Command, arrived yesterday, bringing in 70 British signallers and tons of equipments.

The arrival of both the airborne behemoths provided a grand spectacle, as standard operating procedure when approaching strange airfields is to fly two circuits before the final approach.

The pilot of one of the planes explained a thorough look at the Wind-

hoek runway was necessary because the Galaxy would have only about a metre of clearance on either side when it landed, because of the large width of its wheel base.

Scrambling around looking for angles, local journalists found that the commander of the Danish troops who will organise the movement control for the Untag operations, was a Major Jems Koevoed, whose name is pronounced similarly to that of Koevoet ("crowbar" in Afrikaans). SWA Police's controversial counter-insurgency unit.

When the similarity was pointed out to Major Koevoed, he laughed. His name means "the cow's foot".

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Cuba to hold talks with Unita rebels on POWs

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From JOAO SANTA RITA, Argus Africa News Service JAMBA (Angola). — Cuba and the Angolan rebel group Unita are to hold talks in the Ivory Coast soon, the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has said.

At a Press conference held at his headquarters in south-eastern Angola, Dr Savimbi said that last month an invitation was sent to Unita to hold talks with Cuba about the question of prisoners of war held by Unita.

"But there are a few other things we want to find out from the Cubans," he said. The rebel leader said Cuba had accepted an undertaking by Unita that the rebels would not attack Cuban troops moving out of Angola.

"We have asked them to supply us with their movements but they have not done so. This could result in unnecessary clashes," he said.

Peace proposals

Dr Savimbi also disclosed that last month three African heads of state had invited him to go to Kinshasa to discuss an "Africa solution" to the Angolan problem. Two members of the Angolan government were also in Kinshasa meeting the three heads of state.

He did not give details of the proposals but said he had not gone to Kinshasa because they were unacceptable. Furthermore, he said, he could not

have gone to Kinshasa because there would not have been direct talks with the MPLA.

He said he had asked the three African leaders "to improve their proposals".

At Jamba, rumours of a rift in the Unita leadership, particularly between a younger generation and Dr Savimbi, were dismissed by rebel leaders.

Reports said that some younger officers were regarding Dr Savimbi as a stumbling block to peace because of his refusal to step down to allow for negotiations as demanded by the MPLA.

● Dr Savimbi has issued an ultimatum to the Namibian nationalist movement Swapo: Give us a guarantee that you won't be hostile to us or we will be forced to attack you.

At the Press conference, Dr Savimbi said he was disturbed by reports that Swapo was carrying out anti-Unita propaganda at rallies held in Namibia.

He said he could not accept the existence of a hostile government in Namibia. "I would be a total fool if I accepted hostile forces in my back," he said.

● Dr Savimbi said he was willing to stay out of power for two years if a government of national unity was formed in Angola.

He also announced that he was ready to allow the reopening of the Benguela railway line without any pre-conditions.

Geldenhuis in surprise visit to Windhoek

AK645 14/3/87

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Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, paid a surprise visit to Windhoek today to meet the commander of the United Nations peacekeeping force in Namibia, General Dewan Prem Chand.

General Geldenhuis was met by General Chand and the Chief of Staff of the UN force, Brigadier Daniel Opande of Kenya.

There was no indication what the generals talked about during a working breakfast at General Chand's hotel, but it was thought they spoke about the South African withdrawal and accommodation of the UN troops.

Under terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia, implementation officially begins on April 1 with the arrival of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.



The military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will then be responsible for overseeing the South African withdrawal and the transition to independence, which includes majority-rule elections in November.

Advance parties, totaling about 200 personnel, have arrived in Windhoek to prepare for the rest of the UN troops.

General Geldenhuis

Since his arrival in Namibia last month General Chand has visited the north of the country and held discussions with senior officers of the SWA Territory Force.

The general, a veteran of UN peacekeeping operations in the Congo and Cyprus, said he had been warmly received by the commander of the SWATF, Major-General Willie Meyer, and that he and his staff had had full co-operation.

● The first Namibian refugees and exiles will begin returning to the country in the middle of May, says a senior official of Untag.

Untag's head of administration, Mr Abdou Ciss of Senegal, said the refugees would return over a six-week period before the registration of voters for the election.

It is officially estimated that there are 58 000 Namibians in Angola, Zambia and Botswana. Apart from just over 4 500 in Botswana and Zambia, the rest are in Angola, many in Swapo camps.

Pienaar calls for five-day poll in Namibia

WINDHOEK — Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar wants the territory's UN-supervised elections to be held over five days.

In an interview yesterday Pienaar said Namibian authorities were conducting an investigation into the possible repeal of security legislation which could affect the poll, including a law banning the ANC.

He said the election rules had been determined largely by a 1978 UN document and UN Secretariat comments.

However, poll details would be dis-

PETER DELMAR

cussed with UN special representative on Namibia Maarti Ahtisaari, who is expected to arrive here on April 1.

Pienaar, who is SA appointed, said he would propose that the election be held from October 31 to November 4.

He said he wanted party politics — the display of posters and party insignia — outlawed within 500m of polling booths and would propose no party workers be allowed inside voting stations.

In terms of the 1978 proposal, the elec-

tion would be fought on a proportional representation basis, as opposed to the Westminster system.

On his controversial proposal that the minimum voting age be 21 years instead of 18, Pienaar said this was suggested in the 1978 proposals which stipulated that all adult Namibians be allowed to vote.

In terms of SA law, an adult was someone 21 years or older.

He said he would not insist on a 21-

● To Page 2

Pienaar calls for five-day Namibian poll

year age limit and it would be discussed with Ahtisaari.

A compromise could be reached on this issue as well as the question of residence qualifications. Pienaar has proposed one year instead of the originally envisaged four years.

Pienaar said discriminatory legislation *per se* did not have to be abolished, only those laws which would interfere with democratic election. These included laws which hampered freedom of

association, speech and movement.

He said political parties would be allowed to receive foreign funding.

An Act which prohibited certain "affected" organisations was being investigated, he said.

If this was scrapped, groups such as the ANC, which are banned in Namibia, could re-establish there and, conceivably, take part in the elections.

● From Page 1

AG wants Namibian poll over 5 days

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — Namibian Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar says he wants the UN-supervised elections scheduled for later this year to be held over a five-day period.

Mr Pienaar said in an interview yesterday that Namibian authorities were busy with an in-depth investigation into the possible repeal of security legislation which could affect the poll including a law which bans the ANC from the territory.

He said the election rules had largely been determined by a 1978 UN document and comments made by the UN Secretariat.

However, various poll details would be further discussed with the UN special representative on Namibia, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, who is expected to arrive here on April 1.

The SA-appointed AG said he would propose that the election be held from October 31 to November 4.

Election

He said he also wanted party politics — the display of posters and party insignia — outlawed within 500m of polling booths and would propose that no party workers be allowed inside voting stations — a practice not used in SA.

In terms of the 1978 proposal, the election will be fought on a proportional representation basis, as opposed to the Westminster system of "first past the post".

Laws which would interfere with democratic election would be abolished. These included laws which hamper freedom of association, speech and movement, he said.

Various Western governments had already shown an interest in setting up diplomatic observer posts in Namibia he said. These included West Germany, Britain, France, Finland and possibly Australia.

The next large challenge facing his administration, he said, was to establish the administrative machinery to take over from the ethnically defined second-tier authorities.

Swapo 'to seize Walvis Bay'

LUSAKA — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday vowed to seize control of Walvis Bay, the territory's only major port, from South Africa.

Pretoria has said it will retain control of Walvis Bay after the territory becomes independent. — Sapa-Reuter

Swapo vows to seize Walvis Bay

LUSAKA *14/3/87* Swapo vowed yesterday to seize control of Walvis Bay, Namibia's only major port, from South Africa.

"Swapo will liberate each and every inch of Namibia, including Walvis Bay," Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma told a news conference in Lusaka. *(221)*

Pretoria has said it will retain control of Walvis Bay after the territory becomes independent under the terms of a US-brokered accord between Angola, Cuba and South Africa. — Reuter.

The Umbrella Man

IT took nine years before Lieutenant General Dewan Prem Chand could finally assume on the ground his position as commander of the United Nations forces in Namibia.

But, as a man used to the obstacles faced by all UN peace-keeping operations, General Chand was certainly fully aware of the political difficulties that others still had to resolve before he could assume the position for which he was appointed in January 1980.

Although a peace agreement was then very far from being accepted, in that year General Chand travelled to Namibia for talks on the creation of a demilitarised zone between Namibia and Angola, which was regarded as an essential part of the negotiations then going on.

General Chand, fit and trim-figured despite being 73, is a handsome man who dresses and speaks immaculately. He is neither a stranger to Africa nor to the United Nations and has been asked several times to come out of retirement to work for the UN.

While still with the Indian Army he commanded the UN peace-force in the then Belgian Congo during the bloody clashes there in 1962 and 1963. The UN troops under his command in the Katanga area (now Shaba Province) helped restore peace after a secessionist rebellion.

He retired from the



Indian Army in 1967 but was asked to come out of retirement in 1969 to command the UN troops sent to Cyprus, where he had to cope with the 1974 Turkish invasion and its aftermath, a task for which the lightly armed 4000 troops he led was never intended.

After he retired from there at his own request in 1976 the then Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim, described General Chand's work in Cyprus as "a near miracle".

One year later General Chand was appointed United Nations Special Representative for Rhodesia as part of a UN settlement plan that was never implemented. Although his appointment never had any practical effect, General Chand managed to meet several African leaders as part of the diplomatic efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Rhodesian war.

According to former army colleagues, he has a

Prem Chand: An officer and a gentleman

GENERAL Prem Chand will be the man in the middle during Namibia's transitional period to independence. As commander of the 4650 soldiers of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, General Chand will have to ensure that there are no violations of the independence agreements and that the transitional period will be peaceful. Once known in the Congo as "The Umbrella Man", General Chand has had a vast military experience in India and throughout the world. JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

particularly good understanding and appreciation of the potential and operational capacity of the UN peace-keeping forces.

"He knows what they can and cannot do," one former colleague was quoted as saying.

Possessing great charm, he has been described as both looking and being exactly the sort of Indian general that Sandhurst would have turned out, if only he had actually been to Sandhurst.

He was in fact trained

at the Indian Army's staff college at Quetta.

General Chand is also described by those who knew him as being a man of scrupulous fairness and integrity. He was said to have been a popular commander and a man who carried out orders firmly and compassionately.

While in the Congo he was nicknamed "The Umbrella Man" because the United Nations force stationed there was known as the "UN umbrella" force but in Windhoek some local journalists have started calling him "Salvador", saying that he resembles the late Spanish painter Salvador Dali.

In 1959 General Prem Chand was appointed Brigadier General Staff at the headquarters of the Western Command at Simla and was promoted to Chief-of-Staff in 1961 with the rank of major-general.

He was later appointed as Chief-of-Staff at the headquarters of the Eastern Command in Calcutta. He was then posted at the Ministry of Defence as director general of the National Cadets Corp from where he retired.

Namibia's hour of need

By JOHN RYAN, Argus Africa News Service

is crucial South Africa adopts a positive attitude by offering its assistance to the independent territory.

David Willers, the foundation's London correspondent and a former Foreign Affairs official, says the principal danger now would be a "sudden headlong dash" through the Namibian election process and "an equally precipitous withdrawal" by South Africa, leaving the territory ill-prepared for self-rule.

"One viewpoint," he says, "is that the South Africans cannot wait to get out and that if the Namibian administration and finances fall into chaos as a result of a sudden withdrawal... then Pretoria can always say 'I told you so'."

"Any realistic appraisal suggests this is nonsense, however. Pretoria would have nothing to gain by such an action and everything to lose."

"Instead, Willers says, the Government should sign an Nkomati-type accord with the new Government in Namibia, similar to the one it negotiated in Mozambique.

"This will allow for a 'business as usual' approach and a phased reduction of subsidies to Windhoek with the shortfalls being made up by the Western countries."

Suspicion

If South Africa helps a post-independence Namibia come to terms with the past and achieve internal reconciliation in the future, Willers adds, "much of the suspicions about Pretoria's true regional designs that still linger in certain (Southern African) countries will, it is hoped, be laid to rest."

Sean Cleary, the managing director of Strategic Concepts, who once was based in Windhoek for the

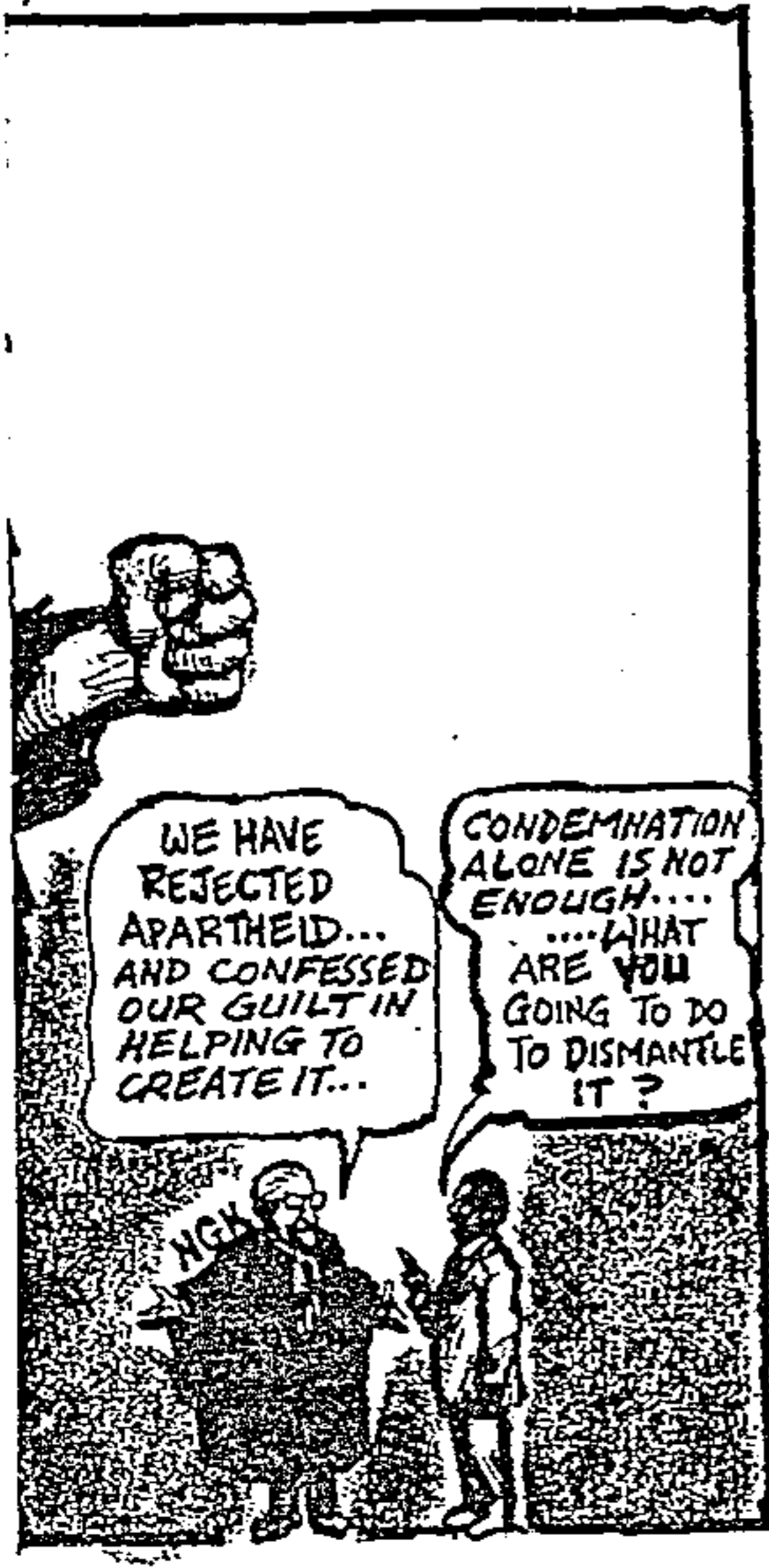
Department of Foreign Affairs, says national reconciliation in both Angola and Namibia should be the goal of all parties involved in the present peace process in South-Western Africa.

"A settlement that leads to national reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia and Angola," he writes, "will enhance South Africa's regional and international standing."

"It will protect the Government against criticism from the Right wing about having 'sold out the whites' in South West Africa, create new opportunities for economic co-operation in Southern Africa, and, in consolidating the political middle ground, point the way to negotiated accommodation in South Africa itself."

Cleary says there is a tendency in the media to hail the settlement of the Namibian dispute through negotiation as a "self-evident good" — as an end in itself.

This is a dangerous proposition, he maintains, not only because it underestimates the pitfalls facing South Africa both in the region and domestically but also "because it takes no account of the divergent streams of policy in the ranks of the (South African) political leadership, the contradictions that have in the past prevented the emergence and maintenance of a coherent policy towards the territory".



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Soviets will not fu

Star 14/3/89

Swapo in poll run-up

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LONDON — Soviet officials said yesterday that Moscow will not give financial support to Swapo in the run-up to the election in Namibia later this year, and that it has not yet decided whether to send observers to monitor the elections.

Moscow's apparent indifference towards its former ally indicates that it may be seeking stability and peace in Africa, rather than trying to establish hard-line Marxist governments.

Soviet officials took part in a conference held in England last week to discuss the future of southern Africa. The meeting was also attended by Dr Chester Crocker, the retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, as well as senior British, African and South African officials.

● The first Namibian refugees and exiles will begin returning to the country in the middle of May, says a senior official of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

Mr Abdou Ciss of Senegal, head of administration for Untag, said the refugees would return over a six-week period before the start of the process of registration of voters for the majority-rule election scheduled for November.

Under the terms of UN Resolution 435, the majority of South African troops will have left the country by mid-May and the process of demobilisation for the SWA Territory Force will have been completed. — The Independent News Service-The Star's Africa News Service.

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Billet shortage looms for Untag force

WINDHOEK — The first 500 UN military and civilian personnel have just arrived in Namibia, but already an acute accommodation problem looms.

The civilian operation head, Senegalese Abdu Ciss, said yesterday his staff were working seven days a week almost round the clock seeking vehicles, equipment and local workers.

"But our biggest problem at this moment is accommodation," Ciss said in an interview yesterday.

The civilian side of Untag — the UN force which will oversee Namibia's transition to independence — is made

PETER DELMAR

up of about 100 people.

There are almost 400 military personnel already in the territory.

The total Untag force is expected to number about 4 600.

The military element, led by General Dewan Prem Chand, has its headquarters at the plush Kalahari Sands Hotel. Ciss's officials operate from a small complex of offices formerly occupied by insurance company staff.

Ciss said he hoped to recruit about 800 local staff and that interpreters were badly needed.

He said finding suitable vehicles was difficult. Among the UN's requirements were four-wheel-drive vehicles.

Ciss also has to find accommodation in about 50 centres around Namibia where Untag personnel will be officially deployed from April 1.

Government sources said the Windhoek Teachers' Training College would be an ideal headquarters for the Untag operation.

Ciss and Prem Chand held discussions with SWA Territory Force officials at The Bastion defence headquarters yesterday.

Their content was not disclosed.

'Capacity pressures on base metals must ease'

Relly forecasts shocks in financial markets

B/Day 15/3/89

LONDON — It was clear growth would have to slow during the next year to ease capacity pressures in base metal markets. The cooling in business activity did not need to be severe, but it would be accompanied by further shocks in financial markets which might intensify investor interest in gold, Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Relly said yesterday.

Addressing the IMM Metals 2000 conference in London, Relly said the changes in the mining industry's fortune over the past two decades had been dramatic. The early 1970s saw the end of the "golden years".

He said at the time it was easy to attribute slower growth and higher inflation largely to the impact of higher energy prices. More expansionary poli-

cies would restore growth. This response had brought a cyclical upswing in the late 1970s. It also brought intolerable inflation and another recession.

Against this background the business environment for the base metal mining industry deteriorated sharply. Faced with over-capacity, surplus stocks and low prices, producers had had to shorten their time horizons and concentrate on survival.

The experience of precious metals producers was very different and it was here the mining industry concentrated its exploration and development expenditure. Now the wheel had turned for base metal producers.



● RELLY

Fears were being expressed about the adequacy of supply capacity for many of the base metals.

The temptation for mining companies to continue to focus their investment effort in relatively small, quick pay-back gold projects, might prove irresistible for some time.

There was some unwillingness to bring forward existing plans for large, complex base metal projects, with their long pay-back periods, or to hurry into new commitments. Many observers said the recovery, in its seventh year, could not last much longer.

This view could not be dismissed lightly. Growth in the industrial countries had been running at what appeared to be an unsustainable rate. Monetary policies had been tightened but inflation was creeping higher, Relly said. — Sapa.

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SADF chief in surprise trip to meet Chand

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, paid a surprise visit to Windhoek yesterday to meet the UN peacekeeping force commander, General Dewan Prem Chand.

General Geldenhuis arrived outside General Chand's city centre hotel shortly before 8.30 am in an unmarked car. He was met at the entrance by General Chand and the UN forces' Chief of Staff, Brigadier Daniel Opande of Kenya.

SA's withdrawal plans

Both generals were dressed in smart civilian suits — General Chand's dark blue and General Geldenhuis's grey. (General Chand has said he will not put on his official uniform until his whole 4 650-member force has arrived.)

On the way into the hotel the two

men chatted warmly, trailed by their aides and senior officers.

There was no indication of what they would be discussing over a working breakfast, but it is expected that details of the South African withdrawal plans, and arrangements for accommodation of the UN troops will figure prominently in the talks.

Under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435, implementation of which officially begins on April 1 with the arrival of UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the military component of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will be responsible for overseeing the South African withdrawal and the transition to independence, which includes majority-rule elections scheduled for November.

Since his arrival in Namibia late last month, General Chand has visited the northern parts of the country and has held extensive discussions with senior SWA Territory Force officers.



General Jannie Geldenhuis (right) paid General Dewan Prem Chand a surprise visit in Windhoek yesterday.

Election date for Namibia

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, would propose that Namibian pre-independence elections be held in the first four or five days in November, a spokesman for his office said in Windhoek yesterday.

The mode and exact time of the elections would have to be cleared with the

United Nations Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who is due to arrive in Namibia on April 1 to oversee the country's transition to independence.

Mr Pienaar said earlier it was envisaged that no voters in Namibia would be more than 30 km from the nearest polling booths. Sapa.

SA-Angola PoW
swop on Havana
talks agenda

ARCUS
16/3/89

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Political Staff

AN exchange of South African and Angolan prisoners of war is expected to be high on the agenda at a meeting in Havana next week of the tripartite monitoring commission set up to oversee implementation of the Namibian peace agreement signed in New York last year.

The meeting will be attended by Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden and other senior South African diplomats and military representatives.

They will be the first South African government officials to visit Cuba since before World War 2.

JOHAN PAPENFUS

The only South African prisoner known to be held by Cuba is Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the SADF soldier who was injured and later captured in Angola last year. He has been receiving medical treatment in Havana and reports indicate that he has now recovered from his injuries.

Diplomats suggest he may be exchanged for the Angolan pilot of a MiG-21 who made a forced landing on a maize field in Namibia last year.

Such an exchange was proposed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha at the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in December.

The last meeting of the tripartite monitoring commission took place in Luanda earlier this month to discuss Angolan allegations of a South African incursion into Angola. It was attended by American and Soviet officials who played a key role in last year's peace process.



Men, machines hit the road as SA 'back-loads'

NR645 16/3/89 221

Argus Africa News Service

OSHAKATI. — The South African Defence Force is engaged in one of its biggest operations in Namibia — pulling out.

However, words like retreat, or even withdrawal, are severely frowned upon in the string of military bases that stretch across the far north of the country.

"Back-loading" is the buzz-word.

Currently being "back-loaded" are more than one hundred thousand tonnes of equipment and supplies that have sustained an army unofficially estimated at various times to have numbered up to 40 000 men (the SADF has never given official figures), built up over the past 14 years, as well as what the military men call the "nice-to-haves".

"Nice-to-haves" include things such as book shelves, display cabinets, dinner services and so on.

The withdrawal is well advanced and barracks have already been stripped of the "nice-to-haves", while convoys of armoured vehicles can be seen moving along the seemingly endless stretches of road in the north of the country.

All moving south.

Huge explosions

Also being "back-loaded" are thousands of weapons, ammunition and spares, everything in fact that is not of immediate use.

There is talk of huge explosions in outlying areas in which munitions are said to have been destroyed.

The air around the military bases is often full of the noise of gunfire as weapons practice is used to shoot off ammunition which is either too expensive or impractical to transport.

So zealous have been the removals, that this week several cases of 9mm ammunition had to be flown northwards to Ondangwa — it was time for the inter-unit games and

there was no ammunition available for the pistol shooting contest.

At the same time, the SADF have vowed to remain operational until the last possible moment, which involves careful timing and co-ordination.

Private road hauliers that carry supplies to the towns in the area are being utilised to return loaded with military supplies no longer needed such as spare generators, kitchen equipment and even armoured vehicles.

Many of the army bases consist largely of prefabricated buildings, and it seems certain that many of these will also be dismantled and shipped back to South Africa, leaving little for either the UN or an independent Namibian government to make use of.

Wrenching move

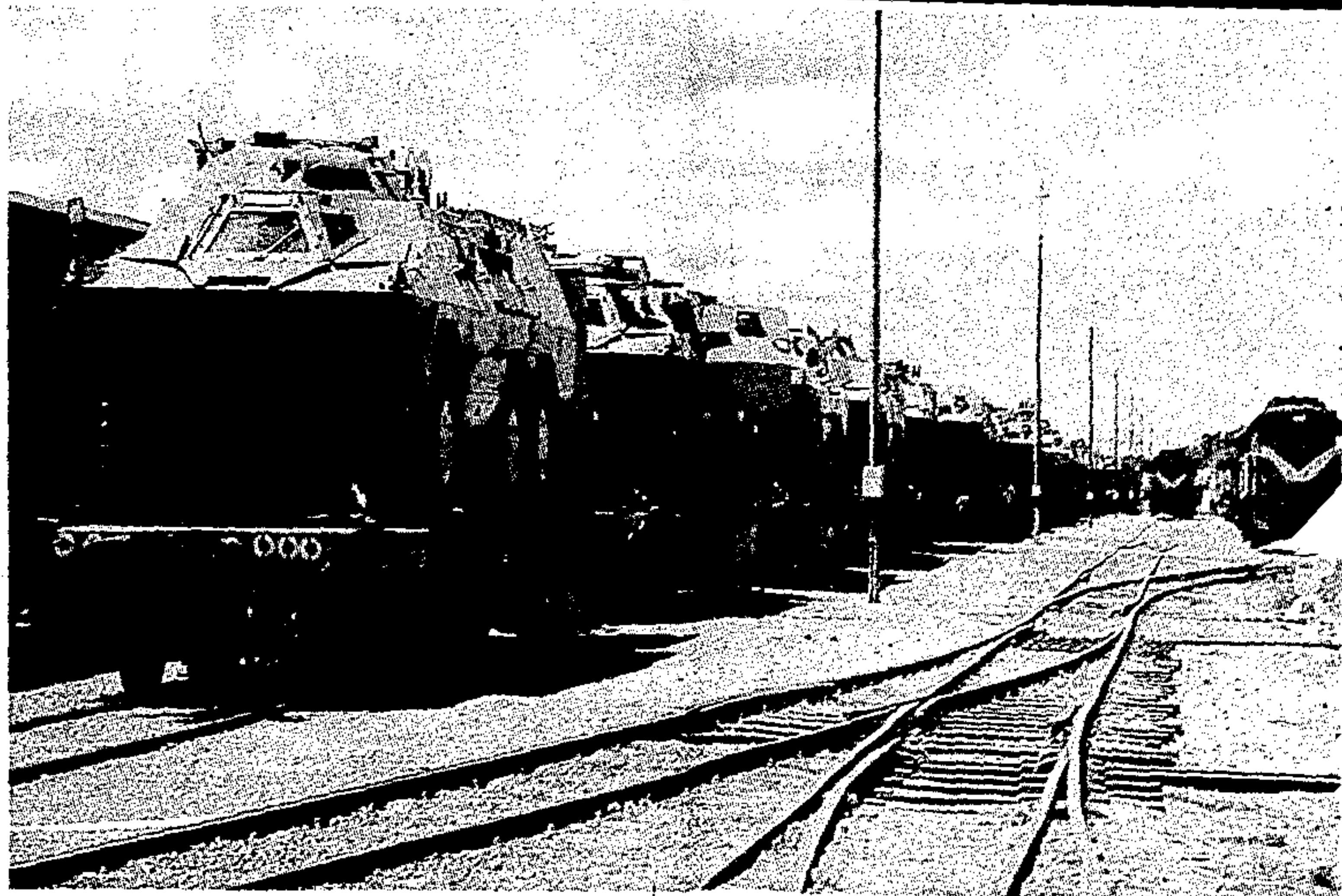
The major staging areas are at Ondangwa, Oshivelo and Rundu in the north, and at Grootfontein in the centre of the country, the largest logistical support base in the country, where equipment can be loaded onto trains for the almost 1 500 kilometre long return journey to South Africa.

But there is a human side to the withdrawal apart from cold statistics.

Some of the SADF personnel in the area have been there for almost ten years, their children have grown up in the north, they have acquired personal possessions and grown attached to both people and places.

For many the move back to "the States" as South Africa is known, will be a wrenching move full of trauma and uncertainty.

Several of the military men I spoke to, from colonels to national service privates, said they planned to return to the area "once things have been sorted out" in Namibia, referring to the unknown political future of the territory.

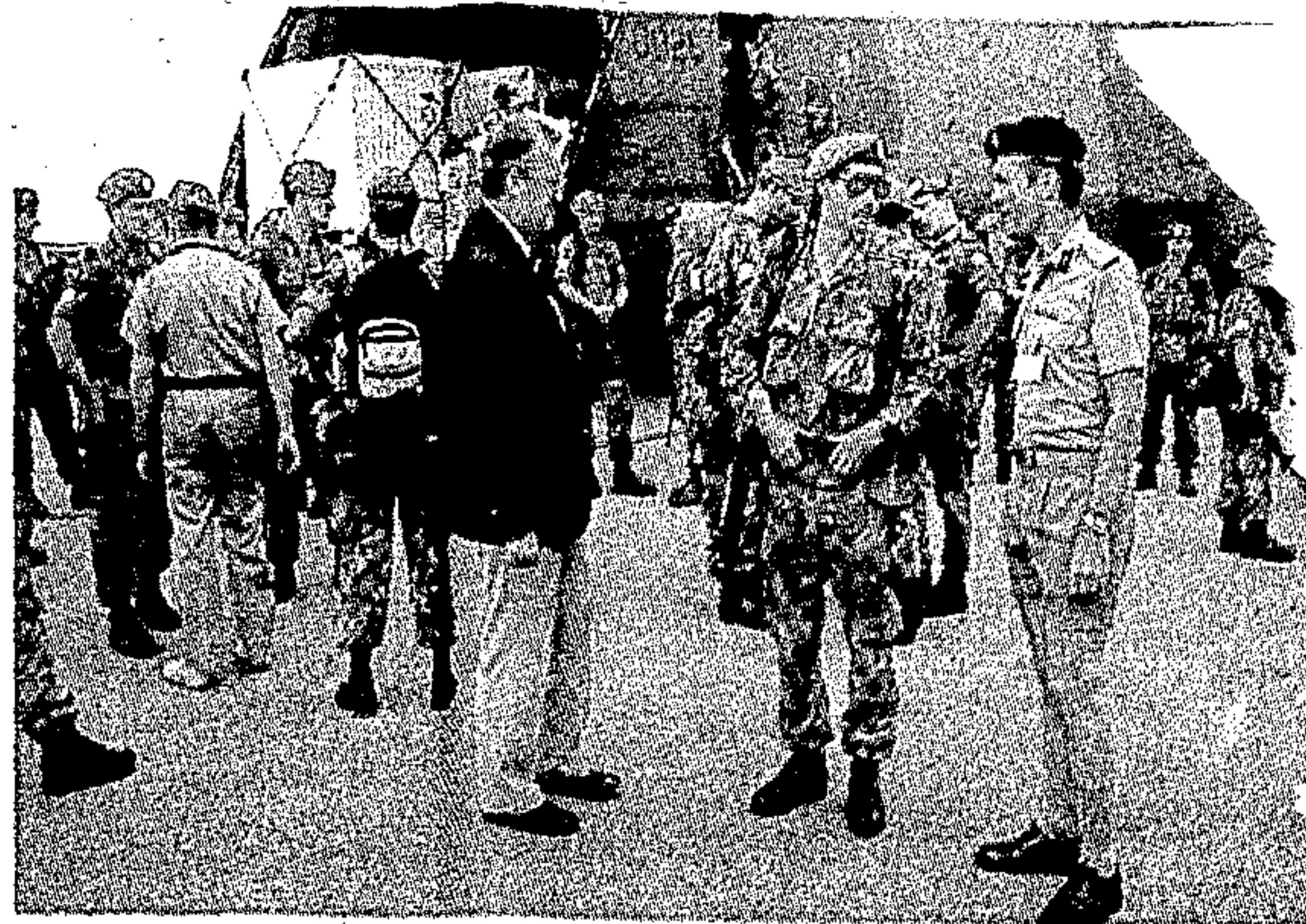


Pictures: Ken Vernon.

HEADING SOUTH:

Top, a line of Ratel armoured vehicles stand poised at Grootfontein station for the journey home, just part of the massive operation of pulling out men and equipment from Namibia.

NEW HOME: Above, a troop-carrying aircraft disgorges UN peacekeeping troops on the apron of a Namibian airfield, and right, Untag troops familiarise themselves with their new territory.



Finland suspends trade sanctions

AKG 17/3/89

221

300

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Finland has suspended trade sanctions against South Africa to aid the purchase of "basic" military equipment as part of its peace-keeping role with the United Nations in Namibia.

And it has cut off aid to Swapo in the territory to secure its place among Untag troops who are monitoring the transition to independence.

According to Jane's Defence Weekly government officials a spokesman for Swapo confirmed that Finland had cancelled a R250 000 grant to meet South Africa's demand that countries taking part should be neutral.

But Mr Jaakko Blomberg, head of the political section of the country's Foreign Ministry, denied that Finland was severing all its links. It would continue an education programme and other aid, he said.

"There is no change in attitude towards the South African government," he told Jane's.

Political support

Mr Elia Kaakunga, head of the Swapo information office in Helsinki, added: "The authorities assure us that political support as a whole would not cease and that all humanitarian aid would continue."

The Foreign Affairs Ministry would not specify what type of military equipment would be bought from South Africa, but other sources believe it will include transport vehicles, mobile homes and observation huts.

Meanwhile officials in New York report that almost 500 troops from 15 countries have arrived in Namibia for Untag duties. Most of the civilian staff would be there in the last week of March, they said.

Headquarters staff

The military headquarters staff is in place, as are the advance parties of the three infantry battalions that will be the main military component of Untag and logistic units and some military observers.

They are from Australia, Britain, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, India, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Poland, Spain, Togo and Yugoslavia.

The Argus Political Staff reports that South Africa has officially protested to the United Nations, 10 days before the start of the independence process, against what it sees as the organisation's partiality towards Swapo.

Government objections to the UN were conveyed to the Secretary-General's office yesterday by the South African representative to the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearar.

Appeal for funds

Upsetting the government is a document circulated at the UN last month in which the Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, appealed for contributions to four funds.

South African officials say the funds netted Swapo R34-million last year.

● Sapa-Reuter reports that nearly R80-million is needed to help repatriate 58 000 Namibians living in exile.

Quoting Dr Perez de Cuellar, the agency reported that the money was needed for food, transport, logistics, health needs, shelter, rehabilitation, publicity and registration and tracing relatives.

"It is expected that repatriates will receive relief assistance, as required, throughout the transitional period of 12 months. For planning purposes, the number of repatriates is estimated at 58 000," Dr Perez de Cuellar said.

● See page 9.

Dispatches FROM NAMIBIA

Troops taken on night 'tour'

WINDHOEK. — A hot bed of rumour in normal times, Namibia has sprouted its expected crop of anecdotes — sometimes true, sometimes apocryphal — since the United Nations advance contingents began to arrive in the country.

One such story is of a group of exhausted UN troops who made it back to their quarters in Windhoek after a night of merry-making with young Namibian police constables whose "helpfulness and concern" had a wry twist in its tail for the visitors.

Windhoek residents said the off-duty constables met the equally youthful soldiers at a popular downtown drinking place and after much partying and bonhomie, the police-

men offered to drive the soldiers home.

After a trip that took many twists and turns through the dead of night, the policemen dropped their UN drinking partners on a street corner in Pioneer Park, a residential area of southern Windhoek.

"Wait here, a bus will be along within the half hour," the hosts told the visitors, who had no idea where they were.

There are of course no buses routed to Pioneers Park at any time of the day.

A resident on his way to work early in the morning took pity on the UN men and offered them a lift back to central Windhoek, where they are staying for the UN peace-keeping effort in Namibia.

The new language of peace

Another story doing the rounds in Windhoek was that a number of British signallers were welcomed by Namibian soldiers at Luipaardsvallei military camp where the young soldiers from the United Kingdom were being accommodated after their arrival on Sunday.

The greetings from the Namibians in Afrikaans were "*Britte is k.k*" (Brits are sh.t.)"

For almost half an hour the hills round the military base rang out with delighted cries of "*Britte is k.k*" as the arrivals practised their first words of Afrikaans, until a Namibian officer took mercy on them

and explained they were the subjects of a practical joke.

Also seen in Windhoek was a doughy-white Fin, his shirt clinging to his back with perspiration.

Finland is to supply a full battalion of soldiers for the UN peace-keeping effort to be stationed in the Caprivi strip of north-eastern Namibia.

News reports from Finland said the Finnish contingent would bring their own saunas to Namibia, but Windhoekers are wondering whether the Fins realise that Caprivi, virtually surrounded by rivers, is "wall-to-wall sauna" in the tropical African sun.

Aussie and looking for action

THE action-packed arrival the other day of Australian troops in SWA/Namibia to help supervise free and fair elections has sparked mirth at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

As their massive transporter ground to a halt at Windhoek's JG Strijdom Airport, it seems the Aussies leapt out in full battledress with filled waterbottles, semi-automatic rifles at the ready, and sprinted to circle the aircraft to secure the area.

"When they saw only the wind blowing through the grass," said one amused South African official, "they relaxed".

They then radioed the second ai-

craft still approaching the airport to give the "all clear".

"I think they expected a kind of Lebanon situation with pock-marked walls," a diplomat chortled.

Journalists from the Angolan news agency, Angop, apparently did too. They arrived wanting to see the "war-torn area" of Windhoek, officials said.

Apart from occasional bomb blasts and minor rail line sabotage at the town's northern outskirts, Windhoek has largely been untouched by the violence of the 22-year, low-intensity bushwar on the SWA/Namibia-Angola border. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

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LOUIS PIENAAR

Namibia's midwife

For government the implementation of Resolution 435 on April 1 will signify the beginning of the end of responsibilities in SWA/Namibia. Not so for SA-appointed Administrator-General Louis Pienaar.

Already he has assumed the duties of the recently dissolved multiracial Cabinet and territorial assembly, and in co-operation with UN officials, he will govern Namibia during the transition to independence.

Pienaar (62) faces a host of challenges. In implementing Resolution 435, there are bound to be difficulties involved in the resettlement of refugees and in the drafting of election legislation. In fact Swapo has already indicated its intention to oppose Pienaar's suggested electoral rules.

Pienaar interprets the reference in the relevant document to "adult suffrage" as a voting age of 21. He is, however, open to negotiation with UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari. Similarly he is inclined to favour a minimum residence period of one year. Here again he is no hardliner, and in the spirit of co-operation with Untag, feels agreement can be reached. Swapo, on the other hand, insists on a minimum age of 18 and four or five years' residence as a condition of eligibility. By raising the voting age, Swapo believes it will be robbed of a strong youth vote.

But overriding these immediate technicalities is the threat of violence. "Most important, will be, the ability of Namibians and Untag forces to restrict and eradicate all violence and intimidation as a means of promoting political policies," Pienaar believes.

No mean feat — especially considering one is dealing with combatants who have been engaged in violence for the past 10 years and know little else.

Nevertheless, Pienaar feels confident the Untag forces, together with the SWA police force, will be able to monitor the situation successfully, though the foreigners might well have to use local scouts to help familiarise themselves with the terrain.

On the issue of UN impartiality, Pienaar, somewhat surprisingly, is "fully prepared to accept the bona fides of the UN." He believes the Secretary General has committed himself and his administration to complete impartiality to the extent that Swapo will no

longer enjoy any special favours from the UN as from April 1.

This impartiality, he believes, is reinforced by the UN's commitment to overseeing the Cuban withdrawal from Angola, thereby conceding the principle of linkage between the Cuban withdrawal and Resolution 435 — a prerequisite the SA government has insisted upon in all negotiations concerning the territory.

Born in Stellenbosch in June 1926, Pienaar matriculated at Boys' High School in



Wellington in 1962. He went on to obtain a legal BA from Stellenbosch in 1945, and in 1952, he graduated from Unisa with an LLB. In the interim, he worked in the municipal service at Brakpan, Vereeniging and George. In 1954, having done articles, he was made a partner with a firm of attorneys in Bellville where he practised until 1975.

Meantime, Pienaar entered politics — as a member of the Cape Provincial Council for Belville between 1966 and 1970. This was followed by a stint as National Party MP for Belville until 1974, when he was appointed SA's ambassador to France.

On his return from Paris at the end of 1979, Pienaar set up practice as an advocate in Cape Town. He was appointed to the

President's Council in 1980 and served on the Council's constitutional committee, largely responsible for the formulation of the 1984 Constitution. In 1985 he was made Administrator General for SWA.

Pienaar's talents are not limited to politics or law. He has served as a director of numerous companies.

Somehow, Pienaar finds time to play golf, collect stamps avidly and taste wine. He has a passion for sports cars, and his favourite toy is a Porsche he keeps in Cape Town. Pienaar is married to Isabel and the couple have three children.

By all indications, the transition period to independence will be a lengthy one. Elections for a constituent assembly have tentatively been set for November this year, and a draft constitution should emerge by April 1990. It is unlikely that Pienaar's commission will end before then.

The success of the interim process will clearly depend upon the parties' commitment to abiding by Resolution 435. But for Pienaar, the responsibility for SWA/Namibia now rests on the entire international community.

He insists "this opportunity of leading SWA/Namibia to independence cannot be missed."

Being an exiled African leader is no picnic

Many exiled southern African revolutionaries are depicted as wearing three-piece suits and being chauffeured about in large Mercedes — spending much time at public functions generously toasting each other over glasses of sparkling wine.

The everyday reality is hardly as titillating. At African National Congress headquarters, located in an unpaved back-alley in Lusaka, Zambia, the overall atmosphere is neither one of flamboyant decadence nor zealous revolutionary efficiency.

In these dilapidated breeze-block buildings, one is struck rather with a sense of make-do. The office furniture is battered and ageing, the linoleum floors are cracked and stained. Here is the nerve centre of resistance to apartheid, the telephone rarely works and the telex machine is permanently out of commission.

It is the type of place that might make middle-class romantics think twice about becoming revolutionaries. Behind liberation, as behind every other collective enterprise, lies

If gossip on the cocktail circuits of southern African capitals is to be believed, the exiled leaders of the "liberation struggle" are as much playboys as revolutionaries. But is the gossip true? **NICHOLAS WOODSWORTH** of the Financial Times investigated.

the running of an organisation — the need to raise finances, to cope with a great mass of administration detail, and to assure the daily welfare of members.

Seen by themselves and many others as the nucleus of future, post-apartheid governments, neither the ANC nor Swapo, have adequate financing, infrastructure or expertise to deal with the job at hand. They have thus had to turn to outside help.

Every year, under the general heading of "humanitarian aid" the ANC and Swapo receive millions of dollars worth of cash grants, capital and consumer goods, technical assistance, vocational training, and academic scholarships from Western sources.

Western policies on aid to "liberation" movements are far from being uniform. The general rule is that the greater a stake a

country has in the economic and political future of southern Africa, the less likely it is to be a leading donor.

At one end of the scale are Britain and the US, which have declined to offer direct assistance to the ANC or Swapo.

Neither country condones the organisation's use of violence, and neither is happy with their claims to be the sole legitimate representatives of their people. Indirect aid coming through various UN agencies from the US and Britain has been slashed in recent years by up to 80 percent as the two countries decided to cut UN allocations.

British support has thus been limited to the activities of such groups as the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement and a recent scholarship programme offer to South Africans in exile, including ANC members.

At the other end of the spectrum Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland all have clean slates in southern Africa — with no colonial history or economic ties there, their social-democratic governments have since the earliest days of African independence shown sympathy for the socialist-oriented liberation movements.

Supported by strong domestic public opinion formed by the popular activism of the Vietnam war years, Scandinavia's aid to the anti-apartheid groups is overtly political.

Sweden's aid to the ANC comes to about R25 million a year while Norway's is R15 million.

United Nations organisations are also a vital source of support to the ANC and Swapo but in one sense the most crucial time for the aid agencies is already past. If Swapo comes to power through elections in Namibia next year, it will find itself transformed from an armed resistance movement into a fully-fledged government overseeing one of the potentially richest countries in Africa.

SA angry at UN appeal for Swapo

Stev 17/3/89 Political Staff (221)

CAPE TOWN — South Africa has officially protested to the United Nations, 10 days before the start of the Namibian independence process, at what it sees as the organisation's partiality towards Swapo.

Government objections to the UN were conveyed to the Secretary-General's office yesterday by the South African representative to the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer.

DEADLINE GIVEN

At the centre of the row is a UN-letterhead document dated February 10 containing an appeal from the Secretary-General to South Africa for donations to four funds which South Africa believes contribute hugely to Swapo.

Official sources said today the funds had raised R34 million last year.

Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar's appeal stipulates the closing date for contributions and pledges from countries as Monday — 10 days before implementation of the UN peace plan for Namibia.

Mirth over
'gung-ho' 221
Aussies
Stev 17/3/89

WINDHOEK — The arrival of Australian troops in Namibia to help supervise free elections has sparked much mirth.

As their massive transporter ground to a halt at the airport the Aussies leapt out in full battledress, semi-automatic rifles at the ready, and sprinted to circle the aircraft to secure the area.

"When they saw only the wind blowing through the grass they relaxed," said one amused South African official.

"I think they expected a kind of Lebanon, with pock-marked walls." — Political Staff.

Swapo to stay out of ANC fight

Nujoma

AKLUS 20/3/89
The Argus Foreign Service
221

LISBON — Swapo president Sam Nujoma has said a future Swapo government would back the ANC politically, but would pursue a non-interventionist policy toward South Africa.

"Within the framework of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations, Namibia will continue to support the just struggle of the South African people," he told reporters yesterday after addressing an International Solidarity conference.

"But South Africa's people are already fighting and it would be crazy for us to intervene directly," Mr Nujoma added.

Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government would seek to strike a balance between economic growth and social justice, promoting a "mixed economy" and "a measure of land reform without wholesale nationalisation".

He denounced Pretoria's "manoeuvres and intrigues" to limit Swapo's power in an independent state and invited "all democratic forces" to monitor the election.

Mr Nujoma claimed Pretoria had granted Namibian identity documents to 40 000 Angolan Unita supporters, was trying to introduce "a highly confusing" voting system, had disguised the Koevoet special forces as police and was "hiding arms caches".

In spite of these moves, Mr Nujoma said, he was confident of a resounding election victory for Swapo.

● A - Defence Ministry spokesman warned today that if Swapo allowed ANC bases to be used in attacks on South Africa, it must expect swift counter-measures.

'Friendly' forum in place of fighting along Angolan border

M645 20/3/89

122

FRIENDLY, but not friends. That is how Colonel Johnny Coetzer, head of the South African Defence Force contingent to the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC), describes his team's relationship with his Cuban and Angolan counterparts.

Discussing his team's role while sitting around the small pool at the "Ruacana Falls Resort Hotel", as the JMMC headquarters is jokingly named, Colonel Coetzer chooses his words very carefully.

He is in the front line of relations between countries that just a few short months ago were fighting against each other, and he understands fully the sensitivity of his position.

The JMMC was formed in August last year as part of the

KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Ruacana

agreement reached between South Africa, Cuba and Angola to end the Angolan conflict, and its main duty, in the words of Colonel Coetzer, is to "prevent incidents occurring along the border and to provide a forum for discussion of incidents that do occur".

The first meeting took place in a clearing at the Hippo Pools below the Ruacana dam, and now the teams meet daily at the Ruacana border post.

The JMMC operates on three distinct levels. The first is the operational level, of which Colonel Coetzer is the South African commander, and this level includes the daily Ruacana meetings as well as the operation of 11 other joint monitoring posts

spread along the border, from which SADF and Angolan soldiers patrol the border.

It is known that Unita activity has prevented the establishment of at least three other posts along the eastern half of the border, but Colonel Coetzer could not comment on this.

The second level is that of the regional military chiefs of staff, who meet as and when required, and the final level is that of the commanding officers of the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) and the Cuban and Angolan commanding officers, who meet monthly.

The United States and Russia have observer status with the JMMC, and while Colonel Coetzer said that US soldiers turned up at the JMMC meetings on an "irregular" basis, no Russian officers had yet done so.

Cuban troops do not take part

in the border patrols, which consist of an equal number of Angolan and SADF troops. Ironically, most of the SADF soldiers are from 32 battalion, the unit consisting of mainly former Angolan rebels which has probably seen more fighting against the Angolans than any other South African unit.

"Once a problem has been identified, each side has a helicopter here on constant standby to travel to the scene, if possible, and verify the problem on site as soon as possible.

"Each side swaps passengers in the choppers to ensure complete impartiality," he added.

If no consensus is reached between the teams on the ground, then the problem is passed on to the next level for resolution "within 48 hours".

"There is good communication

between the three teams, each of which consists of a chairman, two members, a secretary and two interpreters," says Colonel Coetzer, "a total of 18 men.

"We have succeeded in defusing many sensitive situations, and because we have excellent communication, misunderstandings are resolved very quickly."

He says that apart from the formal meetings between the two sides, where allegations are exchanged and complaints registered, there are informal meetings over cool-drinks, where friendly relations are maintained.

Finally, every couple of weeks the once-warring soldiers entertain each other at braais or the Cuban-Angolan equivalent and converse over a few beers — a far different front-line from what all sides have been used to.

ARGUS 20/3/89

The battle for Swa

THE question of how the Owambo people will vote in the forthcoming United Nations-supervised elections is as simple as black and white.

The blacks say one thing and the whites say another.

NAMIBIA

The Owambo tribe constitute 52 percent of the total Namibian population and the way the people vote will largely determine who wins the election for a constituent assembly to write a constitution under which the country will come to independence.

Superficially the question may seem easy and any foreign journalist freshly into Windhoek will answer that Swapo, the South West African People's Organisation, has the support of the vast majority of Namibians and "will walk the election".

Those whites who have lived and fought in the territory for years, and who readily tell anyone that they "know these blacks", will tell you Swapo won't get anywhere near winning.

One white policeman, seconded from South Africa, told me that the man in charge of the Owambo ethnic second-tier administration, the Rev-



Pictures by KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

POTENTIAL FLASHPOINT: The main street of Ondangwa: wide, dusty and bustling. The town boasts several army and police barracks and could be the scene of violence between Swapo supporters and de-mobbed SWATF members.



DAILY ROLL - Last arriving best vet. could place: BENNIE THE KING. Coming to hand

1	BALLY ROD	4 br g l Hewitt-Coleman	55.0
2	BENNIE THE KING	3 ch g Rixon	55.0
3	CHARLES FISHER	3 c l Neude	55.0
4	CITY HEAT	3 ch g A Steyn	55.0
5	HEADGEAR	4 b g P Steyn	55.0
6	PHANTOM HOUSE	3 dk b g A Sands	55.0
7	PHANTOM HOUSE	3 dk b g A Sands	55.0
8	KALCIT	3 br f A Sands	55.0
9	WHOS TO KNOW	3 b f R Rixon	55.0
10	WISLA	2 b c M Schuiteman	55.0
11	VOSTOK	2 br g J McDonald	55.0
12	WISLA	2 b c M Schuiteman	55.0
1	JAMAICAN JUNGLE	4 m g P Steyn	55.0
2	KICK EM BOOTS	4 b g D Hodgson	55.0
3	GLOWING THATCH	3 gr g G Rixon	55.0
4	THIS HAPPY BREED	4 ch g C Snaith	55.0
5	AFRICAN DELIGHT	4 br f B Abercrombie	55.0
6	GUILTY	3 br g S Elley	55.0
7	RAFT	3 ch c M Schuiteman	55.0
8	OFFICER	5 ch g J McDonald	55.0
9	LONG WING	4 b g H Crawford	55.0

7 MAIDEN PLATE

3 MAIDEN PLATE

HIGH SPARK: Mediocre debut; PHANTOM LORD: Five starts, five seconds, one to beat; POWER STATION: Poor debut; RATEPAYER: Rested after two useful outings, watch; RICH BANDIT: Showed early but then faded, should improve; THUNDER CAT: Just failed at 2nd start, this time?; WISLA: Poor debut; NB: Five first timers, watch out!

Denotes blinkers. Coupled: Nos 2, 5 and 7;

Denotes blinkers. Coupled: Nos 7 and 8.

9 IN FULL FIGHT HANDICAP (C Division)

JAMAICAN JUNGLE 4 m g P Steyn 55.0
 KICK EM BOOTS 4 b g D Hodgson 55.0
 GLOWING THATCH 3 gr g G Rixon 55.0
 THIS HAPPY BREED 4 ch g C Snaith 55.0
 AFRICAN DELIGHT 4 br f B Abercrombie 55.0
 GUILTY 3 br g S Elley 55.0
 RAFT 3 ch c M Schuiteman 55.0
 OFFICER 5 ch g J McDonald 55.0
 LONG WING 4 b g H Crawford 55.0

Denotes blinkers.
 No Couplings.

JAMAICAN JUNGLE: Eight month break, s outing; KICK EM BOOTS: Rested, speedy THATCH: Little unreliable but capable at well, should be right there; AFRICAN DELI challenge; GUILTY: Likes this course, sho two wins, stronger company; OFFICER: 1 Surprise winner, could challenge.

the other hand it can also that a horse is feeling very is pleased to be out on the and is just simply enjoying If the latter proved the case Gossip Monger who held on to by a length from the back to Hidden Brie, who had to give

to Saturday's meeting, and not Natal bred, the main winner Gossip Monger, mak-debut in the B Division, did his supporters down.

went down to the start "pig-g", an action which many pundits would condemn as a being too fresh and above

the other hand it can also that a horse is feeling very is pleased to be out on the and is just simply enjoying If the latter proved the case Gossip Monger who held on to by a length from the back to Hidden Brie, who had to give

St Petersburg, Great Fire, Argo-Regime Best

St Petersburg, Great Fire, Argo-Regime Best

St Petersburg, Great Fire, Argo-Regime Best

Owambo's heartland

Owamboland, the vast plain stretching from the Etosha game reserve to Angola, is the most populous area in Namibia and, as home to the majority Owambo tribe, is

also the most crucial in the forthcoming election.

KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service recently travelled to the area to sound local political opinion.

were tired of Swapo killing and kidnapping their children and would vote against them in the election.

If Chief Kautima can lead the majority of the Kwanyama to vote for the DTA, then that, combined with the votes gathered by other Owambo splinter parties (such as the Swapo-Democrats led by Andries Shipanga and the Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice party of the Reverend Peter Kalandula) will effectively deny Swapo not only the two-thirds they seek, but possibly even a simple 51 percent majority.

Another factor ignored by most analysts is that while Swapo may enjoy majority support, that alone does not win elections. Chanting, post-er-waving crowds may be impressive, but to win a party needs to ensure that it gets a majority of eligible voters to vote for it.

It is here that the parties that have been organising and registering voters on the ground for years have a major advantage over Swapo, whose supporters have for years refused to register and who have boycotted local elections.

Swapo also seems to be relying heavily on support from refugees who have returned or will return to Namibia, but it could be disappointed in two ways.

First, the United Nations monitoring group which will decide on the eligibility of voters works according to a narrowly defined legal definition of a political refugee as someone who has fled to another country because of political repression and been duly recorded as such, with dates, by the relevant authorities in that country.

Most of the Swapo supporters who simply walked across the undefined border into a part of Angola where there was little government control and joined Swapo camps there, may not thus qualify according to the UN.

Swapo undoubtedly has almost total support among the youth of Namibia as the party who fought the liberation war, but if — as suggested by South Africa's Administrator General — the voting age limit for the election is set at 21 years, then up to 30 percent of Swapo's support could be lost.

Finally there is the question of voter intimidation, which could be a major factor, given that it is generally agreed by soldiers and policemen in Owamboland that the



GUNLESS GUARDS: Two members of the family bodyguard of Owambo leader Gabriel Kautima, their weapons now taken from them, stand atop a gun shelter at his kraal at Oshikango.

Untag forces are nowhere near large enough effectively to police the area during the election.

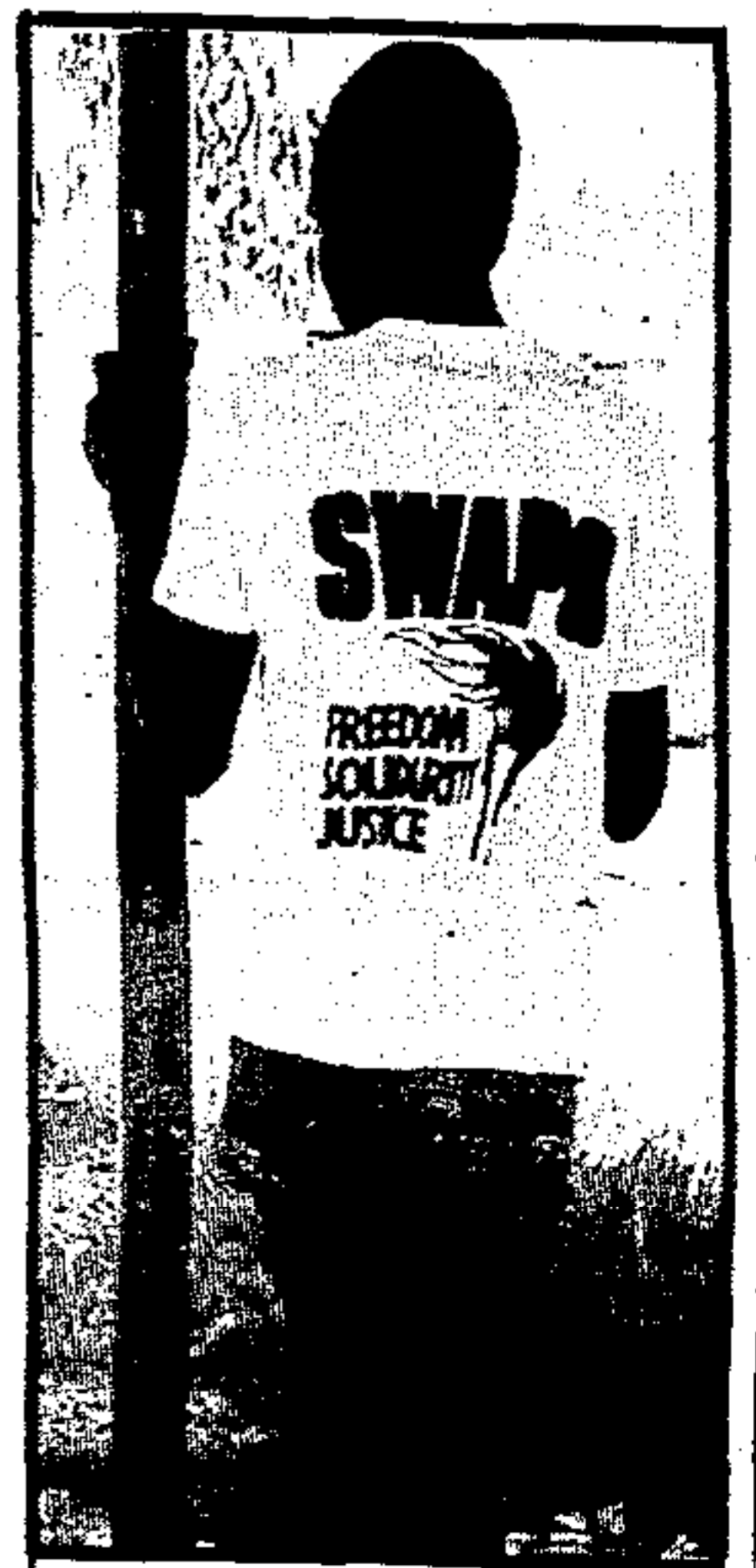
Swapo are said to have been employing a tactic successfully used by Robert Mugabe's Zanu party during the Zimbabwean independence election and threatening that if they lose the election they will return to the bush and continue the "struggle" — something that no voter wants to see happen.

This is a powerful propaganda message in Owamboland, where families have been split in two by the war, with some brothers fighting for Swapo and others in the SWATF.

If there is a single message coming from the people of Owamboland it is that "the war must end because we want our children back".

On the other side there is a fear, expressed even by white SADF and SWATF officers, that the Owambos who fought against Swapo will not tolerate the presence of their avowed enemies to fight even a peaceable election campaign.

"The first Swapo fighter that walks into a cuca shop in Ondangwa will die," I was told by one officer.



WARY SUPPORT: Swapo T-shirts and slogans are beginning to appear in Owamboland after a long period when they were suppressed, but still youths like this one are afraid to be identified and will wear their true colours only inside the safety of the school grounds.

LISBON. — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday that Namibia would continue to support South African nationalist guerrillas if his forces won November elections.

Asked whether he would allow ANC bases in Namibia, Mr Nujoma said: "The people of Namibia will continue to support the people of South Africa within the framework of African solidarity."

Mr Nujoma, who spoke at the opening session of a two-day conference on Namibian independence, said support for the ANC was justified because "there have never been free, democratic elections in South Africa".

In response to Mr Nujoma's remarks, the SADF communications chief, Dr D A S Herbst, said if Swapo allowed ANC bases to be used for attacks on South Africa, it must expect swift counter-measures.

Dr Herbst said Mr Nujoma would first have to win the elections and that the people of the territory would have to choose between a free democracy and socialist subjugation.

If they chose the latter they could be in the same position as Angola was today.

He said Mr Nujoma would have to seriously consider if Namibia could be used as a springboard for violence

Swapo will help ANC, says Nujoma

Cape Times 20/3/89

against South Africa, whose policy was well known, that it would not tolerate terrorist incursions from neighbouring states.

In his Lisbon speech, Mr Nujoma accused South Africa of trying to influence the November elections by introducing a complicated voting system and recommending that all foreigners resident in Namibia for a period of one year be eligible to vote.

"This recommendation is intended to enable Unita and thousands of South African soldiers ... to shed their uniforms and register themselves for voting against Swapo," he said.

Mr Nujoma emphasised that Swapo wanted Namibia's estimated 75 000 whites and other minority groups to stay to help run what he foresees as a mixed economy. — Sapa-AP

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
SADF Chief General
Jannie Geldenhuys and
South African military
delegates to the meeting
of the joint monitoring
commission in the Cu-
ban capital, Havana, ar-
rived yesterday nearly a
day ahead of the Foreign
Affairs delegation.

A Foreign Affairs
spokesperson said the
exchange of SA prison-
er-of-war Rifleman Jo-
han Papenfus would be
"high on the agenda" of
talks starting today.

Differences about the
number of Cubans held
by Unita in Angola and
other outstanding issues

SADF ^{cap} chief ^{Tim's} arrives ^{20/3/89} in Cuba ²²¹ for talks

were delaying the ques-
tion of a prisoner ex-
change.

The functioning of the
monitoring commission
and Swapo's continued
presence south of the
16th parallel would be
among the issues to be
discussed during the

talks, she said.

General Geldenhuys
was met early yesterday
at the airport by various
members of the Cuban
general staff, Sapa re-
ports.

He had been accompa-
nied on the flight by the
brother and sister of Ri-
fleman Papenfus, who
has been held in Cuba
for the past 10 months
after being wounded and
captured in Angola.

The Foreign Affairs
spokesperson confirmed
that the civilian delega-
tion, led by Director-
General of Foreign Af-
fairs Dr Neil van
Heerden, would arrive
in Havana late yester-
day, SA time.

News in Brief

Cape Times 20/3/89
Diplomat ordered out

MAPUTO. — The government ordered a Portuguese diplomat to leave the country within four days, apparently in retaliation for Portugal's expulsion of a Mozambican diplomat suspected of involvement in an assassination. Mozambique's Foreign Ministry said Jose da Silva Pereira, commercial consul at the Portuguese Embassy in Maputo, has been declared persona non grata and must leave by midnight on Tuesday.

6 Arab protestors killed

JERUSALEM. — Israeli forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip shot dead three Arab protestors on Sunday, bringing to six the number of dead in a weekend of bloody clashes.

Cape Times 20/3/89
New political party

A NEW political party called Aksie Christelik Nasionaal (National Christian Action) was formed in Namibia at the weekend. The SWA National Party announced at its national congress in Windhoek that the party had been formed to take part in the election under UN supervision in November this year and that the SWANP will be the nucleus of the ACN.

Cape Times 20/3/89
R5m for Aids campaign

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of National Health and Population Development plans to spend R5-million on an Aids awareness campaign which will include the establishment of advisory centres in larger cities. The department said in a memorandum on its budget Aids was spreading rapidly among all races and sexes. The economic implications of this for the country were enormous.

Deputy KwaZulu deals

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'SUPPORT FOR ANC'

LISBON — Sam Nujoma, president of the Namibian independence movement Swapo, said yesterday Namibia would continue to support South African nationalist guerillas, if his forces won elections in November.

Asked by reporters whether he would allow African National Congress (ANC) bases on Namibian territory, if Swapo won the elections, Mr Nujoma said, "the people of Namibia will continue to support the people of South Africa within the framework of African solidarity."

Mr Nujoma spoke at the opening session of a two-day conference on Namibian independence in the Portuguese capital.

Star 20/3/89

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Nujoma speaks of tactics 'once in power'



Mr Nujoma ... expecting a "resounding" victory at the Namibian polls.

Swapo to back ANC aims, but won't intervene

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Namibian nationalist leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday said a future Swapo government would back the ANC politically, but would pursue a non-interventionist policy towards South Africa.

"Within the framework of the OAU and the UN, Namibia will continue to support the just struggle of the South African people," he told reporters after addressing an International Solidarity Conference in Lisbon.

Pretoria 'intrigues'

"But South Africa's people are already fighting and it would be crazy for us to intervene directly," Mr Nujoma added.

In his speech, Mr Nujoma said a Swapo government would seek "to strike a balance between

economic growth and social justice", promoting a "policy of mixed economy" and "a measure of land reform without wholesale nationalisation".

Speaking to 300 conference delegates and guests at a downtown hotel, he denounced what he called Pretoria's "manoeuvres and intrigues" to limit Swapo's power in an independent state.

He invited "all democratic forces" to send representatives to observe and monitor the independence electoral process set to start on April 1.

Mr Nujoma, who will be received by President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva today before flying to Amsterdam on Tuesday, described what he termed South African actions to promote the "advantage of its puppets" in Namibia.

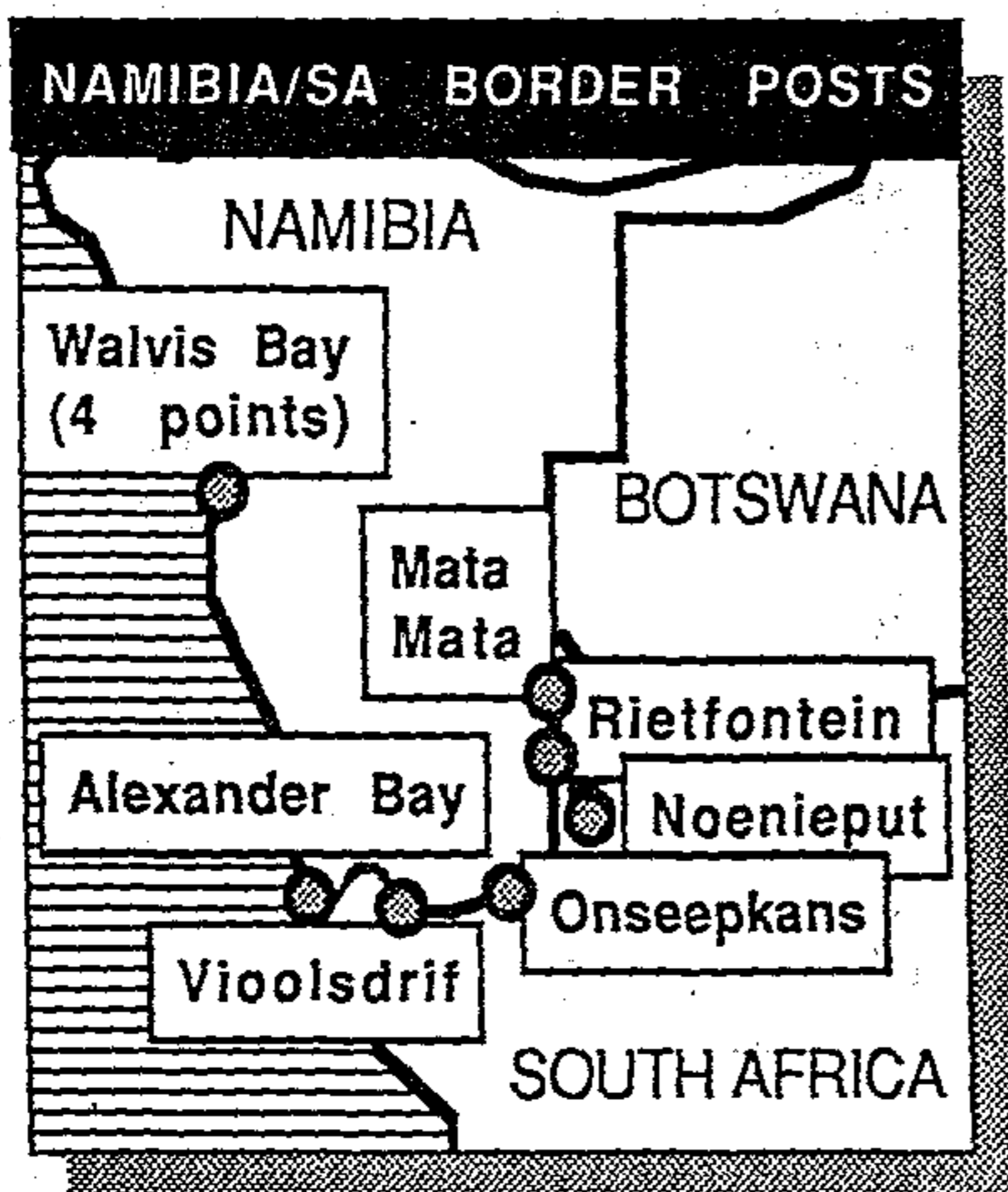
Among them, he said Pretoria had granted Namibian identity documents to 40 000 Angolan Unita supporters, was trying to introduce "a highly confusing" voting system, had disguised the

Koevoet special forces as police and was "hiding caches of arms at various places".

Despite these alleged moves, Mr Nujoma said he was confident of attaining self-determination and independence in the coming months and of a "resounding electoral victory" for Swapo.

The one-day international emergency meeting for a genuine independence of Namibia was convened by leftist Portuguese organisations and chaired by General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, a former president of Portugal.

During his stay in Lisbon, Mr Nujoma lunched with Portuguese businessmen, met delegations of all the major parties and was hosted at a gala dinner by the mayor, Mr Nuno Abecasis.



The new border posts which will come into effect today.

SA colonel on ²²¹ the frontline of ^{8/20/3/59} new found peace

By Ken Vernon, The Star's Africa News Service

RUACANA — "We're friendly, but not friends".

This is how Colonel Johnny Coetzer, head of the South African Defence Force contingent to the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) describes his team's relationship with his Cuban and Angolan counterparts.

Discussing his team's role while sitting around the small pool at the "Ruacana Falls Resort Hotel" — as the JMMC headquarters is jokingly named — Colonel Coetzer chooses his words carefully.

He is in the frontline of relations between countries that only months ago were fighting against each other, and he understands fully the sensitivity of his position.

The JMMC was formed in August last year as part of the agreement reached between South Africa, Cuba and Angola to end the Angolan conflict, and its main duty in the words of Colonel Coetzer is to "prevent incidents occurring along the border and to provide a forum for discussion of incidents that do occur".

The first meeting took place in a clearing at the Hippo Pools below the Ruacana dam, and now the teams meet daily at the Ruacana border post.

OPERATIONAL LEVEL

The JMMC operates on three distinct levels; the first is the operational level of which Colonel Coetzer is the South African commander, and this level includes the daily Ruacana meetings as well as the operation of 11 other joint monitoring posts spread along the border.

The second level is that of the regional military chiefs of staff who meet as and when required, and the final level is that of the commanding officers of the South West African Territory Force and the Cuban and Angolan commanding officers, who meet monthly.

The United States and Russia have observer status with the JMMC, and Colonel Coetzer said that while US soldiers turned up at the JMMC meetings on an "irregular" basis, no Russian officers had yet done so.

Cuban troops do not take part in border patrols, which consist of an equal number of Angolan and SADF troops. Most of the SADF soldiers are from 32 Battalion, the unit consisting of mainly former Angolan rebels which has probably seen more fighting against the Angolans than any other South African unit.

"Once a problem has been identified each side has a helicopter here on constant standby to, if possible, travel to the scene and verify the problem on site as soon as possible.

"Each side swaps passengers in the choppers to ensure complete impartiality," Colonel Coetzer said.

If no consensus is reached between the teams on the ground, then the problem is passed on to the next level for resolution "within 48 hours".

"There is good communication between the three teams, each of which consists of a chairman, two members, a secretary and two interpreters" says Colonel Coetzer.

"We have succeeded in diffusing many sensitive situations, and because we have excellent communication, misunderstandings are resolved very quickly."

He says that apart from the formal meetings between the two sides, where allegations are exchanged and complaints registered, there are informal meetings over cool-drinks where friendly relations are maintained.

Finally every couple of weeks the once warring warriors entertain each other at braais and converse over a few beers, a far different front line to what all sides have been used to.

Spectrum

How peace time has changed Koevoet

From JOHN PARKIN
of Associated Press
in Oshakati

AN undeclared cease-fire has taken hold in northern Namibia as independence approaches after a 23-year war, but members of South Africa's controversial police anti-guerrilla unit are still at work.

Known as **NAMIBIA**
Koevoet

("crowbar" in Afrikaans), the unit officially has been disbanded as a goodwill gesture following South Africa's agreement to end its control of Namibia.

However, most of Koevoet's black patrolmen and

white officers have been integrated into the regular territorial police force. Their armored vehicles continue to rumble through the hot, flat farmland and bush country of Ovamboland, the region where most of the fighting occurred.

Now, instead of tracking down Swapo guerrillas and interrogating suspected sympathizers, the police patrols question villagers about common crime, help out with water-supply problems and provide basic medical care.

Swapo officials complain that Koevoet has been converted into a propaganda unit, conducting seemingly well-intentioned missions into villages while trying to con-



Koevoet members in the heyday of Swapo insurgent trackers

vince residents to vote against Swapo in the United Nations-monitored independence elections scheduled for November.

The patrol vehicles now carefully avoid knocking over fences and driving through

kraals (fences around a village or livestock pen) if we were chasing terrorists," he said.

In the old days, Koevoet also had a widespread reputation for brutality. Several members were taken to court for alleged atrocities, and Swapo political leaders still refer to the unit's men as "programmed killers."

The unit was founded by a South African police general, Hans Dreyer, in 1979 to counter Swapo infiltration. Most of 3000 or so members were from the indigenous Ovambo tribe, but there also were about 400 white South African officers. Asked about the allegations

of atrocities, Dreyer said in an interview: "Counter-insurgency is not very easy, and sometimes things get tense . . . But my men are well-received by the local people."

"The war seems to be at an end," he said. "My men patrol to enforce law and order. They are part of normal peaceful life. There is no animosity towards them. Many of them live in the villages and go home after work just like everybody else."

On patrol, each vehicle has a white commander and about 10 blacks. They eat the same food and make camp at night together in the bush, although back at base, they drink at different bars.

The unit uses armored personnel carriers with two or three machine guns on the roof. Up to four more are aimed through gun ports in sides.

During the war, patrols of about five vehicles would be away from base for a week at a time, moving from village to village, questioning residents and looking for tracks of Swapo infiltrators.

If a trail was spotted, Ovambo trackers would follow it, sometimes for more than 100 kilometers (60 miles), sometimes across the border into Angola. Swapo's fighters were almost always on foot, and Koevoet claimed major successes in pursuing them.

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ARCUS 21/3/89

SWA ruling: Government may appeal

Political Staff

THE South African government is expected to appeal against a Namibian Supreme Court decision invalidating a certificate issued by President Botha to halt criminal charges against six security force members.

The men were to stand trial on charges arising from the death of a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island detainee, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, in November 1968, when a Swapo meeting "was deliberately broken up by members of the military unit known as Battalion 101 wearing civilian dress".

President Botha issued a certificate last year invalidating criminal proceedings against Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel William Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimba and Private Steven Festus in terms of the Defence Act.

A spokesman for President Botha's office said today the judgment was being studied and legal advice would be sought.

Other sources indicated that the government was considering an appeal against the decision.

White House births

WASHINGTON. — President Bush's family dog Millie is running a fever after giving birth to six puppies in the White House. A medical bulletin said the English springer spaniel had "a mild post-delivery uterine infection". — Sapa-Reuter.

SA, Angola, Cuba start Namibia talks

CAT Times 21/3/89
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From SIMON BARBER

HAVANA. — South African, Angolan and Cuban delegations yesterday began two days of intensive discussions here to ensure the smooth start of the UN Namibian independence plan on April 1.

In the first of what is expected to be a series of regular three-monthly Joint Commission meetings in Havana, Dr Fidel Castro appeared to be rolling out the red carpet for the SA team headed by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden and SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The state newspaper Granma gave a different impression, however, blasting SA for delaying implementation of the UN plan and trying to rig the outcome of the constituent assembly elections set for November.

The release of prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papenfus was high on SA's agenda for the talks, but there was no immediate sign of progress. Mr Van Heerden described the negotiations as "sensitive".

Sgt Papenfus was allowed out of his cell on Sunday to spend the day at a secure house with his brother, sister and SABC television crew. Cuban officials went out of their way to show he was in good health.

Also on the agenda was Unita's refusal to permit the MPLA to establish ceasefire-monitoring posts along the eastern half of the Angola-Namibia border and South African charges that Swapo still has bases below the 16th parallel in violation of last August's ceasefire agreement.

The delegations and Soviet and US teams appeared to greet each other warmly when they arrived at the international conference centre where the talks are being held.

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Court re-opens SWA murder case

WINDHOEK. — The Attorney-General of Namibia, Mr Estienne Pretorius, is studying yesterday's Supreme Court ruling which invalidated a certificate issued to stop criminal proceedings against six security force members.

The men were to stand trial on charges related to the death of a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island detainee, Mr Immanuel Shifidi.

"We are looking at the logistics to see if we are in a position to proceed with the re-opening of the trial," Mr Pretorius told Sapa.

Mr Shifidi, 58, was stabbed to death at a Swapo political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30, 1986.

The daughter of the dead man, Miss Hilda Shifidi, brought an application last August to set aside the certificate.

The Administrator-General, Mr

Louis Pienaar, acting on instructions from the State President, Mr P W Botha, issued a certificate in terms of the Defence Act halting criminal proceedings on March 18 last year against Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimba and Private Steven Festus.

Violence

An inquest court heard that more than 50 troops of 101 Battalion stationed at Ondangwa in Ovambo were driven to Windhoek for the Swapo public meeting. The soldiers, in civilian clothing, were armed with knives, kieres and bows and arrows.

Minutes after the meeting began it erupted into violence.

After extensive police investigations, Mr Pretorius decided to

prosecute the soldiers on charges of murder and public violence.

According to the charge sheet, there had been a conspiracy among the six men to disrupt the meeting.

Colonel Welgemoed, commanding officer at the time of 101 Battalion, had received instructions from Colonel Vorster to send members of the battalion to the Windhoek meeting, the prosecution claimed.

In its ruling yesterday, the Supreme Court — presided over by the Judge-President, Mr Justice Hans Berker, Mr Justice Johan Strydom and Mr Justice Harold Levy — declared the certificate invalid.

● A spokesman for the office of the State President said no comment could be made on the judgment of the Windhoek Supreme Court before the full report of the judgment had been received and studied. — Sapa

IN THE Windhoek Supreme Court ruling declaring invalid the State President's certificate stopping the Shifidi murder trial, separate judgments were delivered by Judges Strydom and Levy and by the Judge President, Mr Justice Berker. All concluded that the certificate should be declared invalid.

In his judgment, the Judge President noted that on the evidence of the post-mortem inquiry no person could have reasonably arrived at the conclusion that the killing of Shifidi was done in good faith by members of the South African Defence Force in the prevention or suppression of terrorism, even if the soccer field (where the public meeting had been held) could technically fall within the definition of "operational area".

If there was any evidence placed before the State President in conflict with the evidence given at the post-mortem inquiry (which had been accepted as correct), such evidence would have to be placed before the court to counteract the very strong and clear evidence at the post-mortem inquiry which had caused the attorney-

'Good faith'
conclusion
impossible

general to institute proceedings.

In the Judge President's view, therefore, incomplete and biased information had been placed before the State President. The State President was required by the relevant legislation to consider a report by the Minister of Defence setting out the jurisdictional facts — in this case the circumstances of the death of Shifidi. On the balance of probabilities, this had not been done.

So the State President was not entitled to form an opinion on whether the action was done in the prevention or suppression of terrorism in an operational area and could not in law issue a certificate indemnifying

members of the Defence Force.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Levy noted that the charge of murder arose from the fact that a group of soldiers were ordered to break up a meeting. He noted that the State President accepted the inquest magistrate's finding (that Shifidi had been killed as a result of unlawful acts on the part of a group operation to disrupt a political meeting). This amounted to a finding that the football field was not a place or area where the people concerned were employed at the time "to prevent or suppress terrorism".

Mr Justice Levy also places on record certain views in which he differs from Mr Justice Stry-

dom. He said a totally wrong impression had been created in a legal adviser's report to the State President that primitive weapons had been carried by Swapo members at the meeting, whereas in fact they had been carried by members of R101 Battalion.

If the State President had the true facts before him "I am satisfied his opinion is grossly unreasonable".

"I am satisfied that had the State President been told:

1. That a bona fide political meeting was being held
2. on a football field:
3. in a suburb of Windhoek:
4. when the meeting was deliberately broken up by members of the military unit known as Battalion R101, wearing civilian dress:
5. armed with primitive weapons, including bows and arrows, assegais and pangas, and that
6. as a result a person attending such a meeting was killed ... he would not have formulated the opinion which he did. He could only have done so had he not applied his mind."

Cape Times 21/3/89

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Swapo qualifies on ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A senior Swapo official yesterday said Mr Sam Nujoma's weekend statement that an independent Namibia would support the struggle for liberation of South Africa did not mean they would allow the ANC to set up bases.

At a press conference in Lisbon on Sunday, Mr Nujoma, who is president of Swapo, was asked if a Swapo government in an independent Namibia would allow the ANC to set up bases.

Mr Nujoma replied that it would be

"crazy" for Swapo to try to intervene and stop "the just struggle of the South African people".

His answer was widely interpreted as meaning Swapo would allow the ANC to establish strike bases.

But the senior Swapo official explained that OAU policy was specifically limited to "diplomatic and political" support for "liberation movements" like the ANC.

The clear guidance yesterday was that while they will give the ANC all possible support, it will not include the hosting of bases.

Hospital.

After talks with security police at the weekend, Mr Malunga's lawyers have written to the authorities to confirm:

- That the docket concerning their client is now with the Attorney-General.
- That Mr Malunga will be charged on or before March 31.
- That his lawyer will get at least 24 hours' notice of his court appearance.

Relatives are hoping that this will mean that Mr Malunga's sister, Miss Grace Malunga (31), who was detained on the same day as him



MR SAM Nujoma . . . support for ANC.

SWAPO WARNED

Southern 21/3/89
SWAPO was given a firm warning yesterday that armed insurrection from ANC bases in independent Namibia would not be tolerated.

The warning was issued yesterday following ambiguous statements made by Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, in a speech in Lisbon at the weekend.

Mr Nujoma avoided saying when bases would be provided when asked whether he would allow ANC bases in Namibia saying: "The people of Namibia will continue to support the people of South Africa within the framework of African solidarity."

Spokesman for the Ministry of Defence Dr

D A S Herbst said yesterday that he had not seen the original of what Mr Nujoma had said but "South Africa's general ground rule for interaction between countries is that it cannot allow the export of revolution."

"If Swapo allowed ANC bases to be used in attacks on South Africa, it must expect swift counter-measures."

Dr Herbst strongly denied claims made by Mr Nujoma that the SADF intended to "shed the uniforms" of thousands of SADF troops to allow them to vote in the elections.

"We will keep to spirit and protocols of the agreements," he said.

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Dramatic new trial SADF 6 murder

SIX SADF soldiers could again find themselves before a Namibian court charged with murdering a Swapo supporter, following a decision yesterday morning by the Windhoek Supreme Court that declared invalid a certificate issued by President Botha halting judicial proceedings against the men.

The Attorney-General in Windhoek, Mr Estienne Pretorius, said his office would request the SWA police to re-submit the murder docket which formed the basis of the prosecution against the soldiers. The trial of the men was halted shortly after it had begun in the supreme court here early last year, following the production of a certificate signed by President Botha in terms of the South African Defence Act.

Mr Botha's certificate indemnified them from prosecution on the ground that their actions had been

WINDHOEK

COURT

THROWS

OUT PWS

INDEMNITY

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carried out "in good faith" for the purposes of "combating terrorism in an operational area."

The six soldiers — Colonel J H Vorster, Colonel W H Welgemoed, Commandant A J Botes, Lieutenant N J Prinsloo, Corporal E C Kashimbi and Rifleman S Festus — were accused of murdering Mr Immanuel Shifidi during a Swapo rally in Windhoek on November 30 1986. Swapo claimed at the time that the military had brought soldiers, armed with sticks, knives and even bows and arrows, to

Windhoek to disrupt the gathering. In the resulting violence, Mr Shifidi was killed.

Attorney-General Mr Pretorius said he would be studying yesterday's supreme court judgment, and would also consider the possibility that the decision would be appealed by South Africa. When the SWA police had re-submitted the murder docket, the office of the attorney-general would see whether it would be logistically possible to re-start the trial.

A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force was unavailable for comment, but it is understood that some of the accused may have already been transferred back to South Africa, or may have been demobilised as part of the force's demobilisation programme in terms of the UN's Resolution 435 peace and independence plan. — *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

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The Namibian's editor invited to Soviet Union

THE editor of the *Namibian* in Windhoek, Ms Gwen Lister, has been invited to visit the Soviet Union.

"It is essentially an invitation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee to visit Moscow which I'd like to take up," Ms Lister said yesterday.

"It is up to me to decide whether to go. I must still make arrangements and organise a passport so I will probably go later this year, if possible," she said.

Sovereign 21/5/89

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SA soldiers may be tried in Windhoek court again

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Six South African Defence Force soldiers could again find themselves before a Namibian court charged with murdering a Swapo supporter.

This follows a decision yesterday by the Windhoek Supreme Court which declared invalid a certificate issued by President Botha halting judicial proceedings against the men.

The Attorney-General in Windhoek, Mr Etienne Pretorius, said his office would request the SWA Police to re-submit the murder docket which formed the basis of the prosecution against the soldiers.

The trial of the men was halted shortly after it had begun in the Supreme Court here early last year, following the production of a certificate signed by President Botha in terms of the South African Defence Act.

Mr Botha's certificate indemnified them from prosecution on the ground that their actions had been carried out "in good faith" for the purposes of "combating terrorism in an operational area".

The six soldiers — Colonel J H Vorster, Colonel W H Welgemoed, Commandant A J Botes, Lieutenant N J Prinsloo, Corporal E C Kashir, and Rifleman S Festus — were accused of murdering Mr Immanuel Shifidi during a Swapo rally in Windhoek on November 30 1986.

Swapo claimed at the time that the military had brought soldiers, armed with sticks, knives and even bows and arrows, to Windhoek to disrupt the gathering. In the resulting violence, Mr Shifidi was killed.

'Umbrella Man' who must keep peace in sunny Namibia

221

It took nine years before Lieutenant-General Dewan Prem Chand could finally assume on the ground his position as commander of the United Nations forces in Namibia.

But, as a man used to the obstacles faced by all UN peacekeeping operations, General Chand was fully aware of the political difficulties that others still had to resolve before he could begin doing the job for which he was appointed in January 1980.

Although a peace agreement was then very far from being accepted, in that year General Chand travelled to Namibia for talks on the creation of a demilitarised zone between Namibia and Angola, which was regarded as an essential part of the negotiations then going on.

General Chand, fit and trim-figured despite his 73 years, is a handsome man who dresses and speaks immaculately.

He is neither a stranger to Africa nor to the United Nations and has been asked several times to come out of retirement to work for the UN.

While still with the Indian Army, he commanded the UN peace force in the then Belgian Congo during the bloody clashes in 1962 and 1963. The UN troops under his command in the Katanga area (now Shaba

General Prem Chand will be the man in the middle during Namibia's transitional period to independence. As commander of the 4 650 soldiers of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag), General Chand will have to ensure that there are no violations of the independence agreements. JOAO

SANTIA RITA of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

province) helped restore peace after a secessionist rebellion.

He retired from the Indian Army in 1967 but was asked to come out of retirement in 1969 to command the UN troops sent to Cyprus, where he had to cope with the 1974 Turkish invasion and its aftermath, a task for which the lightly armed 4 000 troops he led was never intended.

After he retired from there at his own request in 1976, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, described General Chand's work in Cyprus as "a near miracle".

A year later General Chand was appointed United Nations special representative for Rhodesia as part of a UN settlement plan that was never implemented.

Although his appointment never had any practical effect, he managed to meet several African leaders

as part of the diplomatic efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Rhodesian war.

According to former army colleagues, he has a particularly good understanding and appreciation of the potential and operational capacity of the UN peace-keeping forces.

"He knows what they can and cannot do," one former colleague was quoted as saying.

Possessing great charm, he has been described as both looking and being exactly the sort of Indian general that Sandhurst would have turned out.

In fact, he was trained at the Indian Army's Staff College at Quetta.

General Chand is also described by those who know him as being a man of scrupulous fairness and integrity. He was said to have been a popular commander and a man who carried out orders firmly and passionately.

While in the Congo he was nicknamed "the umbrella-

man" because the UN force stationed there was known as the "UN Umbrella", but in Windhoek some local journalists have started calling him "Salvador", saying he resembles the late Spanish painter, Salvador Dali.

General Chand was born in 1916 of Hindi-Punjabi parents and did his military training at Lahore and Quetta.

He served on the North West Frontier and in Malaya during the closing stages of World War 2.

He has served with the First Gurkha Rifles and was given command of the regiment's centre at Dharamsala and later held appointments as deputy director of military training, director of selection of personnel, director of personnel services and director of military intelligence.

In 1959 General Prem Chand was appointed Brigadier-General (Staff) at the headquarters of the Western Command at Simla and was promoted to Chief of Staff in 1961 with the rank of major-general.

He was later appointed Chief of Staff at the headquarters of the Eastern Command in Calcutta. He was then posted to the Ministry of Defence as director-general of the National Cadets Corps from where he retired.



Lieutenant-General Prem Chand of the United Nations force

No ANC bases in
Namibia - Swapo

8/22 21/3/87
Foreign News Service

LISBON — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday reiterated his movement's support for the African National Congress but said there would be no room in independent Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent state of Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighbouring state," he told a news conference in Lisbon.

"But we will support through all means the struggle of the ANC within the framework of the OAU and the UN," he said.

Star 21/3/89 (221) (S)

No room for ANC bases – Nujoma

The Star's Foreign
News Service

LISBON — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma reiterated yesterday his movement's support for the African National Congress, but said there would be no room in Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent state of Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighbouring state," he said at a news conference when questioned on Swapo's future policy.

"But we will support through all means the struggle of the ANC within the framework of the OAU and the UN," Mr Nujoma added, stressing that the strategy for combatting apartheid

— "whether by arms or other means" — was "solely a decision" of the ANC.

Mr Nujoma said he was convinced Swapo would win the two-thirds majority needed to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia, but he did not rule out accords with other Namibian political forces.

"Once the colonialists are not there, the Namibian people can talk to each other and reach compromises for a national government," he said.

Mr Nujoma dodged questions on whether Swapo would allow a multi-party system, saying such issues should "not be imposed from the outside but decided at home".

Why peace costs more than war

By PETER FABRICIUS,
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's long embroilment in the war in South West Africa/Namibia and Angola is coming to an end — but it has emerged, with some startlement, that the peace is going to cost more than the war.

This year's R8 655-billion defence budget — up R1 741 899-million on last year's budget — and the R460-million addition to last year's budget, clearly show this.

It is difficult to say how much the bush war cost. Independent military experts roughly estimate it at about R1-million a day.

The military itself gives a rough figure of about half that — R100-million to R150-million a year.

Whichever figure is right, it is obvious that the amount is just a drop in the ocean of extra money which the SADF demands to keep itself ready to counter threats against the country.

And the SADF explains that the costs of the bush war have in any case been "marginal" compared to the basic costs incurred anyway by maintaining a defence force at the ready.

To maintain readiness to counter threats against the country, national service is not to be reduced, as Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has pointed out.

That the peace would cost more than the war first became apparent when the SADF asked for an extra R460-million in its additional budget recently to balance its books for last year. It was confirmed last

week when the SADF presented its R8 655 551-million main budget for 1989/90. This was up R1 741 899-million on last year's Budget — a hefty 20 percent. The SADF pointed out, however, that after making allowance for salary hikes the increase over last year's actual expenditure was only 13,7 percent.

Most of these extra costs were caused by the war ending, either directly or indirectly.

In the additional budget, ● About R17-million was the estimated direct cost of the actual implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 during the present book year;

● About R130-million was to cover the cost of physically withdrawing troops from Angola and Namibia and accommodating them in South Africa — the total cost of which would eventually rise to between R150 to R200-million if one included costs to be incurred in the 1989/90 budget.

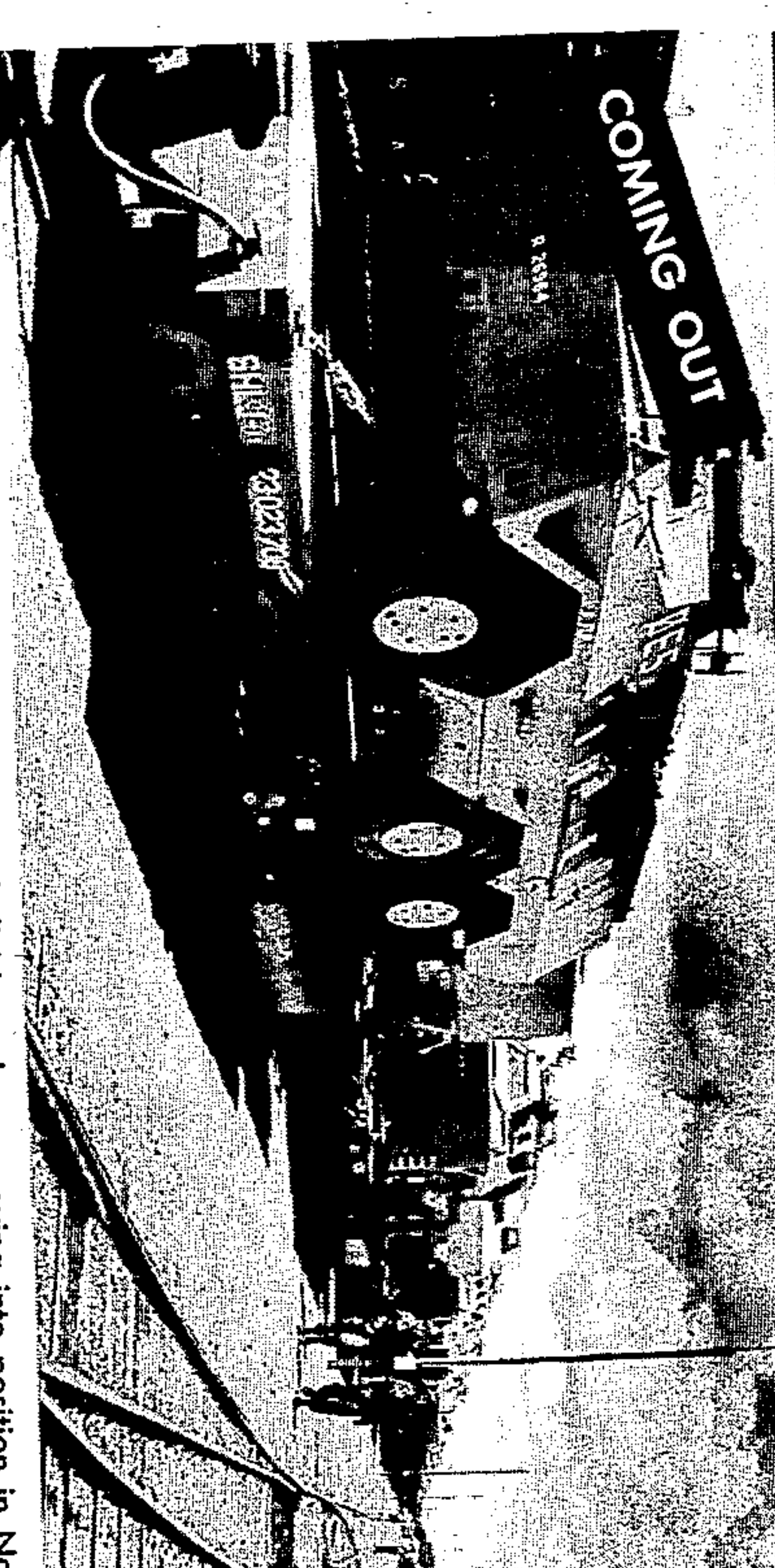
Adjustments

But most of the additional budget — about R345-million — was because of the "changed strategic situation in Southern Africa arising from the withdrawal of the SADF from Angola," a defence memorandum to the budget said.

"This resulted in the SADF having to review its planning and make certain adjustments to its force structure.

Essentially this was explained by military financial sources along these lines:

While South Africa was fighting well inside Angola, the front line was far from bases in Namibia which were well beyond the reach of the enemy's conventional weaponry — including



WAR ... AND PEACE: Flashback to an armoured division, above, moving into position in Namibia back in 1975, and below, the costly process of withdrawal and shipping of equipment back to South Africa after the signing of the peace treaty.

MiG23 aircraft.

So it was possible to defend these bases lightly and cheaply.

When the SADF pulled back to Namibian bases in August last year under the Geneva Agreement these bases came within the range

attached to the budget, that the main increase is due to the need for the SADF to "finance its long-postponed modernisation and re-equipment programmes.

"Neither the threat nor the necessity to replace obsolete weapons systems has disappeared, while the arms embargo is still in force.

The SADF now had to enter into "long-term commitments" to meet the challenges of the nineties.

Any savings in the SADF's "operating expenses" — that is, the cost of the war — will be ploughed back into these programmes.

This means that even after the direct costs of ending the war — and defending the new frontline in Namibia — have ended, the SADF will still spend substantially more money than it did at the height of hostilities.

Military sources explain that the costs of fighting a mostly unconventional war like that in Namibia/Angola are "marginal" compared to the basic costs of keeping a standing army at the ready.

Military sources explain that the war costs, which would not be incurred by a ready army anyway, are few and consist of details such as the R7 a day border allowance for troops.

Even the cost of ammunition will not be reduced by much, they say. Relatively little ammunition was fired in the bush war and during peace time it had to be produced at almost the same rate — because its shelf life was so short.

Mr Roger Hulley, the Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, said he could not accept that the peace would cost more than the war.

"In the very short term this might be so because of

the cost of moving troops and re-establishing bases of defending different lines.

"But if you look beyond one year there should be a massive de-escalation of costs if you can do with less troops and lower running costs.

Plough back

"There should be a significant saving ploughed back into productive economic uses.

"I can see no need for defence budget increases."

However military expert Mr Helmoed-Romer Heltman — the South African correspondent of the authoritative Jane's Defence Weekly — agrees with the military that development of conventional weapons was neglected during the war and that the defence budget was for a while too low at about four percent of gross domestic product.

It needed to rise to about seven to eight percent to catch up but he thought it unlikely the public would let the Defence Force get away with such a large increase because of the popular perception that peace should cost less than war.

He said the country needed several new weapons, including:

● A fighter aircraft fleet which could cost between R1 500 million and R3 000 million;

● A new air defence system — the SADF had been forced to try to shoot down MiG23s with 20mm cannon during the war;

● New submarines at about R300-million each;

● A new tank to replace the aged Centurion;

● A combat helicopter and a replacement for the Puma helicopter.

Army admits to Young's Field suicide attempts

READERS will be delighted to hear that the Great Young's Field Suicide Attempt Mystery has been solved — by the army itself.

A spokesman for the chief of the army called me last week to confess: "Our faces are very, very, red. Our statement to you was wrong. Yes, there have been suicide attempts at Young's Field, and we would like to apologise to you and your readers — it was an honest mistake."

The SADF's original denial that there had been any suicide attempts at Young's Field by members of the February intake resulted, I am given to understand, from crossed wires between two departments, the result being that Question A received Answer B, to the eventual discomfiture of all involved.

The correct facts, according to the army, are as follows:

- There were four attempted suicides at Young's Field during February.

- Three involved the February 1989 intake and one a 1988-intake "ouman".

- The details of the attempt by the "ouman" are not yet available because the routine investigations are not yet complete, but the three other cases consisted of two pill overdoses and one wrist-slashing.

- The three 1989-intake attempts did not do much harm: The pill-swallowers took their overdoses in full view of their comrades, while the wrist-slasher "scratched" himself a couple of times with the knife from his mess kit.

- One made his play because he had felt "crowded" in his bungalow, and another after his request for a transfer was turned down. The third had long-standing personal problems and a history of pre-service suicide attempts.

- All three were referred to 2 Military Hospital, and one is still under psychiatric treatment; the opinion is that all three attempts were actually "cries for attention" rather than serious essays at suicide.

Well, there you are. It has all been rather unfortunate; the bright points are firstly that readers made their voices heard and got the whole thing

into the open, secondly that the army realised its mistake and was already assembling the real facts for release to me before I made further inquiries, and thirdly that steps have been taken to ensure incorrect facts are not released.

Belt up, Sam

I do not believe readers should be too worried about about Swapo leader Sam Nujoma's recent outpourings (a couple of weeks ago he was going to seize Walvis Bay, and now he is planning to allow ANC bases across the Orange River — a remark on which, I notice, Swapo spokesmen started back-pedalling immediately).

Mr Nujoma has a congenital weakness for tactless statements, so I think we should see his remarks for the empty bletherings they are.

- Firstly, Swapo has yet to win a convincing election victory. I have it on good (non-official) authority that it is not having things all its own way; conventional wisdom aside, at this stage things could go either way.

- Secondly, in the event of such a victory Mr Nujoma might well find himself sidelined by the Young Turks who have been at the coalface while he has been lolling in Lusaka these 25 years past.

- Thirdly, attacking Walvis Bay or setting up ANC camps would be regarded as a *casus belli* by the South African government, which has shown that it has no scruples about attacking any perceived threats. In any case, Pretoria will have a future Namibia firmly by the financial short and curlies.

So let's all just keep cool. And maybe Mr Nujoma's mates should gag him.

Good show, Ysterplaat

I must have attended a dozen Ysterplaat "open days" in my time, and they have always been well-organized events, but I think readers will agree with me that last Saturday's was the slickest of them all. Full marks to Colonel Des Lynch, the OC Ysterplaat, chief organiser Commandant Dereck Emery and all their colleagues.

- Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.

CAE 1 in 15. 22/3/89

'Generous' talks

From SIMON BARBER

HAVANA. — Sergeant Johan Papen-
fus's freedom hung in the balance yes-
terday as South Africa, Angola and
Cuba met for the second day of Joint
Monitoring Commission talks here.

Foreign Affairs Director-General
Mr Neil van Heerden called the nego-
tiations for the prisoner's release
"generous and substantive" but de-
clined to speculate on whether he
would soon be freed from the military
police barracks where he has been
held for the past eight months.

There were indications that if a deal
was not struck this week, Sergeant
Papenfus's confinement could be sig-
nificantly prolonged. The South Afri-
can side was believed to be hoping
that Angola and Cuba would drop
their insistence on trading him for
prisoners held by Unita.

In other developments at the talks,
SA renewed its offer to let Angolan
troops pass through Namibia to set up

ceasefire-monitoring posts along the
eastern half of the border in territory
contested by Unita. The MPLA has
thus far declined the invitation.

There was, however, broad agree-
ment that the Joint Monitoring Com-
mission overseeing the seven-month-
old ceasefire should continue in
operation after the UN independence
plan goes into effect in Namibia on
April 1.

Mr Van Heerden said there was also
"general feeling" that the UN team
monitoring Cuban withdrawal should
issue regular progress reports
through the Security Council.

The presence of Swapo bases south
of the 16 parallel in violation of the
Geneva protocol remained a point of
contention. The Angolans assured SA
that they had used their good offices
to secure Swapo's withdrawal, but Mr
Van Heerden made it clear this was
not satisfactory.

● More reports, page 5



HAVANA TALKS ... The head of the first
South African delegation to visit Cuba since
the 1959 revolution, Mr Neil van Heerden
(second from right), in Havana on Monday at
the start of monitoring commission talks.

New union for Namibian teachers

(22)
South

22-29/3/89

NAMIBIAN teachers, long regarded as passive bystanders in the territory's struggle for independence, have formed a national union committed to playing an active political role.

The Namibian National Teachers' Union (Nantu) was launched in Windhoek earlier this month.

Among the 400 delegates were several Ovamboland teachers who walked and hiked the 1 000 kilometres to the capital.

The blue, green and red of Swapo predominated at the launch which took place on the eve of the implementation of Resolution 435.

Nantu is the first national teachers' body in the territory. Previous teachers' organisations were regional and ethnical based.

Political pressure

Resolutions emphasised that the union would play a dual role, acting as a political pressure group as well as dealing with shopfloor issues.

"Teachers as educators need to be prepared to enter a new society liberated from the traditional ways of thinking and teaching implanted by decades of colonialism," said guest speaker Paul Kalenga, of the Namibian National Students Organisation (Nanso).

Kalenga said the struggle for a better education system was "an integral part of the struggle in Namibia".

Genuine political independence was a precondition for "people's education" and education would play a vital role in the process of national reconstruction after the winning political power, he said.

Spanish join UN forces in Namibia

Call Temp. 22/389
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MADRID. — The first of 85 Spanish Air Force personnel left here yesterday for Namibia where they were to provide logistical support to the UN peacekeeping force there to oversee the elections, an Air Force spokesman said.

Meanwhile the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, is scheduled to arrive in Windhoek on March 31 to take control of the UN settlement operation, a spokesman said yesterday.

The existing law on the protection of fundamental rights will be rewritten and promulgated to discourage intimidation, the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, announced this week, according to Sapa.

— Sapa-AP

Appeal ~~184~~
expected 221

Sowetan 22/3/8
THE South African Government is expected to appeal against a SWA/Namibia Supreme Court decision invalidating a certificate issued by President P W Botha to halt criminal charges against six security force members.

The men were to stand trial on charges relating to the death of a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island detainee, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, in November 1968.

Budget memorandum claims need for a major programme of weapons development

Star 22/3/87

Peace will cost more than war, says SADF

221



It appears the cost of peace in SWA/Namibia will be higher than the cost of South Africa's war there — PETER FABRICIUS reports.

South Africa's big embroilment in the war in South West Africa/Namibia and Angola is coming to an end — but now it has emerged that the peace is going to cost more than the war.

This year's R1.55 billion defence budget — up R1 741,899 million on last year's budget — and the R460 million addition to last year's budget, clearly show this.

It is difficult to say how much the bush war cost. Independent military experts roughly estimate it at about R1 000 000 a day.

The military itself gives a rough figure of about half that — R100 million to R150 million a year.

Whichever figure is right, it is obvious that the amount is just a drop in the ocean of the extra money which the SADF demands to keep itself ready to counter threats against the country.

And the SADF explains that the costs of the bush war have in any case been "marginal" compared to the basic costs incurred anyway by maintaining a defence force at the ready.

To maintain readiness to counter threats against the country, national service is not to be reduced, as Defence Minister Federal Magnus Malan has said.

Balance books

That the peace would cost more than the war first became apparent when the SADF asked for an extra R460 million in its additional budget recently to balance its books for 1987.

The SADF's R1.55 billion main budget for 1989/90 is up a hefty 20 percent on last year's budget.

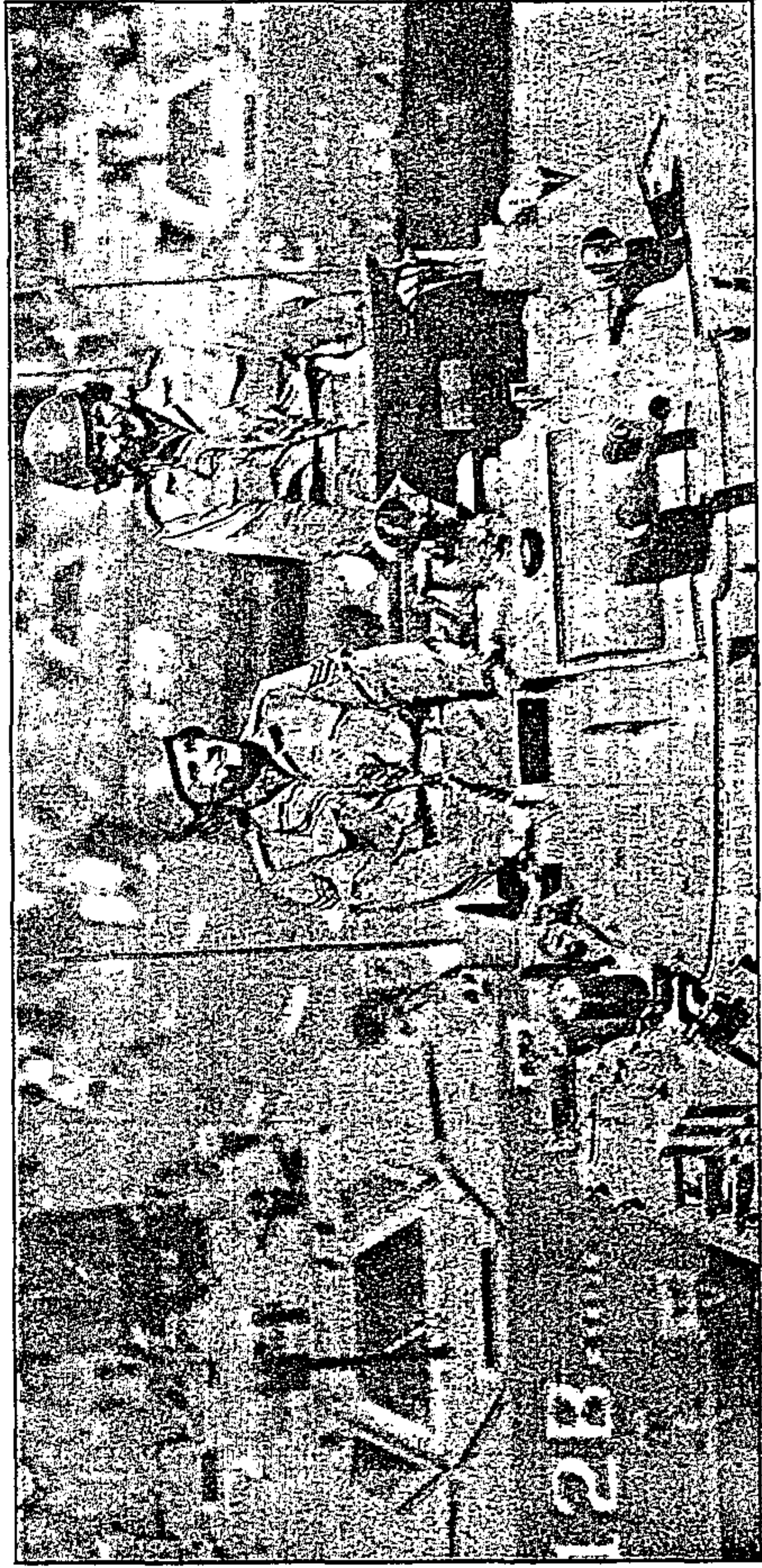
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● But most of the additional budget — about R345 million — was because of the "changed strategic situation in southern Africa arising from the withdrawal of the SADF from Angola", a defence memorandum to the budget said.

Essentially this was explained by military financial sources along these lines:



The 72 Motorised Infantry Brigade drive Ratel personnel carriers in a Johannesburg parade — the costs of maintaining an ever-ready army are far higher than those incurred in the bush war, according to the SADF.

While South Africa was fighting well inside Angola, the front line was far from bases in Namibia which were well beyond the reach of the enemy's conventional weaponry — including MiG23 aircraft.

When the SADF pulled back to Namibian bases in August last year under the Geneva Agreement these bases came within the range of conventional attack.

The defences of these bases had to be beefed up — and the production of certain weapons such as the Rooikat armoured car had to be accelerated.

In the 1989/90 Budget the costs of implementing the SWA/Namibia peace plan still figure.

But it is clear that the bulk of the increase will go

to developing, producing and buying new weapons. This time the SADF gives no strategic motive but explains that the increase is due to the need for the SADF to "finance its long-postponed modernisation and re-equipment programmes".

"Neither the threat nor the necessity to replace obsolete weapons systems has disappeared while the arms embargo is still in force."

The SADF now had to enter into "long-term commitments" to meet the challenges of the nineties.

Any savings in the SADF's "operating expenses" — that is, the cost of the war — will be ploughed back into these programmes.

This means that even after the direct costs of ending the war — and defending the new front line in Namibia — have ended, the SADF will still spend substantially more money than it did at the height of hostilities.

Military sources explain that the costs of fighting a mostly unconventional war like that in Namibia/Angola are "marginal" compared to the basic costs of

keeping a standing army at the ready. Military sources explain that the war costs which would not be incurred by a ready army anyway are few and consist of details such as the R7 a day border allowance for troops.

Even the cost of ammunition will not be reduced by much, they say. Relatively little ammunition was fired in the bush war and during peace time it has to be produced at almost the same rate — because its shelf life is so short.

Mr Roger Hulley, the Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, said that he could not accept that the peace would cost more than the war.

"In the very short term this might be so because of the cost of moving troops and re-establishing bases of defending different lines."

'Massive de-escalation'

"But if you look beyond one year there should be a massive de-escalation of costs if you can do with less troops and lower running costs," Mr Hulley said.

"There should be a significant saving ploughed back into productive economic uses."

"I can see no need for defence budget increases."

However military expert Mr Helmut-Romar Heitman — the South African correspondent of the authoritative Jane's Defence Weekly — agrees with the military that development of conventional weapons had been neglected during the war and that the defence budget had for a while been too low at about four percent of gross domestic product.

It needed to rise to about seven to eight percent to catch up but he thought it unlikely the public would let the defence force get away with such a large increase because of the popular perception that peace should cost less than war.

He said the country needed several new weapons, including:

- A fighter aircraft fleet which could cost between R1 500 million and R3 000 million;
- A new air defence system — the SADF had been forced to try to shoot down MiG23s with 20 mm cannon during the war;
- New submarines at about R300 million each;
- A new tank to replace the aged Centurion;
- A combat helicopter and a replacement for the Puma helicopter.

JEWELMART'S
GRAND BAZAAR

1726,45 23/3/88 SA 221

OAU doesn't trust SA in Namibian peace role

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE.— None of the euphoria reported to exist in South Africa over peace initiatives and breakthroughs was evident at the meeting here of the special Organisation of African Unity committee on Southern Africa.

Instead there were repeated warnings yesterday that South Africa could not be trusted to implement the Namibian independence process and that it had launched a diplomatic offensive to try to divide African countries.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe said South Africa must be told there could be no dialogue with it until the leadership committed itself to peace in the region.

Pretoria must be seen to be working genuinely for the replacement of apartheid with a new democratic, just and peaceful order, he said.

He said South Africa had to stop its cross-border raids on independent neighbouring states and its support for

"armed bandits" in Mozambique and Angola.

Until all these conditions were met, there should be no compromise, and the international community should be urged to intensify its condemnation and isolation of South Africa. Demands for sanctions should continue and the "oppressed must intensify the liberation struggle", Mr Mugabe said.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, said if South Africa tried to falsify the Namibian election results "we will go back to the bush and fight the Boers".

He claimed South Africa was infiltrating troops disguised as game wardens into Caprivi to set up a supply route to Unita.

Mr Nujoma said the OAU must take steps to ensure the elections were free, fair and democratic. As long as they were, Swapo would abide by the decision of the Namibian people.

The meeting was also addressed by the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Negotiated Namibia settlement 'a lesson' for SA

By DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africans could learn a number of lessons about their own internal situation from the developments in Namibia, said Mr Laurie Nathan, former national co-ordinator of the End Conscription Campaign.

He was addressing a packed hall at the University of Cape Town last night in the first of a series of four current-affairs lectures organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Talk to ANC

Peace in Namibia had finally come about through negotiation and not military intervention, he said.

Just as Pretoria had finally sat down and talked to its enemies in Namibia, so too it should do with the African National Congress in its own country, he said.

The immediate goal of such talks would be the cessation of violence on all sides. The ultimate goal would be the peace-

ful transfer of power to the majority and this would demand compromises on all sides.

Mr Nathan stressed that no matter how high the level of repression, Pretoria could not thwart the advances of the democratic movement and the accession to power by the majority of the people.

It was no longer a question of whether there would be a transfer of power to the majority but rather when and at what cost this would take place.

"The biggest obstacle to free and fair elections in Namibia was South Africa's ongoing interference in that process, in contravention of the letter and spirit of Resolution 435".

The Namibian post-independence period would not be without its problems. These would include the "flight of skills and capital" from the country, the real possibility of ongoing racial and ethnic violence and the serious limitation of an economy that, as a member of the audience quipped, "could be drained with a Bobcard in Somerset West".

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Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICAN prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papenfus is to be freed on April 1 in a major prisoner exchange.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, announced last night that Sergeant Papenfus, who has been held in Cuba for the past nine months after being captured in Angola, will be returning to South Africa.

In a brief statement he said South Africa, Angola and Cuba had reached agreement on an exchange of prisoners on April 1.

"South African prisoner Johan Papenfus is included in the exchange."

Sergeant Papenfus was injured in action and was sent from Angola to Cuba for specialised hospital treatment.

His eventual release follows the signing of the New York accord, cementing an end to the war between South Africa and Angola and making provision for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 bringing independence to Namibia.

The start of the implementation of

Son of Passtoors to visit her in jail

JOHANNESBURG. — Belgian Embassy official confirmed that negotiations were under way, saying: "We are closer than we have ever been, but I cannot tell you anything definite at this stage."

Passtoors's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he could not confirm the reports. Passtoors was arrested in 1983 on charges of helping to ferry arms, identify targets and establish weapons caches for the ANC.

Her former husband, Mr Klaas de Jonge, was arrested about the same time. He escaped from police custody to the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, where he lived for two years until he was sent home as part of an elaborate prisoner exchange. — Sapa-Reuter

Passtoors was arrested with her husband Mr Klaas de Jonge, who later escaped and took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, from where he was finally freed in a major prisoner swap involving South Africa, France, Angola and the Netherlands. The swap took place late in 1987.

Mr Botha held talks with his Belgian counterpart, Mr Leo Tindemans, last week and the Belgian government is due to meet today to discuss the issue. Mr Botha said after meeting Mr Tindemans that he would have to report to the State Security Council, which he is understood to have done this week. It is understood the matter was also raised at yesterday's cabinet meeting. Today's meeting of the Belgian government will apparently discuss the latest South African proposals on the issue and if agreement can be reached, Ms Passtoors could also be freed within the foreseeable future.

The release of Sergeant Papenfus followed a meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission in Cuba which is being attended by Cuba, Angola and South Africa, with Russia and the United States as observers. Before the meeting this week, the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said the release of Sergeant Papenfus was at the top of the South African agenda. He said a "global exchange" was being worked on but that one of the major stumbling-blocks was disagreement over the number of Cubans being held by Unita. While Unita claimed it had only two Cuban prisoners, Cuba claimed that they had far more.

counterpart, Mr Leo Tindemans, last week and the Belgian government is due to meet today to discuss the issue.

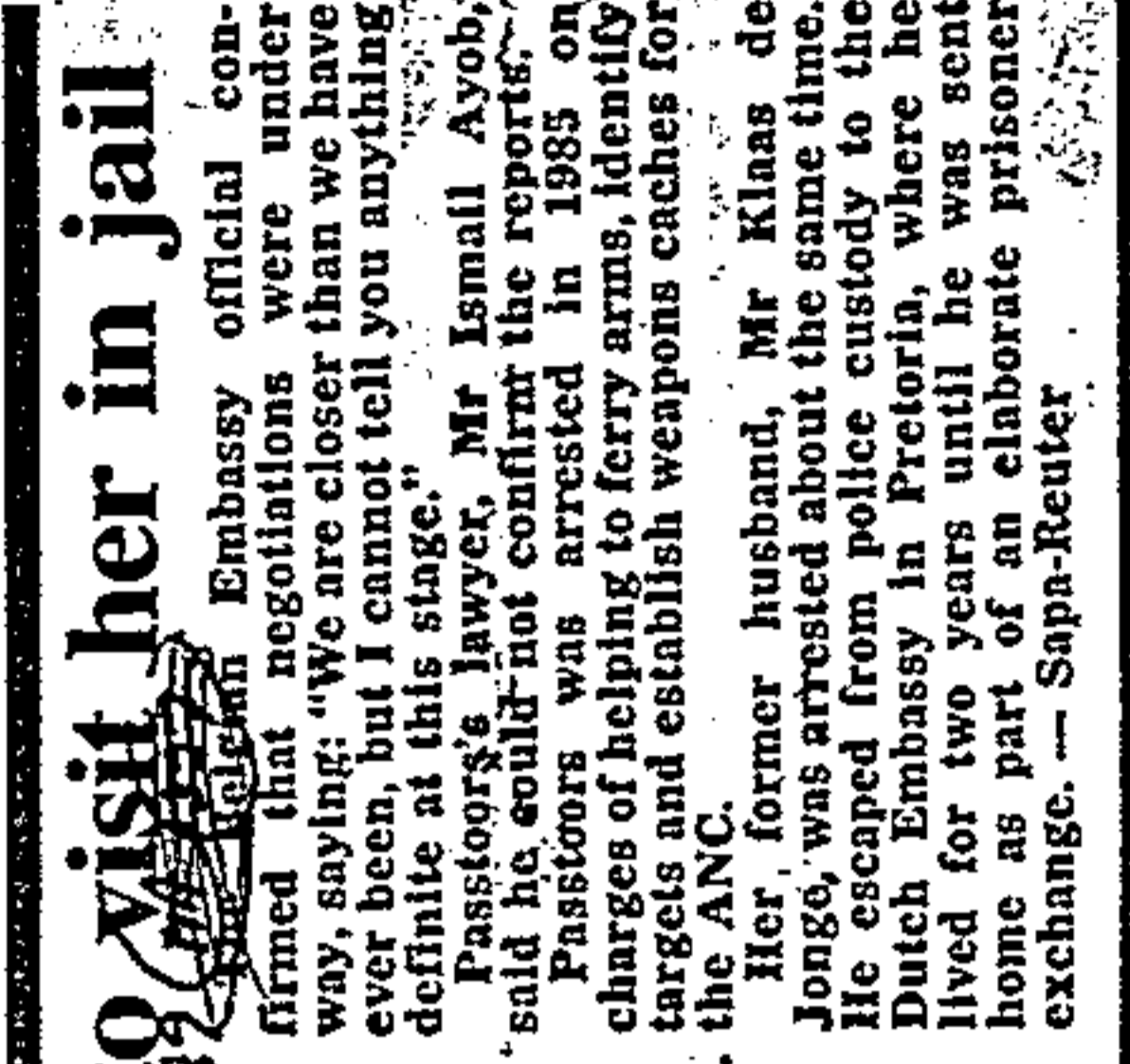
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FREE SOON ... PoW Sergeant Johan Papenfus

Swapo slates 'sinister' SA election plan

Cape Times

23/3/89

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Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday made his most outspoken threat to date to take his guerillas "back to the bush" if he is not satisfied with the result of the United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia.

Speaking at the opening of an Organisation of African Unity meeting on Southern Africa, Mr Nujoma said SA was engaged in a "sinister plan" to frustrate UN Resolution 435 and the principle of free and fair elections.

"We will go back to the bush and fight if the boers try to do so," Mr Nujoma told a meeting presided over by the OAU chairman, President Moussa Traore of Mali.

His specific anxieties included:

- The failure of Pretoria to repudiate claims by supporters of the National Party in Namibia that they would take up arms to prevent Resolution 435 being implemented.

- Attempts to fix the voting age at 21, thus disenfranchising an estimated 30% of the Swapo vote.

- Use of a candidate list system which, he claimed, would enable votes to be transferred to defeated opponents of Swapo in other constituencies.

- The deployment of SADF personnel in the Caprivi Strip in civilian

clothes as nature conservationists, with the aim of continuing assistance to Unita.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo would abide by the elections only if the decision of the voters was freely and fairly expressed.

He said it was the task of Swapo to ensure that "the movement of freedom is brought forward from the Kunene River to the Orange River with a view to crushing the apartheid regime".

Cuban and Angolan forces at Cuito Cuanavale had destroyed the position in South African politics of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, he told the meeting.

Attempts to reach the Department of Foreign Affairs in Cape Town and Pretoria yesterday for reaction to Mr Nujoma's remarks were unsuccessful.

Speaking at the same ceremony, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia supported calls by Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe for caution in expecting South Africa to honour its undertakings over Namibia, and urged all-out assistance to Swapo to help it win the elections.

He said the "matter of gravest concern to Africa today" was the United States's continued support for Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels, and which country was to be selected as the "victim" to channel American aid to Unita once Namibia was independent.

Windhoek jam-packed

WINDHOEK. — UN officials jam-packed into the crowded city are asking the organization's New York headquarters to slow down the influx of Untag administrators until the city has room for them.

"We have up to four officials in one hotel room," Untag administration chief Mr Abdou Ciss said yesterday.

Summer tourists, the Easter weekend holiday and a huge influx of journalists and diplomats monitoring the independence process have worsened Windhoek's usual housing and accommodation shortage.

Some 100 civilians and 500 troops drafted into the multinational UN force are already in the territory, Mr Ciss said.

About 600 more civilian administrators, three battalions of Malaysian, Finnish and Kenyan in-

From KEVIN JACOBS
who will report on the
Namibian elections for
the Cape Times

fantry, Italian and Spanish air units and logistical support companies are scheduled to arrive in the next three weeks to complete the 5 000-strong international force supervising the run-up to November elections and eventual nationhood for Namibia.

Five ships ferrying the infantry battalions will arrive in Walvis Bay between April 9 and 18, Untag military spokesman Lt-Col Jean-Robert Hinse said yesterday.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN supremo in Namibia from the April 1 start-up of the independence process, is scheduled to arrive on March 31 to assume interim stewardship of the territory's government with

administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar.

As a voluntary contribution to Untag, 167 Volkswagen cars and minibuses will today be handed over to Untag by the head of West Germany's diplomatic observer mission in Namibia, Dr Gerd Massmann.

About 20 Untag military personnel from Panama and 23 Swiss medical staff were expected to arrive in Windhoek yesterday, UN spokesmen said.

Also expected tomorrow are the UN commissioner of police, Mr Steven Fanning, and senior officers.

Meanwhile, the UN reported much interest in advertisements to recruit Namibian staff for the UN operation.

There were 800 posts available for local administrative personnel, including 200 interpreters.

Careers at crowning point

221
23/3/89

Mr Martii Ahtisaari of the United Nations and Mr Louis Pienaar, the Administrator, who are both experienced diplomats and bureaucrats, will be co-operating, in theory at least, to ensure that the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia goes ahead smoothly.

Both will realise they are close to the end of their careers, and that the Namibian exercise will be the crowning point, and so both will not want to be seen to come off second-best in encounters with their opposite number.

But both men will, in a sense, be prisoners to the expectations of their employers, and to the long history of antagonism between Pretoria and the UN, although Mr Pienaar has vowed to act "as impartially as a judge" during the transition to independence.

He has said that from the start of implementation of the plan on April 1 he will distance himself from Pretoria and will not be "the representative of South Africa".

Yet the fact remains that South Africa mistrusts the UN, particularly on the question of impartiality, given that the world body was responsible for declaring Swapo "the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people".

Mr Pienaar has already shown how touchy the South Africans will be over the question of impartiality,

BY BRENDAN SEERY,
The Star's Africa News Service

After waiting in the wings for ten years, Finland's Mr Martii Ahtisaari will at last be able to take stage centre in the Namibian independence show which begins on April 1. However, the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia will be sharing the limelight with the other major actor, South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar. And the speculation among political observers here is that the combination could result in drama and fireworks.

with his sharp reaction to last week's controversial incident involving Australian soldiers addressing a gathering in Grootfontein attended by a number of Swapo supporters.

Although Mr Ahtisaari is a bureaucrat and not a UN politician, he will no doubt also harbour some misgivings about South African bona fides in the Namibian independence exercise, given the fact the peace plan has been stalled for more than a decade.

However, so far UN officials and soldiers on the ground in Namibia say they have been given nothing but co-operation by their South African counterparts.

Under the terms of the plan, Mr Pienaar will be in charge of administering the territory, and will organise majority-rule elections for a Constituent Assembly, including registration of voters and the vetting of returning exiles.

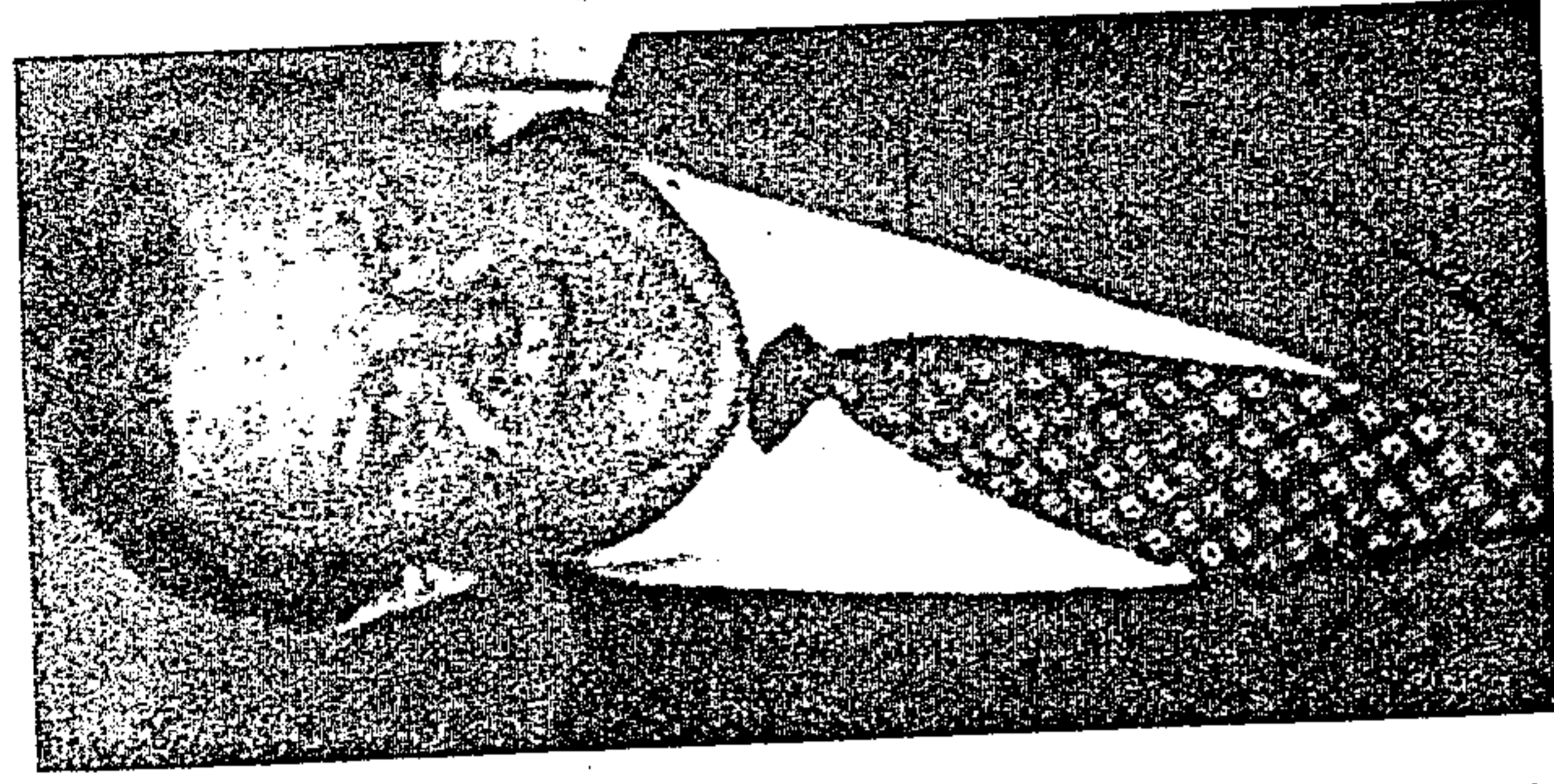
However, Mr Ahtisaari has made it plain that everything will have to be done to his satisfaction.

Possible areas of conflict that look likely to emerge include the voting age and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation.

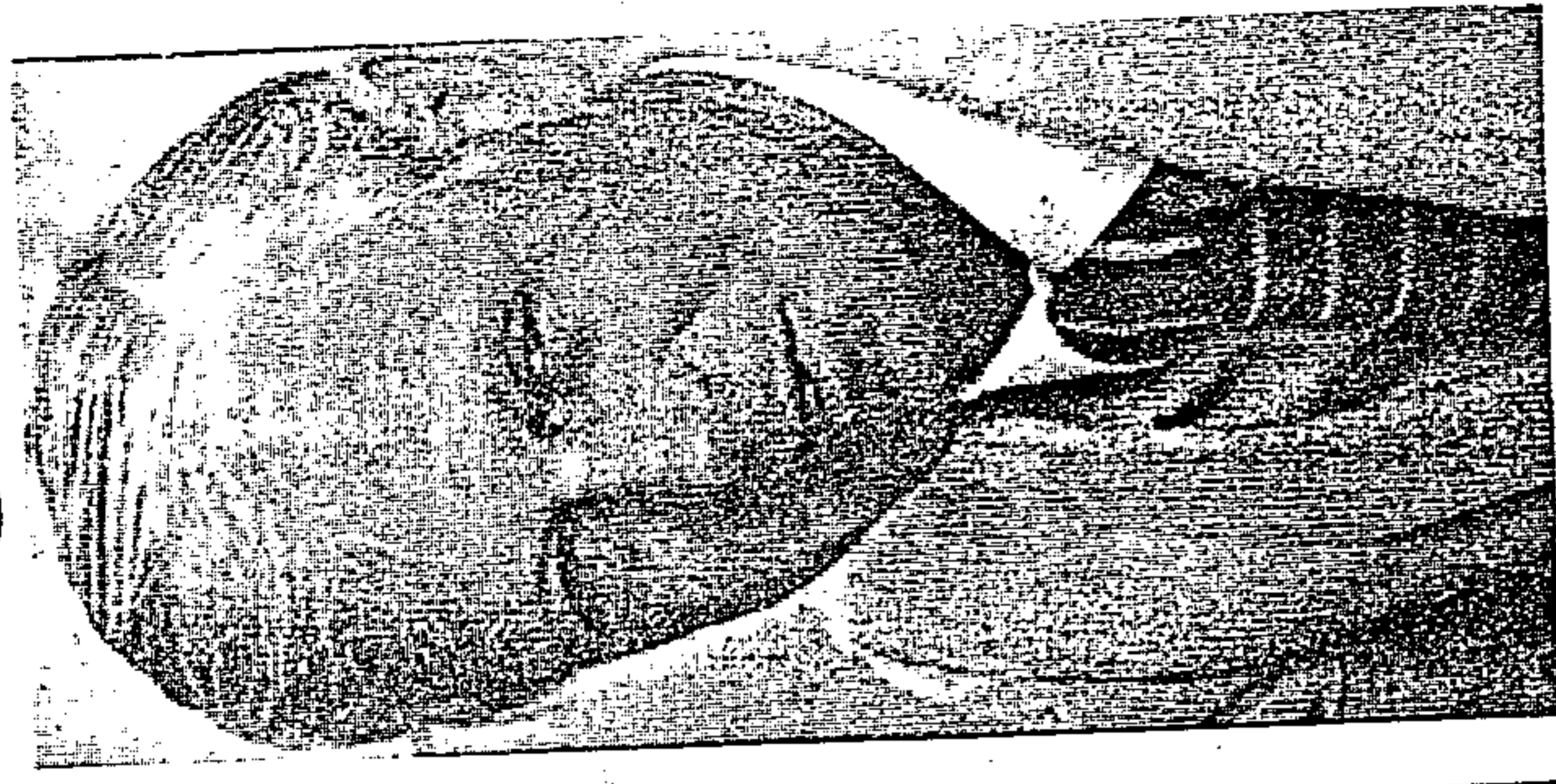
Mr Pienaar has said he favours 21 as a minimum voting age, while UN officials have said they want 18. Mr Pienaar has also said he does not believe that all discriminatory legislation will necessarily have to be scrapped from April 1, but rather only those discriminatory laws which would interfere with the holding of free and fair elections.

The world body's Resolution 435 plan says that within six weeks of its implementation there will have to be "completion of repeal of discriminatory and restrictive legislation".

Mr Ahtisaari has said that, in the case of a dispute with Mr Pienaar which cannot be resolved, he could report back to UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and to the Security Council. But the veteran UN man added: "I hope in most cases this can be avoided."



Mr Martii Ahtisaari . . . harbours some misgivings about SA.



Mr Louis Pienaar . . . mistrusts UN on question of impartiality.

... some cases this can be avoided.

... with everything will have to be done to his satisfaction.

... the question of impartiality,

... the question of impartiality,

ANC to continue armed war

OAU warns SA will recant on Namibian peace

Star 23/3/89

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By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — None of the euphoria reported to exist in South Africa over peace initiatives and breakthroughs was evident at the meeting in Harare yesterday of the special OAU committee on southern Africa.

Instead there were repeated warnings that South Africa could not be trusted to implement the Namibian independence process and that it had launched a diplomatic offensive to try to divide African countries.

'No dialogue'

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe said South Africa must be told there could be no dialogue with it until the leadership committed itself to peace in the region.

Pretoria must be seen to be working genuinely for the replacement of apartheid with a new democratic, just

and peaceful order, he said.

South Africa had to stop supporting armed bandits in Mozambique and Angola and its cross-border raids of independent neighbouring states.

Until all these conditions were met, there should be no compromise, the international community should be urged to intensify its condemnation and isolation of the regime, demands for sanctions should continue and the oppressed must intensify the liberation struggle.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, said if South Africa tried to falsify the election results, "we will go back to the bush and fight the boers".

He claimed South Africa was infiltrating troops disguised as game wardens into Caprivi to set up a supply route to Unita. He also claimed that whites in Namibia were being encouraged to stockpile weapons.

Mr Nujoma said the OAU must take steps to ensure the elections were free, fair and democratic. As long as they were, Swapo would abide by the decision of the Namibian people.

ANC sources said the organisation rejected speculation that it was about to abandon the armed struggle in favour of negotiation.

The ANC believed negotiations should not be conditional upon an end to the armed struggle. A ceasefire would come about as a result of negotiations, not as a condition for talks.

Horrible

By Dik Browne



Namibian dependence on SA 'may help both countries'

A two-month study on the implications for South Africa of an independent Namibia, commissioned by the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocom) and conducted by Professor Ben van Rensburg of the University of South Africa (Unisa), has shown that Namibia's economic dependence on South Africa could be used to the advantage of both countries.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, where Professor van Rensburg's report was released, Assocom chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons said copies of the report had been sent to the State President "and those members of the Cabinet most directly concerned with SWA/Namibia affairs", the administrator-general of Namibia, the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce, and to local businessmen and constituent Assocom chambers.

Two-thirds majority

Mr Parsons revealed that copies of the report were included in the Assocom submission to the Standing Parliamentary Committee on Finance on the Budget in Cape Town, and that the report would be the subject of a seminar to be held in Johannesburg on April 1.

Professor van Rensburg said although it was unlikely that the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) would win a two-thirds majority in the forthcoming elections, it would nevertheless win the elections and "play a major role in the government of post-independent Namibia"; this despite the South African Government's attempts during the past decade to "establish an acceptable, moderate, potential alternative to Swapo after independence".

Although South Africa has spared no effort during the past decade in establishing "an acceptable, moderate, potential alternative to Swapo" after independence in Namibia, Swapo will still emerge victorious from the November 1 elections, according to Professor Ben van Rensburg of Unisa. What are the implications for South Africa? **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.

Without a clear-cut majority, however, Swapo would be forced to tone down its "Marxist socialist ideals".

An independent Namibia will continue to need the white section of that country's population who are in control of or own a major proportion of investments in the country. If the white population were to lose confidence in a Swapo government it would be difficult "to convince Western sources of foreign capital to invest in post-independent Namibia", Professor van Rensburg said in his report.

The country's independence will be underscored by the fact that Walvis Bay, "the only operational deep-sea harbour servicing the territory", would remain under South African control and would continue to be serviced by the South African Transport Services.

Should diplomatic relations between the two countries be strained, "this situation may lead to policy measures which may be harmful to the economy of Namibia".

Namibia's overwhelming economic dependence on South Africa — including direct South African budgetary assistance

— should not be used as political leverage, however, to make a Swapo government in Namibia toe Pretoria's line, Professor van Rensburg wrote.

Instead, he advocated the development of a mutual relationship between the two countries, and said the South African private sector should urge Pretoria not to cut economic ties with Namibia "even if it means that the present level of budgetary assistance at central government level be maintained".

"South Africa should regard Namibia as a long-term investment and a natural market for our produce. We must do our utmost to preserve those mutually profitable economic relations and ventures, and build them out towards a renewed entry into Africa by part of our business community," he wrote.

Co-operative relationship

A healthy and co-operative relationship between South Africa and Namibia would be to Pretoria's advantage, Professor van Rensburg pointed out. The three main reasons were:

- Since Namibia is still included in the rand-monetary area, all of its exports are regarded "as part and parcel of South Africa's balance of payments".
- Because of the involvement of many South African companies in the Namibian corporate sector, relatively large amounts of profits and dividends flow to South Africa annually.
- Namibia serves as "a very convenient and natural outlet" for South African produce.

Swapo threat to 'go back to bush'

HARARE — Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma warned African leaders in Zimbabwe yesterday that his party would "go back to the bush" and take up arms again if South Africa undermined Namibia's coming elections. *Star 23/3/87*

Earlier this week Mr Nujoma said that Swapo, should it win the elections, would continue to support the aims of the ANC but could not allow it to use bases in Namibia. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Cap Times
24/3/89

'Namibian' editor charged

WINDHOEK. — A Windhoek newspaper editor and two trade unionists have been charged with contravening the Police Act.

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Miss Gwen Lister, editor of the Namibian, and unionists Mr Barnabas Tjizu and Mr Anton Lubowski have been summonsed to appear in court next month for allegedly publishing untrue reports about the police, the Times of Namibia reported yesterday. — Sapa

Pik asks OAU to observe election

W/C
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Political Staff

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has opened the way for an independent Namibia to establish relations with the Organisation for African Unity.

He has invited the organisation, one of South Africa's most virulent critics, to send observers during the transition period.

In the message, sent via the office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, he said he appreciated that Namibia, as an African country, would like to join the OAU after independence.

The invitation was also extended as African heads of State and leaders had played an important role in facilitating the agreements leading to Namibian independence.

Members of 101 Battalion being interviewed by a German television team. For the first time members of the crack battalion have been allowed to tell their story.

101'S

10/6
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25/3/89

Reluctant

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retreat

Battalion 101, the ethnic Owambo battalion of the SWATF that will be disbanded on April 1, having, in its opinion, won all its battles but seemingly lost the war. For the first time they have been given permission to tell their story.

Special reports by KEN VERNON
Weekend Argus
Africa News Serv

Dateline: ONDANGWA

THE men of SWATF Battalion 101 are confused — for despite of having won all the battles it seems to them they may lose the war.

Because of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on April 1, they must hand in their weapons and watch as the enemies they have fought for 12 years — Swapo's Plan fighters — walk freely into Namibia in all probability to be acclaimed as hero's and liberators, if not victors, by a large section of the population.

But they don't like it, they are concerned about their future if Swapo come to power and worried that they could be victims of revenge attacks from such a government.

Captain Karel Ndjoba, 101's highest ranking black soldier, has no doubts at all — he is on a Swapo death list and says if he has to walk the streets of Ondangwa without a weapon "I will be assassinated".

Speaking over Radio Luanda, Swapo have told him so.

Almost 500 former Swapo fighters who defected to become fighting members of the unit feel even more vulnerable to revenge from their former comrades.

THE majority of the men I spoke to at 101's Ondangwa base seem to be looking to South Africa to provide some protection or refuge for them, particularly those who have been disabled in the war.

Captain Ndjoba, son of Owambo leader Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba who was killed by a Swapo landing five years ago, was one of the first Owambo's to join Battalion 101 when it was formed in 1977, initially de-

signed as a unit to protect Owambo headmen and other leaders from Swapo assassination squads.

Since then the "battalion" has swollen to almost 2 500 men, about the size of three normal SADF battalions, and from 1984 has become mainly responsible for "hot-pursuit" operations into Angola.

According to Commandant Jaco Kruger, second-in-charge of the unit and its longest serving white officer, 101 was heavily involved in all the major operations into Angola against both Swapo and the Angolan/Cuban Army.

Ranging far, wide and long into southern Angola searching out Swapo bases, often having to be re-supplied by air drops, the unit became known for its ability to seemingly appear and attack out of thin air — and disappear just as effectively afterwards.

The battalion also played a major, and as yet untold, part in the major battles around the Lomba river and Cuito Cuanavale, turning back the Cuban/Angolan offensive against Unita at the end of 1987.

ON a simple memorial plinth on the battalion's dusty parade ground are inscribed the 92 names of members killed in action since the unit's formation, the last deaths occurring in May last year.

In reply the unit claims to have killed "thousands" of Swapo and Angolan soldiers.

Commandant Kruger attributes the unit's achievements to the fact that "the Owambo are our people, and on patrols and operations the troops can talk to people who are members of their families, or friends, and so we get first class intelligence

and co-operation that is the basis of our success".

"Another reason is that the Owambo make excellent soldiers, they are aggressive and once they give their loyalty to a leader, it is total."

But at the same time, he points out that that loyalty is not given easily, and many times senior white officers transferred to the unit have had their orders pointedly ignored until they have proven themselves to the troops.

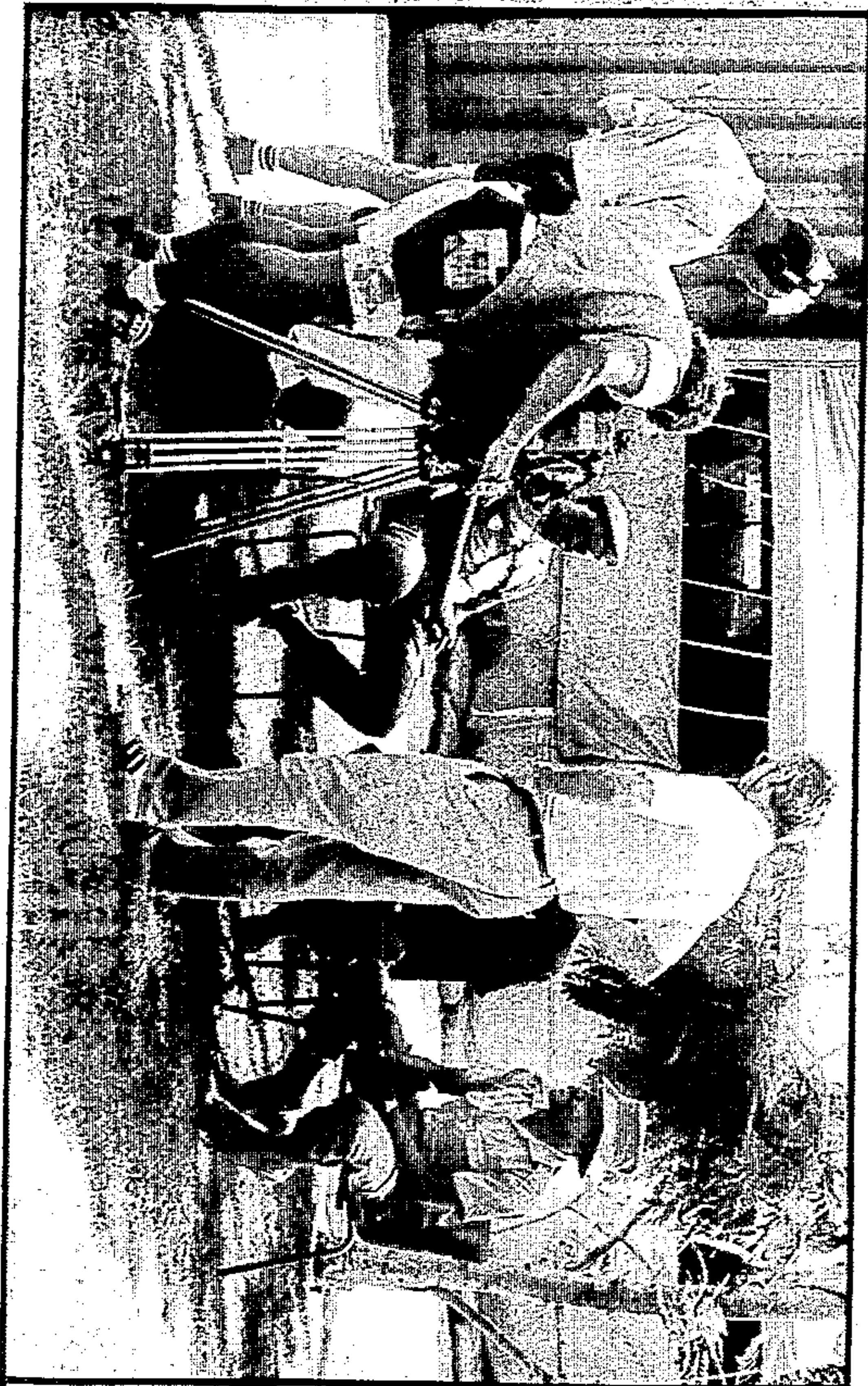
COMMANDANT Kruger readily admits that Swapo fighters, who are also mainly Owambos, exhibit the same soldierly qualities, but says their poor record against 101 is be-

cause they are badly trained, equipped and badly led.

"I don't now how any militia organisation can send lightly equipped troops time and time again against well equipped, heavily equipped units and expect any success — but Swapo did this for ten years."

"That is the reason why every Swapo fighter we captured most immediately defected to. Some actually did so on the battlefield, joining me in my Casspir pointing out their former position."

He denies that the relationship between the largely white officer and the black troops is in any paternalistic, a throw-back to colonial attitudes.



EVERYONE WITH SWAPO'S EX-FIGHTERS

HIS Swapo nom de guerre was "Kandenga" — meaning something like "tough guy" — and it is easy to see how he got his name.

The man lounging on his commanding officer's office couch is a former Swapo fighter who has defected and now fights against his former comrades, and does it very well.

"Kandenga" was a platoon leader with Swapo's crack "Typhoon" battalion of special forces who was captured trying to smuggle a shipment of arms through Owamboland to the south of Namibia — caught because someone had tipped off 101 of his movements.

Relaxed and at ease, he speaks easily about his time in Swapo's ranks, and just as easily about his reasons for defecting to 101 — but won't allow any pictures to be taken.

"When the Swapo people came to my father's kraal in 1980 to recruit me, all they did was tell me to look at my feet — I didn't have any shoes.

"They told me how 'the boere' were taking money from Owamboland that was rightfully mine, and how when they were thrown out I would have not only shoes but new clothes, a lorry, whatever I wanted.

THERE were lots of Swapo people around Owamboland at that time," Kandenga continued. "It seemed as if they were winning, so I thought 'why not' and joined them."

Not exactly a sophisticated ideological motivation, but an effective one that other former Swapo fighters now fighting for 101 repeated to me.

In reply to the question of why he joined 101 he throws me a hard look as if to say that was the most stupid question he has ever been asked, before answering simply that "I was caught".

Considering the situation in the war zone that was Owamboland until very recently, maybe it was a stupid question.

But doesn't he feel threatened now that his former comrades may

return and want to repay old debts? "No" he answers, he has a full tummy and he will "Wait and see what happens", and no doubt anyone trying to repay old debts will find out why he was called "Kandenga".

A SECOND Swapo defector, his combat name was "Hellwa" — meaning 'the man that can fight' tells a similar story.

He was tending his father's cattle in Caprivi sometime in 1974 when a Swapo group came into the area and called a meeting.

He says most people in area attended and he and the other youths were promised that if they joined Swapo they would live well, attend school and "have anything you want".

Heilwa says candidly that what he wanted was a gun, a car and a lot of money — in that order.

Sixty-eight youths left for Angola with the group, he among them, and they travelled to Angola, Zaire and Tanzania where he went to school until he failed Std 7 and was forced

into Swapo's military wing.

Trained in mortars and reconnaissance by Chinese instructors, he made several trips into northern Namibia to distribute propaganda before being caught by Koevoet in 1981.

WHY did he change over? He says that in the seven years he spent with Swapo he never once saw his family and lived very poorly, but after being caught his family were brought to see him and begged him to "come home".

Now he says he can work to own his own *cucca* shop and his own cattle.

He doesn't care who wins the political battle for Namibia — but wishes he didn't have to hand in his rifle "just in case".

Captain Karel Ndjoba represents a more politically committed member of 101, and has a realistic view of co-operation with any possibly Swapo dominated government.

"It would be like having a cat and a mouse in the same room, it

won't work — Swapo won't share power."

But in that analogy, Captain Ndjoba definitely sees himself as the cat.

THE son of Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba — a leader of the Owambo people who was killed by a Swapo landmine — he sees himself as a defender of Owambo traditions, and of the traditional system of leadership to which he will one day become heir.

He is not concerned that he has been ear-marked for assassination by Swapo as his father was before him, and says he looks forward to becoming a member of a free Namibian national army in which he sees no place for Swapo.

Lieutenant Titus Simon is another Owambo who wants to continue on as a professional soldier in a free Namibia — and though he fights for 101, his younger brother fights for Swapo.

But Lieutenant Simon sees himself as essentially un-political. Swapo are merely "the enemy" and fighting them is his job.

CMC 7/10/89 2/3/89

Border posts with Namibia

WINDHOEK — Border posts might soon be set up between South Africa and Namibia. The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, said here that submissions had been made to the government.

He said that discriminatory legislation that might hamper free and fair elections in the territory would soon be abolished. — Sapa

● Swapo row — Page 7

Pressure on UN over use of SAA

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — The United Nations is coming under increasing pressure to use other carriers as well as, if not other than, South African Airways to transport civilian staff assigned to duty in Namibia, officials said.

National airlines in Zambia and Zimbabwe are said to be eager to siphon off some of the lucrative business that has been SAA's virtual monopoly, thanks to its Frankfurt-Windhoek route.

Most, if not all, of the advance parties that have been in and out of the territory in the run-up to the April 1 launch of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) have flown by SAA, officials said.

The spokesman for the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, was asked yesterday for an estimate of the amount of money that the UN had spent on buying SAA

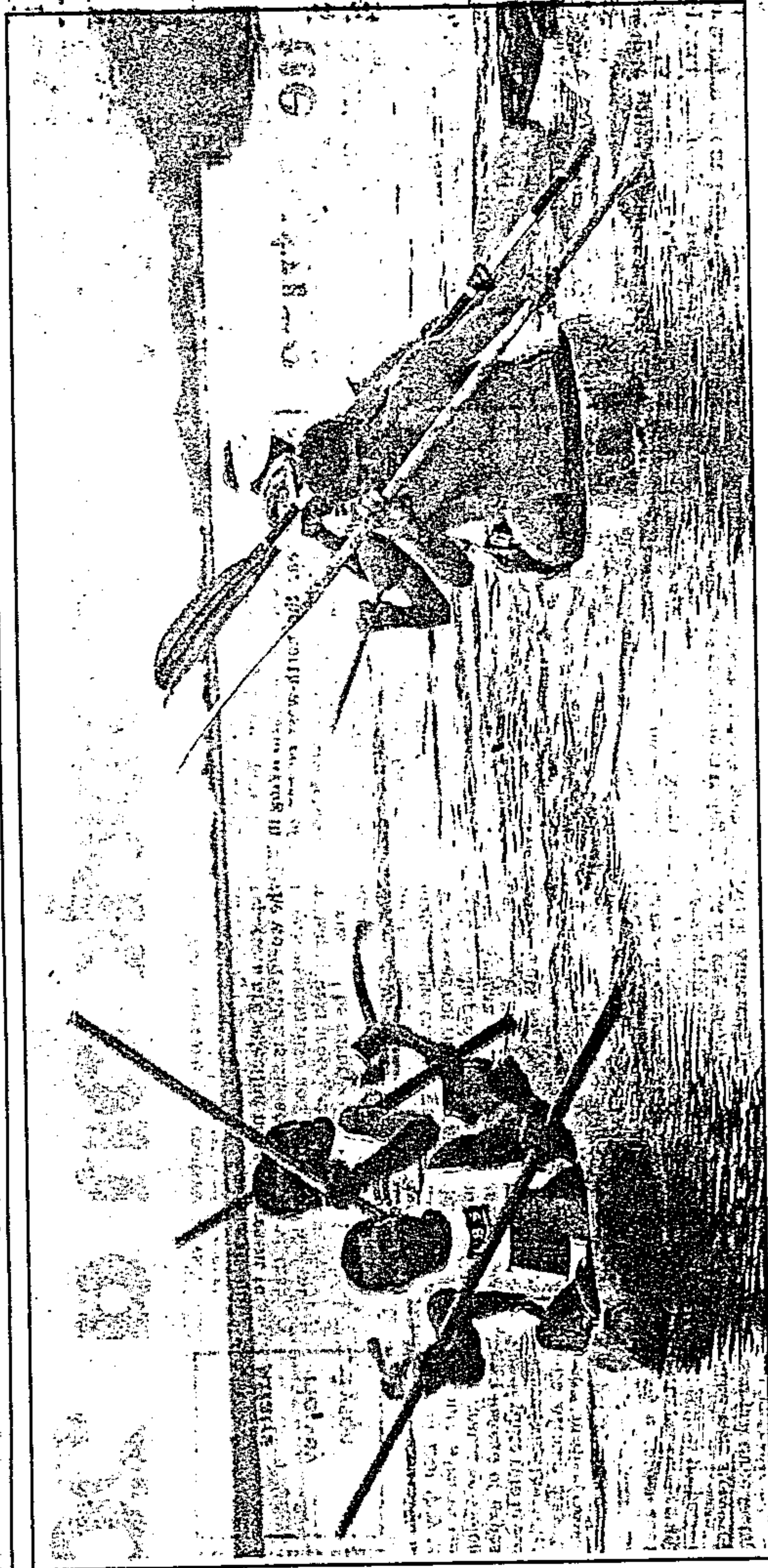
tickets. He was unable or unwilling to say.

Meanwhile, the lustre of the Namibian assignment is said to have dulled somewhat for many UN staff after some advance parties returned to New York with tales of rising prices, including rents, in Windhoek.

● From Washington it is reported that the first group of Canadian soldiers assigned to the Untag force have set out on their journey.

An advance party of 42 soldiers flew yesterday to Zurich where they will join Danish and Irish soldiers before flying to Windhoek.

A larger group of 200 Canadians will depart on April 10. They will be stationed near Windhoek in support of the battalions of troops from Kenya, Finland and Malaysia who will make up the bulk of the Untag force.



CANOE CHALLENGE: Top paddlers challenge locals in "watos" dugouts before the start of the Unitrans/Safair 42 km canoe race.

Untag could be Rundu's final lifeline

THE town of Rundu is nestled snugly within the hollows of a strip of high ground which overlooks the Kavango River. From the town's vantage point, looking across the river, Angola is a sprawling savannah of bush and rich grassland as far as the eye can see.

Rundu is situated on key terrain in military terms. There is excellent observation from the high ground and the landform rises majestically above the surrounding flat countryside, providing for effective deployment of defensive positions. A good base from which to launch river and land patrols.

From the military point of view Rundu was an ideal location during the 17 years of the Namibian border conflict. The SADF quite simply became the nucleus from which the infrastructure of this charming little town was formed.

Today an air of uncertainty prevails among the 300 or so civilians who made Rundu their home. The SADF is about to pull out, making way for the Untag peace-keeping forces, and in their absence they will leave a capital and income vacuum.

Morale, however, is high in Rundu. As they await the arrival of Untag and the elections, the community enjoyed a touch of relief last weekend when a party

LARRY LOMBAARD

of 80 flew in from Johannesburg for a canoe race. Untag is a constant topic of discussion. The standing joke is Rundu has eight days in a week.

A guttural South West accent informs us with a grin: "Hier is dit Maandag tot Vrydag. Dan het ons Saterdag, Sondag, Untag!"

But there are fears among many that Rundu will become a ghost town before long.

"Once the SADF pull out, that's it. No more income, no more business. We're as good as dead," said a young bank employee. "Me, I'm going to have to find a job in the Republic, as much as I hate the thought."

'Swapo will win'

Another Rundu resident, Martjie emblazoned on her name tag during the carnival festival at the finish of the race, says she has no option but to return to the Republic. "My husband's in the air force," she says. "We have no option, we have to leave. All we know is that he will be transferred to Bloemfontein." She wrinkles her nose in disgust. "I'd rather stay here. My friends are here and I love this town."

Many, however, are stubborn in their belief that the town will survive. "I won't leave," said Ian Botha, a local toughie who enjoys the bush, loves the tranquil Kavango waters and who runs a catering service for the SAP, SADF and schools over a 200 km front. "I have lived here all my life. It's my country."

"Look, I have no doubt that Swapo will win the elections. But there will still be place for us whites here. These radical guerilla leaders always become moderate once they gain power."

"In fact, I'd rather stay here than go back to where you're going. There's peace here — the pawpaw is going to hit the fan in the cities back in SA."

There are many, particularly among the local SAP, who plan to continue living at Rundu. They will be needed, they say, to maintain law and order during the elections. Many hope to be absorbed in the police force of the new government and settle in the area.

Peet Fourie, organiser of the Kavango event and a schoolmaster at the local high school, echoes those who see a positive future ahead of them.

"When Untag arrives, they may not provide the same income for us as the SADF, but we will survive," he said. "Somehow, we'll survive..."

Always something cuca-ing in Owambo

KEN VERNON
SATURDAY STAR AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

OSHAKATI — Untags may come and go, but cucas are forever.

Anyone with even a passing acquaintance of Owambo in northern Namibia will know about the cucas.

However, for those lucky enough not to have such knowledge, a cuca is a small shop-nightclub-shebeen-restaurant.

Originally named after a brand of beer brewed over the border in southern Angola and sold throughout Owambo, Cucas have expanded to satisfy a number of needs of the local Owambos.

Constant theme

There are always some brightly made-up young ladies at the better Cucas, and apart from beer (which nowadays is all South African brewed) and snacks, the basic consumer goods are often available.

But the thing about the cucas are the names.

Love is a constant theme, and in the 30 km between Oshakati and Ondangwa it is possible for the weary traveller to stop off at a "Love Station" — Nos 1, 2 and 3 — after which he will definitely be weary.

The "Famous Lovers" is worth a visit for the ego-maniac, while the "Country Club" is always cooking — or cuca-ing.

"Mississippi Satisfaction" might offer American visitors home comforts, while the "Harari Edition" is no reading room.

There are about 12 000 cucas in Owambo and very few show a profit, but they are a point of pride for their owners.

Before one such owner would allow his picture to be taken he insisted on getting changed into his "working" clothes — a gold lamé suit, red cum-berbund and patent leather shoes.

His cuca boasted a longer name than any of his rivals — "I don't want to leave Namibia — I want peace in Namibia".



CUCA DELIGHTS: Brightly made-up young ladies can always be found at the cucas.

● Report: HANISH McINDOE
● Pictures: TERRY SHEAN

BITTERNESS and relief. Those were the emotions South Africa's border troops felt this week as the 22-year bush war against Swapo drew to its official close with the long-awaited implementation of UN Resolution 435 on April 1.

"The war up here has been a South African way of life," sighed an Oshakati-based lieutenant from 101 Battalion as he watched a Ratel minus its cannon barrel being winched on to the back of a civilian lorry.

This is just one of many sights that drum home the finality of South Africa's military withdrawal back to the "States" over the next seven months.

Another is the pitiful state of 101 Battalion's officers' mess at Oshakati. Bar stools are being run down and the mess has been stripped of all decorations and trophies — except for a framed photograph of the State President.

At many frontline bases, unstable ammunition has already been exploded and convoys of military trucks and armour are moving southwards.

Limited SADF patrols in Namibia's operational area as the military wound down its occupation of the territory.

But, from next Saturday, the SADF will be confined to its bases in the territory and only allowed to patrol perimeter tracks.

Enemy

Meanwhile, soldiers are dreading the spectre that Oshakati will live up to its nickname, "Parade" (because of the number of parades commanders call there) once they are officially holed up inside the base from April 1.

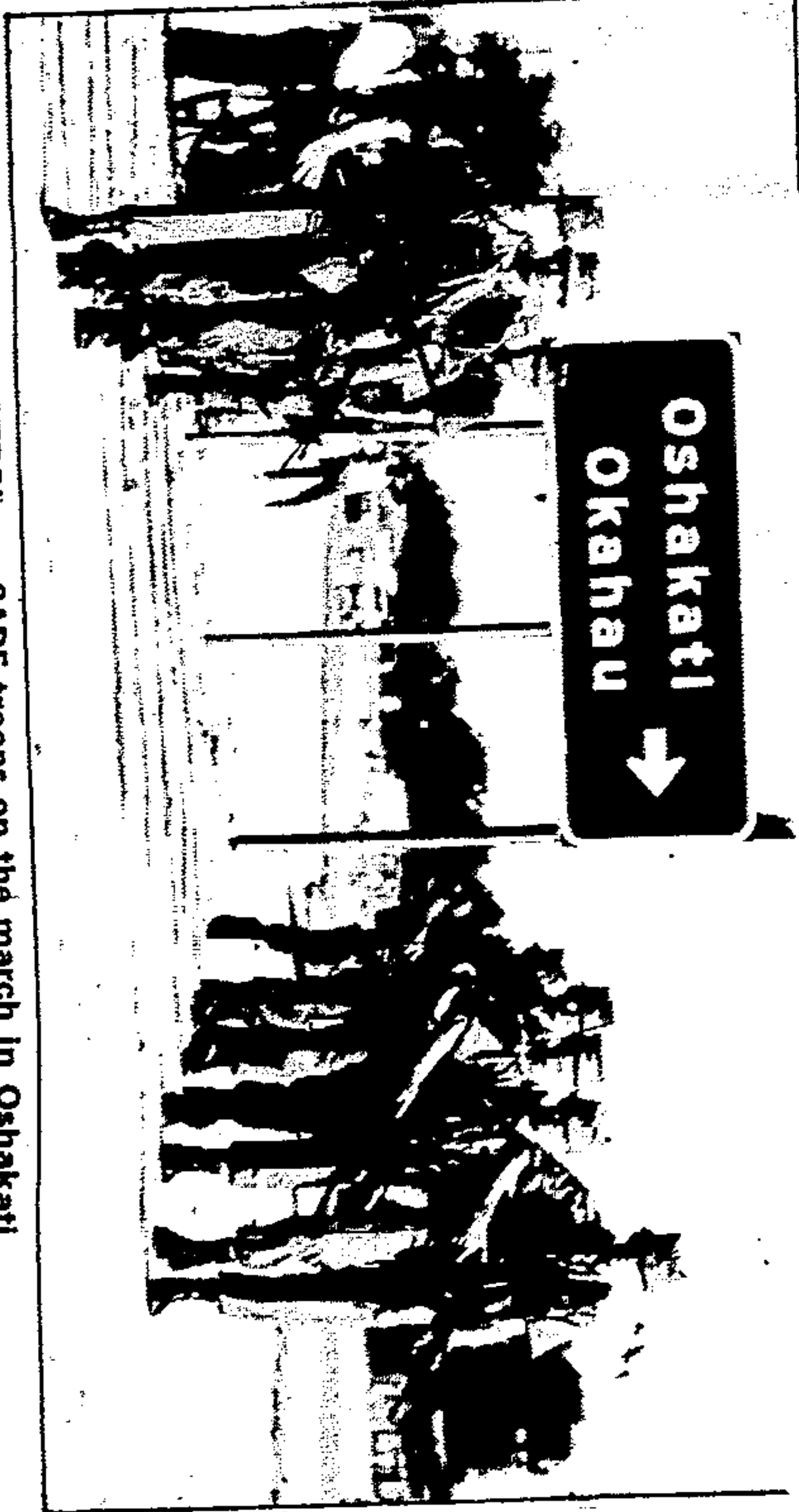
Some of South Africa's military bases — ranging from the vast Oshakati-Oshangwa complex to sandbagged-and-barbed-wire tent towns a few kilometres from the border — will be handed over to Untag forces later this year. After the November general election, all South African military property on Namibian soil will be automatically ceded to the new government.

"We're still doing patrols in our sector, but it's all pretty low-key now," said Colonel Japie Dreyer, staff officer at Sector 10 headquarters.

"As far as we're concerned our last patrol will be on March 31 and until then we'll make sure no Swapo elements do what they like." Over past months there have been hundreds of tearful farewells as army wives reluctantly leave their Osha-



HIDDEN DANGERS ... Major Harrison shows an Australian a Czech mine



FINAL PATROL ... SADF troops on the march in Oshakati

Goodbye, Oshakati!



END OF AN ERA ... Annarlen van Baalen and her three children at their home's air-raid shelter

kati homes for a new life in the Republic. Said Annarlen van Baalen, married to a SADF sergeant major: "We've been very happy here and it's sad to see so many empty houses now. Families feel safe here. There's no crime so nobody locks their doors and the kids can play in the streets without coming to harm, but that's all going to change once we get back to Bloemfontein." But the air-raid shelters made from sandbags and zinc sheeting attached to every property on the base are still reminders of the mortar and missile attacks that have hit Oshakati as recently as January. It was on August 26 1986 that Pretoria opened its offensive against Swapo when it attacked a rebel base at Ongulumbashe, apparently the only base the organization ever had inside Namibia. Since then, Swapo battle casualties are estimated at

over 12 000 dead with about 700 security force losses, according to latest SADF estimates.

While the killing has officially stopped, civilians are at grave risk from Soviet and East Bloc mines laid by Swapo guerrillas in the operational area, stretching 600 km from Opuwo to the tip of Caprivi.

And for Untag's 51 Australian sappers from 17 Construction Squadron, it's a race against time to learn the finer points of defusing unfamiliar mines ranging from homemade "milkstok" devices to the latest Soviet anti-tank mines.

Mines

Their mission is to sweep for mines every likely route travelled by Untag forces while monitoring independence.

Said Major Douglas Harrison, an ex-Rhodesian serving with 25 Field Squadron: "The problem is we don't know where the mines are or how many Swapo have laid in this sector over the years."

"We're giving the Austrians a comprehensive course on mine awareness, Swapo ordinances and mine sweeping drills as we can in a very short space of time ... because after April 1 they're completely on their own."

"And the chances of Untag forces hitting Swapo mines are very real."

END OF A WAY OF LIFE FOR OUR DESERT TROOPS

On a furnace-like Namib afternoon this week, the shaven-headed Australian sappers were shown the various mine-types they can expect to encounter and the mine-layer's deadly dirty-tricks tactics used to foil bomb disposal teams.

"This won't be much use if a mine explodes in my face," said one Digger, putting on a pair of protective goggles during an exercise.

"If the main charge goes off we won't even find your toes," retorted Major Harrison. "But if a booby-trapped mine goes off you'll probably lose a hand ... but at least you'll keep your eyesight."

The expected homecoming from April 1 of an estimated 20 000 political "returnees"

— Swapo sympathisers who have fled the war — will cause a severe logistical headache for Untag planners. "The main concern is that these people are documented and given thorough medical examinations," said Colonel Dreyer.

"Our information is that there is a real threat of AIDS being carried into the territory by returnees, many of whom will be coming from high-risk areas such as Zambia and even parts of Angola itself."

Soldiers polled by the Sunday Times were openly sceptical that the general election scheduled for the first week in November would be "fair and free."

A rifleman from Springs said: "The whole idea of free elections actually being achieved in this place is completely idealistic. But I'm really glad that some of Namibia's problems are being sorted out."

No ceremony has apparently been planned by the SADF top brass to mark next Saturday's scheduled implementation of UN Resolution 435.

The reason: widely-broadcast film footage of the Cuban withdrawal from Angola is said to have had a traumatic effect on Fapla troops.

"We don't want to do the same to our friends," said one military source.

● ● **Soldier to
 go home
 after brawl**

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Less than two weeks after arriving in Namibia a young British soldier is being sent home with a broken jaw, bruises and unhappy ideas of Tsumeb's hospitality.

Lance-Corporal Mark Jarvis, 25, and seven other Untag soldiers — three British and four Australian — were beaten up by a mob of some 20 locals outside a Tsumeb rugby clubhouse on Saturday night, UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said.

"During a post-match clubhouse party a brawl started and eventually all eight of them were involved."

Namibian police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said police were investigating the fight.

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se, who has just won world-wide n for his co-starring role with Hoffman in "Rain Man" is re- to have taken the news with courage and good humour, al- his many friends are deeply

orts quoted doctors as saying most cases of his form of cancer d to radiation if they are dis- d early enough.

doctors said that it was still s and that his case would be mely worrying" if radiation to work and he had to have y to remove lymph glands.

se has established himself as an of high quality after overcoming ds of being so outrageously poking that Hollywood wanted p him in mindless macho-man for maximum box office effect.

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Jazzman brutally slain by four men

By PATRICK COLLINGS

A POPULAR jazz musician was stabbed to death during the early hours of Friday morning by four assassins as he slept next to the wife of notorious jailed drug lord Nazier Kapdi.

Yesterday Mrs Kashifa Kapdi denied that her husband had anything to do with the murder of her lover Mr Mogamat Yusuf "Barrick" Rylands, 29, who is also the father of her 18-month-old daughter and unborn child.

"This has nothing to do with my husband, I know who the men are who killed Barrick and they have nothing to do with my previous life," Mrs Kapdi said, refusing to identify the men.

Mr Rylands' mother, Mrs Dadija Rylands, said that her son and Kapdi were "old friends" and that when Kapdi was sentenced to 17 years imprisonment in 1985 he asked Mr Rylands to look after his family.

Kapdi was jailed for the "sadistic" murder of a drug-pedlar, the attempted murder of another man and for dealing in mandrax.

When he was jailed both Mrs Kashifa Kapdi and the drug lord's second wife, Nadia, vowed to wait for him until he was released.

However, Mr Rylands and Mrs Kapdi soon became romantically involved.

Mrs Kapdi described Mr Rylands as "more of a husband than Nazier" and that she was planning to divorce Kapdi and legally marry Mr Rylands, whom she said was already married to her under Muslim rites.

Mr Rylands returned to Mrs Kapdi's Newfields home from a music session shortly after midnight on Friday and went to bed about 2am.

Mrs Kapdi said she woke up about 3.15am to find four men in the room.

"They must have stabbed him in the jugular vein because blood spurted all over me and the baby. Barrick kept struggling to his feet and collapsing and they just carried on stabbing him."

Mrs Kapdi said she was forced into another room with her mother and other children while the men continued to stab Mr Rylands.



Mrs Kashifa Kapdi



Mr 'Barrick' Rylands

of reporting, comment and pictures in the Cape Times

500 UN cops arrive in 'watchdog' role

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From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — Some 500 policemen in the uniforms of 15 nations are shuttling into Namibia to take up a watchdog role over the territory's own police when the UN flag is run up over Windhoek on Saturday.

UN police commissioner Mr Stephen Fanning, who retired two years ago as Ireland's national police chief, arrived in the territory's capital at the weekend with other top officers who will head the 15-nation constabulary.

"They will be wearing the uniforms of their own police forces but will all wear blue UN berets, badges and shoulder badges," Mr Fanning said.

Though uniformed, the UN police will be unarmed and under civilian administration in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), which takes control of Namibia from Saturday in tandem with South African-appointed administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said Mr Fanning and nine officers drawn from Austria, Fiji, Ghana, Ireland, Holland and Sweden arrived in Windhoek at the weekend.

"The 500 will come in in phases until the end of April," Mr Eckhard said.

Additional policemen will come from Bangladesh, Barbados, Egypt, Hungary, Jamaica, New Zealand, Ni-

geria, the Philippines and Tunisia, Mr Eckhard said.

Under UN Security Council resolution 435, the framework for the year-long independence process, UN administrators will deploy the police officers at all Namibian police stations and police districts.

"They will be there only to ensure that we are impartial," Namibian police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

"But we see no problems ahead in working with them. Mr Fanning was first here about a month ago and he travelled to the north. There have been discussions between him and the commissioner (Major-General Dolf Gouws) and we foresee no difficulties."

Detailed agreements tied to resolution 435 give UN police powers to act against "any intimidation or interference with the electoral process from whatever quarter".

They will also accompany local police in the discharge of their duties.

The territory's existing police force maintains responsibility for normal law enforcement under provisions of resolution 435.

UN planning proposes that by mid-April the bulk of Untag's military force — three infantry battalions from Kenya, Finland and Malaysia — will have arrived by sea at Walvis Bay.

So much for the winds of change

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From PETER HILLMORE
of the London Observer
in Windhoek

IF you had asked Central Casting, or Equity, to provide an archetypal bigot, it's unlikely they could come up with someone as perfect as Mr Jan van der Berg, one of the stars of "Windhoek — an everyday story of veld folk". Veld they may be, svelte they're not.

NAMIBIA

Mr van der Berg is the owner of one of the better restaurants in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. Although official apartheid has long been abolished, he has maintained a personal version, and has never allowed black people to eat in the Apollo, behind the Pink Panther Video Palace.

Not so long ago a group of black demonstrators gathered outside the restaurant and decided to pray for his pure white soul. As they knelt on the ground and asked God to forgive Mr van der Berg because he knew not what he did, the gentleman in question, apoplectic with religious rage yelled back his own catechism: "This is the work of the Devil."

The two sides hurled religious and sacrilegious insults at each other and then declared a holy draw.

Now he has extended his apartheid to include people of his own colour: all members of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force, be they soldiers or civilians, no matter what their colour, are also banned from eating his venison pate and oryx steaks.

United Nations Peacekeeping Force and Nobel Prizewinners. As is the habit with racists, his first explanation was one of seeming reasonableness, nothing to do with prejudice: He had a lot of regular customers, and it wasn't fair to them if the tables were taken by people who would be gone in six months.

I looked around the half-empty restaurant, at the empty tables, and told him I didn't believe him. His face grew redder, the veins on his neck seemed to rustle his cravat and he pushed his neck forward, very angry indeed. He looked like a Rotarian on Ecstasy.

"Get out," he shouted, "I don't have to serve you either. You're no better than the UN, you've come to watch my country being handed over to the black man." I decided to eat elsewhere in future.

Ironically, many of the large black staff Mr van der Berg employs have worked for him for a number of years. "At least you know where you stand with him", one of them told me.

Even the Finnish contingent, and people don't come any whiter than a Finn.

I went to see him. Having a vague idea of what an Afrikaner racist ought to look like, he was pretty easy to spot with his square face, bull neck covered with a spotted cravat, crisp safari suit with short khaki trousers. Even his socks had a crease in them. He eyed me suspiciously as I ate, clearly unsure if I was a UN official who had ignored the large no-entry notice outside the door.

As I paid my bill, I asked him what he had against the

Heading for a showdown?

From BRENDAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service, Windhoek

AFTER waiting in the wings for ten years, Finland's Martti Ahtisaari will at last be able to take centre stage in the Namibian independence show which begins **TRANSITION** on Saturday — April 1.

But the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia will be sharing the limelight with the other major actor, South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

And, the speculation among political observers here is that the combination could result in drama and fireworks.

Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Pienaar — who are both experienced diplomats and bureaucrats — will be working, in theory at least, in co-operation to ensure that the implementation of the Security Council Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for the Territory goes ahead smoothly.

Both will realise they are close to the end of their careers, and that the Namibian exercise will be the crowning point, and so both will not want to be seen to come off second-best in encounters with their opposite number.

But, both men will, in a sense, be prisoners to the



AHTISAARI ... experience

expectations of their employers, and to the long history of antagonism between Pretoria and the UN, although Mr Pienaar has vowed to act "as impartially as a judge" during the transition to independence, and has said that from the start of implementation of the plan on April 1, he will distance himself from Pretoria and will no longer be "the representative of South Africa".

Yet, the fact remains that South Africa mistrusts the UN, particularly on the question of impartiality, given that the world body was responsible for declaring Swapo "the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people".

Mr Pienaar has already shown how touchy the South Africans will be over the question of impartiality, with his sharp reaction to last week's controversial incident involving Australian soldiers addressing a gathering in Grootfontein attended by a number of Swapo supporters.

Although Mr Ahtisaari is a bureaucrat and not a UN politician, he will no doubt also harbour some misgivings about South African bona fides in the Namibian independence exercise, given the fact



PIENAAR ... expectations

the peace plan has been stalled for more than a decade.

So far, though, UN officials and soldiers on the ground in Namibia say they have been given nothing but co-operation by their South African counterparts.

Under the terms of the plan, Mr Pienaar will be in charge of administering the territory, and will organise majority-rule elections for a constituent assembly, including registration of voters and the vetting of returning exiles.

However, Mr Ahtisaari has made it plain that everything will have to be done "to my satisfaction".

Possible areas of conflict that look likely to emerge include the voting age and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation. Mr Pienaar has said he favours 21 as a minimum voting age, while UN officials have said they want 18.

The Administrator-General has also said he does not believe that all discriminatory legislation will necessarily have to be scrapped from April 1, but rather only those discriminatory laws which would interfere with the holding of free and fair elections.

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Cubans say SA POW will be freed early

CAPT PAPENFUS 28/3/89

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Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICAN prisoner-of-war held in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, will be released "later this week", a spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Responding to a report from the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina that Sgt Papenfus would be released today, the spokesman said there was "no clarity" on where or when he would be released.

It might be possible Sgt Papenfus would leave his quarters in Havana today to travel to the venue of exchange, but he could not confirm it, the spokesman said. The minister was not releasing details of where the exchange would take place, he said.

The release of Sgt Papenfus was expected as part of an exchange of prisoners between Angola, Cuba and South Africa that was agreed on at a meeting in Havana last week of a joint commission monitoring peace accords on Angola and Namibia.

The swop involved three Cubans and 13 Angolans, including the pilot of a jet fighter that crash-landed in Namibian territory.

Sgt Papenfus, 26, was captured on May 4 last year near the Angolan-Namibian border and transferred to Havana to undergo reconstructive surgery on his left leg.

He was visited last week in his cell by South African journalists who found him in good health.

Requests by foreign news agencies for access to Sgt Papenfus had previously been routinely denied.

— Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

RECEIVED

Public

Gift of 167 vehicles for Namibian peace

WINDHOEK — As a voluntary contribution to Untag, 167 Volkswagen cars and minibuses will be handed over to Untag by the head of West Germany's diplomatic observer mission in Namibia, Dr Gerd Massmann, tomorrow.

The German cars will be among the first Untag vehicles to arrive in Namibia, according to a statement by the mission today.

They are due to arrive in Walvis Bay aboard the ship "MS Ango" early tomorrow.

The cars will be received by Mr Abdou Ciss, chief of the Untag administration and other UN-

officials in a special ceremony.

In a statement, the West Germany government said it was reaffirming its commitment to support United Nations efforts to assist in the independence process in Namibia.

A car maintenance unit consisting of about 60 people will also be sent to Namibia. Later this year electoral personnel from West Germany will form part of Untag's poll-watch unit.

Apart from supplying the vehicles, Germany is contributing to the financing of Untag's overall budget to the tune of DM 62 million. — Sapa.

White thugs attack Untag men at party

Sowetan 28/3/87

POLICE are investigating charges of assault following a punch-up involving Untag members and Namibian civilians at Tsumeb, a police spokesman said in Windhoek yesterday.

A Briton, Lance-Corporal Mark Jarvis (25), sustained a broken jaw in the brawl at a party after a rugby match on Saturday, while another soldier suffered from concussion.

"We will not tolerate this sort of thuggery," Chief-Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

Earlier reports said three British signallers and four Australian engineers from Grootfontein military base

attended the rugby match and the braai later at the invitation of Tsumeb residents.

Shortly before midnight, the United Nations men, in civilian clothing, prepared to leave when they were tackled by about 20 whites and beaten up.

Some of the UN soldiers were kicked while lying on the ground.

Chief-Inspector Du Rand said it was not yet known what had caused the incident.

The incident was given wide publicity in yesterday's Australian newspapers.

The Australian carried the story on its front page, claiming that the Australians and four British soldiers were set upon after the rugby match.

The newspaper said seven of the soldiers came to the assistance of a colleague who had been knocked to the ground by a white mob outside the ground. — Sapa.

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Angolan team to visit Namibia

SKW 28/3/87
WINDHOEK — An Angolan national soccer team is due to arrive in Windhoek on Friday for a match against a Namibian side on Sunday, a spokesman for Namibia Sports Promotions said yesterday.

He said the team had the sanction of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos who was keen to establish normal relations with Namibia.

It will be the first time Angola has sent a sports team to Namibia and the first time the Angolan airline has landed in the territory, he said.

The match, to be played at the SWA Stadium, is a fundraiser to help resettle refugees. Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari have been invited. — Sapa.

Swapo fortunes hinge on how well it mobilises support after years of bush war

Owambo hold the key to victory

Owamboland, the vast flat plain stretching from Etosha to Angola, is home to Namibia's majority Owambo tribe. That makes it crucial to the future of the country. KEN VERNON of The Star's Africa News Service recently spoke to the people in the area about the political situation.

OSHAKATI — The question of how the Owambo people will vote in the forthcoming United Nations-supervised elections is as simple as black and white. The blacks say one thing and the whites say another.

The Owambo tribe constitutes 52 percent of the Namibian population and the way they vote will largely determine who wins the election for a constituent assembly to write a constitution under which the country will come to independence.

Superficially, the question may seem easy and any foreign journalist freshly into Windhoek will answer that Swapo, the South West Africa Peoples Organisation, has the support of the vast majority of Namibians and "will walk the election".

But whites who have lived and fought in the territory for years will tell you Swapo will not get anywhere near winning.

Despised

One white policeman, seconded from South Africa, told me that the man in charge of the Owambo ethnic second tier administration, the Reverend Peter Kalangua, would win easily. But, turning to his black colleague for confirmation, he was told Kalangua was universally despised and would get very little support.

A South African administrator seconded to Mr Kalangua's administration told me that its black members were "100 percent Swapo".

In the schools and the churches of Owamboland, the black teachers and priests will tell you that Swapo will easily win, as will most of the small educated elite throughout Namibia.

The white South African officers in charge of Owambo soldiers and policemen will tell you that Swapo will get virtually no votes because "the people are tired of their lies".

But, from the ground in the towns and villages and kraals throughout Owamboland, the answer does not appear to be so simple.

Swapo is largely an Owambo organisation. Its leadership ranks are made up entirely of Owambo and it is true that it seems to enjoy overwhelming support in the area.



have for years refused to register and who have boycotted local elections.

Swapo also seems to be relying heavily on support from refugees who have returned or will return to Namibia, but it could be disappointed in two ways.

Firstly the United Nations monitoring group, which will decide on the eligibility of voters, works according to a narrowly defined legal definition of a political refugee as someone who has fled to another country because of political repression and been duly recorded as such, with dates, by the relevant authorities in that country.

Most of the Swapo supporters who simply walked across the undefined border into a part of Angola where there was little government control and joined Swapo camps there, may not qualify under these conditions.

Youth

Swapo undoubtedly has almost total support among the youth of Namibia as the party which fought the liberation war, but, if as is suggested by South Africa's Administrator-General, the voting age limit for the election is set at 21 years, then up to 30 percent of Swapo's support could be lost.

Finally, there is the question of voter intimidation, which could be a major factor given that it is generally agreed by soldiers and policemen in Owamboland that the Untag forces are nowhere near large enough effectively to police the area during the election.

Swapo is said to have been employing a tactic successfully used by Mr Robert Mugabe's Zanu party during the Zimbabwean independence election and threatening that if it loses the election, it will return to the bush and continue the war — something that no voter wants to see happen.

On the other side there is a fear, expressed even by white SADF and SWATF officers, that the Owambos who fought against Swapo will not tolerate the presence of their avowed enemies to fight even a peaceable election campaign.

Opinions may be black and white in Owamboland, but the result of the voting is likely not to be the same.

End of an era... Namibian politicians gather round the table at the last session of the National Assembly of the Transitional Government of National Unity before heading out to begin campaigning in UN-supervised elections for a constituent assembly. For the first time, all 47 Namibian political parties will be fighting for seats in one Assembly.

But these organisations, such as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) led by Mr Dirk Mudge, the United Democratic Front (UDF) of Damara leader Mr Justus Garoeb and the Patriotic Front of Herero leader Mr Moses Katjijungwa, seemingly cannot stop Swapo from becoming the majority party if it sweeps Owamboland.

It is in Owamboland itself that the fight will be won or lost for Swapo and it is here that a major effort is being made to stop Swapo.

The Owambo people consist of seven tribes, of which the Kwanyama are the largest, making up 37 percent of the Owambo population.

The most senior chief of the Kwanyama is Mr Gabriel Kautima, leader of the National Democratic Party, which in turn is a member of the DTA.

In the many rural areas I visited during a tour of Owamboland, most people told me they would vote the way their heads-men indicated, giving an idea of the power of the traditional leaders.

Senior headman Mr Gottlieb Dan of the Kwanyama told me that his people, who live near the Angolan border, were tired of Swapo killing and kidnapping their children and would vote against them in the election.

If Chief Kautima can lead the majority of the Kwanyama to vote for the DTA, then that, combined with the votes gathered by other Owambo splinter parties will effectively deny Swapo not only the two-thirds they seek, but possibly even a simple 51 percent majority.

Another factor ignored by most analysts is that while Swapo may enjoy majority support, that alone does not win elections. Chanting, poster waving crowds may be impressive, but to win, a party needs to ensure that it gets a majority of eligible voters to the polls.

It is here that the parties that have been organising and registering voters on the ground for years have a major advantage over Swapo, whose supporters

Soviets to increase pre-poll aid to Swapo

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The Star's Africa News Service

The Soviet Union will increase its aid to Swapo in preparation for the territory's elections, the Africa News Organisation (ANO) reported from Moscow.

ANO quoted a spokesman for the Moscow-based Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee as saying that the increased financial aid to Swapo would be used in the return of refugees and in the election campaign. "Soviet representatives intend visiting Namibia as public observers of the process leading to independence," the spokesman said.

He added that between April and June there would be an increase in the exchange of delegations between Soviet public organisations and Swapo.

The editor of the Windhoek newspaper *The Namibian*, Ms Gwen Lister, had been invited to Moscow and a Soviet press group would visit Namibia, he said.



UN vows not to favour Swapo after SA protest

By ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has received assurances from the United Nations that it will not favour Swapo in the Namibia settlement process.

This follows a formal South African protest at UN headquarters in New York earlier this month that the UN was collecting money for Swapo, said the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar had responded to South African concerns at his appeal for funds to aid Swapo and the imminent

arrival in Windhoek of what South Africa views as a blatantly pro-Swapo division of the UN, the Office of Public Information.

Dr de Cuellar and the UN were now a great deal more aware of the impartiality issue than before, Mr van Heerden said.

South Africa had been assured that the R40-million pledged as a result of Dr de Cuellar's appeal would be applied "to the benefit of all Namibians".

South Africa would watch this very carefully, Mr van Heerden said.

The protest had served to remind the UN and that there

would be "no free rides" in the Namibian peace process.

Turning to the third monthly meeting of the Joint Commission in Cape Town on April 27-29, Mr van Heerden said Cuban officials he saw last week in Havana were eager to visit the country.

He described President Fidel Castro as charming, very friendly and courteous.

He said the president had listened intently to what he and General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SA Defence Force, had had to say, and had sought to assure them that Cuba was not South Africa's enemy.

His department had reserved accommodation for a large Cu-

ban delegation in Cape Town, Mr van Heerden added.

● Although logistic and administrative arrangements for the implementation of Resolution 435 are two to three weeks behind schedule, the operation will go ahead as planned on Saturday, says a senior UN official.

Mr Cedric Thornberry, of the UN Headquarters in New York, told a Press conference in Windhoek that officials and officers of Untag had done wonders, particularly in arranging temporary transportation and accommodation.

He said the bulk of the infantry (from Kenya, Finland and Malaysia) would only begin arriving in mid-April.

SADF silent over whereabouts of 6 murder suspects

Case Files 29/3/89

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Staff Reporter

THE Defence Force has declined to disclose the whereabouts of six soldiers who now face charges following the death of veteran Swapo member Mr Emmanuel Shifidi.

In a move which caused an international outcry, the six members of the Defence Force were granted immunity from prosecution last year when President P W Botha issued a special certificate halting criminal proceedings.

Mr Shifidi, 58, a veteran Swapo member and former Robben is-

land prisoner, was stabbed to death at a Swapo rally at Katutura, outside Windhoek, in November 1986.

According to the state, more than 50 soldiers in civilian clothing were driven to the rally from their base at Ondangwa, in Ovambo.

They were armed with knives, knobkerries and bows and arrows.

Minutes after the meeting began on a soccer field it erupted into violence, and Mr Shifidi was fatally stabbed as the panic-stricken crowd fled.

Last week the Windhoek Supreme Court invalidated the certificate issued by President Botha, and said that Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimba and Private Steven Festus had to stand trial.

Commenting on where the six were now stationed following the SADF withdrawal from Namibia, and whether the SADF would oppose a future attempt to bring the men to trial, an SADF spokesman said: "The matter is sub judice."

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Aid for Namibian exiles

GABORONE. — The Greek consulate here yesterday announced a \$340 000 (R900 000) donation to the United Nations programme for the repatriation of Namibian refugees and exiles to their country, the Botswana Press Agency Bopa reports.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

Five in court over attack on UN troops

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Five Tsumeb men accused of attacking a group of Australian and British soldiers assigned to the United Nations supervisory force will appear in court in the northern Namibian town today on assault charges.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said that five men would probably face charges of assault with intent to cause grievous bodily harm and damage to property.

The town's bullies drew a stern reproof from the mayor, Mr Tonie Botes, who yesterday decried the incident and urged Namibians to avoid "emotion and brutality" during the territory's transition to nationhood.

British signaller Lance-Corporal Mark Jarvis, the worst casualty in the most serious conflict between Untag members and local Namibians, will soon be flown to London for specialist treatment to a broken jaw, UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

For the first time yesterday Mr Eckhard disclosed an apparent shooting attack on Untag members billeted in the territory's capital for their overseeing role in an independence programme kicking off on Saturday.

"A United Nations vehicle was apparently the target of a shot while travelling through Windhoek," Mr Eckhard said. In the incident about a week ago, "the vehicle was not hit".

"We treated it as a law and order matter," he said.

In the Tsumeb incident last Saturday night, some 20 locals beat up eight soldiers outside the town's rugby club, according to police and UN officials.

Cape Times 29/3/89

Papenfus 'for 3 Cubans, 12 Angolans'

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICA'S PoW in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, is set to be swopped for three Cubans and 12 Angolans on the Angola-Namibia border on Friday.

It is reliably understood that the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence, Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, will be present to witness what had been termed the "global swop" on the border.

The director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said yesterday that the exchange was on track for Friday. He described the securing of the SA PoW's release at the Joint Commission meeting in Havana last week as "the high point" of the South African team's visit to Cuba.

Mr Botha and General Malan plan to include the prisoner swop as one of their stops on a two-day tour of Namibia to coincide with the beginning of Saturday's countdown to independence.

The high-profile safari — which will include visits to Oshakati and Windhoek — is designed as a morale-booster for South African personnel. General Malan and Mr Botha are expected to encourage the SA military and officials still in the territory and to stress the importance of discipline and impartiality in the critical time ahead.

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Human-rights man to aid UN

WINDHOEK. — The president of the European Human Rights Commission, Danish lawyer Mr Carl Norgaard, will be the chief legal adviser to the United Nations during the Namibian independence process.

One of the major tasks for Mr Norgaard, who is scheduled to arrive in Namibia in 10 days, will be to advise UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari on disputes involving the release of political prisoners. — Sapa-AP

783 UN troops deployed so far

WINDHOEK. — The United Nations has deployed 783 soldiers from 20 countries in Namibia to date for the country's transition to independence which begins on April 1, a UN spokesman said here yesterday.

The total military component of Untag will be 4 650 when the decolonisation process becomes fully operative, and will be assisted by more than 1 000 civilians.

The main battalions, to be supplied by Finland, Malaysia and Kenya, are expected next month. — Sapa

No tax on goods for UN operation

Political Staff

UNITED NATIONS staff in Namibia will not pay any taxes on goods bought in South Africa or imported through South Africa — nor will they pay taxes in Namibia.

The exemption from customs and excise in South Africa has been published in a special proclamation in the Government Gazette.

Acting Secretary for Finance in Namibia Mr Hannes Lubbe said Untag would not have to pay sales tax or customs on anything purchased for its operations.

The non-payment of taxes was provided for in an agreement signed by South Africa and the UN in 1978 and this had now been brought into operation.

"Regarding purchases for the personal use of the Untag members, they will have to pay sales tax."

Diplomats would have to pay sales tax, including for items purchased for their own personal use, but they would be entitled to claim this back, Mr Lubbe said.

Dispute on voting age in Namibian election

Political Staff

NO agreement has yet been reached on the critical and potentially divisive issue of the voting age in the Namibian elections in November.

The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, confirmed yesterday that the issue, which will determine whether thousands of young Namibians will be able to vote in the election, had not been resolved yet.

He also said the voting age was not clarified in the Resolution 435 settlement plan and this would have to be determined by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, in consultation with the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari.

Mr Pienaar has suggested that the voting age should be 21, but the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) has called for a voting age of 16.

A large proportion of Namibia's population is under the age of 21.

UN compiling list of laws for repeal

WINDHOEK. — The United Nations was compiling a list of discriminatory laws in Namibia that had to be repealed for the holding of free and fair elections, UN spokesman Mr Cedric Thornberry said here yesterday.

The process would begin within days of the start of Namibia's transition to independence on Saturday, but had to be completed within six weeks of implementation of the UN settlement plan.

Mr Thornberry is director in the office of the UN's special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who is due to arrive on Friday to take control of the UN field operation — the largest supervisory exercise ever undertaken by the world body.

Mr Thornberry said a UN legal representative had visited Namibia for consultations with South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, the judiciary and members of the legal profession on remaining discriminatory laws.

The UN official had reported his findings to the Secretary-General and was at present identifying those laws. — Sapa



PIENAAR AHTISAARI

Namibia's last race laws to go

KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK — UN officials expect by the end of next week to have scrapped all remaining apartheid laws imposed on Namibia during 74 years of SA rule.

Second ranking administrator in the international overseeing force, Cedric Thornberry, said yesterday the process would probably begin soon after April 1, because effective ways had to be found for implementing repeal of the laws.

UN administrators guiding Namibia to independence are, however, two weeks behind schedule, but catching up fast in time for Saturday's start to the biggest mission in the organisation's 43-year history.

Thornberry said UN lawyers had identified contentious laws and regulations and ditching of the vestiges of apartheid would begin within days.

Most of SA's apartheid laws superimposed on Namibia have been steadily eroded since 1978, but racially structured control of municipalities, education and health services persists.

Thornberry told a news conference: "This is not like one of those international operations where the UN or some other entity comes in and does things against a backdrop of eternity. The clock starts ticking on April 1 and we are driven by time."

"This is probably the most complicat-

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Namibia's last race laws to go next week

ed mission the UN has ever put on — logistically it certainly is the most difficult.

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From Page 1

Thornberry, the most senior aide to UN Namibia chief Martti Ahtisaari, said the billion-rand operation to supervise independence was "two to three weeks behind schedule — but we are catching up".

Almost 800 soldiers from 20 nations are in the territory, with about 3 800 still to arrive. Scores of international civil servants are also in place to manage the independence programme.

Ahtisaari is scheduled to arrive at Windhoek Airport from Frankfurt on Friday.

He takes up the post of UN Special Representative to shepherd Namibia towards elections in November and independence thereafter in tandem with Pretoria's administrator-general Louis Pienaar.

"The settlement proposal is essentially a compromise, there are no winners and no losers," Thornberry said.

"It provides for the continuance of the authority of SA until independence, exercised by the administrator-general."

Cubans for Cape Town

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Political Staff
A DIPLOMATIC extravaganza — involving Cubans, Soviets and Angolans — is scheduled for Cape Town at the end of next month.

About 72 Cuban, Soviet, Angolan and American negotiators involved in the joint commission overseeing the peace accord between South Africa and Angola will meet their South African counterparts here on April 28.

The South African government is determined to match the hospitality lavished on participants at the meeting of the commission last week in Havana.

But the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, admitted yesterday that the conference facilities in Havana could not be matched in South Africa.

Luxury hotel

The joint commission has booked three floors of a luxury Cape Town hotel for its third meeting. The first was held in Luanda in February.

Further meetings are scheduled once a month during the 27-month Namibian independence process.

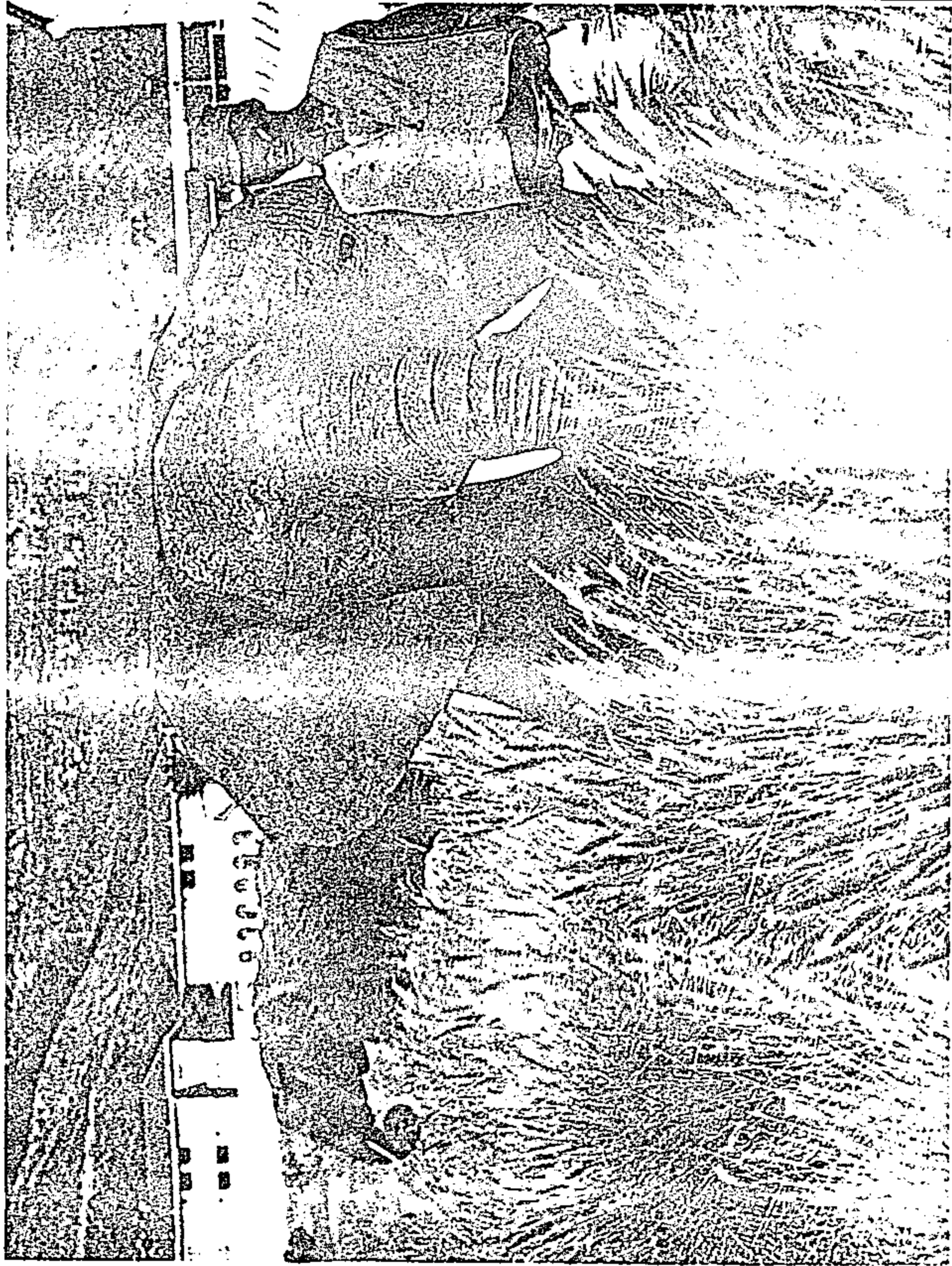
Mr Van Heerden said it was expected that about 30 Cubans, 30 Angolans, six Soviets and six Americans would attend the Cape Town meeting.

In a statement yesterday, he said one of the issues on the agenda was Joint South African-Angolan monitoring posts required for the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) which expires on April 1.

He said the joint commission agreed in Havana on ad hoc meetings to fill the gap left by the JMMC until a formula for its successor could be found.

At yesterday's briefing, he explained that an on-the-ground mechanism was necessary to deal with day-to-day crises that might occur.

In the statement, he said continued reference by Angola to allegations that South Africa was obstructing the setting up of three outstanding joint monitoring posts on the Namibia-Angola border, "while failing to explain what more they required South Africa to do, does not contribute to a constructive implementation of the settlement process."



SNACKING IN DISTRICT 6 ... Two circus Indian elephants are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday. The elephants are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday. The elephants are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday. The elephants are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday.

by when elephants roamed the Cape. According to their keeper, Mr James Timkulu, they are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday. The elephants are being fed by a man in District Six yesterday.

Biggest problem in Namibia is balancing

• From Page 8

a timetable for independence (the election for a council to draw up a constitution takes place in November). And everybody, even the most ardent and devoted supporter of the deal expects trouble of some kind.

"History may be ushering in a new era, but everything will not be fine. We are worried about the revenge factor," said a Swapo official. For many years, South Africa had been recruiting black Namibians into the occupying army.

Military service — which offered high salaries by local standards — was often the only alternative to unemployment and poverty. Already, scare stories abound of whites arming themselves with guns and dogs, and black and coloureds telling employers that, come April 1, their houses will be taken over.

Troops

There are reports of continued intimidation by SA forces, and fears that the scaled down UN contingent of 4 500 troops might not be enough.

Swapo is now adopting a much more conciliatory tone compared with the Marxist-rhetoric

interests of left and right wings

on to Walvis Bay, the only deep water port, these figures won't change.

"There's going to be political and violent turbulence for a while," predicted Eberhardt Hoffman, the head of the country's liaison services. "If forced segregation was wrong, so too is forced integration," argues Pretorius.

"Our biggest problem will be balancing the aspirations of blacks against the fears of whites," said Andreas Shipanga, a former founder of Swapo and now leader of the break-away Swapo-Democratic Party, which served in the interim government.

It's important to remember that most whites regard themselves as indigenous Namibians and not South Africans. The independence movement was supported by many of the whites as well.

"We are falling into a hole, without really realising there's a hole," said Dr D Rush of the Department of Finance, "and there are no immediate solutions. It's a very fragile economy." All the people quoted, with the exception of

with high unemployment.

In the north, moreover, most of the social infrastructure came from the South African army, who provided doctors, dentists and teachers for the local population.

These, too, are departing, and there aren't enough locals to replace them.

'Apartheid'

Although official segregation has long been abolished, there is still economic apartheid.

Black children are seven times more likely to die in infancy than white children.

Expenditure on white education is six times greater than for the Ovambos, the largest

tribe in Namibia, comprising 50 percent of the population.

The civil service is predominantly white, the best jobs and higher salaries go to whites. So do the best houses, and land distribution.

To change all this will cost money. And any process of independent industrialisation faces not only financial problems but also ones of unskilled labour, huge distances, lack of water and uneven population distribution (80 percent of the population are in the north, and less than two percent occupy the 400 miles south of Windhoek).

Of the two major exports, uranium demand is affected by worldwide environmental concerns,

and diamonds are controlled by an international cartel.

Any new government, of whatever party, faces the prospect of massive economic depression when Pretoria's aid is withdrawn.

"It will be faced with two unpalatable choices," says Dr Rush.

Begging

"It can either tell people to expect slower growth and higher taxes, or it can go begging to the West for huge amounts of aid. It might have to do both."

It's as well that the agreed year-long transition process, during which the UN will be in the country, does not allow official electoral campaigning until the

end of June, because none of the political parties has any real manifesto as yet.

There are, and the number grows daily, 32 political parties, grouped together in 10 coalitions, for a population of only 1,23 million of which about 90 000 are white.

Swapo clearly will get the majority of seats in the November elections, but many observers think, and fervently hope, that it will not get the 75 percent majority required to allow it to draw up the constitution on its own, to allow it to legally create a one party state.

To add to the myriad problems there are, in Namibia, 11 ethnic groupings and 14 different languages.

The groups range from the dominant Ovambo tribe, through the Bushmen and the Basters (the etymology of that word is simple: they are descended from the illegitimate offspring of Boer men and Hottentot women) through to the strange German community, from the days when South West Africa was a German protectorate.

In the coastal town of Swakopmund, I was in a cafe in Bismarck Street where old ladies in hats drank coffee and ate cream cakes.

I could have been in Berlin if it wasn't for the seven hour drive across the desert where I didn't see a living soul, apart from two scavenging ostriches. — *London Observer Service.*

it used in exile. To reassure white investment, its president Sam Nujoma, who is still out of the country, is now talking about a mixed economy and less about wholesale nationalisation.

South Africa may have been kicked out, but it can't be kicked again when it's down.

Ninety percent of Namibia's exports go through South Africa and 80 percent of its imports come that way. With the only railway line coming through South Africa, and with that country still holding

Kosie Pretorius, are in favour of independence.

Ironically, even the long-awaited South African withdrawal is one large economic problem, part of the hole. The benefit will be that the north, hit by the war and by drought, can begin farming safely again.

But the downside is that an estimated 30 000 people have been employed in industries servicing the war. They, and their many dependents (it's estimated that one wage earner in Namibia supports as many as 10 people) will lose their incomes in a country

Big welcome awaits

Ahtisaari on Friday

29/3/89 . Political Staff

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CAPE TOWN — The UN Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will arrive in Windhoek on Friday to head the UN force monitoring the independence process, which starts on Saturday.

Namibia's political parties were preparing a colourful welcome for him at Windhoek Airport.

According to the UN peace plan, electoral campaigning is due to start only on August 1. But the election build-up is expected to begin soon after April 1.

"There are those that would argue it has already started," said a South African official.

● It is understood that the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will be among the witnesses at Friday's prisoner exchange at Ruacana, where Rifleman Johan Papenfus is to be exchanged for three Cuban and 12 Angolans, including a MiG pilot.

Pienaar and Ahtisaari will meet at airport

WINDHOEK — UN special representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari will be met by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, when the UN official arrives at Windhoek airport tomorrow.



Officials said yesterday Ahtisaari and Pienaar would each make statements of intent and answer questions from the

● AHTISAARI

6/10am 25/3/89
media before leaving the airport.

On Saturday, Ahtisaari takes control of the biggest UN field operation aimed at escorting Namibia to independence over a period of about 12 months.

The UN operation oversees the withdrawal of SA troops from Namibia and the holding of free and fair elections for a constituent assembly, assigned with the drafting of a constitution for the emerging new state. The elections are planned for the first week of November.

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Namibian Police Commissioner Lt-Gen Dolf Gouws said yesterday only airport staff, passengers and journalists would be permitted to enter the airport buildings when Ahtisaari arrived.

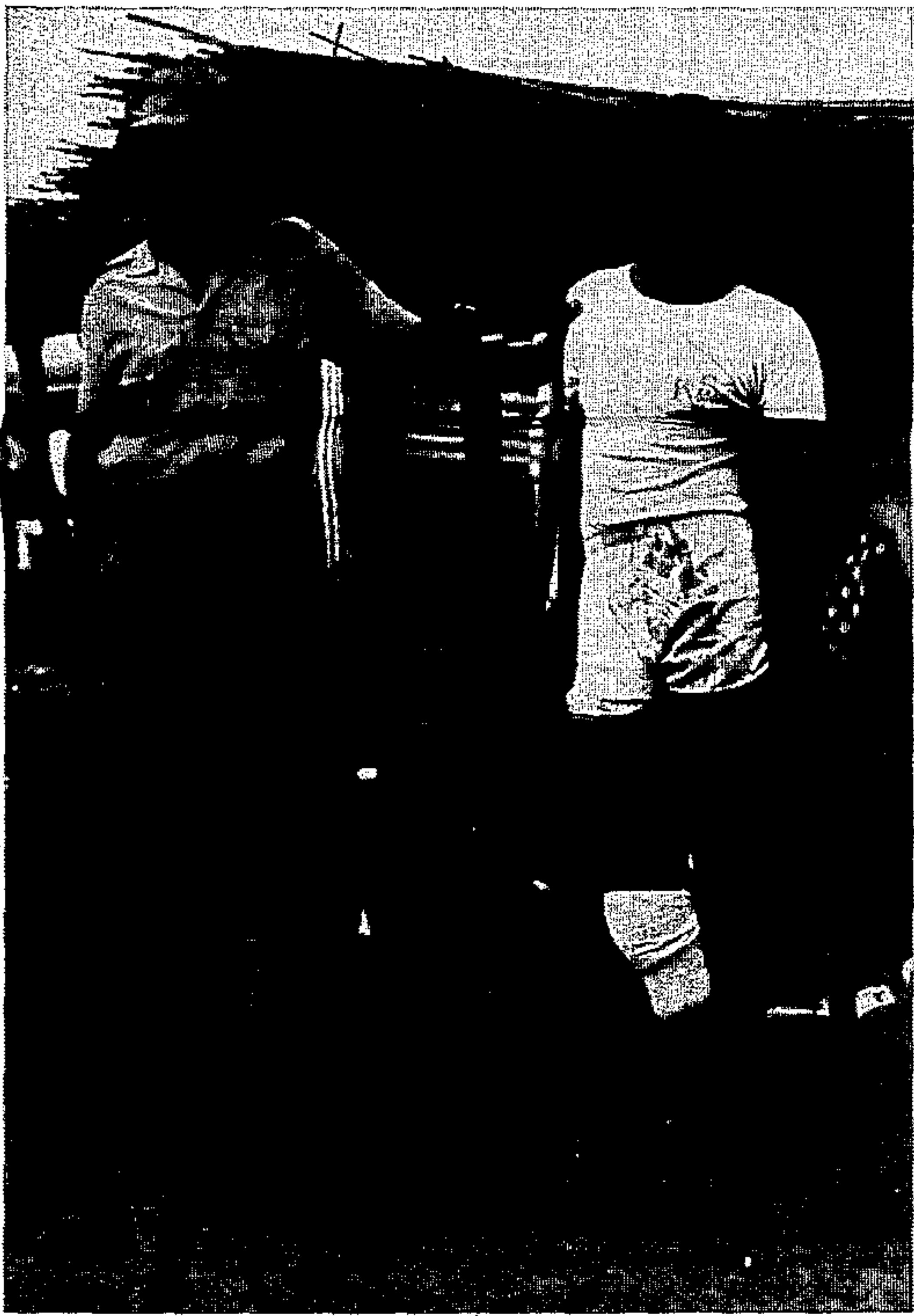
Members of the public would not be allowed beyond the airport gate.

□ Four UN soldiers were injured yesterday, one of them seriously, in two separate car crashes in Windhoek.

A Bangladeshi soldier involved in one crash was in a serious condition, a UN spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Playing the numbers game

A crucial period lies ahead for Swapo as Namibia gears up for the implementation of independence. Right-wing white Namibians are already talking of taking up arms against a possible future Swapo government. Meanwhile, the South African government is doing its utmost to ensure Swapo does not win the two-thirds majority it needs to rule Namibia. Swapo is also having to field criticism of its economic policy document, which outlines a mildly socialist economy with reforms in agriculture and mining. The mammoth task of restructuring Namibia will not be easy - for Swapo or anyone else. TONY WEAVER reports.



EVERYONE is playing the numbers game in Namibia at the moment.

And there are plenty of numbers to play with: 47 political parties for about 1.4 million people living in a country four times the size of the United Kingdom.

Not forgetting 20 000 or 100 000 exiles, depending on whether you believe South Africa or Swapo.

The one undisputed number is that 15 000 Namibians - more than one percent of the population - have died in this, one of Africa's dirtiest bush wars.

A key pleyer in the game is the South African government, which is trying its utmost to ensure Swapo does not get the two-thirds majority it needs to be the undisputed ruling party.

If Swapo fails to get two-thirds of the vote, it will have to barter with other parties and alliances to draw up its version of a new Namibian constitution.

South Africa is now playing three numbers games in its bid to deny Swapo an outright victory.

They are trying to raise the voting age from 18 to 21; they are trying to make the qualifying residence period for voting as short as possible; and they are trying to claim that the 3 000 strong Koevoet, or Crowbar, police unit has been disbanded and absorbed into the normal police force.

Koevoet's sole function in the war was the ruthless hunting down of Swapo guerillas, and the interrogation, often brutal, of captured guerillas and of suspected Swapo sympathisers.

Ninety percent of the Koevoet men are black Namibians, some of them former guerillas who changed sides. Their officers are mainly white South African policemen, and the unit was reputedly responsible for killing more than 70 percent of all guerillas who died in the war.

The administration insists Koevoet has been disbanded and that its men are now "ordinary policemen" doing ordinary police work.

As such, Koevoet will form almost half of the 6 300 policemen assigned to assist the UN in maintaining law and order through the election period and the transition to independence.

On March 14 this year, the Namibian Supreme Court heard from Koevoet men that they have been told by their officers they must continue the war if Swapo wins the elections.

So serious were the allegations contained in the court papers, that the police, in an out-of-court agreement, said they would immediately convey to all the men under their command that they were to halt immediately all hostile action against Swapo.

Another policeman told the court he had been instructed by the police to plant a bomb under the car of Swapo vice-president Hendrik Witbooi in February last year. The bomb was discovered before it exploded.

David Smuts, one of the Namibian human rights attorneys who brought this evidence before the court, is sceptical about the ability of Koevoet to return to a life as ordinary policemen.

"The aim of Koevoet is the elimination of Swapo guerillas, and in setting about the aim, they have

Top: In a post-independent Namibia thousands of soldiers will be forced to look for work

Centre: Having fought against Swapo for South Africa, these Koevoet soldiers face an uncertain future

Left: Namibia may be on the brink of dramatic change but some

established the most appalling track record on human rights over the past 10 years," he says.

That record has included deaths of people in the most suspicious and mysterious circumstance, including deaths in detention.

Major General Dolf Gouws, Chief Commissioner of the Namibian police, says the Swapo guerillas were not the "enemy" of the police.

"So far as we are concerned, they were criminals, and in that sense they were our enemy, because all criminals are the enemy of the police. When criminals stop their criminal activities, they are no longer the enemy.

Swapo, whose members have been subjected to repeated detention without trial, often allegedly involving brutal torture, reject the police claims of Koevoet impartiality.

Dan Tjongarero, Swapo deputy chairperson, said: "If Koevoet have been trained to be killers, if they have been trained to be extermination squads, if their only training was towards the extermination of Swapo, one wonders whether the stain on their brains can be diminished in just four months."

Then there is the question of the voting age: A critical support base for Swapo are the youth and student movements.

But here, South Africa is trying to raise the voting age from 18 to 21, thereby excluding many of the most militant voters from participating.

The South African administrator general, Louis Pienaar, told me candidly: "UN resolution 435 makes provision for universal adult suffrage, and so far as I am concerned, an adult is someone over the age of 21."

He could not explain why Namibia should be different to South Africa, where the voting age is 18, simply saying, "conditions are different here".

Paul Kalenga, president of the Namibian National Students Organisation, Nanso, is clear on the issue: "They are trying to increase the age limit because 30 to 40 percent of the Namibian population are the youth, many of them between the age of 18 to 21.

"The majority are politicised activists in the Swapo Youth League and Nanso. They are definite Swapo members and supporters. South Africa is trying to increase the age so that these people are excluded from

and he also sees a very specific role for the youth in the election campaign.

"The youth are the eyes and ears of the Namibian population, because many of our people cannot read or write," he says.

"I think our youth must see that people come to the correct decision, and must help ensure a Swapo victory."

On the residence issue, South Africa is trying to make the qualifying period as short as possible, and Pienaar favours a period of one year "to make the election as democratic as possible".

Swapo, the churches, various journalists and lawyers, say they have evidence that Unita troops are streaming across the border from Angola and are being issued with Namibian identity cards, as are South African troops.

Swapo is insisting that the residence period should be at least five years.

South Africa's Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, made South Africa's objectives clear in a recent speech: "The freedom-loving people of Namibia must ensure that Swapo does not win an absolute majority and open the way for them to impose their Marxist ideology on the country," he said.

To this end, the SADF and the SWA Territory Force, have been travelling the country, holding "information meetings" on independence.

With the lure of free braaivleis and beer, they have been attracting sizeable crowds to their meetings. They then proceed to "inform" the voters about Swapo, and urge them to vote for Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA.

Said Swapo's Dan Tjongarero: "They also produce disinformation on Swapo, saying that if Swapo wins, their wives will be raped and their children, their cows, their houses will be taken away from them.

"They equate the general remark that Swapo are communists with an evil system of government, and that they will lose everything if we come to power. It's a load of nonsense."

Let the last word go to Dirk Mudge, a wily old politician who is not at all keen to have the SADF campaigning on his behalf: "I have told the SADF commanders, and the South African government, that I don't think any assistance by the SADF will help us at all.

"If I were Swapo, I would

Mood expectant as Windhoek waits for change

ARGUS
30/3/89

By JON QWELANE
Argus Africa News Service

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WINDHOEK. — A permanent feature of Kaiser Street, the city's main thoroughfare, is a bleary-eyed and ever-thirsty bearded hobo who seems to be up with the birds every day.

His lanky frame, clad in the same brown check shirt and the same blue pants he wore last week and the week before, is a regular pest to shoppers and others he may have earmarked as likely "soft touches" to sponsor his next drink.

These days the gentleman of the road, sometimes in the company of an equally scruffy fellow who also appears to have irreconcilable differences with soap and water, seems to have unearthed a steady source of funds: he preys mercilessly on the Untag soldiers who have themselves become a regular feature of Windhoek.

There is a definite air of expectation in and around the city: something is cooking, and it is not only kudu and other venison in the pot. Its aroma wafts permeatingly into conversation at parties, and drifts easily into the small-talk of groups of local blacks who are forever shuffling forwards and backwards in almost every direction in town. It also finds its way even into conversation with civil servants and merchants and petrol attendants.

Saturday sees the first concrete steps towards the eagerly awaited implementation of United Nations resolution 435 giving independence to Namibia. It also sees the staging of a musical extravaganza — Festival 435 — at Windhoek stadium.

The event is being sponsored by the biggest soft-drink company in the sub-continent, a leading oil company, a giant brewery, and one of Namibia's top meat processing concerns.

Uhuru

In colourful posters all over town the music festival is being hailed as a "reality" and a "dream come true".

These days many people of all races can be seen in Windhoek streets sporting T-shirts welcoming the Untag contingents into the country, and proclaiming: "435 now".

All is not as euphoric as it sounds, though. Seasoned Namibians will freely tell you the expectant mood is a surprising change, to be sure. Even people who could have been expected to resist the implementation of the UN resolution ushering in Namibia's independence, they say, seem resigned to the fact that "uhuru" is a fait accompli.

But tarry — there is still some defiant, final show of resistance to African majority rule. It is typified in a small but not insignificant way by the Windhoek restaurateur whose eatery is open to whites only. But, even then, not every white person.

The restaurant, of course, rejects blacks. But now there is also a board

prominently displayed at the entrance, with an unapologetic notice: "No UN/no Untag".

The white suburbs are still fiercely a private affair. Road signs at some entrances to the residential areas, even those still being built, make it clear that access is to "residents only" and, in case you have problems with English, the message is repeated in Afrikaans.

A stocky and evidently conservative home-owner in the western suburb of Hochland Park talks easily of "getting my Herero" to come out and cut the grass, and a black member of the armed forces complains moodily to a newsman offering him a lift that "these Swapos are now going to be our government" when he, in the meantime, must walk out of his uniform and into civvy street when the South West Africa defence force disbands at the end of the month.

Airport

The soldier's lament is another passive but conscious resistance to the change which is inevitably overtaking Namibia. But the authorities seem to go along with the changes which are rapidly seeping in: some days ago, in hasty preparation for the arrival of the advance Untag parties, the name of the local airport was changed to read, simply, Windhoek airport.

It must have been an agonising decision for some to swallow. After all J G Strijdom, revered "Lion of the north" to many Afrikaners in whose breasts the fires of nationalism still burn brightly, was no ordinary man.

But, despite the physical and psychological transformation of society that is taking place here, some things remain interestingly the same.

One of them is the enchanting sight of local women, their features composed under their high turbans, and resplendent in their street-sweeping Victorian dresses which lend a flowing blend of colour to pavements and pedestrian crossings.

Another is the fact that not many whites are opting for the chicken run, not yet, anyway. Many are staying, as evidenced by the few furniture removal trucks making their way to the South African borders. The many new houses being built in white suburbs are also a pointer.

A senior civil servant says most Windhoekers work in the government and local authority structures. Public servants, he says, had the option to leave or continue working at their posts, and those who chose the latter option knew they could not change their minds at a later stage and want to be transferred to the South African civil service.

A good omen for Namibia, though, is the large number of tourists who are all over Windhoek en route to the country's various places of interest.

It may be too early to form any opinion yet, but if the whites who are staying and the tourists flocking in are any yardstick, Windhoek's future — and Namibia's — seems assured.

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BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, March 30 1989

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SA, Swapo accept UN ceasefire

WINDHOEK — SA and Swapo have accepted an official ceasefire, formally ending 23 years of bush warfare since exiled guerrillas took up arms for independence, a senior UN official says.

Namibia's independence settlement that kicks off on Saturday under UN Security Council resolution 435 requires a formal ceasefire between the two sides in place by April 1.

SA vs Swapo clashes effectively end-

KEVIN JACOBS

ed in August in northern Owambo, but Pretoria and Swapo only recently endorsed a ceasefire, through UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar.

Cedric Thornberry, a senior official in the UN Transition Assistance Group said yesterday he was told that the ceasefire had taken place.

Touching Namibian hearts

From RYLAND FISHER WINDHOEK. — The United Nations personnel in Namibia had "days not weeks" in which to create a proper climate for the holding of fair and free elections here, UN spokesman Cedric Thornberry said this week.

"It is the most complicated mission the United Nations ever put on," Thornberry said at a press briefing at a local hotel.

The UN Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) tasks would include addressing issues like the repeal of

discriminatory legislation and the release of political prisoners and detainees.

Asked how many weeks this would take, Thornberry said: "It will have to be done within days, we don't have weeks."

Relatives and monitoring organisations had given names of detainees and prisoners to the UNTAG. This would have to be discussed with the administrator-general Louis Pienaar.

Thornberry, described as the "right-hand man" of UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, said many refugees were already returning from Angola but the "formal" return date was the beginning of May.

The UN was working on a figure of 58 000 refugees.

"The majority are in Angola but many are scattered all over the world."

Disagreement

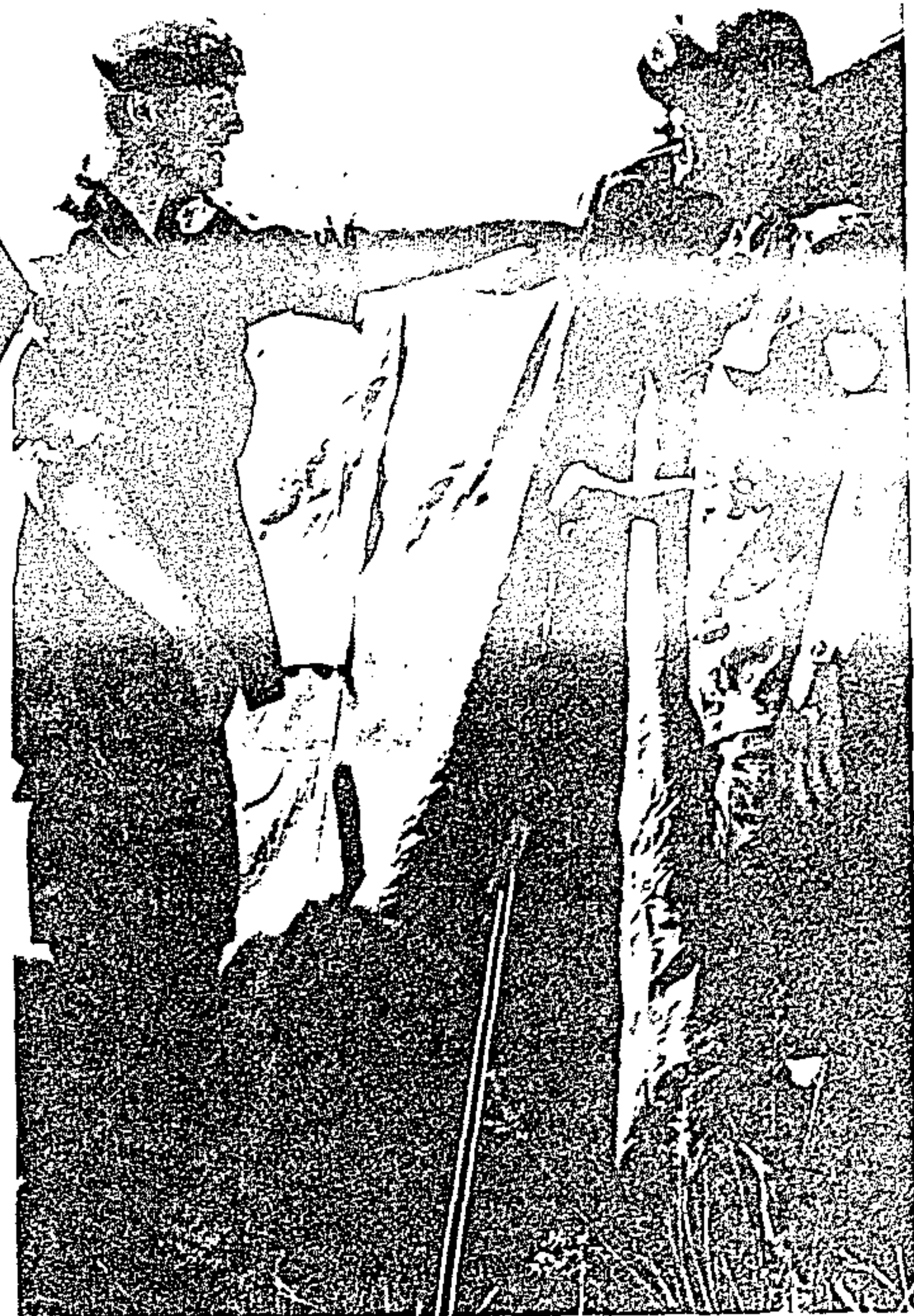
The refugees would be taken to entry points closest to their homes. Thornberry said the Namibian settlement had been a compromise with Pienaar still having governmental power but being committed to ensuring free and fair elections.

This would have to be done to the satisfaction of Ahtisaari, who arrives on Friday morning.

Disagreements could be taken to an independent international jurist. The official implementation date for UN Resolution 435 is this Saturday, April 1.

Soldiers have "taken over" this city, the capital of independence-awaiting Namibia.

And it is clear that the United Nations troops sent to monitor the implementation of Resolution 435 on Saturday, have come, are being seen and are set to conquer the hearts of this former German and South African colony.



British members of Untag at an army base shortly after their arrival

But for the presence of these troops, it would be difficult to realise Namibia was on the verge of achieving what it has fought for for thirty years.

UN soldiers

Windhoek looks like any small South African city. Most of the shop names are in Afrikaans and many well-known South African businesses have branches here.

But a hint of what is to come is given by the UN soldiers in their military fatigues. They occupy most available space (the remainder being taken up by journalists from all over the world).

In one building, UN personnel have been placed next to the local trade union federation, the National Union of Namibian Workers; in another they share the floor with a popular steakhouse.

The soldiers appear to mix quite freely with local residents,

something not often seen in South Africa.

A Kenyan soldier introduced himself to us as "Ali" ("I have the same name as the great boxer," he said), while an Australian soldier told us about his wife and children he hopes to see in six months. He writes to them regularly and phones them once a fortnight, he said.

Celebrations

For Namibians themselves, the idea of independence is slowly sinking in.

"Maybe there will be more excitement this weekend," said one woman.

UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari is expected to arrive on Friday, a day before the official implementation of Resolution 435.

While Swapo's plans for his arrival could not be determined early this week, it is generally expected that there will be spontaneous welcome celebrations.

R20 000 levy on new paper

THE Department of Home Affairs this week demanded a deposit of R20 000 from the new Natal weekly newspaper, The New African, before it can register as a newspaper.

The department delivered its terms 11 days after the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, warned that he had several "concerns" about the new publication. The maximum deposit for registering is R40 000.

In a letter to the newspaper, Coetsee cited as his "concerns" the facts that the Durban Newspaper Group, which initiated The New African, is committed "to the South African liberation struggle" and has had

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The future belongs to them ... A Swapo marshal keeps order at a Swapo youth rally

Who's real 'terrorists'?

WILL right-wing white Namibians take up arms against a post-independence Swapo government?

This question is being closely looked at in Swapo circles, as the leadership grows increasingly concerned at the possibility of a violent backlash to their almost inevitable ascendancy to power.

There are only 70 000 whites in Namibia, but, at most, Swapo can probably only count on about 1 000 of them being enthusiastic supporters of a Swapo government.

On the other hand, the white right wing claims to have several thousand members, many of whom, they claim, are willing to take up arms.

Hendrik van As, leader of the Namibian (or South West African) branch of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, AWB, is outspoken on the subject.

"We will definitely take up the arms we need in the fight, the moment we need them. The Afrikaner has two choices: To fight, or to die. If we fight, we MAY lose, but if we don't fight, we will definitely lose, so we fight," he told me.

Pushed for more details, he said: "I obviously cannot spell out our plans. Who knows, you may be an agent of Mr (Adriaan) Vlok."

Referring to UN Resolution 435, the UN independence plan, he said: "A lot of our people are saying 'forget about 435, let's talk about the point 303'."

"That's the British 303 rifle, and we all know the British never lost a battle with that rifle."

Van As, an ageing former Windhoek city councillor, lives in a modest suburban house less than a kilometre from the "coloured" township of Khomasdal.

Hanging on his walls are an Uzzi sub-machine gun and mementoes of some of his heroes: Photographs of B J Vorster, Hendrick Verwoerd, and the skin of a crocodile, perhaps wishful thinking on his part, as P W Botha's nickname is "Die groot Krokodil".

He was scathing about Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, whom he described as "just an ordinary Ovambo labourer".

He went on to say: "We all know about the Ovambos, they are so lazy you even have to pay them to play soccer."

Surprisingly enough, he dwelt at length on how the South African Defence Force and police have "driven the Ovambo people into the arms of Swapo".

A more determined AWB member is Hendrik Kotze. He and his father, Gen, farm in the remote Okakarara district, not far from the Botswana border.

When we arrived at the farm, he was out in the fields, herding his prize Brahmin and Santa Gertruida cattle in a novel way: Instead of using a horse, he drove behind them in a Volkswagen Golf.

I asked him what he thought would happen if a Swapo government came to power.

"With a Swapo government, I think that most white people would have to become white terrorists in their own country."

"This is our land, we won't run away, we have nowhere to run to, so if it comes to that, we will have to take up arms."

On another remote farm, this time near Otavi, the area where the most guerilla attacks on white farms took place in the bush war, we found a

more balanced member of the AWB.

This man, who asked not to be named, is a fourth generation German farmer, whose family settled the land in 1908.

"Yes, there has been a lot of talk about forming an underground army, a white terrorist movement, but that is just a pipe dream," he said.

"Imagine it: At most they would get 200 to 300 men, all white, trying to operate as guerillas here, in a black man's country."

"Swapo used to move through our farms, get food from our labourers, and we never even knew they were here until they attacked."

Swapo

"Do you really think a white man can operate like that? Besides, the new army will be commanded by the Swapo terrorists, and they are very good. I know, I fought against them."

The final word, perhaps, on the issue of white and black terrorism, comes from a white man born in Namibia. He is not a member of Swapo or, for that matter, of any political party.

"Swapo are not the terrorists," he told me, "this is their country. South Africa is the terrorists."

WITH the start of the Namibian independence process now only days away, fierce jockeying and political mudslinging is well underway.

Inevitably, most of the mud is being slung at Swapo, as the other political parties desperately jockey for positions which will at least give them some influence in the new government.

It seems inevitable that Swapo will win a landslide victory in the election. But they have to win a clear two-thirds majority in order to draw up the new nation's constitution if they don't want to compromise and bargain for support from the other 46 political parties in Namibia.

Much of the mud being slung at Swapo regards their economic policies.

Swapo has long been portrayed in the Namibian and South African press as a communist organisation intent on imposing a Marxist economic system on the country.

But now, with the release of their long-awaited economic policy document, it is clear they intend implementing a form of mild socialism with very few radical economic reforms.

There have already been howls of "sell-out" from some of Swapo's more radical critics, and there are murmurings of discontent in the trade union movement about the level of importance being attached to the workers' role in the liberation struggle.

Nevertheless, Ben Ulunga, general secretary of the largest union, the Mineworkers Union of Namibia, is adamant about how the 30 000 to 40 000 union members will vote.

"There is only one government which means anything to the workers, and that is a Swapo government. The workers and the trade union movement will mobilise to ensure a Swapo victory."

Dan Tjongarero, Swapo's deputy national chairperson, describes Swapo's economic policy as "pragmatic" and "favouring a mixed economy".

Two key elements in an economy which desperately needs reforming will be agriculture and mining.

Eric Lang, an independent economic consultant, had this to say about the Namibian economy.

"The human resources have been totally neglected, particularly the black people; education has been at a minimal level during most of the mandate period; and our natural resources have been critically exploited, especially the mining and fishing industries."

Lang maintains that an independent Namibia will need massive international aid and intervention to rectify decades of South African colonial over-exploitation and under-employment.

The economy is based on a narrow primary sector, there is almost no manufacturing industry, and more than half the economically active adults are either employed in, or live from, commercial and peasant farming.

Namibia exports eighty percent of what it produces, and imports eighty percent of what it consumes. Its lifeline is South Africa, the colonial power since 1915.

Political battles well under way

Mining is the mainstay of the economy, but under South African rule, the bulk of profits have been siphoned from Namibia to Europe and South Africa.

Inevitably, debate on the rebuilding of the Namibian economy has focused on the three big mining houses, Rossing Uranium, CDM Diamonds, and the Tsumeb Corporation, TCL, a copper mining giant.

Between them, they now contribute one third of the gross domestic product, provide 85 percent of Namibia's exports, and pay almost 50 percent of the country's taxes.

Swapo says they want to buy into the mining companies, a shareholding of up to 50 percent, and use their share of the profits to rebuild the economy.

Nico Bessinger, Swapo's foreign secretary, says a prime objective will be to use these profits to build up a secondary manufacturing industry, so the new nation will not have to rely on South Africa for all its manufactured goods.

(Namibia does not even have a broom factory, there is only one tiny clothing factory in the country, and almost all processed food comes from South Africa or West Germany.)

Rossing Uranium is the biggest mining company in terms of sheer output - its share of the national income is between 17 and 20 percent.

Reconstruction

But talk of restructuring the economy means little to the ordinary black Namibian.

For them, economics translates to finding enough to eat.

Unemployment is running at close to 40 percent, and this will increase as thousands of exiles and guerillas return to take their place in the economy, many of them returning to the peasant farming regions which were once their home.

The peasant farmers were the backbone of the guerilla struggle. Their sons and daughters were the fighters who ultimately forced South Africa to the negotiating table.

Ben Ulunga, the MUN leader, is a former Swapo guerilla who was trained in the Soviet Union, spent two years in the bush until his capture, and then spent nine years on Robben Island.

"I think the fighters will have the highest expectations of anybody returning, and the question of jobs for the fighters and their opportunities in the armed forces, are important questions which will have to be dealt with," he says.

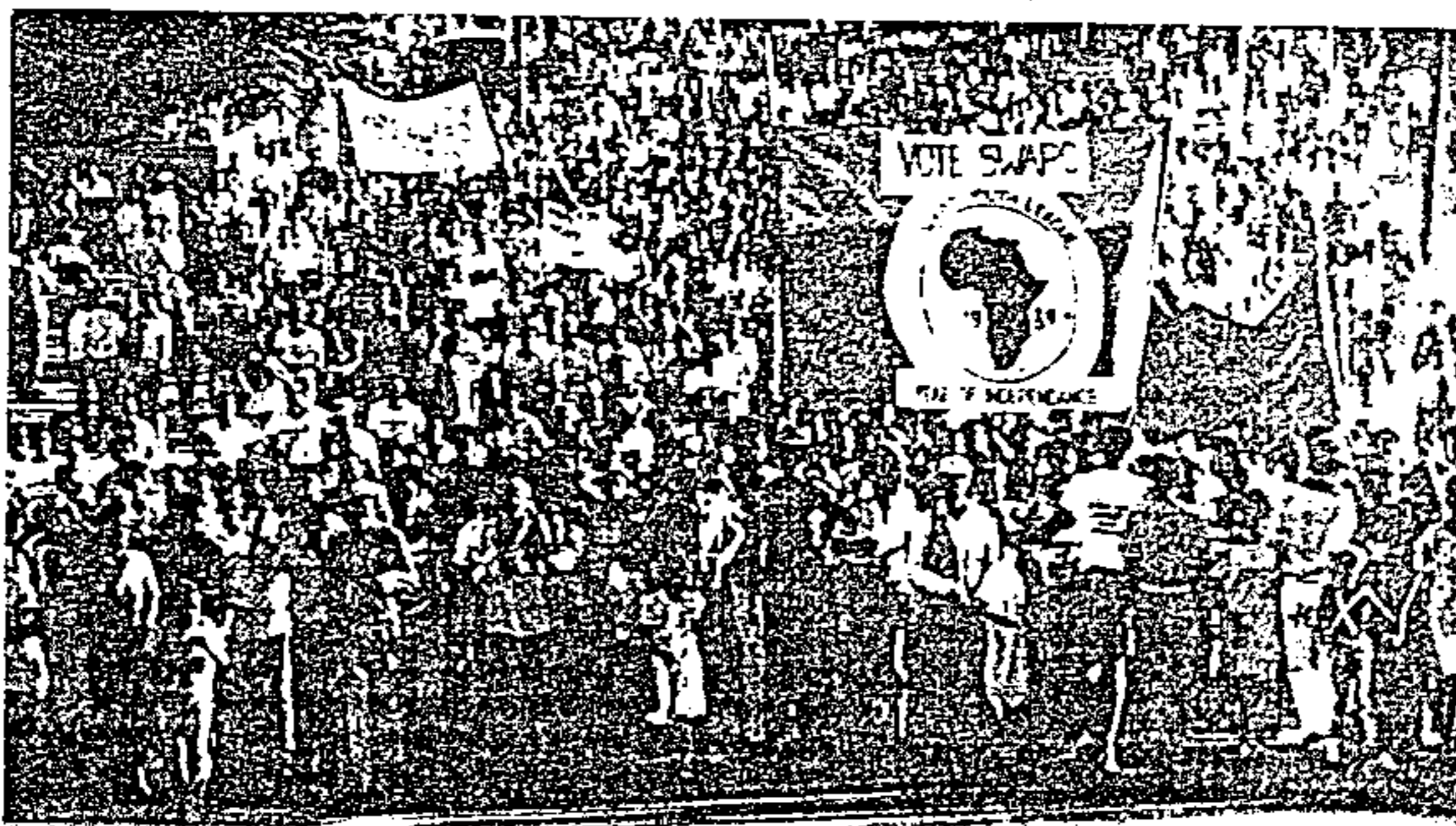
The economic imbalance between black and white Namibians is nowhere more stark than in agriculture, the daily bread of more than half the black Namibian population, with most of them squeezed into overgrazed, infertile communal farming areas.

There are 6 000 "white" farms, owned by 4 800 farmers. This is the best and richest farming land in the country, and a large proportion of owners are absentee landlords.

Swapo says land redistribution will be a critical priority after independence, and that they will buy out those white farms which are unutilized, under-utilized, or which are used as weekend retreats and hunting lodges.

Some of those lodges are owned by wealthy West Germans, who use their farms for perhaps one month a year at most.

A mammoth task of reconstruction awaits the new government, and failure to deliver the economic goods could trigger off massive dissent among those Namibians who have sacrificed so much in the struggle for freedom and independence.



The fervour of Resolution 435 - Swapo supporters dance all the way home after a Youth League rally in Katutura

SA-Swapo ²²¹ ceasefire on

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — South Africa and Swapo have accepted an official ceasefire, according to a senior United Nations official.

The agreement formally ends 23 years of bush warfare since exiled guerillas took up arms for independence.

Namibia's independence settlement that kicks off on Saturday under UN Security Council Resolution 435 requires a formal ceasefire between the two sides in place by April 1.

Clashes between SA forces and Swapo guerillas effectively ended in August last year in northern Ovambo but SA and Swapo only recently endorsed a ceasefire through UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Mr Cedric Thornberry, a senior official in Untag that oversees the independence process from Saturday, said yesterday that he was told only this week that a ceasefire would be in effect.

"My understanding is that both sides have written to the secretary-general accepting his proposal that a ceasefire take effect on April 1," Mr Thornberry told a news conference.

■ UN soldiers hurt in crashes — Page 3

Aussie Untag corps confined to barracks'

CANBERRA. — Sixty Australian soldiers with a UN force in Namibia are being confined to barracks in off-duty hours for their own safety after a brawl with local civilians, an Australian Defence Department spokesman said.

The restriction at the barracks in Grootfontein, Namibia, will remain until completion of a UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) inquiry into the brawl.

The spokesman said yesterday

that five civilians were detained by police on charges of assaulting four Australian and four British soldiers, one of whom had his jaw broken, after a rugby match last weekend at Tsumeb.

No charges have been filed against the Untag soldiers, the spokesman said.

● In Windhoek, the Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws, said yesterday that neither the police

nor the security commander of Untag was aware of an incident in which a Danish patrol of Untag was allegedly fired on in Windhoek.

SABC radio news quoted him as saying that although a statement in this connection had been issued by the office of the United Nations special representative for Namibia, no one could say with certainty exactly where or when the incident occurred. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Town's conference facilities adequate for Cuban-SA meeting

Municipal Reporter

CONFERENCE facilities in Cape Town were very good, and perfectly adequate for the Cuban-Angolan-Soviet "diplomatic extravaganza" scheduled for this city at the end of next month.

This is the opinion of Mr Angus Dodds, chairman of the Western Cape branch of the Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association of SA (Fedhasa), who was asked to comment on remarks this week by Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Van Heerden was reported

to have admitted that the conference facilities in Havana "could not be matched in South Africa".

Mr Robert Desmarais, Mr Van Heerden's personal assistant who has also just returned from Havana, explained that Cuba had built a special conference centre because it chaired the Non-Aligned Movement four or five years ago.

"They have a building just for international press conferences. It has lots of separate conference rooms, and a main hall with a podium facing banks of desks for journalists and six or eight

simultaneous translation booths at the back."

He was sure translation booths could be provided in Cape Town if they were needed.

Mr Dodds, who manages the Mount Nelson Hotel, said top Cape Town hotels could face some problems accommodating large conferences in peak season, but these could easily be solved in consultation with other hotels.

It is understood that three floors of the Cape Sun Hotel have been booked for the third meeting of the joint commission overseeing the peace accord



Mr Neil van Heerden

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'Swell' Castro dispels the ogre

Political Staff

BLUSTERY, bear-hugging Cuban President Fidel Castro is not an ogre at all but is really a swell guy — at least that's the impression that South African diplomats brought back with them from their recent trip to Havana.

Dr Castro, it seems, went much further than his much-publicised remark that "Cuba is not an enemy of South Africa's" in his private talks with the South Africans during the Joint Monitoring Commission meeting in the Cuban capital.

According to South Africa's top professional diplomat, Mr Neil van Heerden, Dr Castro was "unpretentious" and "extremely well informed", as well as "charming", "gracious" and "attentive".

Talking to newsmen about latest developments in the Namibian peace settlement, the director general of Foreign Affairs said that the Cuban leader clearly had extensive contact with South Africans and even displayed a degree of understanding for the country's complicated problems.

He was also less "prescriptive" than the schoolmaster approach South Africans had previously encountered in Europe.

"He is modest in his approach, simply dressed in khaki uniform, and without pretensions," said Mr Van Heerden.

It was also clear that Dr Castro was extremely proud of his country and the fruits of his revolution which had trans-

formed Havana from a casino playground for American gangsters into a place where the locals, who had nothing, now had something to eat and schools to go to.

"He is prepared to say the revolution is far from complete and must be carried through with such things as housing," said Mr Van Heerden.

"But, there are areas about which they justifiably can be proud — such as health services."

While the "ice" has been broken and nobody expects full diplomatic links between the two countries, there are still 27 months of high-level contact to go for the Joint Commission during which the new relationship will no doubt be carefully explored.

Mund... cat

A PERMANENT feature of Kaiser Street, the city's main thoroughway, is a bleary-eyed and ever-thirsty bearded hobo who seems to be up with the birds every day.

His lanky frame, clad in the same brown check shirt and the same blue pants he wore last week and the week before, is a regular pest to shoppers and others he may have earmarked as likely "soft touches" to sponsor his next drink.

These days the gentleman of the road, sometimes in the company of an equally scruffy fellow who also appears to have irreconcilable differences with soap and water, seems to have unearthed a steady source of funds: He preys mercilessly on the Untag soldiers who have themselves become a regular feature of Windhoek.

Expectation

There is a definite air of expectation in and around the city: Something is cooking and its aroma wafts permeatingly into conversations at parties. It drifts easily into the small talk of groups of local blacks who are forever shuffling backwards and forwards in almost every direction in town, and it finds its way even into conversation with civil servants, merchants and petrol attendants.

Saturday sees the first concrete steps towards the eagerly-awaited implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 giving independence to Namibia. It also sees the staging of a musical extravaganza —

Uhuru is coming, whether you like it or not

sowetan 30/3/89

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SOWETAN Foreign Service

Festival 435 — at Windhoek Stadium.

The event is being sponsored by the biggest soft-drink company in the sub-continent, a leading oil company, a giant brewery, and one of Namibia's top meat processing concerns.

In colourful posters all over town the music festival is being hailed as a "reality" and a "dream come true".

These days many people of all races can be seen in Windhoek streets sporting T-shirts welcoming the Untag contingent into the country, and proclaiming: "435 now".

All is not as euphoric as it sounds, though.

FOCUS

Seasoned south-westerners will freely tell you the expectant mood is a surprising change, to be sure. Even people who could have been expected to resist the implementation of the UN resolution ushering in Namibia's independence, they say, seem resigned to the fact that "uhuru" is a *fait accompli*.

Defiant

But tarry — there is still some defiant, final show of resistance to African majority rule. It is typified in a small but not insignificant way by the Windhoek restaurant whose eatery is open to whites only. But, even then, not every white person.

case you have problems with English, the message is repeated in Afrikaans.

A stocky and evidently conservative homeowner in the western suburb of Hochland Park talks easily of "getting my Herero" to come out and cut the grass, and a black member of the armed forces complains moodily to a newsman offering him a lift that "these Swapos are now going to be our government" when he, in the meantime, must walk out of his uniform and into civvy street when the South West Africa Defence Force disbands at the end of the month.



SWAPO leader... Sam Nujoma.

It must have been an agonising decision for some to swallow. After all, J G Strijdom, revered "Lion of the North" to many Afrikaners in whose breasts the fires of nationalism still burn brightly, was no ordinary man. But they watched the name of the airport disappear officially, and may presumably have steeled themselves to the fact that in Namibia not very many things are sacred anymore.

But, despite the physical and psychological transformation of society that is taking place here, some things remain interestingly the same.

Children

One of them is the enchanting sight of local women, their features composed under their high turbans, and resplendent in their street-sweeping victorian dresses which lend a flowing blend of colour to pavements and pedestrian crossings.

Another is the fact that not many whites are opting for the chicken run, not yet, anyway. Many are staying and that is evidenced by the few furniture removal

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Senetan

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Lament

The restaurant, of course, rejects blacks. But now there is also a board prominently displayed at the entrance, with an unapologetic notice: "No UN/No Untag".

The white suburbs seem to be still a fiercely private affair. Notices at some entrances to the residential areas, even those still being built, make it clear that access roads are strictly for "Residents Only" and, in

The soldier's lament is another passive but conscious resistance to the change which is inevitably overtaking Namibia. But the authorities seem to go along with the changes which are rapidly seeping in: Some days ago, in hasty preparation for the arrival of the advance Untag parties, the name of the local airport was changed to read, simply, Windhoek Airport.

trucks making their way to the South African borders. The many new houses being built in white suburbs are also a pointer.

A senior civil servant says most Windhoekers work in the government and local authority structures. Public servants, he says, had the option to leave or continue working at their posts, and those who chose either option knew they could not change their minds at a later stage and want to be transferred to the South African civil service.

A good omen for Namibia, too, is the large number of tourists who are all over Windhoek en route to the country's various places of interest.

It may be too early to form any opinion yet, but if the whites who are staying and the tourists flocking in be any yardstick, Windhoek's future — and Namibia's — seems assured.

YTW 3093189
**Strike grounds
New Zealand
jets worldwide**

WELLINGTON (225) AIR
New Zealand cabin crews will begin a 24-hour strike today, paralysing the airline's domestic and international air schedules, airline chief executive Mr Jim Scott said.

All Air New Zealand aircraft would be held at overseas airports and cabin crew would have to pay their own accommodation.

Talks between the airline and the union over cabin crew numbers and proposed longer shifts had broken down, Airline Stewards' and Hostesses' Union secretary Mr Tom Downey said.

Air New Zealand publicity manager Mr Richard Gates said the airline had a contingency plan to minimise disruption. — Sapa-AP.

SA, Swapo officially accept ceasefire terms

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa and Swapo have notified UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar in writing that they accept the terms of his proposal for an official ceasefire between them prior to implementation of the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan for Namibia on Saturday.

Confirmation of the official acceptance took place within the past 48 hours, according to a senior UN official in Windhoek, Mr Cedric Thornberry. He is the "right-hand man" of the UN Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martii Ahtisaari, who is due in Windhoek tomorrow in advance of the official implementation date.

South Africa for many years said that it would not sign an official ceasefire document with Swapo, as this would be tantamount to an admission that the two had been fighting a war and that Pretoria had been forced into making peace.

Political observers have speculated that the written confirmation of the terms of the ceasefire, while being acceptable to both South Africa and Swapo, would enable Pretoria to lay down arms without being seen to lose face.

Once the ceasefire is officially in operation on April 1, South African troops will be confined to their bases inside Namibia while Swapo fighters will be confined to theirs in southern Angola north of the 16th parallel.

South African troops will then begin withdrawing from Namibia until only 1 500 of them remain by November when Namibians vote for a new government in a one man, one vote election.

Tight airport security when Ahtisaari arrives tomorrow

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Strict security measures will be in force at Windhoek Airport tomorrow when United Nations special representative for Namibia, Mr Martii Ahtisaari, arrives.

Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws said the security measures would inconvenience the public, but were necessary in view of the large

crowds expected to go to the airport to welcome the man who will oversee Namibia's transition to independence.

Only accredited journalists, diplomats, VIPs, airline passengers and their immediate friends or families would be allowed into the airport grounds, the general said.

Others would have to stay outside the airport precincts.

Black US student turned away from concert in Namibia

The Star's Africa (22)
News Service

WINDHOEK — A visiting black American student has found out, in a hurtful and embarrassing manner, that racism is far from dead in a Namibia on the eve of UN-supervised transition to independence.

Mr Robert Willander, a graduate student from New York State, was turned away from a whites-only cultural concert in

the farming town of Otjiwarongo, about 250 km north of Windhoek.

The concert was put on by the all-white Windhoek Teachers' College and held in the school hall of the segregated Otjiwarongo primary school.

Mr Willander's host in Otjiwarongo, Mr Jens Adam, said he and his wife had invited the American student to accompany them to the concert as he was

interested in the performing arts.

Just after Mr Adam's wife and Mr Willander had seated themselves in the hall, Mr Adam was grabbed by the arm and taken outside by the school headmaster, Mr Hennie de Waal.

According to Mr Adam, he was threatened with assault by both Mr de Waal and by another man unless he removed Mr Wil-

lander from the hall.

"They accused me of being a Swapo supporter," said Mr Adam.

Mr Adam collected his wife and Mr Willander and left the concert.

Mr Adam, a professional man in Otjiwarongo, said the general attitude of people he had spoken to about the incident was one of support.

Star 30/3/82

Surprise visit added to tour

Maggie due in Namibia at weekend

MANDY JEAN WOODS

BRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would visit Namibia tomorrow, the first day of UN control in the territory, Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed last night.

Botha's announcement came amid speculation this week that Thatcher would make a surprise visit to Namibia — in spite of denials by British and SA officials. Thatcher ended her four-nation tour of Africa in Malawi today.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said government had been consulted about the visit and reacted positively to the suggested visit of Thatcher to the British contingent of Untag.

Sapa reports that Thatcher, when asked earlier yesterday if she intended visiting Namibia, said she had no plans for a Namibian stop-over. She said when she was to go somewhere she would make an announcement and "I have no announcement to make".

Botha said the usual courtesy arrangements had been made to the satisfaction of Thatcher's office and government. He would not say if he would meet Thatcher during his visit to the territory today and tomorrow, in part to oversee the PoW exchange which will bring Rifleman Johan Papefus back to SA after 11 months of captivity in Havana.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said although Botha would be in Namibia today "we have no knowledge of a possible meeting with Thatcher. In fact if it



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher holds aloft a pumpkin while on a visit to a British-sponsored resettlement scheme in Mount Darwin, Zimbabwe, yesterday. Picture: REUTERS

comes off we will be surprised. It is all just speculation at this stage."

A British Embassy spokesman said in Cape Town earlier yesterday Thatcher "had no plans to visit Namibia. She is in Malawi today and is scheduled to leave tonight for London."

He said the British ambassador to SA, Sir Robin Renwick, was visiting Namibia and was to meet UN special representative to Namibia Martti Ahtisaari on his arrival at the Windhoek airport this morning.

SA releases grip on Africa's last colony

KEVIN JACOBS reports from Windhoek

NAMIBIA's United Nations chaperones, so long in the wings, aren't quite sure how to mark the passing tomorrow of absolute South African rule in the continent's last colony.

No UN flags will be run up symbolically at dawn tomorrow, no drums and trumpets will greet UN Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari at Windhoek Airport today.

Ahtisaari, a Finnish former diplomat, has waited more than 10 years to take up his job as manager of the UN's most complex and costly supervisory job in its 43-year history — overseeing independence after 105 years of foreign rule for a country half the size of Western Europe, but with a population about half that of Soweto.

Before dawn tomorrow some 15 000 soldiers of the eight-year-old South West African Territory Force will have demobilised and returned to civilian life. Depleted SADF forces will be confined to bases after 23 years of bush warfare.

Beginning tomorrow, Ahtisaari heads up an international force of 4 650 soldiers, 500 uniformed policemen, 700 administrators, 600 poll monitors and some 800 locally employed translators in an eight-month transition culminating in nationwide elections early in November.

Resolution 435, approved in 1978 by the UN Security Council, charged the organisation with supervising a settlement package drafted by five leading Western nations to coax a reluctant Pretoria into relinquishing disputed control of the territory it has ruled since 1915.

Trade-off

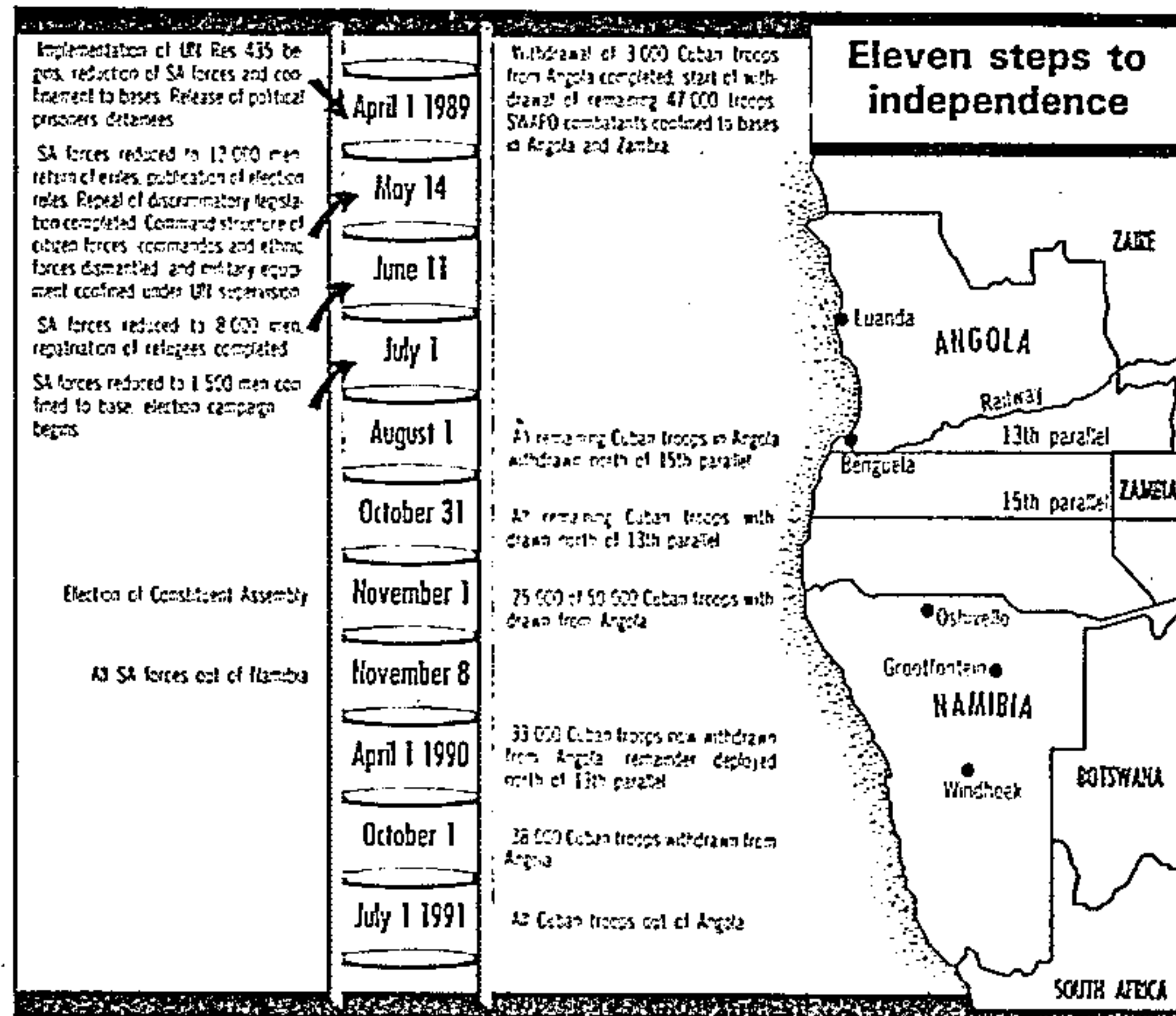
Ten years on, US linkage of Namibian independence to withdrawal of Cuba's 50 000-man expeditionary army from Angola loosened SA's resistance, and the trade-off was agreed in New York last December.

Ahtisaari's supervisory job runs in tandem with Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, whose Pretoria-conferred authority becomes the core of daily government until independence.

"The Special Representative's job is essentially to ensure that there will be a process of free and fair elections approximately seven months after April 1," Cedric Thornberry, the UN's second-ranking administrator, said in Windhoek this week.

The R1bn peace operation takes up where the war ended. Under the phased settlement plan, SA's soldiers withdraw, refugees and disarmed guerrillas return as civilians, political prisoners are freed by both sides, voters are registered and elections in November precipitate a constituent assembly.

In the uniforms of some 20 nations, UN soldiers will monitor a ceasefire accepted by



Pretoria and Swapo, ensure that SA's diminishing forces are confined to bases, prevent intimidation and guard borders against infiltration.

Across the borders, principally in Angola, UN military contingents in concert with Frontline states' officials will ensure Swapo guerrillas are restricted to bases until they stash their weapons and return as civilians to take part in UN-guaranteed "free and fair elections".

About 500 civilian police monitors from 15 nations will be deployed with Namibian police to ensure impartial law enforcement during the transition.

Socialistic Swapo, with its historic power base among the majority Ovambos, expects to sweep the poll and take the two-thirds clear majority in proportional representation that will allow it to write the new nation's constitution.

Spectrum

Most minority whites appear to favour free-enterprise rule by the DTA alliance, led by wealthy Afrikaner farmer and businessman Dirk Mudge. Second best wish for whites seems to be a good enough electoral

challenge by the DTA to deny Swapo 67% of the poll, forcing it into a coalition with junior government partners who would hold out against an outright socialist constitution.

Some 42 political parties are registered in Namibia, in a spectrum from far right-wing to far left, across 11 major ethnic groups.

Demography and the territory's turbulent recent history frustrate accurate predictions of Namibia's post-November government.

But mischievous observers here recall that, late last year, about the time Pretoria effectively signed away white rule in its apartheid outpost, a monolithic rock landmark known as Mukurob — The Finger of God — inexplicably fell from its narrow, 1 000-year-old pivot in the desert south of Windhoek...

SOME PUBS PUT OUT OF BOUNDS

UN soldiers deployed in Namibia's outback are being warned to stay away from some pubs and clubs to avoid bruising confrontations with resentful, right-wing locals.

British signaller Mark Jarvis, under treatment for a broken jaw suffered in a rugby club brawl, will be sent home to London soon, Untag spokesman Fred Eckhard said.

Military commanders are impressing caution and diplomacy on troops spreading into the vast territory. Untag military

chief Lt-Gen Prem Chand has asked unit commanders "to take appropriate precautions to reduce chances of this kind of thing happening again," said Eckhard.

"The British contingent commander, Lt-Col Neil Donaldson, has advised some of our men to stay clear of certain establishments in certain towns, but we are not prepared to say which they are," British spokeswoman Francis Edwards said yesterday.

"In the run-up to independence, some feelings are bound to run high."

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DIVIDENDS

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UN Boosses arrive to take over

NR45
31/3/89
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By BRENDAN SEERY and JON GWELANE
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Namibia began rolling along the road to independence today when the United Nations Special Representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari arrived in Windhoek to a tumultuous welcome from a crowd of almost 5 000.

As the SAA aircraft carrying Mr Ahtisaari touched down just after 8.15am the crowd, many dressed in traditional Herero costumes and with some men on horseback, burst into song and applause.

Looking tired and jaded after the long flight from Frankfurt, Mr Ahtisaari was met by South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the



BLUE BERETS: British soldiers of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Namibia take part in acclimatisation exercises at a SADF camp near Windhoek.

Pictures: DOUG PITHEV of The Argus, assigned to The Argus Africa News Service

leader of the Untag military component, General Prem Chand.

He was immediately hustled into the VIP lounge.

Later, at a press conference in the old terminal building, he told more than 150 journalists that while Namibia had been "a wound in the side of Africa, South Africa and the United Nations can and will work together" to assist the country to independence.

Mr Ahtisaari announced he would be meeting South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha here this evening.

He said he was "looking forward to" the meeting. Asked what he would be discussing with Mr Botha, Mr Ahtisaari declined to give details and said he would not want to talk about that now.

It is expected that Mr Botha will arrive in Windhoek late this afternoon after attending the prisoner exchange at Ruacana on the Namibia/Angola border.

Mr Ahtisaari called UN Resolution 435, under which the independence process will take

place to page 3 col 2

Thatcher to visit Windhoek

WINDHOEK. — A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed today that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, on a visit to Southern Africa, will arrive in Windhoek tomorrow to visit British troops in the Untag contingent.

She is also to have talks with South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

It is not known how long she is likely to stay in Windhoek and who else she may see. Details will be made known later today. — Sapa. ● See page 2.



UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari being welcomed on his arrival in Windhoek today.

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AKGWS 31/3/87

UN boss arrives in Namibia

(Contd from page 1) 221

place a "unique and pioneering vision".

He also said all political prisoners and detainees would have to be set free "wherever they are being held" and laws which might "interfere with free and fair elections" would have to be abolished.

He added that there would have to be an end to "intimidation and violence".

The welcoming crowd comprised mainly supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance led by Republican Party leader Dirk Mudge after Swapo boycotted the arrival, alleging that members of the South West Africa Territorial Force had been trucked to Windhoek wearing Swapo T-shirts to disrupt the arrival.

However there were no Swapo T-shirts visible in the crowd, which was well behaved and orderly throughout.

The DTA has counter-claimed that Swapo members in the townships today were intimidating and threatening people not go to the airport to meet Mr Ahtisaari.

At the airport a small contingent of fewer than 100 police kept a low profile controlling the crowd and keeping them behind barriers.

Untag soldiers

However in the old terminal building where the press conference was held, armed Untag soldiers maintained tight security and all those entering were thoroughly body-searched.

The large singing and chanting crowd at the airport was the biggest show of strength the moderate DTA has made since the independence process got under way following the tripartite agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola last year.

DTA supporters had daubed the 40km route from the airport to Windhoek with slogans proclaiming they would win the November elections.

Placards held by the welcoming crowd proclaimed "no to one-party state", and "no to intimidation and violence" as well as "welcome Ahtisaari".

● See page 15.



Picture by Argus photographer DOUG PITHEY (on assignment to The Argus Africa News Service in Namibia)

KEEPING THE PEACE: Windhoek lass Eveline Vister, 6, makes friends with Scandinavian members of the UN peace-keeping force in Namibia.

UN officials in Namibia brace for a torrid finale

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“ZIMBABWE was difficult and dangerous,” said a United Nations official, “but it was as nothing compared to Namibia.” He had worked in Zimbabwe when the nationalist guerrillas were returning to the country and the Lancaster House agreement was on a knife edge, but he foresaw far greater problems in Namibia. Few now doubt that South Africa will leave Namibia next year. The issue is the manner of its going.

Swapo, designated by the UN as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has to put that title to the test in elections for the constituent assembly. Under the UN plan, the constitution must be agreed by two-thirds of the assembly. Swapo's main support lies among the Ovambo people of northern Namibia who make up about half the population. It also has support in mining areas and in the Windhoek township of Katutura, especially among young people.

No one doubts Swapo will win a majority but no one seems sure it will gain two-thirds of the assem-

From RICHARD DOWDEN,
Africa Editor of the
London Independent,
in Harare

bly. “South Africa will do whatever it can to stop that happening, short of halting the process,” said one observer. From now on, Namibia is a battle of numbers.

The areas of dispute are already clear. Pretoria says the population of Namibia is about 1,1 million, Swapo suggests it is about 1,6 million. South Africa has suggested a minimum voting age of 21, Swapo wants 18 or under. Swapo is also concerned that the paramilitary force, Koevoet — purportedly disbanded by Pretoria — may become a freelance anti-Swapo gang, that pro-South African Angolans may be given Namibian identity cards to vote and that Swapo supporters may be excluded from the electoral register.

The man who will face these complaints is Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special representative. South

Africa is likely to be accused dirty tricks — but Swapo, too, will be under scrutiny. Its policy to date has been to repeat liberation slogans and accuse any critic of being in the pay of Pretoria. “They are having problems adjusting from being a liberation movement to being a political party which has to fight an election,” said one Eastern bloc diplomat recently.

Swapo was not part of last year's independence negotiations and its leaders regarded the talks, held under US chairmanship, as a plot to delay independence still further. When the breakthrough came, in Geneva on November 16, Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, was in Mali, watching an anti-apartheid camel race.

“When the train finally arrived and Swapo were told this was their stop, they didn't believe it,” said one observer. Even now, Mr Nujoma's statements betray a paranoid fear that he is being led into a fiendish Western plot. He warned recently that if South African and Western “mischief” did not stop, “Swapo will open fire and fight to the end”.

Parties split over SA right to Walvis Bay

From
JON QWELANE
 of the Argus Africa
 News Service, Windhoek

TWO diametrically opposed views were put forward by the main contestants in the Namibian independence stakes — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — at separate Press conferences on the eve of the arrival today in the country of United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

NAMIBIA

Swapo insisted on the return — “through negotiation or even if it mean we must go back to the dunes” — of Walvis Bay, while the DTA said it recognised that South Africa had a “legal and historical” right to the key west coast port.

The DTA said it would turn out today to welcome Mr Ahtisaari at Windhoek airport, while Swapo said it would stay away not in boycott of the UN special envoy but to avoid what it said was a “confrontational atmosphere” deliberately created by the bussing into Windhoek of members of Battalion 101 allegedly disguised as Swapo supporters in the organisation’s t-shirts, in order to cause confusion and chaos at the airport.

Both conferences — taking place two hours apart and at separate venues — were well-attended by a large contingent of foreign and local newsmen, as well as by many teams from South African media.

Mr Danny Tjongarero, member of Swapo’s central committee, said Walvis Bay was an “integral part of Namibia and we do not in any way accept South Africa’s claim to the port. It is an inalienable part of our country.”

Across town at the multi-storey headquarters of the DTA, Mr Katutire Kaura, DTA vice-president, said: “Walvis Bay is a part of South Africa, it is legally and historically so. But we feel it would be to the benefit of

South Africa if Walvis Bay is returned to Namibia. We will negotiate with South Africa about the return of Walvis Bay.

DTA vice-chairman Andrew Matjila claimed at length that the scrapping of apartheid laws like the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act was brought about by his organisation. Even the release of Namibian political prisoners from South Africa’s maximum security prison, Robben Island, had come about because of efforts by the DTA.

Both Swapo and the DTA will hold major political rallies tomorrow in Katutura township and it is these which observers here say will be a reliable indicator of the kind of support each commands.

435 festival strikes sour note

A MAMMOTH, day-long “independence” rock festival planned for tomorrow at the Windhoek Stadium looks like becoming a political hot potato.

Swapo has condemned the pageant — dubbed “Festival 435” — as a deliberate attempt to steal their political thunder on the day of an important Swapo political rally.

And, all the South African musicians and performers booked and advertised to appear at the festival, including Ray Phiri and Stimela, Taxi and Theta are reported to have withdrawn at the last-minute.

The New York agent of baladeer and anti-apartheid entertainer Harry Belafonte has said their star has “absolutely nothing” to do with the Windhoek spectacular, contradict-

ing reports on SWATV news bulletins here that Belafonte would be appearing.

At the same time, the much-publicised international soccer game between Namibia and Angola, which was to have taken place over the weekend as part of the Festival, is also in the balance, with the organisers engaged in a last-minute race to find sponsors.

From Johannesburg, a director of the SA Music Association, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, said all the South African groups booked to appear here had cancelled their appearances. He also claimed he had been physically attacked in his offices this week by two of the organisers of “Festival 435”.

He said two men “almost strangled” him.

He said the men threatened his life if he interfered with the musicians billed to perform in Windhoek.

“But those artistes are members of my association, and when they heard what happened they decided to withdraw”.

Mr Ngwenya said he would be laying charges of assault and attempted murder against the two men who allegedly attacked him in his office.

Earlier Swapo central committee member Danny Tjongarero told the AANS here that he believed there were two possible reasons for the staging of the show.

“One is that someone is out to make a fast buck by cashing in on the implementation of Resolution 435 and conning

companies like Coca Cola, Hartlief Meat Products and South African Breweries into believing the music festival is doing something for the cause (of liberation).

“The other reason is that other political groups also contesting the elections are trying to stage a counter-attraction to our rally. The festival would naturally attract thousands of people, even our supporters, because big international names like Harry Belafonte have been bandied about to lure people to the show”.

But South African music promoter Mr Tebs Xulu, spokesman for the Namibia Entertainment Organisation, organisers of the show, angrily denied that politics was involved in staging the show.

WINDHOEK. — United Nations Namibia supremo Mr Martti Ahtisaari arrives here today in a landmark step towards the territory's independence from 74 years of South African rule.

But he lands amid a public dispute between the two biggest claimants to the right to govern the former German colony.

Swapo, accusing black soldiers demobilised from the territory's Ovambo-based 101 Battalion of plotting disruptions, yesterday urged its followers not to meet Mr Ahtisaari at Windhoek Airport.

Spokesman Mr Dan Tjongarero said the veteran anti-guerilla troops planned violent demonstrations that would be blamed on Swapo, whose insurgents had waged a bush war against Pretoria's administration since 1966.

Mr Tjongarero also disclosed for the first time that Swapo planned to maintain a residual force of combatants in UN-monitored bases in Angola and Zambia until international poll-watchers in the Un-tag force approved Namibia's independence elections set for November.

The DTA, considered the only major electoral challenge to Swapo in the planned UN-supervised elections, said Swapo feared being overshadowed, and disclosed that the DTA was busing thousands of supporters into the capital in a show of strength and support for the start of the independence calendar tomorrow.

"We will get as many buses as our countrymen can pay for," DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge said, charging that Swapo supporters threatened attacks on residents of Katutura unless they stayed indoors today and tomorrow.

Supporters on bicycles

DTA vice-president Mr Katutire Kaura said supporters would converge on Windhoek "by bicycle, by donkey cart, on anything that moves".

He said Swapo backed down from a welcoming crowd scene at the airport because the movement feared "they will look too small compared to the DTA".

Police and UN officials disclosed a security plan that will allow only airline passengers, officials, diplomats and journalists into the airport for Mr Ahtisaari's scheduled 7.30am arrival on board an SAA flight from Frankfurt.

The Finnish former diplomat will be met at the airport by his co-governor of the territory for the next eight months, South Africa's Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.

Swapo's Mr Tjongarero told a news conference the movement urged its followers to stay away from Windhoek Airport today "to avoid any incident that would mar the start of the implementation period".

"Battalion 101 is being ferried to Windhoek wearing Swapo T-shirts . . . to serve as agents provocateur when Swapo stands opposite any other group at the airport.

"At no time do we intend to be drawn into a situation which can be interpreted as if Namibians were fighting each other in a (Resolution) 435 situation," he said.

"Anyone going to the airport will not be Swapo supporters."

Followers would mark Mr Ahtisaari's arrival and tomorrow's kick-off to independence with a Swapo rally in Katutura tomorrow, he said.

Namibia Today

From KEVIN JACOBS
CMT 7/10/89 31/3/89 221

1989
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'Good chance'

Mandela

Cap. T. 15 31/3/89

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need

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher ended her visit to Zimbabwe yesterday by rejecting anti-South African sanctions as "absurd" at this stage and saying there was a "good chance" that Mr Nelson Mandela would be released.

Mrs Thatcher told a news conference before leaving for Malawi that it would be "absurd" to apply sanctions at a time when South Africa had been "helpful in negotiating for the independence of Namibia and when things are moving in the direction in which we want them to go".

"I think the next major step is the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political organisations. I think this will unlock the door to all kinds of negotiations and I think that there's a good chance that those will come about."

Asked to confirm that she plans to visit Namibia tomorrow, Mrs Thatcher said: "When I am going somewhere I make an announcement and I have no announcement to make."

However, Sapa reported last night that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the government had "reacted positively to the suggested visit of Mrs Thatcher to the UK Untag contingent".

UN man 

to get big

Soweto Jan 31/3/84

welcome 

WINDHOEK — The SWA police have announced strict security measures will be in force at the Windhoek airport today for the arrival of the UN special representative for Namibia, Mr Martii Ahtisaari.

Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws said the security measures would, of necessity, inconvenience the public, but were necessary in view of the massive crowds expected to go to the airport to welcome the UN man.

Overseer

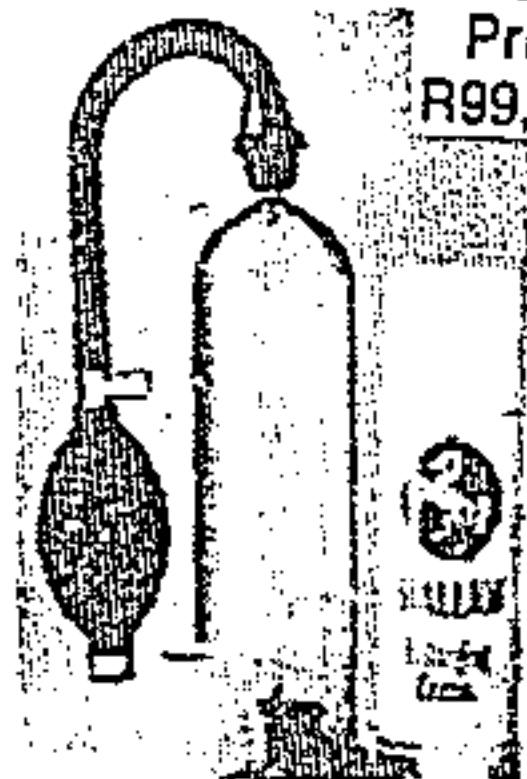
He will oversee Namibia's transition to peace under the Security Council Resolution 435 settlement plan.

Only accredited journalists, diplomats, VIPs, and airline passengers and their immediate friends or families, would be allowed into the airport grounds, said General Gouws.

10 22/1

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BRITISH Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher will visit Namibia over the weekend, her office at Number 10 Downing Street in London has confirmed.

Reporters covering the United Nations supervised Namibian independence exercise phoned her office yesterday afternoon and it was

SA Press Association

confirmed that Mrs Thatcher would be visiting the territory where the independence process begins tomorrow.

Her programme while in Namibia was not disclosed.

Meanwhile, South African Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, and Defence Minister, Magnus

Malan, are also expected in Windhoek today on an unspecified programme.

Botha confirmed last night that the South African Government had been consulted about her visit to the territory and "reacted positively to the suggested visit of Mrs Thatcher to the British contingent of Untag."

At the same time Mr Botha will be in Namibia today to witness the prisoner exchange to take place at the border with Angola.

It is known that Mr Botha will stay in Namibia for the weekend.

Ambassador

It is not yet clear whether Mrs Thatcher will be flying to Windhoek or directly to Grootfontein where most of the British Untag contingent is based.

But diplomatic sources and British journalists accompanying Mrs Thatcher said she would almost likely travel to Windhoek on Saturday after leaving Malawi on the last leg of her four nation African tour during which South Africa was the main topic of discussion.

The British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Ron Renwick, is in

Namibia at present, reportedly to open the British liaison office in Windhoek.

He did not return to Pretoria despite a diplomatic crisis caused when six activists sought refuge in the British Embassy in Pretoria on Wednesday.



Mr PIK Botha... denies

MAKE MONEY!

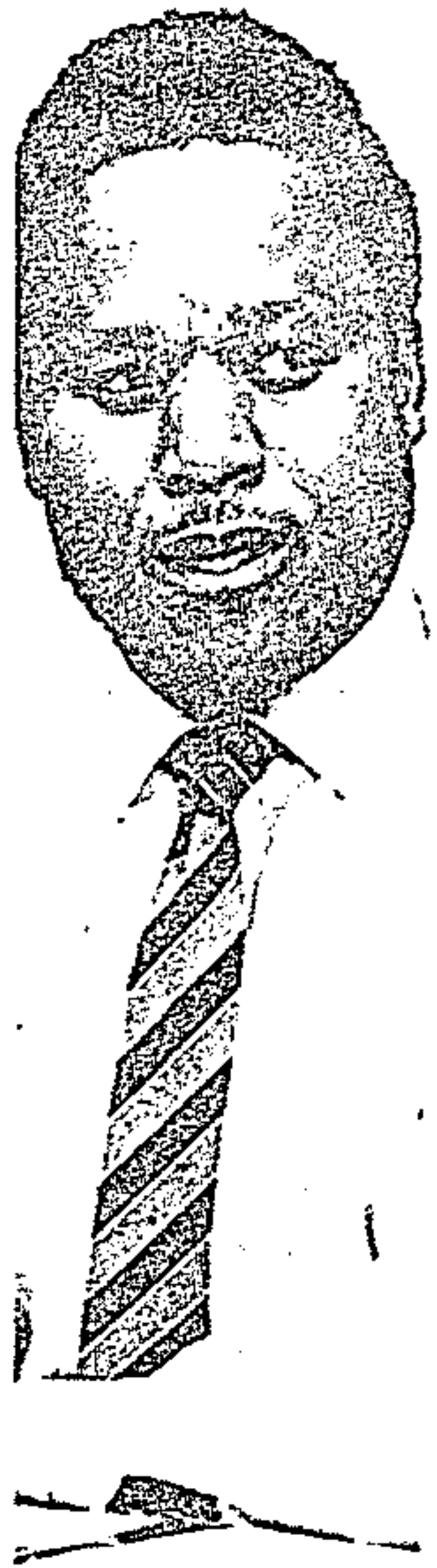


SAVE MONEY WITH AN EMPISAL KNITTING MACHINE



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Chikane e 'action' from



REV Frank Chikane.

THE general secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said he expected "some action within the next few days" after he and four other church leaders discussed the situation of detainees with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in Pretoria last night.

The delegation, that also consisted of Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Anglican), The Rev Ron Steel (Congregational Church), the Rev Michael Moor (Presbyterian), and Archbishop Denis Hurley (Catholic), met with Mr Vlok for about two hours at police headquarters.

Star 31/3/89
**Security
tight in
Windhoek**

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa
News Service (221)

WINDHOEK — The security arrangements for the arrival of United Nations Special Representative Mr Martii Ahtisaari today were "not extraordinary", said a senior UN official in Windhoek.

Mr Fred Eckhard, press spokesman for the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), said tightened security precautions by Namibian police at Windhoek airport were not excessive, given the important ranks of both Mr Ahtisaari and South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Mr Pienaar met the UN representative when he arrived on the SAA flight from Frankfurt today.

STRICT CONTROL

The police said only bona fide airline passengers, officials meeting Mr Ahtisaari and accredited members of the press corps were allowed into the airport.

UN officials said about 250 local and foreign journalists were present to record Mr Ahtisaari's arrival. He and Mr Pienaar held a joint press conference in the old terminal buildings at the airport, which have been turned over to Untag.

A large crowd arrived at the airport to greet Mr Ahtisaari.

● See Page 9.

Star 31/3/89
**Controversy rages over
Namibia music festival**

By Jon Qwelane, (221)
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A day-long music festival — planned for tomorrow at the Windhoek Stadium — to celebrate the implementation of the UN Resolution 435 peace and independence plan for Namibia looks like becoming a political hot potato.

Swapo has condemned the pageant, dubbed "Festival 435", as a deliberate attempt to steal the organisation's political thunder on the day of an important Swapo political rally.

And all the South African musicians and performers booked and advertised to appear at the festival, including Ray Phiri and Stimela, Taxi and Theta, are reported to have withdrawn from it.

The New York agent of balladeer and anti-apartheid entertainer Harry Belafonte has said the star has nothing to do with the Windhoek spectacular, contradicting reports on SWATV news bulletins that he would be appearing.

The much-publicised international soccer game between Namibia and Angola, which was to have taken place at the weekend as part of the festival, is also in the balance, with the organisers engaged in a last-minute race to find sponsors.

From Johannesburg, a director of the SA Music Association, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, said all the South African groups booked to appear in Windhoek had cancelled their appearances. He also claimed he had been physically attacked in his offices on Wednesday by two of the organisers of "Festival 435".

He said the men "almost strangled me. They threatened my life if I interfered with the musicians billed to perform in Windhoek. But those artistes

are members of my association, and when they heard what had happened they decided to withdraw."

Swapo Central Committee member Mr Danny Tjongarero yesterday said in Windhoek he believed there were two possible reasons for the staging of the show.

"One is that someone is out to make a fast buck by cashing in on the implementation of Resolution 435 and conning multinational companies — like Coca-Cola, Hartlief Meat Products and SA Breweries — into believing the music festival is doing something for the cause (of liberation).

"The other reason is that other political groups also contesting the elections are trying to stage a counter-attraction to our rally."

ENTERTAINMENT

But South African music promoter Mr Tebs Xulu, spokesman for the Namibia Entertainment Organisation — organisers of the show — angrily denied that politics was involved in the staging of the show.

"I am not a politician and do not involve myself in politics. Music and entertainment are my business. If we could ever involve ourselves in politics by showing support for any of the contestants in the elections, can you imagine the chaos that would take place?"

The soccer game between national sides from Namibia and Angola was in the balance yesterday when the organiser, Zimbabwean promoter Mr Peter Mubi, disclosed he was still battling to find sponsors for the match.

But both Mr Mubi and Mr Xulu said the events they had planned for the weekend were "definitely going ahead" despite the withdrawal of some of the South African music stars.

if it means we must go back to the dunes" — of Walvis Bay, while the DTA said it recognised that South Africa had a legal and historical right to the key west coast port.

The DTA will turn out today to welcome Mr. Ahtisaari at Windhoek Airport while Swapo said it would stay away, not in boycott of the special envoy but to avoid what it said was a "confrontational atmosphere" deliberately created by the bussing into Windhoek of members of Battalion 101, allegedly disguised as Swapo supporters in order to cause confusion and chaos at the airport.

Inalienable

Both conferences were attended by a large contingent of foreign and local newsmen, as well as by SA media teams.

Mr. Danny Tjongarero, member of Swapo's central committee, said Walvis was an "integral part of Namibia and we do not in any way accept SA's claim to the port. It is an inalienable part of our country."

Across town at DTA headquarters, Mr. Katunthre Kaura, DTA vice-president, said: "Walvis Bay is a part of South Africa, it is legally and historically so. But we feel it would be to the benefit of SA if Walvis Bay is returned to Namibia. We will negotiate with South Africa about the return of Walvis Bay."

DTA vice-chairman Mr. Andrew Matjila claimed the scrapping of apartheid laws like the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act had been brought about by his organisation.

The DTA and past leader of the National Party in Namibia, said no party in the country could claim to be the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people before it could go to the polls to prove itself.

He said: "We believe Namibia is now ready for independence. We still have racists among us — we have black racists, and we have white racists. But many of my white countrymen had to accept that they must share the country with their black countrymen. They must share and share alike."

Swapo said the fraternal ties between itself and the ANC would be retained because they went back a long way, but the ANC would not be allowed to operate military bases in an independent Namibia.

The organisation said it would retain some of its cadres, at bases it did not disclose, arguing that this was similar to the token military presence South Africa would maintain during the implementation of Resolution 435.

Swapo was surprised the age of voters had been raised to 21 years, but as far as the organisation was concerned there was a proclamation stating clearly that voters had to be at least 18 years old and must have lived in Namibia for at least five years.

Asked about the activities of Untha and whether it would not try to destabilise the emergent country, Mr. Tjongarero said: "(Dr. Jonas) Savimbi is not a factor in Namibia but if he wants to become one he will have to face the people of Namibia."



Swapo Central Committee members field questions at a press conference in Windhoek on the eve of the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace plan.

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Star 31/3/87 (221)

Namibia's 2 main groups meet the press

By Jon Qwelane,
The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Two diametrically opposed views were put forward by the main contestants in the Namibian independence stakes — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) — at separate press conferences on the eve of the arrival today in the country of UN Special Representative Mr Martii Ahtisaari.

Swapo insisted on the return — “through negotiation or even

Swapo, DTA at odds over Walvis Bay

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of

Star 31/3/87

(221)