

NAMIBIA — GENERAEE

1988

JANUARY —

APRIL



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Readers' Club.

WINDHOEK — The SWA National Party (SWANP) would be prepared to accept independence for SWA/Namibia only if the rights of minority groups were respected and guaranteed, the leader of the SWANP, Mr Kosie Pretorius, said in Windhoek yesterday.

It was against that background that participation by the SWANP, the majority party in the white Legislative Assembly, in the SWA/Namibian transitional government should be

SWANP. balance is vital

interpreted. D/D 1/1/80
"Unless this is understood, entering into further agreements would be a waste of time," he said in his New Year's message.

The SWANP's purpose was to strive for a negotiated constitutional settlement and maintain a balance between the

(221) rights and responsibilities of individuals and population groups.

SWANP emphasised its watch-dog function in the maintenance of equitable group rights in the Territory.

Mr Pretorius last month defied his political partners in the SWA/Namibian transitional government and announced he was going ahead with arrangements for exclusively-white elections next year. — Sapa

MR645 14/1/88 ~~GAT/ST~~ (221)

SWA town bombarded

WINDHOEK. — A number of homes in Oshakati, northern SWA/Namibia, were slightly damaged in a brief bombardment by Swapo insurgents, the Territory Force said today.

Rockets of 122mm calibre were used in the attack at 11.15pm yesterday.

Security forces attacked and cut short the bombardment. The Territory Force said there were no casualties. Follow-up operations were launched at first light today.

● Police suspect arson following a fire at a hospital at Khorixas in north-

west SWA/Namibia, a police spokesman said.

Damage estimated at R100 000 was caused by the fire shortly before midnight on Tuesday. A gas bottle exploded and helped spread the flames.

The spokesman said police believed burglars wanted to open the hospital's vault but the attempt started the fire.

The medical superintendent, Dr Hans van der Walt, said he and police battled for about an hour to put out the fire in the administrative section.

— Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK — On the eve of the tenth anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 — a settlement plan designed to bring independence to Namibia — the prospects for peace seem more distant than ever.

Germany, France, Canada, Great Britain and America drew up the plan for Namibian independence ten years ago. Resolution 435 was unanimously adopted by the Security Council in 1978, and received the approval of the South African Government.

In an effort to block the implementation of the UN plan, an outside issue was introduced by South Africa and the United States as a precondition for independence.

In 1981, the Reagan Administration and P.W. Botha's South African Government announced Resolution 435 could not be implemented until Cuban forces were withdrawn from Angola.

Hostage

In this way, the United States and South Africa have thus managed to hold Namibian independence hostage by linking the Cuban issue to a peaceful settlement for Namibia.

Although Cuban forces arrived in Angola, Namibia's northernmost neighbour, three years before Resolution 435 was adopted, it was only much later that Reagan and Botha cited the Cuban presence as an obstacle to the implementation of the plan.

At the time of the settlement plan being adopted, a war between the South African Defence Force and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, Swapo's armed wing, had been raging for twelve years.

Swapo has repeatedly expressed its willingness to sign a ceasefire with South Africa, as the first step towards the implementation of Resolution 435, but the Pretoria regime is adamant there will be no dialogue until the Cubans leave Angola.

No guarantee

Even if there is a Cuban withdrawal, however, there is no guarantee South Africa will agree to the implementation of the UN peace plan.

In the event of a free and fair election, in terms of Resolution 435, it is highly likely that Swapo will come to power.

Pretoria wants to avoid this at all costs. If this was to happen, not only would South Africa lose its vested economic interests in Namibia, but it may just find itself hemmed in by another hostile neighbouring country.

Meanwhile, the South Africa invasion of Angola in September last year has drawn the international spotlight away from Namibia. Military bases in northern Namibia were being used as a springboard into Southern Angola, where South African and Namibian troops assisted Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement to repulse an offensive by the Angolan army.

Killing must stop

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South 14-20/1/88



Niko Bessinger, Swapo's joint foreign affairs secretary, addresses a recent rally in Katutura

The importance of an immediate implementation of Resolution 435 has fallen even further by the wayside, but there is still pressure from within Namibia for the settlement plan to be brought into effect.

A contact and study group known as Namibia Peace Plan 435 (NPP-435) has put consistent pressure on the South African-imposed Interim Government in Namibia to reject "linkage" and to push for a speedy implementation of the resolution.

Inaugurated by P.W. Botha in June 1985, the Interim Government has

shown no interest in the UN plan.

Resolution 435 has been turned into "an ageing, toothless bulldog", according to interim government minister Moses Katjuongua.

He said that "a new, practical and sophisticated approach to the question of Namibian independence" was needed.

He did not specify how much more practical free and fair elections could possibly be.

NPP-435 chairperson Mr Bryan O'Linn is confident a regional peace conference between the warring factions could lead to an agreement

on the implementation of Resolution 435.

"Unfortunately, any attempt to force South Africa to involve its United Nations allies and the Interim Government could effectively abort the effort," he said.

Referring to the American Presidential elections later this year, O'Linn said that a new administration would probably change the present policy of linkage.

O'Linn said the Security Council had reaffirmed last year that "South Africa and its appointees in Namibia are illegally occupying Namibia".

He warned Namibians to expect an escalation of violence.

What remedy?

It was difficult to understand the position taken by politicians who rejected violence as a means to resolve the Namibian issue, O'Linn said.

"What remedy is left to a nation when its country is occupied by a foreign power, and British and other western governments say they are powerless?"

"What will any western nation do when its own country is so occupied?" asked O'Linn.

O'Linn said that members of NPP-435, many of whom are academics, businessmen and lawyers, were dedicated to fight for human rights, not only during the transition period, but also after independence.

"We are convinced fundamental human rights will only be restored if, and when, an honourable peace is achieved in terms of Resolution 435," he said.

SWAPO's joint secretary for foreign affairs Niko Bessinger said it was essential for Namibians to see that progress was being made toward the implementation of Resolution 435.

"For almost ten years the Namibian people have been expecting independence from South African colonial rule. Resolution 435 gave them hope, and they are still waiting for their right to self-determination," he said.

Stop killing

Most of Namibia's population were suffering daily in the war-torn northern regions.

"The killing and oppression must end. The only way to bring the war to an end is the implementation of the UN settlement plan.

"The Namibian people must not be allowed to lose hope. Namibia will one day be free, and we must maintain our faith and courage until that day," said Bessinger.

Mr Peter Kalangula, Chairman of the Ovambo Administration in northern Namibia, also expressed concern about the ten-year time lapse since Resolution 435 was adopted.

"We have 600 000 people living up here in the war-zone, and they are harassed and intimidated every day. People are shot and killed regularly just for being out of their houses after dark. How much longer can this go on?" — *Namibian*

B/Dag 15/1/88

Two die as Swapo bombards Oshakati

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WINDHOEK — Two civilians — a father and his son — died in a stand-off bombardment by Swapo insurgents on Oshakati in northern SWA/Namibia on Wednesday night, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek.

The dead were Titus Haimbodi Hamuyela, 42, and Pineas Barnabas, 18.

They were killed by the shrapnel of a 122mm projectile that exploded next to their home.

The SWATF said in a statement at least two other houses in the predominantly-black Oshakati West area were damaged in the attack about at 11.15pm.

In follow-up operations begun at first light yesterday, security forces captured the launching equipment used in the bombardment.

The follow-up operations were continuing.

The SWATF said earlier the security forces countered the attack almost immediately and cut short the stand-off bombardment, in which 122mm projectiles were fired at the town.

The security forces suffered no casualties but a number of houses in other parts of Oshakati were "slightly damaged", the SWATF said.

Oshakati is considered the centre of the South African-led security forces' military network in northern SWA/Namibia. — Sapa.

SA planes hit at Swapo in Angola

DIP 16/1/88

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CAPE TOWN — South African aircraft struck across the Angolan border yesterday at a Swapo base.

According to an official communiqué from the SWA Territory Force, the "successful" strike was launched at an unnamed base in southern Angola at 6.30pm. No details of losses on either side were given.

Acknowledgement of the strike comes amid reports from Angola of a full-scale South African involvement in heavy fighting around the key southern Angolan government garrison of Cuito Cuanavale.

The SWATF statement said the air raid had been launched on Swapo's western areas headquarters in Angola.

"The headquarters of Swapo were responsible for the planning of the bombardment on Oshakati on Wednesday, in which two innocent residents of Ovambo were killed," the statement said.

A Swapo claim, issued in Lisbon, that 21 South African troops had been killed in the mortar attack was rejected by a SWATF spokesman last night as "a despicable effort to claim as a military success the standard off bombardment which claimed the lives of two innocent civilians and showed Swapo's reckless disregard for human life and private property".

Meanwhile, the Angolan government alleged yesterday that about 6000 South African troops backed by planes, tanks and artillery had attacked government forces around Cuito Cuanavale in a major battle said to have begun on Tuesday. "The battle is still raging," the Angola Defence Ministry said.

No details were given of casualties in the fighting for Cuito Cuanavale, the second biggest town in Cuando Cubango province and an important military staging post for operations against Dr Jonas Savimbi's anti-government Unita guerrillas.

An SADF spokesman said the claims of South African troop involvement in fighting around Cuito Cuanavale "appear to be part of Angola's concerted effort to divert world attention from Unita's much publicised successes recently".

A Unita statement distributed in Lisbon said that only its own forces — without South African support — were involved in the fighting and that they had killed 102 government troops and two Cubans.

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Bringing Namibia back from international limbo

CMT Times 27/1/88

INTERNATIONAL problems that seem insoluble are easily pushed to the back of the mind and certainly in recent years, while the southern African stage has been taken over by actors caught up in the drama of South Africa, it has been easy to let Namibia slip into a limbo of unconcern.

Very different, of course, if you are a Namibian — or a young white South African forced to spend hot, uncomfortable and dangerous months in the "operational area" of a colonial war that has been dragging on for close on 20 years.

Anyone who feels an urge to resume thinking about Namibia would be well advised to get hold of a short book, "Namibia in the 1980s", first brought out by the Catholic Institute for International Relations and the British Council of Churches (22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF) in 1981 and recently reissued and updated.

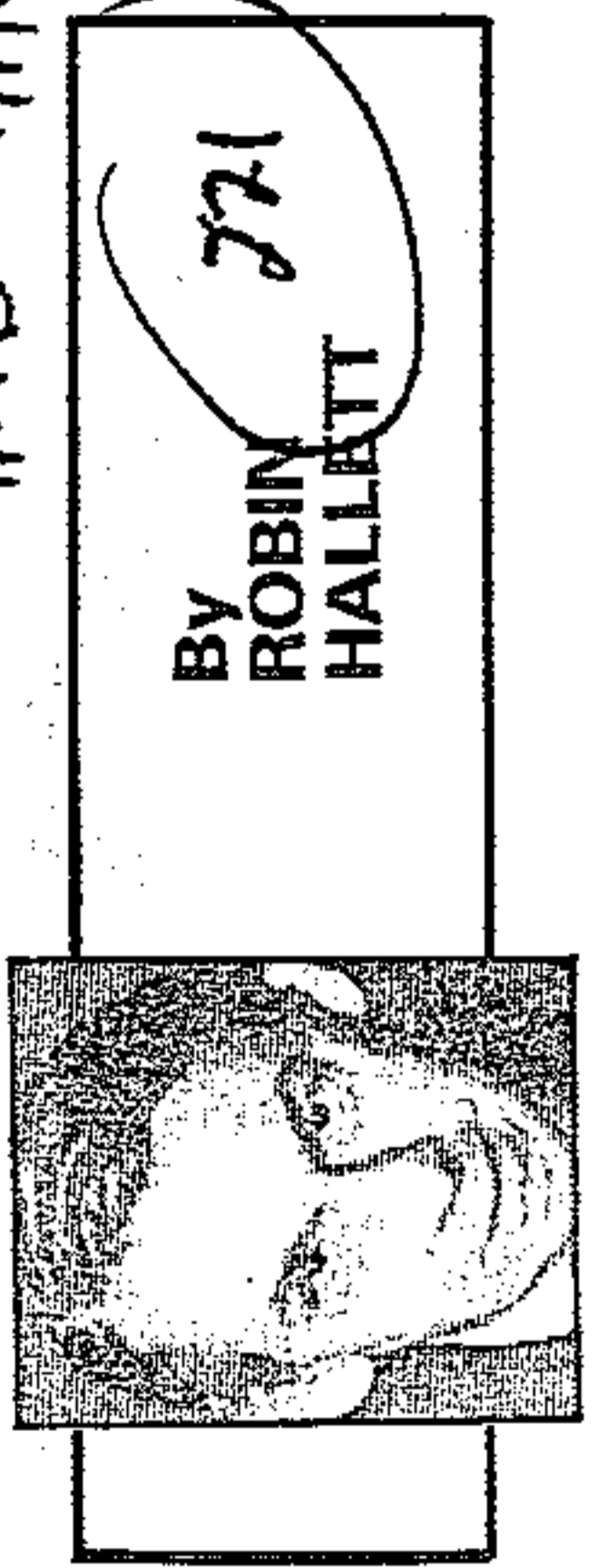
As in South Africa, so in Namibia many clergymen and church workers have found themselves forced, through the intimacy of their contact with members of their congregation, whether in remote rural mission stations or in the townships, to become deeply involved in political issues. The CIIR's short book is written from an explicitly Christian standpoint: it is intended to serve a political purpose. Refreshingly, the anonymous author does not mince words. The section on the country's economy is headed "The political economy of theft". Why theft? Because

after the colonial conquest at the turn of the century most of the land was confiscated from its original occupants. Today 90% of the economically exploitable land outside the northern region is in white hands.

Namibia could grow relatively rich on diamonds and uranium but the country's economy has "produced a caricature of other colonial economies with the maximization of profits for repatriation to South Africa or the headquarters of the trans-nationals? ("Maximization of profits" is one of those abstract terms that so often fail to stimulate the imagination: a recent investigative documentary on Independent TV in Britain illustrated very graphically just how the process works in Namibia's diamond industry.)

Such a situation produces "stark wage inequality, a dramatic 20/25-1 against 15/16-1 even in South Africa and colonial Rhodesia".

The one current flowing against this process of mounting impoverishment results from the remarkable increase in state expenditure — 75% since 1979 — as the South African Government, in its search for an internal settlement, has



BY ROBIN HALLETT

set about building up the Namibian equivalent of homelands, the various "ethnic administrations".

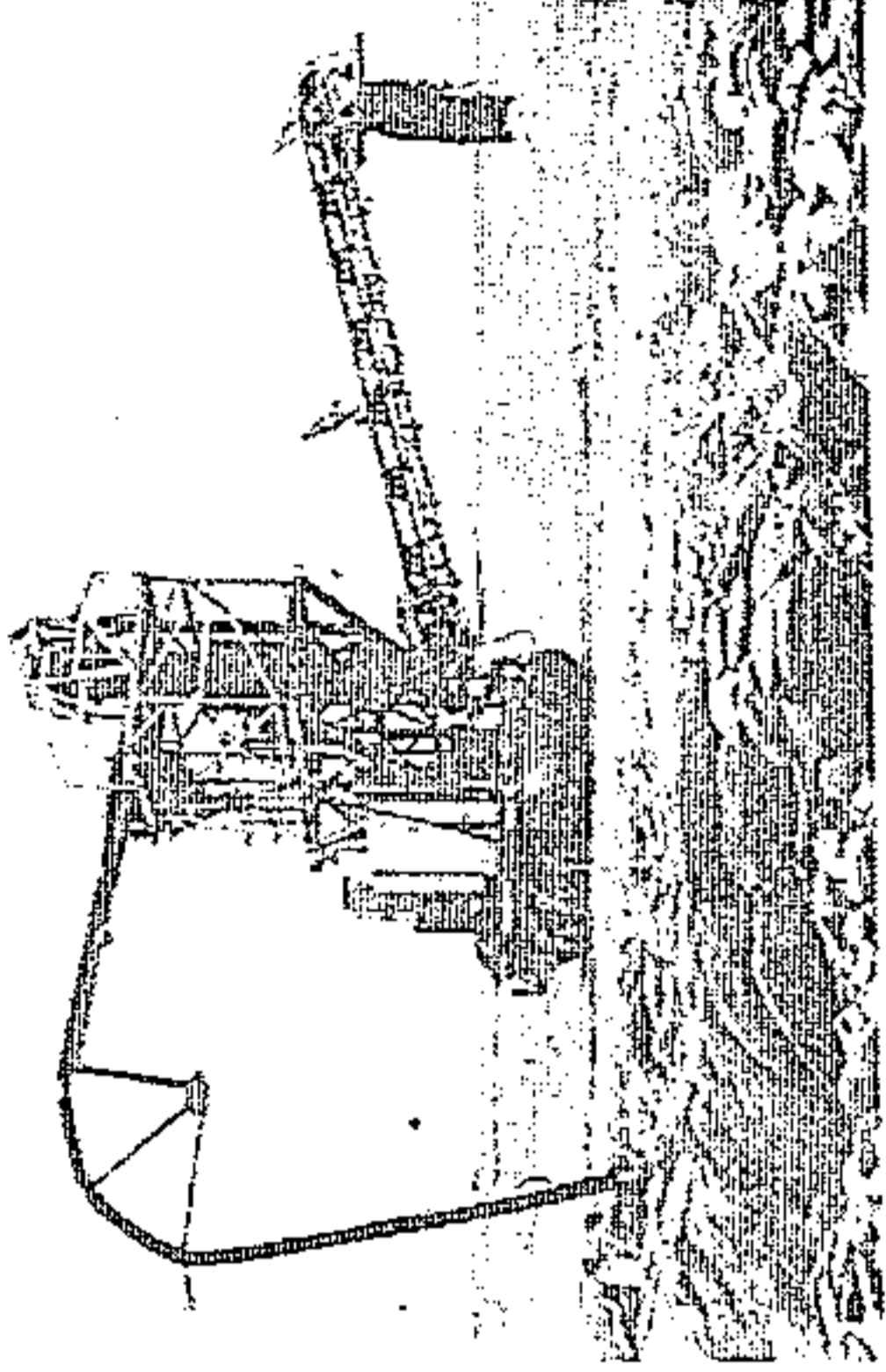
This has led, through the increase in salaries paid to black teachers and civil servants, to the emergence of a new black elite, numbering about 20 000, whose income, though only a third that of whites, is now on average seven times as high as that of other black Namibians.

Pretoria would clearly like to see an effective "internal settlement", the transformation of Namibia into an autonomous homeland whose authorities could undertake the work needed to ensure that Swapo should never come to power.

Hence the steady process of trying to "Namibianize" the war through the recruitment of a local military force.

Those people who staff the "ethnic administrations" were described in astonishingly forthright terms by an official Commission of Inquiry set up by the Department of Finance:

"They have been allowed to feed like parasites on the fruit of the land without any control or supervision and without delivering corresponding returns ... a situation lead-



Huge suction pumps at work on a Namibian diamond mine — reissued book says the country could grow rich on the profits.

ing to the collapse of the whole economy."

Meanwhile the war goes on. Viewed from the outside it may seem — again how easy it is to slip into abstract phrases — a war of "low intensity". Its impact on local people is brought out in the CIIR report in a particularly striking passage:

"The suffering of the people in Ovamboland, as church leaders stress with growing anguish, is now immense. Their daily life is a struggle to escape from paralyzing fear. Their land is an armed camp ... the 'ethnic' leaders live behind wire fences and high sandbagged walls, protected from the people they claim to represent. A burgeoning militarism finds its fullest expression in the dust and military hardware of Ovamboland."

Swapo, working with United Nations advisers, has drawn up elaborate plans for a post-independence Namibia, plans which seem essentially pragmatic and remarkably moderate. What chance is there of them ever being implemented?

Two years ago there was talk of war-weariness in Pretoria, of Namibia being South Africa's South Vietnam. Since then South Africa's military strength would seem to have increased, not declined.

For the Western powers and the United Nations the Namibian situation is peculiarly humiliating. It has demonstrated just how little leverage the outside world possesses in South Africa. Yet to present South Africa as the winner would also be a mistake. South Africa can hold Namibia only by committing more financial and military resources to shore up the complex system of administration built up in recent years.

Meanwhile the economy, hit by a terrible and long drought, suffers from lack of investment. It is a desperately wretched situation. The CIIR report comes up with no easy solutions but it forces its readers to look reality starkly in the face.

That is always a salutary exercise.

MSW 28/1/88 1221

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Dos Santos prepared to compromise on Namibia

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Angola is ready to negotiate and make compromises to reach an agreement for the independence of Namibia, President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, has said.

But at the same time Mr dos Santos said there was no point in negotiating with the rebel Unita.

Speaking at a Press conference President dos Santos denied that the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale had fallen to Unita and South African forces.

Contacts

Prospects for the withdrawal from Angola of Cuba's 40 000 troops have improved with the Castro regime signalling a willingness to pull out if South Africa ends its occupation of Namibia, the Argus Foreign Service reports from Havana.

And it has emerged that Havana and Washington have had informal contacts over Angola for several months.

Cuban observers and Western diplomats in Havana are optimistic that a timetable can be agreed, possibly even before the end of President Reagan's term of office.

Conservatives

The Argus Foreign Service's Neil Lurssen reports from Washington that conservatives in the United States Senate are keeping a sharp eye on this week's US-Angolan talks and

are especially concerned that the State Department may be softening its demands on the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

There was speculation in Washington that the Reagan administration may be ready to accept only a partial withdrawal of the Cubans and be prepared to permit the establishment of a Cuban-interest section in the US capital.

At a Press conference broadcast by Radio Angola and monitored in Johannesburg last night Mr dos Santos said his country had made "constructive proposals" to solve the Namibian impasse and was ready to compromise to achieve a solution.

At his Press conference Mr dos Santos said there was no point in negotiating with Unita.

Busmen clash

LAHORE. — About 4 000 bus workers demonstrated in the streets of Lahore to demand new buses be added to the old fleet. About 30 demonstrators were injured and 80 arrested when police charged with batons and threw teargas at the workers. — Sanaa AP

Swapo supporters greet Strauss

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Hundreds of Swapo demonstrators met Bavarian Prime Minister Mr Frans Josef Strauss when he arrived for talks with internal leaders yesterday.

About 300 people lined Windhoek's main street, bearing placards declaring "Namibia will be free" and "Implement 435 now". The demonstrators sang songs in praise of Swapo and its leadership.

The Swapo alliance groups have already declared they will not meet Mr Strauss, who appeared unmoved by the demonstration, the first on his ten-

day Southern African visit so far.

At a lunch hosted by the transitional government of National Unity which invited him there, Mr Strauss made a plea for increased economic aid to Namibia.

"You must be prepared for complete independence. What you need is education, vocational training and more jobs. Sanctions cannot prepare you for a transition to a multiracial society," he said.

Mr Strauss also hit out at "the impertinences and threats" directed at the German government by Swapo external leaders.

Bomb blast rocks army base at Windhoek

D/D 29/1/88

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WINDHOEK — An explosion rocked Windhoek's main military base yesterday evening, leaving a gaping hole in the roof of a supermarket next to the base.

The headquarters of the South West African Territory Force said last night Swapo saboteurs using a Russian-manufactured SPM limpet mine had been responsible for the explosion at the shop in Suiderhof suburb.

The mine exploded at about 6 pm just after the shop, which is used mainly by military families, closed for the evening.

No one was injured in the explosion.

The territory force said it was assumed that the mine had been intended to explode at the peak hour just after 5 pm.

The general officer commanding the territory force, Major-General Willie Meyer, condemned the act as a cowardly form of urban terrorism since it was an attack on a soft, civilian target.

A territory force guard described the explosion as "massive" and said smoke had billowed high into the air.

A traffic officer at the scene said the damage appeared "considerable".

An eyewitness said the explosion sparked a blaze on the premises and "flames were shooting through the roof".

It was speculated that the blast could be linked to the visit here yesterday of the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Franz Josef Strauss. There has been widespread opposition to his Southern Africa tour by Swapo and other groups and he was met by demonstrators when he arrived here.

Earlier yesterday police announced that 43 people had been detained in a nationwide swoop in connection with planned terror activities by Swapo.

One of those being held by SWA police was allegedly planning a car bomb attack similar to that at the city's major shopping centre in July last year.

The SWA police commissioner, Gen Dolf Gouws, said in a statement 75 kg of explosives and a vehicle intended for use in the planned attack had been confiscated.

Gen Gouws said the people were held for questioning following a lead arising from investigations into a stand off-bombardment of Oshakati in northern SWA/Namibia on January 13.

He said some of those held were allegedly also involved in the abduction of at least 14 children from Owambo. — Sapa.

Blast rocks military ^{Cape Town} suburb in ^{29/1/88} Windhoek ²²¹

From JEAN SUTHERLAND

WINDHOEK. — The main military base here, Suiderhof, was rocked by a huge explosion at 6.53pm yesterday.

No one was injured in the blast which, according to SWA Territory Force headquarters, could be coupled to the visit of the Bavarian Prime Minister, Mr Franz Josef Strauss.

There has been opposition to his visit to Namibia by Swapo and other anti-apartheid, pro-independence groups.

In a statement late last night, SWA Territory Force headquarters here confirmed the explosion and blamed Swapo saboteurs.

The statement said a Russian-made SPM limpet mine containing 960g of explosive was placed in a shop in the Suiderhof suburb, "which primarily serves military families".

The bomb exploded soon after the shop closed. The shop is next door to the base itself.

Witnesses said the blast ripped through the roof of the shopping centre, leaving a "gaping hole".

Earlier in the day the SWA police commissioner announced that 43 people had been detained in a nationwide swoop in connection with "planned terror activities".

Major-General Dolf Gouws said police had confiscated 75kg of high explosives and a vehicle intended for use in an alleged planned car bomb.

Some of the suspects were found in possession of three 122m rockets, 10 B-10 bombs, a number of detonators and more explosives, he said.

The suspects had been held for questioning after police investigations following a stand-off bombardment on Oshakati on January 13, he said.

Farmer

Case 71975
29/1/88

fined R3 000

for torture

22/

VINDHOEK - A Nam

bian farmer who tor-
tured a black man was
yesterday fined R3 000
(or 18 months) in the
Magistrate's Court here.

Willem Thirong, a mid-
dle-aged white man, who
was found guilty of as-
sault with intent to seri-
ously injure, paid the
fine.

A further two years
was suspended for five
years.

Two policemen in
whose presence the tor-
ture took place, Mr Mar-
ius Groeschel and Mr Jo-
hannes Barnard, were
acquitted and dis-
charged because of in-
sufficient evidence.

Dr Strauss greeted by protesters in Windhoek

WINDHOEK — Hundreds of Swapo demonstrators met the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Franz Josef Strauss, when he arrived for talks with internal leaders this week.

About 300 people lined Windhoek's main street bearing placards declaring "Namibia will be free" and "Implement 435 now".

The Bavarian Premier appeared unperturbed by the demonstration, the first on his ten-day southern African visit.

At a luncheon in the capital hosted by the Transitional Government of National Unity, Dr Strauss made a plea for increased economic aid to Namibia.

"You must be prepared for complete independence. What you need is education, vocational training and more jobs. Sanctions cannot prepare you for a transition to a multi-racial society," he said.

He hit out at "the impertinences and threats" directed at the German Government by Swapo external leaders, warning "our patience is almost exhausted".

South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha also flew in to Wind-

hoek.

Earlier in the day Dr Strauss told a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport that he was moderately optimistic about the future of South Africa. He said he had learned the black opposition was not a monolithic block in the country.

"One cannot speak of a black opposition, it does not exist. The opposition consists of many different groups, with different assessments and proposals."

Referring to the international Southern African Peace Conference proposed earlier in the week, Dr Strauss said two conferences were necessary, one of southern African leaders, and the second of leading industrial nations of Europe.

He said that as far as he was concerned Bophuthatswana should be recognised internationally, but he ruled out official West German recognition of the homeland.

He asked: "What should the future of the homelands be? How should they be treated?"

He said recognition of the homelands "must be done on a higher level, not just between Bophuthatswana and Germany".

Much change in SA, says Strauss

CAC Times 30/1/88 10:20 HS 221

BONN. — The Bavarian Prime Minister, Mr Franz Josef Strauss, said at the end of his 10-day tour of Southern Africa that "much has changed for the better in South Africa".

Mr Strauss, whose trip provoked protests from black South Africans and from politicians in West Germany, said in an interview released here that he remained a firm opponent of sanctions against South Africa.

"I believe it is politically mistaken and morally irresponsible that those who demand sanctions from the safe position of European and American excess fail to consider the consequences," Mr Strauss had told journalists in Windhoek.

But Mr Gerhart Baum, deputy leader of the liberal Free Democrats (FDP), junior partner in Chancellor Helmut Kohl's coalition, said in a radio interview that Mr Strauss's tour had been

"wholly negative".

Mr Strauss, who is the leader of the rightist Christian Social Union, said that what had most impressed him on his trip through Mozambique, South Africa and Namibia were his encounters with "those blacks who ... say a clear 'no' to violence and are ready to build a peaceful future for South Africa, together with the whites".

Mr Baum said Mr Strauss, who went to the region at Mr Kohl's request, had "completely failed to distance himself from the South African government".

From Windhoek it is reported that Mr Strauss ended his tour with attacks on the United States and European media.

He singled out German television, accusing it of adopting a negative attitude towards South Africa and of twisting facts to mislead European public opinion.

Meanwhile, hopes for Namibian independence were de-

creased by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha, accompanying Mr Strauss, dismissed a visit by US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker to neighbouring Angola for fresh talks on the complex independence issue.

"As far as the South African government is concerned, nothing much is going on. According to my information, nothing substantially new has been proposed regarding Cuban withdrawal," Mr Botha told reporters.

Ⓢ Swapo yesterday claimed responsibility for the bomb blast in Windhoek this week, saying it was timed to coincide with Mr Strauss's visit to Namibia.

A statement released through the organization's office in London said the supermarket inside the Suiderhof military base served exclusively "the South African occupation troops and their families". — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

Swapo admits planting bomb in military HQ

Star 1/12/88

(221)

LONDON — Swapo has claimed responsibility for a bomb blast in a supermarket at Suiderhof, the South African military headquarters in Windhoek.

In a press release in London, Swapo said "combatants" of its military wing had carried out the attack. It had been planned to coincide with the arrival in Windhoek of Bavarian Premier Dr Franz Josef Strauss and South Africa's Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The statement also noted that the two men were greeted in Windhoek by a demonstration staged by about 5 000 Swapo members and supporters.

"The blast was a reminder that there is a war in Namibia and that no place or installation in the country can be regarded as secure from liberation attacks," said the statement.

CPG Times 2/2/88

Cuba Angola accept pull-out

WASHINGTON. — The State Department said yesterday that Cuban and Angolan officials had affirmed for the first time their acceptance of a plan to remove all Cuban troops from Angola.

Spokesman Mr Charles Redman said the acceptance came last week at a Luanda meeting between US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Afonso Van-Dunem and Cuban Politburo members.

The Cubans took part in the talks at the Angolans' request for the first time since the negotiations with Dr Crocker began almost a year ago.

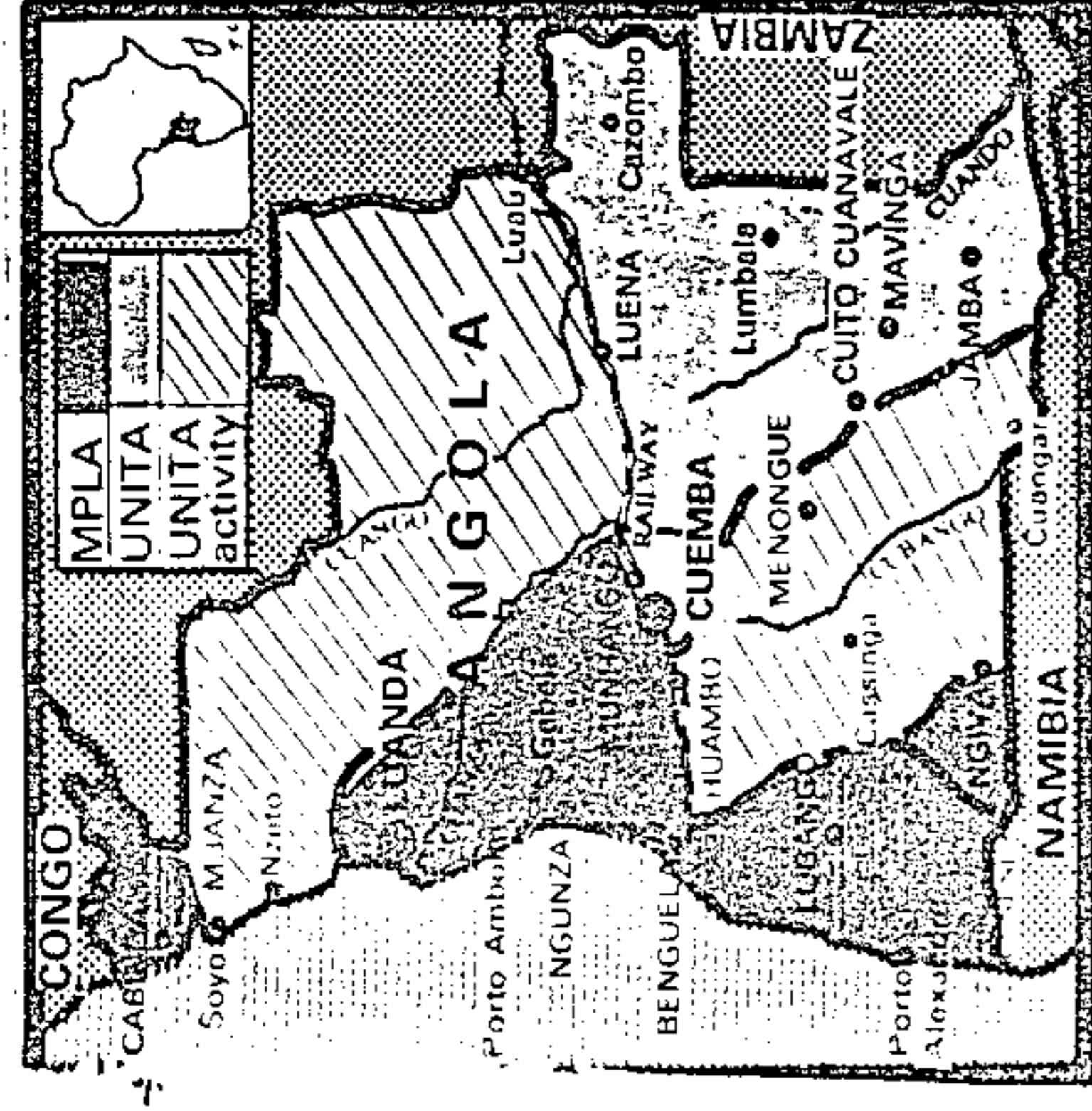
The US agreed to Cuban participation on the understanding that it would lead to progress in the stalled talks, which revolve around a United Nations-sponsored plan for the pull-out of the Cubans and independence for Namibia.

"The Angolan delegation for the first time affirmed its acceptance of the necessity of the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola in the context of a settlement," Mr Redman said.

The next step is for the Angolans "to come forward with specific ways to close the gap on a Cuban troop withdrawal schedule," he said. He declined to say whether the latest US moves had been co-ordinated with South Africa or the Soviet Union. — Sapa-AP

● Unita siege on new town, page 7

DAVID BRYAN



US SEES

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CAF TRKS 3/2/88

TO LOUSIAN

WAR

Folk dancers get Dias Festival going



WASHINGTON. — After 12 years the civil war in Angola seems to be coming to a head, with the American, Angolan and Cuban governments finally nearing agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal.

The United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, yesterday told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that US talks in Angola last week on ending the 12-year Cuban presence were "an important development that holds the promise of a settlement" in the region.

He said he hoped Angola would put together a comprehensive plan for the pullout of all Cuban troops as a first step towards ending regional conflicts in Angola and Namibia.

"We now look to the Angolans to table concrete and realistic schedules for a phased withdrawal of Cuban forces so that we can take this proposal to the South Africans," Mr Shultz said.

The South African government yesterday reacted coolly to the diplomatic initiatives.

At a press conference the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa was not interested in a token withdrawal of Cuban troops which merely rearranged the forces in the area while effectively putting a Swapo government in Windhoek and destroying the rebel Unita movement in Angola.

Mr Botha described the Angolan and Cuban acceptance in principle of a Cuban troop withdrawal linked to independence for Namibia as "nothing new".

He said the most important element of Angola's recent acceptance was the admission that there were 40,000 Cuban troops in the country.

"You can rest assured there must be a couple of thousand more than

2 dead: Trial for dog owner



...e Dias Festival at Mossel Bay harbour yesterday. Navy
...acer — Page 2.

Picture: ROB KAMHOOT

MBABANE. — A 41-year-old white South African man was found shot dead in his car at a remote spot on the Mbabane-Pigg's Peak road on Monday night, according to a police spokesman on Swaziland TV news last night.

AK 47 cartridges were found at the scene. The man had two bullet wounds in the forehead and a number in the chest, said Swaziland's police public relations officer, Mr Norman Mkhwanazi.

Police have so far declined to identify the victim as his next of kin have not been informed.

The spokesman said it was unlikely that robbery could have been the motive for the killing. The man's belong-

SA man *Call 7m15.3/2/88* dies in mystery Swazi *SAPA* killing *3/2*

ings, mainly clothing, were still in the car.

Last month it was reported that an ANC hit-squad was in Swaziland to eliminate those suspected of selling out ANC members in Swaziland to South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

Govt Sasol sale urged

THE government has been asked to sell off its final stake in Sasol. It holds 30% in the issued share capital of Sasol 1.

The request came from the important parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

● Govt asked to sell stake in Sasol — Page 5

comprehensive troops as a first step towards ending regional conflicts in Angola and Namibia.

"We now look to the Angolans to table concrete and realistic schedules for a phased withdrawal of Cuban forces so that we can take this proposal to the South Africans," Mr Shultz said.

The South African government yesterday reacted coolly to the diplomatic initiatives.

At a press conference the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa was not interested in a token withdrawal of Cuban troops which merely rearranged the forces in the area while effectively putting a Swapo government in Windhoek and destroying the rebel Unita movement in Angola.

Mr Botha described the Angolan and Cuban acceptance in principle of a Cuban troop withdrawal linked to independence for Namibia as "nothing new".

He said the most important element of Angola's recent acceptance was the admission that there were 40 000 Cuban troops in the country.

"You can rest assured there must be a couple of thousand more than that," he said.

Mr Botha said he could not see anything positive or constructive in the announcement, unless it was accompanied by the "crucial factor" of a time schedule for the troop withdrawal.

He believed the US had invited Angola to suggest a time schedule and that the US would like to negotiate this in the near future.

"We want a withdrawal in good faith so that the Cubans are no threat through force of arms or intimidation."

In Lusaka, Swapo politburo member Mr Hage Geingob said he did not think the Angolans would allow the Cubans to withdraw without the South Africans withdrawing as well.

"There is no way they would risk that," he said.

However, he said Swapo was ready to talk to the South African government about independence for Namibia.

Meanwhile, reports from Western journalists who recently witnessed the war at first hand show that Unita has MPLA forces in the south-eastern part of the country on the run.

The movement exercises military and administrative control over vast rural areas — perhaps as much as 35% of the country.

Unita's Brigadier Abilio Jose Augusto Numa said it intended seizing and holding Cuemba, scene of a six-week Unita siege. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

2 dead: Trial for dog owner

Own Correspondent

PAARL. — The Attorney-General has decided to prosecute a local farmer whose dogs allegedly bit to death a 67-year-old man, Mr Johannes Pekeur, and his 15-year-old grandson, Booï Pekeur, last year.

The farmer faces, among others, charges of culpable homicide.

The decision to prosecute was confirmed yesterday by an official of the Magistrate's Court here.

A domestic servant, Miss Sarah Maart, 27, has also alleged that she had been attacked by the dogs.

NEW LO PR CARN



Cuban pull-out 'when SA goes'

HAVANA. — Cuba yesterday said it would begin withdrawing its troops from Angola only after South Africa pulled out its soldiers and ended its rule of Namibia.

A front-page article in the official Communist Party newspaper Granma ended days of silence on a new Angolan peace move that, if agreed on by all parties, could result in a pull-out of 40 000 Cuban troops from the Marxist-ruled country.

The article said Angola and Cuba took a joint negotiating stance at last week's talks in Luanda. It referred to Angola's reported acceptance, for the first time, of the withdrawal of Cuban troops under certain conditions.

Granma said the conditions put forward by Angola and announced by the Luanda government last Saturday were:

- An end to South African and US support for Unita.

- Withdrawal of South African troops from southern and south-eastern Angola.

- Implementation of UN Resolution 435, calling for Namibia's independence.

- International guarantees to avoid further aggression against Angola.

"If an agreement under those condi-

Unita takes frontier town: Controls Zambian border

LISBON. — Angola's pro-Western Unita rebels said yesterday that the fall of the frontier town of Caripande meant they now controlled the entire 1 000km border with Zambia.

"The fall of Caripande gives Unita control over the entire Zambian border, as we had already captured the other main frontier posts," said a rebel spokesman here.

Unita said it seized Caripande after killing 57 government troops and forcing about 100 to flee into Zambia.

But the rebel spokesman acknowledged that strict frontier control is not practical because of the length of the border and the wild, largely uninhabited terrain it crosses. — Sapa-Reuter

tions can be achieved, Angola and Cuba would be ready to start a phased withdrawal of the Cuban military contingent," Granma wrote.

It said a solution now depended on the attitude of the United States.

"A solution, in a relatively short time, is objectively possible," it concluded. — Sapa-Reuter

No army exemption for Swapo members, says court

MEMBERS or supporters of Swapo would not be granted permanent exemption from conscription into the SWA Territory Force — a wing of the South African Defence Force which has as its enemy the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, Swapo's military arm.

This was made clear to two young Namibians who appeared in the Windhoek Supreme Court on Monday. They were refused an application for permanent exemption.

The two Herero-speaking Namibians, Alfons Kojipati, 23, and Edward Amporo, 21, brought the supreme court application in December

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek

1986 to render their call-ups null and void.

Respondents in the matter were the South African minister of defence, the cabinet of the interim government, the general officer commanding SWATF and the registering officer of the SWATF.

Due to begin their national service in January 1987, both men stated in affidavits that they were supporters of the Swapo movement and thus morally incapable of fighting against Swa-

po soldiers.

In his affidavit, Kojipati said "as a patriotic Namibian I owe no allegiance to South Africa or any other government appointed by it, including the present interim government."

At the time, the court ruled that call-up instructions would not be enforced until such time as a decision had been made. The supreme court decision this week effectively means that Kojipati and Amporo are now legally liable for conscription.

During the application, the two men had submitted that the Defence Act contravened the interim government's own Bill of Rights embodied in proc-

lamation 101 of June 17 1985.

In passing judgement, however, Mr Justice Chris Mouton said that it had already been decided in a previous case that an existing law which restricted a fundamental right did not cease to have effect when proclamation 101 came into operation, but rather continued to exist until amended or repealed. The Defence Act, therefore, was not applied in Namibia in terms of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

The judge said the registering officer of the SWATF had no authority to exempt anybody on any of the grounds mentioned.

221 M. Verbaan 5/11/87

Clash with Swapo: 2 soldiers killed

Star 6/2/88

(221)

Two South African soldiers were killed on Friday in a skirmish with Swapo terrorists north of the operational area, Defence Headquarters announced in Pretoria last night.

"The skirmish occurred north of Owambo during a follow-up operation in which nine terrorists of a group of about 20 were killed," a spokesman said.

"The soldiers who died were Second-Lieutenant Michael Sean McCann (21), who leaves his father, Major D E McCann of Star Leithe Court, Pretoria Avenue, Sandown, Sandton, and his mother, Mrs M T McCann, of Calais Street, Sea Point, Cape Town; and Sapper Michael Collin Suter (19), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs S M Suter of Beverley Drive North, Constantia Kloof, Florida, Roodepoort, but who at present staying at City 33, Taylor Road, Wellington, Surrey, England.

"The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, extends his condolences to the families, friends, and loved ones of the two soldiers, and assures them of all possible support from the SADF." — Sapa.

Bankrupt Hereros hand over control to Windhoek

(221)
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibia's financially strapped Herero ethnic administration says it has no money to keep its schools open and has handed over its education function to the Windhoek central government.

The announcement came after a meeting on Tuesday between members of the Herero Legislative Assembly and more than 100 angry teachers, some of whom have not been paid for the past four weeks.

Hundreds of Herero pensioners have also not been paid for the same period of time because the administration is almost broke.

Under the current apartheid-style ethnic administration imposed by South Africa on Namibia, each race group is responsible for its own affairs, and collects tax revenues from its own people.

In the case of the Herero this income has been low, and the administration has had to be supported by donations from the central government in Windhoek.

Call for world body to reassert control over SWA/Namibia

ACCRA (Ghana) — Independence for SWA/Namibia remains a top priority and the world body must reassert its control over the territory, said the UN's Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said at a news conference before opening a six-nation African tour that he still considered himself the administrator of the territory.

He added the inactivity of the Western contact group, five nations seeking to negotiate SWA/Namibian independence, meant "the UN must assert its right over Namibia".

He said the presence of Cuban troops in Angola had proved an obstacle in the talks.

The US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Dr Chester

Crocker, has continued talks with the Luanda Government and last month claimed some progress. ⁽²²¹⁾

Dr Perez de Cuellar said the SWA/Namibian question was linked to the other major Southern African problems: apartheid and the South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours. ⁽²²⁶⁾

He said sanctions remained a key element of UN efforts to end apartheid, but they hadn't worked because some nations had refused to impose them.

The UN leader met with Ghanaian officials yesterday before calling on the head of state, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. Dr Perez de Cuellar goes on to Cameroon, Gabon, Zaire, Congo and Angola. — Sapa-AP

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, scoffed at Angolan proposals for a Cuban troop withdrawal yesterday, saying he was tired of Luanda's "deceitful little games".

Mr Botha also accused the US Congress of rendering pacts with Washington risky and unreliable by thwarting White House foreign policy.

"On Nicaragua, on South Africa, and there are other issues, I do not believe that the White House has the support of the US Congress on important foreign policy ventures," Mr Botha told foreign reporters at a briefing coinciding with the opening sessions of Parliament.

"That makes it risky for my government, or any government, to rely on agreements with the US.

"This truth is filtering through to quite a large number of countries," Mr Botha said. "It has the potential of harming the US very far into the future because they will not be able to amend this perception."

Mr Botha said the South African government "draws a distinction between the White House, President Reagan and his foreign policy objectives and the foreign policy objectives of the US Congress".

He cited the congressional override in October 1986 of President Reagan's veto of sanctions legislation.

The US State Department said last week that the Angolan government had accepted the principle for the first time of a total withdrawal of 40 000 Cuban troops from the country as part of a southern Africa peace plan.

Mr Botha told reporters that South Africa would welcome progress by US African affairs expert Dr Chester Crocker on breaking the deadlock on Angola and neighbouring Namibia.

But proposals put forward so far by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos were "nothing but a rearrangement of the war theatre".

"A man like President Dos Santos would be the least inclined to let go the only force that keeps him in power," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said Angola must give a time schedule and a withdrawal programme for a Cuban pullout.

"This South African government will not

Pik SCOFFS plans for Cuban troops

accept any plan which does not ensure there is genuine withdrawal, with systems to monitor that withdrawal," he said.

South Africa has refused to implement United Nations resolution 435, a blueprint for independence and elections in Namibia, until the Cuban troops leave Angola, where they are supporting the government against Unita rebels.

"They (the Angolans) tried to crawl out of Cuban withdrawal by saying they would withdraw a year after the date of implementation of resolution 435," Mr Botha said.

"That means they are all there during implementation of resolution 435 presenting a source of intimidation and hoping they will put Swapo in power in Namibia," Mr Botha said.

"We're just a bit tired of these deceitful little games and we trust our American friends will also become tired of them," he added. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

NO SEAT at talks for Swapo and Angola, says Anggola

13/2/88 Steid

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LISBON — Angola has rejected a South African call for a regional peace conference that would include the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

Angola was prepared to hold direct peace talks with South Africa if Pretoria rejected the United States as a mediator in the negotiations, Angop said.

But the Angolans flatly rejected any negotiations with

Unita, according to the Angop report, which was monitored in Lisbon.

"The reference to the participation of Unita removes all credibility from the South African Government's proposal," the agency quoted the statement as saying.

Unita, which is backed by South Africa and the United States, has been fighting since 1975 to force the Cuban- and Soviet-backed Angolan Government to accept a power-sharing agreement.

The statement said the South African proposal was a manoeuvre aimed at gaining time to increase South African military

pressure on Angolan government forces in southern Angola.

Angola has accused South Africa of supporting Unita with major military incursions into southern Angola from Namibia.

The Angolan government appeared to be responding to remarks made last month by State President P W Botha, that he was willing to meet any regional leaders in a bid to resolve conflict in Southern Africa.

Mr Botha has not specifically proposed a peace conference or put forward concrete proposals.

Angola said it would be "coherent and logical" to include Swapo and the African National Congress (ANC) in such talks.

It said these were internationally recognised organisations.

But it described Unita as a puppet group without international standing, according to the Angop report.

The statement added that South Africa's "illegal occupation" of Namibia, attacks against black-ruled neighbouring states, the creation of armed groups to carry out allegedly terrorist activities in those countries and the denial of political rights to the black majority in South Africa were the main causes of conflict in the region.

United States envoy Mr Chester Crocker said earlier this

month that Angola had agreed for the first time to the principle of a total withdrawal of the estimated 40 000 Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola as part of a regional peace accord.

The agreement also envisages independence for Namibia, which South Africa rules despite a United Nations resolution, and an end to US and South African support for Unita.

Yesterday, the Angolan Embassy in Lisbon issued a statement denying reports that representatives of the Angolan government and Unita would hold peace talks this summer in the Portuguese capital. — Sapa-AP.

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Get out of Namibia, Hiemstra tells SA

Let internal parties and Swapo decide

SOUTH AFRICA should get out of Namibia and allow the internal parties and Swapo to participate in UN-sponsored elections.

The call came this week from Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra, former chairman of the SWA-Namibia Constitution- al Council (CC) which has recently completed work on a proposed new constitution for the territory.

The South African Government's insistence on a Cuban withdrawal before the Namibian issue was settled, was "wholly unnecessary" and independence should come in spite of the Cuban presence, said Mr Hiemstra.

In an article in the latest edition of the magazine, Die Suid-Afrikaan, and an interview with the Sunday Times this week he rejected some of the key tenets of Pretoria's regional policy.

"The Cubans are there because Savimbi, supported by

By DRIES van HEERDEN

the Americans and SA, poses a threat to the Angolan government."

"For as long as the SA troops remain in Angola, for so long will the Cubans remain there. Perhaps the time has come to realise that they will not leave in the foreseeable future."

The judge, asked by the Transitional Government (TG) to draw up a new constitution for Namibia, said the SA Government's insistence on a Cuban linkage stems from a fear that the Cubans, the East Germans and Swapo will connive to influence an

election in Swapo's favour.

"In short, they fear the Red flag will fly over Windhoek." Calling this scenario "far-fetched", Mr Hiemstra said there were enough safeguards built into UN Resolution 435 to prevent foul play in the election.

Rejected

"I am confident the Western powers will not allow any deviation from the principle of free and fair elections."

He strongly criticised the SA Government's continuing presence in Namibia and warned that "each day longer in Windhoek will only improve the fortunes of Swapo".

The massive campaign to win the hearts and minds of the people was not an unqualified success. "People in the north feel they are the victims of a military occupation and they harbour bitter feelings of resentment against SA."

The judge said the protection of so-called minority rights through apartheid structures is still the main bone of contention in Namibia.

The SA Government had consistently sided with the smaller parties in the country — especially the National Party — who insist on constitutional protection for mi-

norities while the majority view in the CC rejected this principle.

"The SA Government and its representative, the Administrator-General (AG), are fanning the flames of this dispute. The AG has lost all pretence of impartiality by openly coming out against the proposed constitution."

Calling Namibia "the land of lost opportunities", Mr Justice Hiemstra said SA was now reneging on promises made over decades to allow Namibians to decide on their own future.

His proposed constitution was enthusiastically endorsed by the vast majority in the TG as a basis on which to fight an election against Swapo.

"This is a completely new force — a document for internal parties to rally around." The constitution provides for a pluralistic model with



JUDGE HIEMSTRA SA reneging on promises

equal political, economic and social rights for all Namibians irrespective of language or race. It proposes universal adult franchise with individual rights protected by a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary.

Future

It rejects the concept of "group protection" through the creation of ethnic legislatures, as proposed by the Namibians and supported by the SA Government. This would only be a "continuation of apartheid" in another guise.

Namibia: writing is on the wall — in English

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

15/2/88
WINDHOEK — A quiet revolution is under way which will radically change the face of Namibian society in the years ahead.

The English language is on the march and its inexorable progress will see it eventually replace Afrikaans as the *lingua franca* of this vast, sparsely populated and arid country.

Last week, there was more evidence of this new movement, when the principals of 25 coloured and black schools met in Windhoek for a five-day seminar aimed at preparing them for the switch later this year to English as the medium of instruction in their classrooms.

The schools — all controlled by the Department of Education of the central government — are making the change in the wake of growing pressure from non-white parents for their children to be schooled in the English language.

Behind the move towards English are both political and practical concerns. Although Namibia has largely remained a political backwater and isolated from the growth of revolutionary fervour in South Africa, many blacks and coloureds are now becoming more radical, and have the perception of Afrikaans as the "language of the oppressor", much as demonstrating Soweto students did in 1976.

There is also a growing realisation that English is the international language of diplomacy, trade and science, and that those people with little working knowledge of it could be handicapped in personal or career goals.

BOER INFLUX STRENGTHENS AFRIKAANS

But English has a long way to go yet.

Even before the German colonisation of South West Africa in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Afrikaans — or verions of Dutch — was not uncommon among the indigenous inhabitants of the territory.

Various South Africans — first the Hottentot Afrikaner clans then the coloured "Basters" and finally white trekboers — had all gone north and taken their language with them.

The influx of Boers had become more pronounced in the wake of the Boer War, as the disgruntled crossed the Orange River to the German protectorate.

Today, this country is probably the last great bastion of Afrikaans on the continent.

Civil service communication is overwhelmingly done in Afrikaans, as is the majority of business in both the main centres and in outlying areas.

Indeed, in the capital less than 4 percent of the population use English as their home language, while fully half the city's 12 000 people speak Afrikaans on the domestic level.

The language is without doubt the *lingua franca* of the territory. If members of the country's multitude of different ethnic groups wish to communicate with each other, they normally have to do so in Afrikaans.

However, the winds of change have been blowing since the late 1970s, when the brief flutterings of "independence" threatened to suddenly thrust the country into the international limelight.

On the domestic political front, left-leaning and anti-South African groups have, in the last three years, accelerated their campaign for English.

The Namibia National Students' Organisation, a Swapo affiliate, has been in the forefront of this thrust to have English introduced as a medium of instruction in schools.

BOLD STEP

Mr Peter Kalangula's Owambo administration — which controls many schools in the war-torn northern areas of the country — made the bold step in 1986 of introducing English medium in its classrooms.

The English-language weekly newspaper, the *Namibian* — which is pro-independence and highly critical of both South Africa and the local administration — is in great demand in the densely populated northern areas. Many copies of the paper find their way into schools, to be passed from hand to hand many times over as a valuable tool of instruction.

And last year, four of the six parties in Windhoek's transitional government released constitutional proposals which included suggestions that Afrikaans be supplanted by English as the only official language after a ten-year period.

If the writing is on the wall for the Afrikaans language in Namibia — then it is certain that writing is in English.

ARCUS 12/2/88 (221)

English gaining ground in SWA

BRENDAN SEERY of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek

A QUIET revolution is under way which will radically change the face of SWA/Namibia society in the years ahead.

The English language is on the march and its progress will see it eventually replace Afrikaans as the *lingua franca* of this vast, sparsely populated and arid country.

There was more evidence of this new movement when the principals of 25 coloured and black schools met in Windhoek for a five-day seminar aimed at preparing them for the switch later this year to English as the medium of instruction in their classrooms.

The schools — all controlled by the Department of Education of the central government — are making the change in the wake of growing pressure from black parents that their children be schooled in the English language.

Behind the move towards English are both political and practical concerns. Although SWA/Namibia has largely remained a political backwater and isolated from the growth of revolutionary fervour in South Africa, many blacks and coloured people are now becoming more radical.

There is also a growing realisation that English is the international language of diplomacy, trade and science, and that people with little working knowledge of it could be handicapped in personal or career goals.

But English still has a long way to go.

Even before the German colonisation of South West Africa in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Afrikaans — or verions of Dutch — was not uncommon among the indige nous inhabitants of the territory.

Various South Africans — first the Hottentot Afrikaner clans, then the coloured "bastards" and finally white trekboers — had all gone north and taken their language with them. The influx of Boers had become more pronounced in the wake of the South African War as the disgruntled crossed the Orange River to the German protectorate.

With the South African invasion of the country in 1915, and the subsequent defeat of the forces of the Kaiser, South West Africa fell under the Union, and the position of Afrikaans strengthened.

After the victory of the National Party in the 1948 elections, the promotion of Afrikaans culture and

language was given as much attention in SWA/Namibia as in South Africa itself.

Today the territory is probably the last great bastion of Afrikaans on the continent. Public service communication is overwhelmingly done in Afrikaans, as is most business in both the main centres and in outlying areas.

In the capital, less than four percent of people use English as their home language, while fully half the city's 120 000 people speak Afrikaans on the domestic level.

The language is without doubt the *lingua franca* of the territory. If members of the country's multitude of different ethnic groups wish to communicate with one another, they normally have to do so in Afrikaans.

However, the winds of change have been blowing since the late 1970s when the brief flutterings of "independence" threatened suddenly to thrust the country into the international limelight. Not all the forces for change are political, however.

The economic muscle of the British Rio Tinto Zinc group, which opened the Rossing uranium mine in 1976, gave English a significant boost. The company's dealings were primarily in English, and many of its staff were English-speaking people from outside the country.

Education foundation

Since 1984, Rossing has been pushing the use of English in the wider sphere of SWA/Namibia society through its own education foundation.

On the political side, leftist and anti-South African groups have, in the last three years, accelerated their campaign for English.

The Namibia National Students' Organisation, a Swapo affiliate, has been in the forefront of this thrust to have English introduced as a medium of instruction in schools — so much so that parents have been making their own representations, pleas the central authority has said it cannot ignore.

Mr Peter Kalangula's Owambo administration — which controls many schools in the war-torn northern areas of the country — took the bold step in 1986 of introducing English medium in its classrooms.

But, for the defenders of the Afrikaans way, a more disturbing indication of possible developments in the future came last year when four of the six parties in Windhoek's transitional government released their constitutional proposals.

The parties (including Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) proposed that Afrikaans be supplanted completely by English as the only official language after a 10-year period.

Keep to your promise — MP

The Star's Africa
News Service

South Africa has not stuck to its often-repeated promise of allowing the Namibian people to decide their own future, says Mr Moses Katjuongua, Health Minister and current Cabinet chairman in Windhoek's six-party Transitional Government.

Mr Katjuongua was reacting to remarks made by former South African Supreme Court Judge Victor Hiemstra, who last year wound up 20 months as chairman of the abortive Constitutional Council.

Mr Hiemstra told a South African newspaper, and also wrote in an article of his own that he believed Pretoria had taken sides in the constitutional issue with the National Party of SWA.

This partiality — shown particularly by South African Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, had worsened tensions and differences between the six parties of the Windhoek government, said Mr Hiemstra.

Mr Katjuongua said yesterday that he believed Mr Hiemstra's forthright remarks had strengthened the case of the majority group of four parties in the Transitional Government, who had thrown their support behind the "Hiemstra constitution".

This constitution proposes a system of government based on majority rule, with human rights guaranteed by a Bill of Fundamental Rights.

The NP (SWA) has drawn up a counter-proposal, which proposes separate "ethnic" structures and has been criticised as apartheid by another name.

'Pull-out depends on US, SA' 16/2/8

⑤ The Star's Foreign
News Service

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LISBON — Angola has reaffirmed its readiness to send home 40 000 Cuban troops, but links the move to a United States and South African commitment to stop all support to the Unita guerilla movement and action on independence for SWA/Namibia, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said on Sunday.

The agency, in a dispatch received in Lisbon, quoted Foreign Minister Mr Afonso "M'binda" van-Dunem as saying that a calendar for the withdrawal depended on Washington and Pretoria agreeing to cease aiding Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement.

Since 1981, Washington has tried to broker a regional peace accord under which the 40 000 Cubans would leave Angola and South Africa would grant

Star
independence to SWA/Namibia.

Angola had informed Washington of its "disposition to accept a total withdrawal of the Cuban troops," Angop cited Mr van-Dunem as telling the foreign diplomatic corps in Luanda.

Mr van-Dunem said "other conditions" for a Cuban exit were an agreement by South Africa to withdraw its troops from southern Angola and the implementation of UN Resolution 435, granting independence to SWA/Namibia.

● Unita guerillas said yesterday that they had shot down a MiG-21 jet-fighter in central Bie province and caused the crash of a MiG-23 in Cuando Cubango through sabotage last week.

In other operations across the country, the rebels said they killed 80 soldiers, including eight Cubans.

By Carina le Grange

Former Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra's call that Namibia's independence should not be linked to Cuban withdrawal from Angola is that of a man "who stands isolated" in relation to the South African Government, veteran political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans believes.

Professor John Dugard, from the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, on the other hand, is in "total agreement" with Mr Hiemstra that Namibia should be granted independence regardless of the Cuban presence.

Professor Kleynhans said Mr Hiemstra's new constitution for Namibia is not being accepted by

that region nor by the South African government "and now he expresses this view on the Cubans, which is diametrically opposite to the view of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha".

"It is my opinion that the Cubans should be out, otherwise the independence will not work out."

Professor Dugard said: "I think that it is essential that South Africa settle the issue as soon as possible. South Africa's presence in Namibia is seen as illegal."

He said South Africa was politically in a vul-

nerable position and he believed it would be in its own national interest to grant independence to Namibia quickly.

"Clearly only an internationally recognised independence would serve any purpose. The Cuban linkage is a red herring which was raised by South Africa when the Reagan administration came to power. It was raised because Pretoria knew that the Reagan administration would fall for this argument given their own paranoia over Cuba.

"The international

Hiemstra stands alone — academic

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community has repeatedly rejected Cuban linkage and so I agree with Mr Hiemstra's sentiments," Professor Dugard said.

Professor Mike Hough of the Institute of Strategic Studies, said the Cuban linkage was the official view of the South African Government and Defence Force and as long as Cubans were in Angola there could not be a free elections in Namibia since it would give Swapo an "unfair disadvantage".

He said another argument in favour of Cuban withdrawal was a strategic one in that Angola's instability could "spill over" into Namibia unless the Cubans and South Africa withdrew simultaneously from Angola and Namibia. Should the Cubans remain they might also end up in Namibia.

He did not agree with Mr Hiemstra's view that the Cubans would remain in Angola only for as long as South Africa remained in Angola.

"The Cuban presence makes a solution for Angola and the resulting instability difficult, and makes it difficult for South Africa to get out of Namibia."

Ex-Swapo man's freedom trek

CAP T948 17/2/88 221

Argus Africa News Service

A FORMER Swapo insurgent has told of his 18-day, 300 km hike to freedom through the bush after escaping from one of the organisation's jails near the Angolan town of Lubango.

Simon Nuule, 31, told journalists at the Sector 10 headquarters of the South African Defence Force at Oshakati yesterday that he had avoided both Swapo and Angolan Government troop patrols in southern Angola on his walk south back to SWA/Namibia.

He was picked up by the SWA Police counter-insurgency unit within a day of his arrival.

He is being held in police cells but senior military officers said they believed he would be released "once the paper work was sorted out".

STORY CONFIRMED

Military intelligence analysts said they had confirmed parts of Mr Nuule's story and had no reason to believe he had lied about his escape.

Mr Nuule told journalists he

had joined Swapo in 1977, leaving his northern Namibian tribal home in the belief that "independence was only one or two years away".

After insurgency training at a Swapo camp in Angola, he worked for its logistics section for eight years.

During this time, he saw the aftermath of the South African raid on the Cassinga base in May 1978 and was also involved in a number of ambushes laid by Umta.

He said that by 1986 he had become disillusioned with Swapo and realised an insurgent's life was highly dangerous, although he himself had not fought against South Africans.

He and a friend had decided to desert in 1986, but they had been caught by Swapo and placed in one of its jails near Lubango. He had never been physically mistreated but had often been verbally abused.

Mr Nuule said he escaped in January by climbing through the jail's roof while it was being repaired. Although Swapo guards fired at him as he ran, he was not injured. Wearing a uniform of the Angolan Government forces, Fapla, he began making his way back to Namibia from Lubango.

The former Swapo man said he believed Namibian people should sit down together and discuss the future of their country themselves. He did not think he would be joining the security forces after his release because he feared Swapo would take revenge.

Ex-Swapo man tells of 300 km walk

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — A former Swapo insurgent has told of his 18-day, 300 km walk to freedom after escaping from one of the organisation's jails near the Angolan town of Lubango.

Mr Simon Nuule (31) told reporters at the SADF's Sector 10 Headquarters at Oshakati this week that he had avoided both Swapo and Angolan government patrols on his walk back to Namibia.

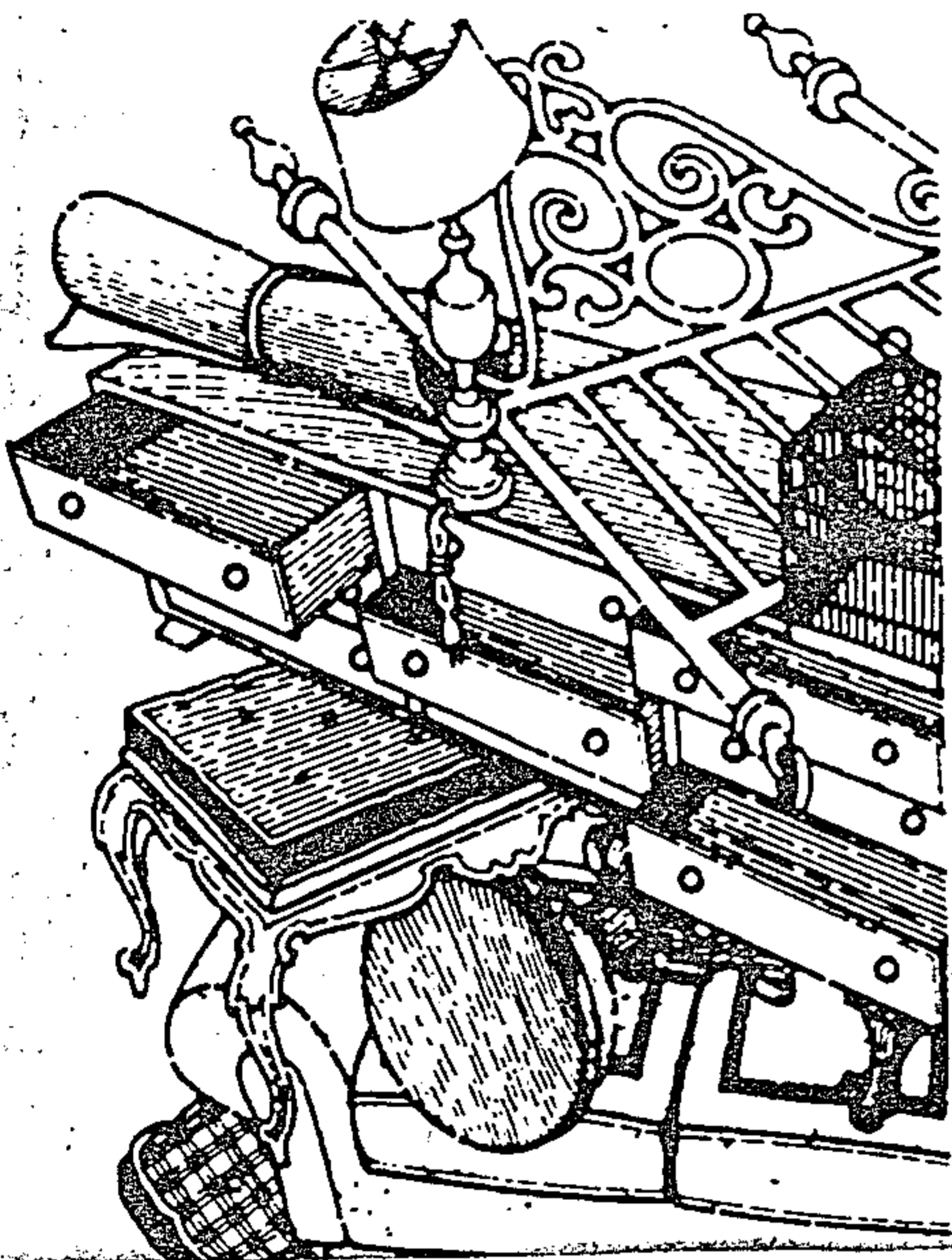
He was picked up by the South West Africa police counter-insurgency unit soon after reaching Namibia.

He is now held in police cells, but military officers at Oshakati say they believe he will be released soon.

Mr Nuule said he joined Swapo in 1977, but that by 1986 he had become disillusioned and he and a friend decided to desert, but were caught by Swapo and jailed.

In January he escaped.

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9/2/88
**Bonn urged to
aid Namibia**

MUNICH — The Bavarian Christian Social Union, Dr Franz Josef Strauss's party, has called for West German aid for Namibia. The demand conflicts with Bonn government policy.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl emphasised this policy last week, saying no aid would be given to Namibia until it achieved independence along the lines of United Nations and European Community plans. (221)

Ricci affa

Sprawling hub of northern Namibia

Cape Times 20/2/88 (221)

Defence Correspondent

OSHAKATI is a sprawling combination of military base and Third World town that also happens to be the military and financial hub of northern Namibia.

It houses the headquarters of Sector 10 (formerly known as 2 Military Area), which plans and controls all military activities in Ovamboland and northwards of the Angolan border, operating in close co-operation with the main air force base at Ondangwa, which is 33km away.

Oshakati's most visible landmark is an immensely tall red-and-white military radio mast, which has been the target of several unsuccessful mortar attacks by Swapo insurgents.

But it is also the place where Ovamboland's home-grown tycoons, such as the legendary Frans Ondonga, are flexing their financial muscles and operating everything from panel-beating shops to large

supermarkets, heavily patronized by whites and blacks alike.

Oshakati is reached by way of the tarred military highway from Windhoek, far to the south. The outer fringes of the town are clustered with corrugated-iron shanty towns inhabited by black people, most of them fairly recently urbanized. There are also many shops and cafes of varying size and sophistication, catering mainly for the black population.

A landmark which draws shoppers of all races is Frans Ondonga's first supermarket, a tall cream-coloured barn-like building, where almost anything can be bought. Mr Ondonga owns two other supermarkets in the Oshakati area.

North-east of the main shanty towns lies a township inhabited by an estimated 1500 to 2000 people, mainly permanently-stationed service-people and employees of

government and quasi-government organizations and their families.

Fenced off and entered through a controlled gate which has an inspection pit to examine the undersides of vehicles, the township consists of neat houses and schools, with pale dirt roads lined with large concrete storm-drains to carry off the rainwater of Ovamboland's copious summer rains.

The only thing that sets the township apart from similar areas all over Southern Africa is that the buildings have backyard bomb-shelters, erected because on several occasions Oshakati has been subjected to minor mortaring by Swapo insurgents.

But mortarings are few and far between and the bomb-shelters' heaviest users are children playing hide-and-seek.

It has its own supermarket and service station complex,

and there is also a rest-house called "Driehoek", for transient military and official personnel and invited visitors, which runs a heavily patronized steakhouse.

In addition, there is an "international guest-house" for private visitors to the town.

Inside the township there are separate wire enclosures for Sector 10 Headquarters, various other military sections and the Namibian police.

● In November of 1986 Swapo's deputy secretary for information, Mr Kaneindina Hinanyane, told the Cape Times that Plan (the organization's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia) intended to launch a bomb campaign in major Namibian centres.

"We intend to take the war to new areas, to targets in the cities," he said.

"We will make the price of their occupation of our country a high one."

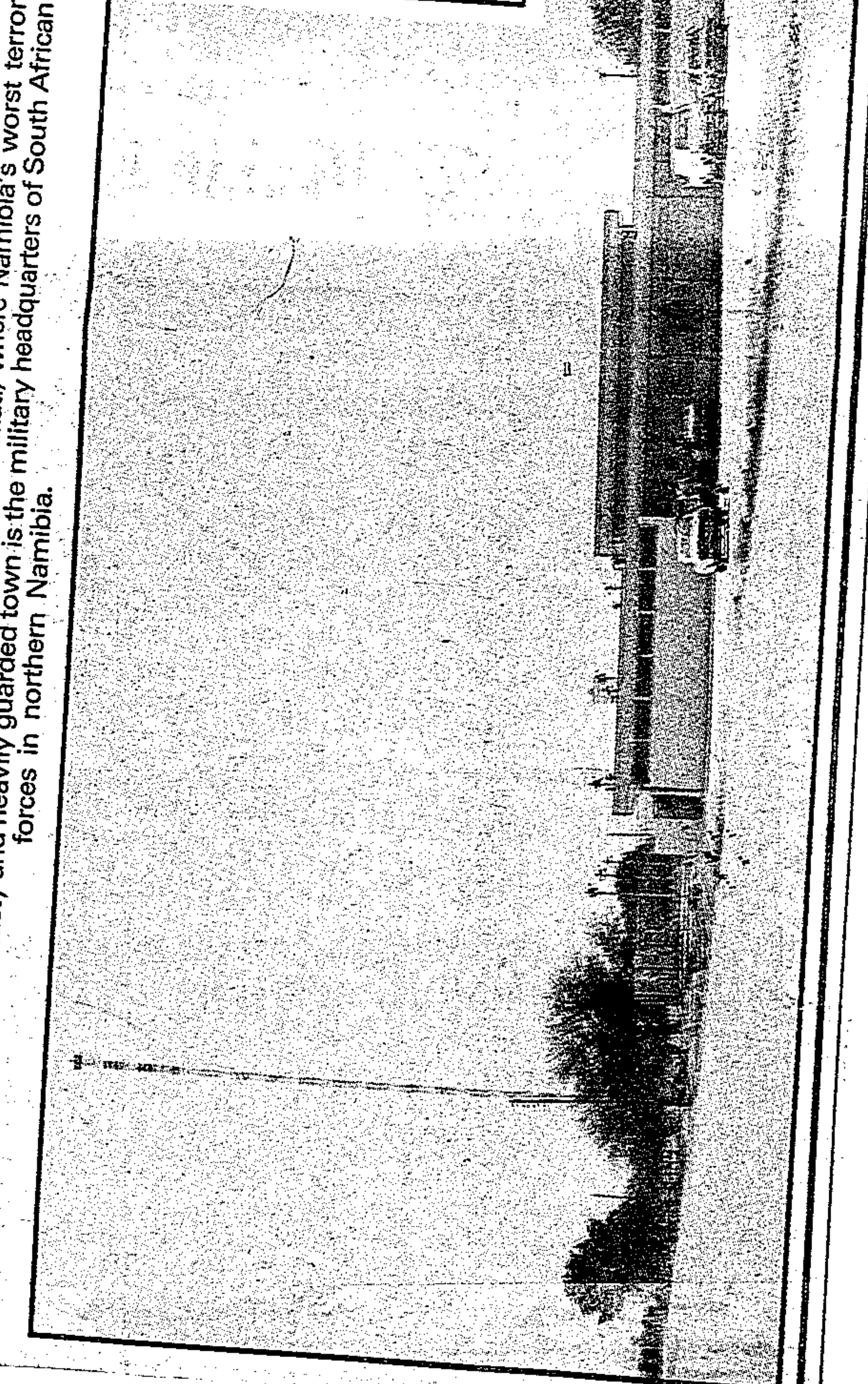
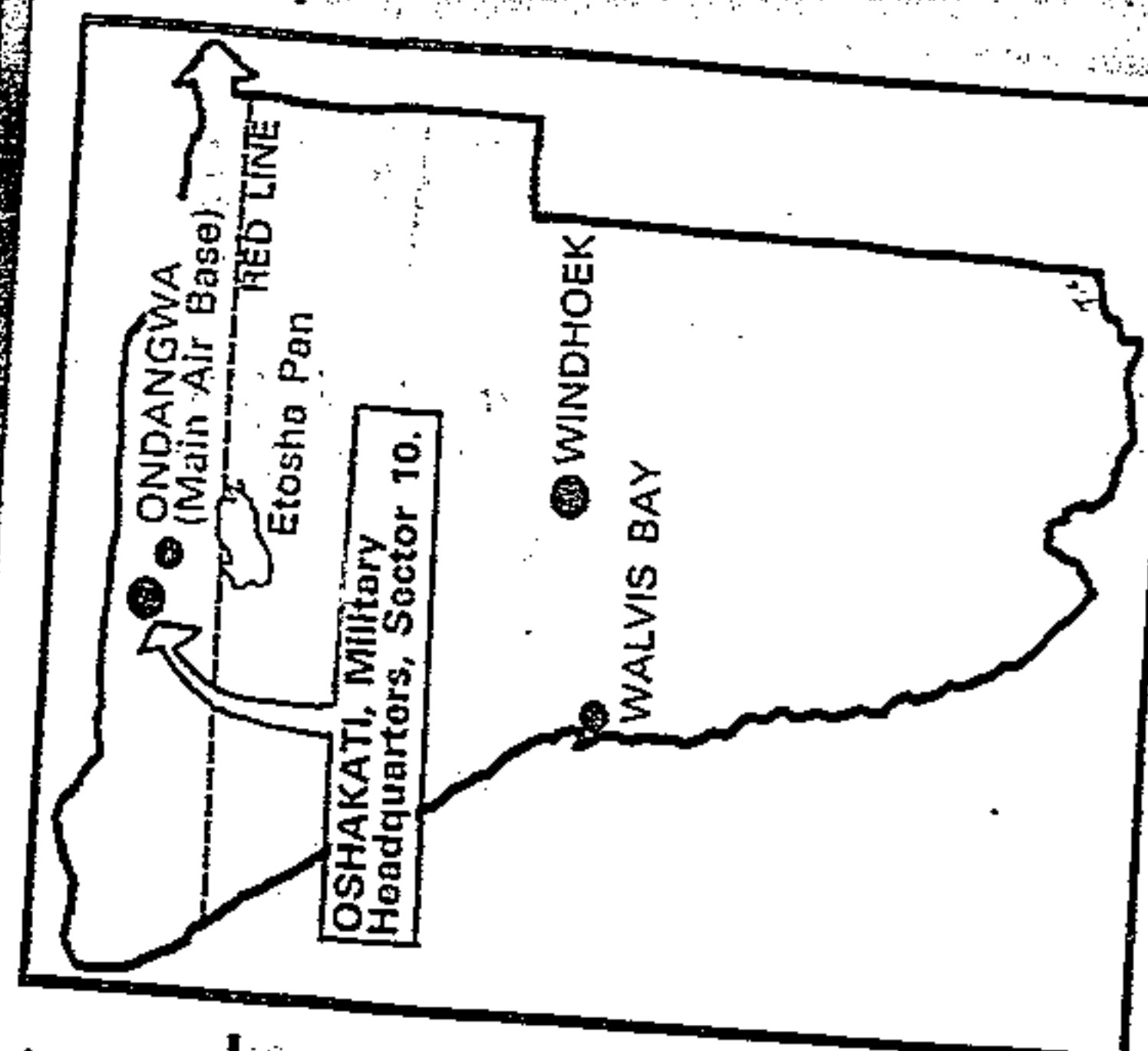
WAR BOMB

Women, child die in Namibia's worst terror blast

CAP TIPS 20/2/88

271

GARRISON TOWN ... The shopping centre and radio mast in Oshakati, where Namibia's worst terror blast occurred yesterday. The dusty and heavily guarded town is the military headquarters of South African forces in northern Namibia.



THE worst bombing attack in Namibia's 22-year-long border war yesterday destroyed the crowded First National Bank of Oshakati, leaving scores of dead and injured. Among the dead were 10 women and a child.

Late last night the death toll stood at 14, with at least 31 injured, some in critical condition. The names of the dead and injured had not been released as next of kin were still being contacted.

A number of the more seriously wounded were flown to Windhoek State Hospital, while the others were treated in Oshakati.

Confirming the toll, Commandant G Bestor of SWA Territory Force headquarters said last night the dead included one black child, nine black women, three black men and a white woman.

'Shock' at Oshakati bombing

Own Correspondent WINDHOEK. — The interim government of Namibia reacted with "shock" to yesterday's massive bomb blast in Oshakati.

The chairman of the Namibian cabinet, Mr Moses Katjuongua, said the cabinet was "deeply shocked by the senseless attack on civilian lives and the destruction of property at Oshakati today".

According to Mr Katjuongua, the security forces will continue to afford the best possible protection and "to eradicate terrorism wherever it occurs".

Members of the interim cabinet will fly to Ovambo today to visit the scene of the blast and express sympathy to the victims and families of the dead.

Mr Ben Uenga, Swapo's information secretary for youth in Windhoek, expressed "profound sympathy for the victims and next of kin" of those killed and injured in the blast.

He said he was "shocked" at the scale of the attack on civilians.

OSHAKATI: Sprawling hub of northern Namibia

— Page 3

Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand of the Namibian police in Windhoek blamed Swapo for the blast, referring to a statement by Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma earlier this year in which he threatened to bring the war to the doorstep of all Namibians. However, Swapo denied responsibility for the 1pm blast.

The bank, on the edge of Oshakati's black township, was destroyed in the blast and a subsequent fire hampered the rescue and clearing-up operations, a police spokesman said.

Debris was scattered over a wide area and identification of bodies was difficult as many of the dead were badly mutilated, residents said. Though it appeared that none of the dead were serving members of the military, it was feared that several may have been employees of the Ovambo administration who received their pay cheques yesterday. Many were in the bank at the time of the blast.

A police spokesman estimated that some 25kg of plastic explosives had been used in the blast. First National Bank chief executive Mr Chris Ball was at the scene last night, as was the bank's Namibian general manager, Mr Hannes Cloete.

Swapo's Luanda-based secretary for publicity and information, Mr Hideo Hamutenya, said the movement "had nothing to do with the blast", and blamed "South Africa's dirty propaganda campaign". Residents of the heavily guarded garrison town, however,

FROM PAGE 1

habitual at that branch, when the bank was full, for bank security to lock the doors while clients were being helped by the staff, and then to open them later to allow in a new batch of customers.

Oshakati has been the target of numerous stand-off mortar bombardments by Swapo guerillas. It was the second bomb attack on the bank in just more than a year. Two people — a child and the person who was planting a limpet mine

died in an explosion at the branch on February 6 last year. Namibia's worst previous bombing occurred in 1986 at a crowded Walvis Bay butchery. Five people were killed and 23 injured in that explosion. No group claimed responsibility for the blast.

The chairman of First National Bank, Mr Basil Hersov, and Mr Ball, also expressed their and the bank's deep concern at the deaths and injuries suffered in the explosion.

South Africa's military operations in Namibia, expressed consternation over the blast.

Sources in the town said there were security checks on the doors of the bank and they could not understand how someone carrying 25kg of explosives had managed to get into the building.

They added that it was

TO PAGE 4

14 killed, 31 hurt as blast rocks bank in Oshakati

CRAIG KOTZE and
BRENDAN SEERY

Police have vowed to catch the killers who planted the massive 25 kg bomb which yesterday killed 14 people and injured at least 31 in a packed National Bank in Oshakati, Namibia.

The death toll is the worst in the history of Namibia's 22-year-old bush war and is expected to rise.

It is suspected Swapo members planted the bomb. However, Swapo has denied responsibility and accused South Africa of a "dirty propaganda campaign to smear the name of Swapo".

"This is absolutely the worst blast ever in Namibia. We will catch those responsible. This act of cold-blooded murder cannot be justified by any group for political gain," said Namibia police liaison officer Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand.

It is not yet known if any of the dead or injured were soldiers.

The device was apparently primed to go off during the town's peak-hour. Friday is the traditional banking day in the area. Chief Inspector du Rand said it was not yet known what type of explosives were used in the bomb.

He said the death toll could still rise. Those killed included one white child, nine black women, one white woman and three black men. The dead included pedestrians and people near the bank window, he said.

None of the dead have yet been identified. Police said the bodies were badly mutilated.

Damage to the building was extensive.

The critically injured victims of the blast have been flown to Windhoek while the other wounded were admitted to the Ondangwa military base sick bay and the Oshakati State Hospital. Seven white women, four white men, 10 black women and 10 black men were injured.

The blast rocked the small town, site of the largest military base in Namibia, at about 1 pm and turned the bank building into a raging inferno. Many people were trapped in the building.

The same bank was hit by a limpet mine explosion in February last year, in

● To Page 2

'We'll get bombers'

● From Page 1

which two people were killed — including the suspected bomber — and five adults were injured. Yesterday chaos reigned at the scene and rescue workers could not approach the premises for more than three hours after the blast because of the intense heat.

Such was the force of the blast and the devastation caused that police initially thought the death toll would be higher than 30.

Chief Inspector du Rand said it was estimated that 25 kg of explosives had been used.

"The bank is always packed with mainly black people on Fridays, especially at lunch hour," he said.

Reacting to yesterday's blast, the cabinet of Namibia's Transitional Government of National Unity said it was "deeply shocked by the senseless attack on civilian lives and the destruction of property at Oshakati. We express our heartfelt condolences with the next of kin of the victims."

Cabinet chairman Mr Moses Katjuongua said "persons and organisations committing such brutal deeds are not entitled to enjoy the freedom of our society".

The cabinet flies to Owambo today to express its sympathies with the victims and next-of-kin of the dead.

The managing director of First National Bank (FNB), Mr Chris Ball, yesterday flew to Oshakati.

14 killed in D/D 20/2/88 (221) bank blast

WINDHOEK — Fourteen people were killed and 31 injured when a bomb exploded in a bank at Oshakati in Owambo yesterday.

Officials said the death toll was bound to rise. Twenty-eight of the injured were in a serious condition.

The dead included 10 women, three men and a child.

The blast was the worst in the 21-year-old history of the bush war with Swapo.

The bank building was destroyed and debris scattered over a wide area, residents said. Identification of bodies was difficult as many of the dead were badly mutilated.

The chief executive of First National Bank, Mr Chris Ball, flew to the scene of the blast yesterday, a bank statement said.

The chairman of the SWA/Namibian Cabinet,

Mr Moses Katjuongua, said the cabinet was "deeply shocked by the senseless attack on civilian lives and the destruction of property at Oshakati".

A Swapo spokesman denied in a statement issued in Luanda that the organisation was responsible for the explosion and accused South Africa of a "dirty propaganda campaign" to smear the name of Swapo.

Police said late yesterday afternoon a fire was hampering rescue operations at the bank.

An estimated 25 kg of explosive was used in the bomb.

Sources in Northern SWA/Namibia said the death and injury toll was high because the bank was crowded at the time.

The bank was the target of a limpet mine blast last year when a child was killed. —Sapa-RNS

Rov
dra

OSHAKATI BOMB: SAAF Strike at Swapo

Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN Air Force jets today attacked two Swapo bases in southern Angola in "revenge" for the bombing of the First National Bank at Oshakati yesterday.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, announced in a statement from Pretoria that SAAF aircraft successfully carried out attacks on Swapo bases at Lubango and Ongiva in southern Angola.

"The attacks were carried out in revenge following a Swapo bomb which killed 18 innocent civilians and injured 31 at a soft target in Oshakati yesterday afternoon," General Geldenhuis said.

Eight Mirage jets took part in an air attack on two targets near Lubango, about 300km north of the SWA/Namibian border, while five Impala aircraft simultaneously attacked Swapo targets at Ongiva, he said.

Training centre

"The targets (at Lubango) were Swapo's most important training centre in Angola: the Tobias Hainyeko Training Centre and a terrorist-holding area about 10km west of there," he said.

Swapo recently launched a number of attacks on civilians in SWA/Namibia from the base at Ongiva, General Geldenhuis said.

He said Swapo terrorists received training at the Lubango training centre in, among other things, the handling of explosives.

REVENGE

Parow man

with Arcas 20/2/88

trapped

22/

Under desk

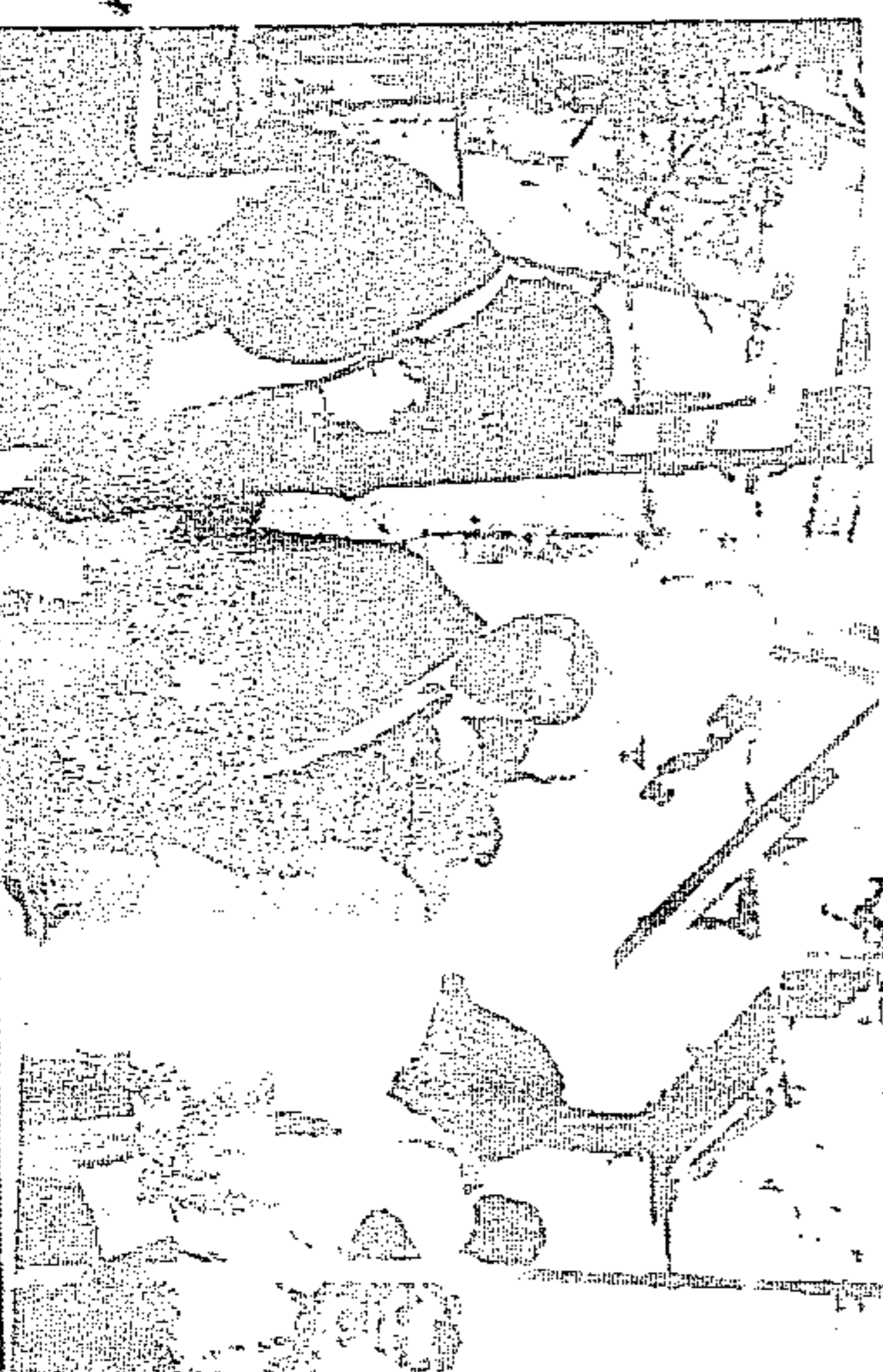
by BRENDAN SEBRY

Argus Africa News Service

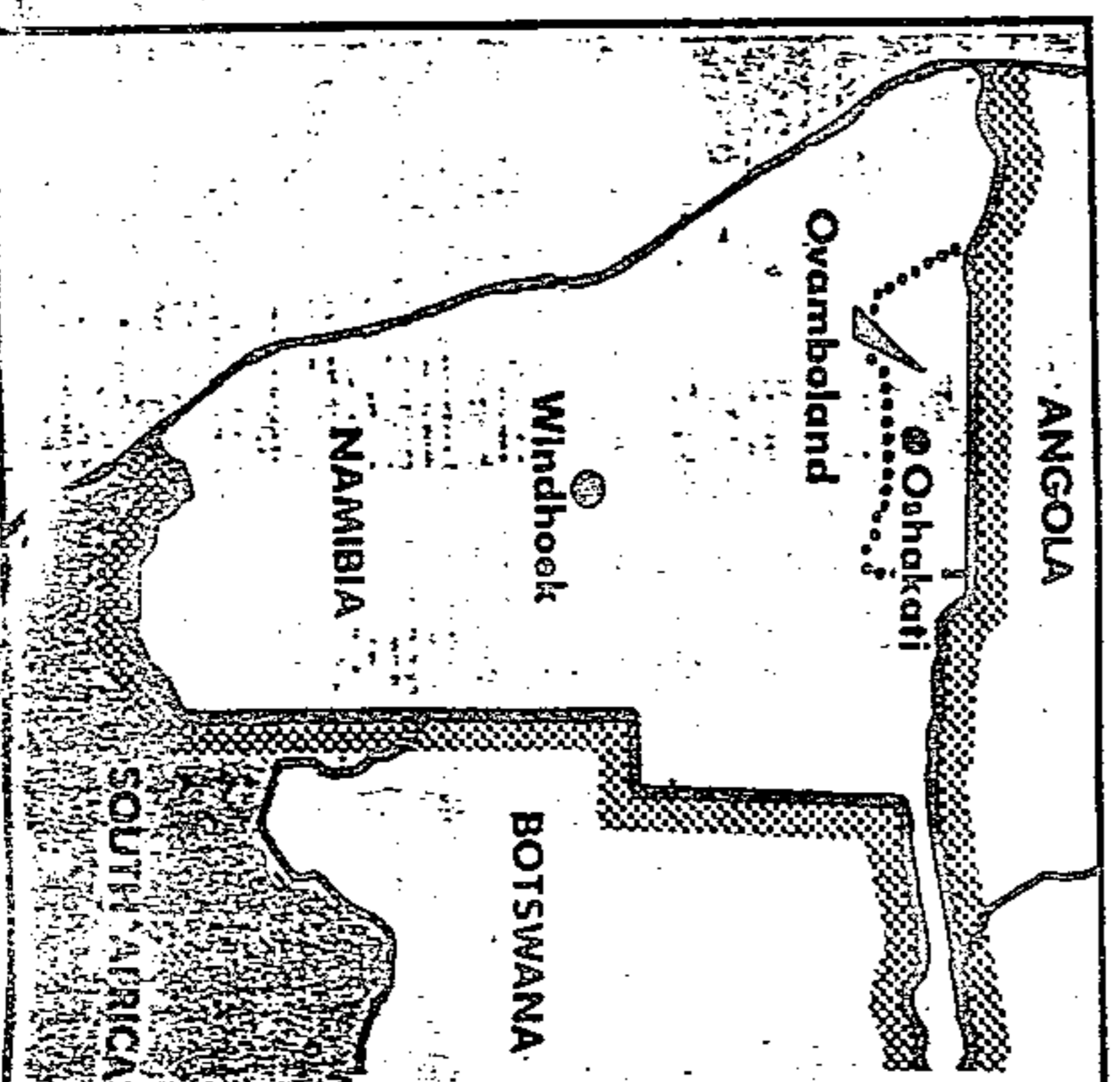
OSHAKATI — Mr Clive Warnes of Parow is one of the lucky ones. He will not forget his first visit to Oshakati. He was inside First National Bank when the bomb exploded.

Mr Warnes, a bank auditor, was in the office of branch manager Mr Dirk Lamprocht when the blast hurled him under the desk he had been using, trapping his legs.

He was pinned down and watched helplessly as burning roof insulation material smoldered close by.



18 killed, 31 hurt as 25kg bomb explodes in busy bank



It was barbarous,

"This training centre can be regarded as the breeding ground for terrorism against the inhabitants of Namibia," he said.

"By attacking these targets the security forces demonstrated their willingness never to allow Swapo terrorism to go unpunished."

"Terrorists will be tracked down and destroyed."

"The security forces will also not hesitate to act in the country's security interests against any terrorist organisations outside the country where they skulk under the security umbrellas of other armed forces, just as Swapo hides under Fajla's umbrella,"

der and arm were numbed, tried with one hand to put out the flames with a fire extinguisher.

Tears

As he lay in bed at Oshakati military hospital Mr Warnes said over and over how lucky he was to be alive — and vowed that he would never return to Oshakati.

Tears came to his eyes as he described how he saw his wife Elsie trapped under rubble and a desk near the back of the office.

He described how he tried in vain to free her.

He said that military personnel later took her away, and he had been told that she was in a serious condition.

He then began to weep openly and doctors gestured to reporters to leave the room.

Grim-faced

A grim-faced Mr Chris Ball, chief executive officer of First National Bank, said little as he walked through the charred remnants of his bank's bomb-devastated branch.

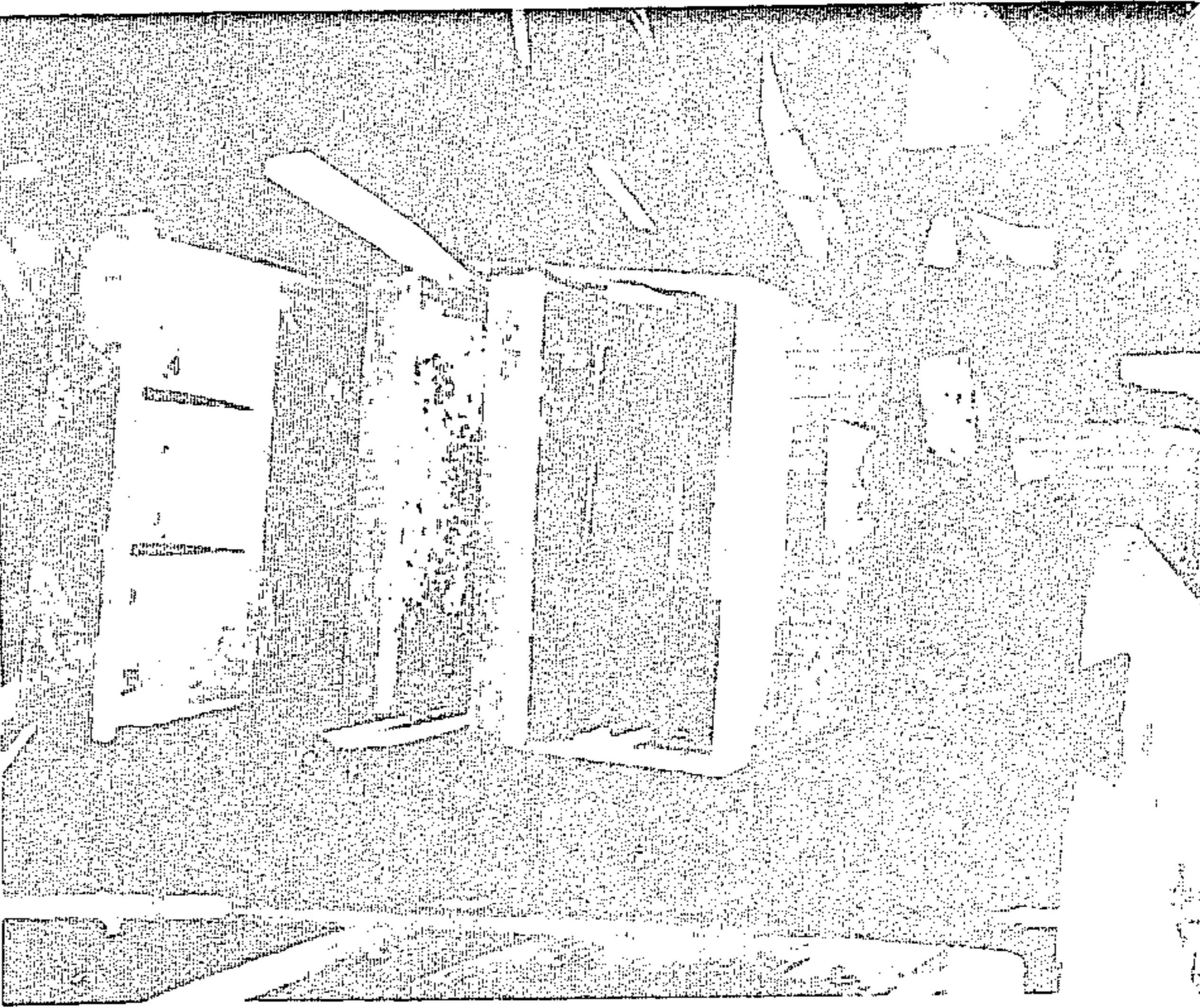
He would have noticed the drying blood on the doorstep and the tattered Standard 2 school textbooks lying near the blood.

A shoe here, a piece of torn, burnt or bloodstained clothing would have caught his eye, as would the blood smear of a desperately reaching hand near the First National Bank brass plaque.

Although Mr Ball had no comment to make as he inspected the damage with his senior officials, the head of the bank's operation in SWA/Namibia, Mr Hannes Cloete, was plainly horrified by a 0,5m deep gouge torn by the explosion in the bank's concrete floor.

Charred wooden beams and grotesquely twisted metal roof spars bore witness to the ferocity of the blast.

The bomb, estimated to have



Grim-faced, Mr Chris Ball, Chief Executive Officer of First National Bank (left), other bank officials and members of the SADF survey the damaged interior of the ill-fated Oshakati bank

contained between 15 and 25 kg of explosive, was placed next to the information counter just before the start of the lunch-hour, when the bank was packed with black civil servants doing their pay-day banking business.

Nurses

Five nursing staff from the nearby Oshakati State Hospital were killed, including the deputy matron, Mrs Ndamon Shan-gala.

The blast was followed by a

flash fire, made much worse by burning roof insulation material, which gave off toxic fumes and hampered rescue efforts. Firemen at the scene donned gas masks to pull out the wounded and dead.

Although the military reaction unit from Oshakati base were on the scene four minutes after the blast, stories abound of looters who took advantage of the initial chaos to make off with hundreds and possibly thousands of rands in cash from vaults and safes that had been blown open.

JOHANNESBURG. — The managing director of First National Bank, Mr Chris Ball, has called the attack on the bank's branch at Oshakati "barbarous", adding it "achieved nothing," a statement issued in Johannesburg said.

Mr Ball, accompanied by the bank's general manager, Mr Norman Axton, and the general manager for SWA/Namibia, Mr Hannes Cloete, yesterday visited the scene of the blast, which killed 14 and injured 31, and were able to speak to bank staff and some of the injured.

The attack was "a barbarous and senseless attack on the community of Oshakati, achieving nothing," Mr Ball said.

"We would like to express our grateful thanks to the security forces and the people of Oshakati and Ondangwa for the assistance so willingly given to the injured," he said.

Additional resources are being made available to the branch at Oshakati, which is expected to open on Tuesday. — Sapa.

A 'monstrous crime' and 'cowardly act', says shocked PFP

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE federal council of the Progressive Federal Party has expressed its "shock and horror" at the bomb outrage in Oshakati.

A statement by the PFP today said that the indiscriminate killing of innocent men, women and children was a cowardly act that would be condemned by all decent people.

"The PFP expresses its sympathy to the next-of-kin of those killed as well as to those maimed and injured. We hope the perpetrators of this monstrous crime will be brought to justice as soon as possible," the statement said.

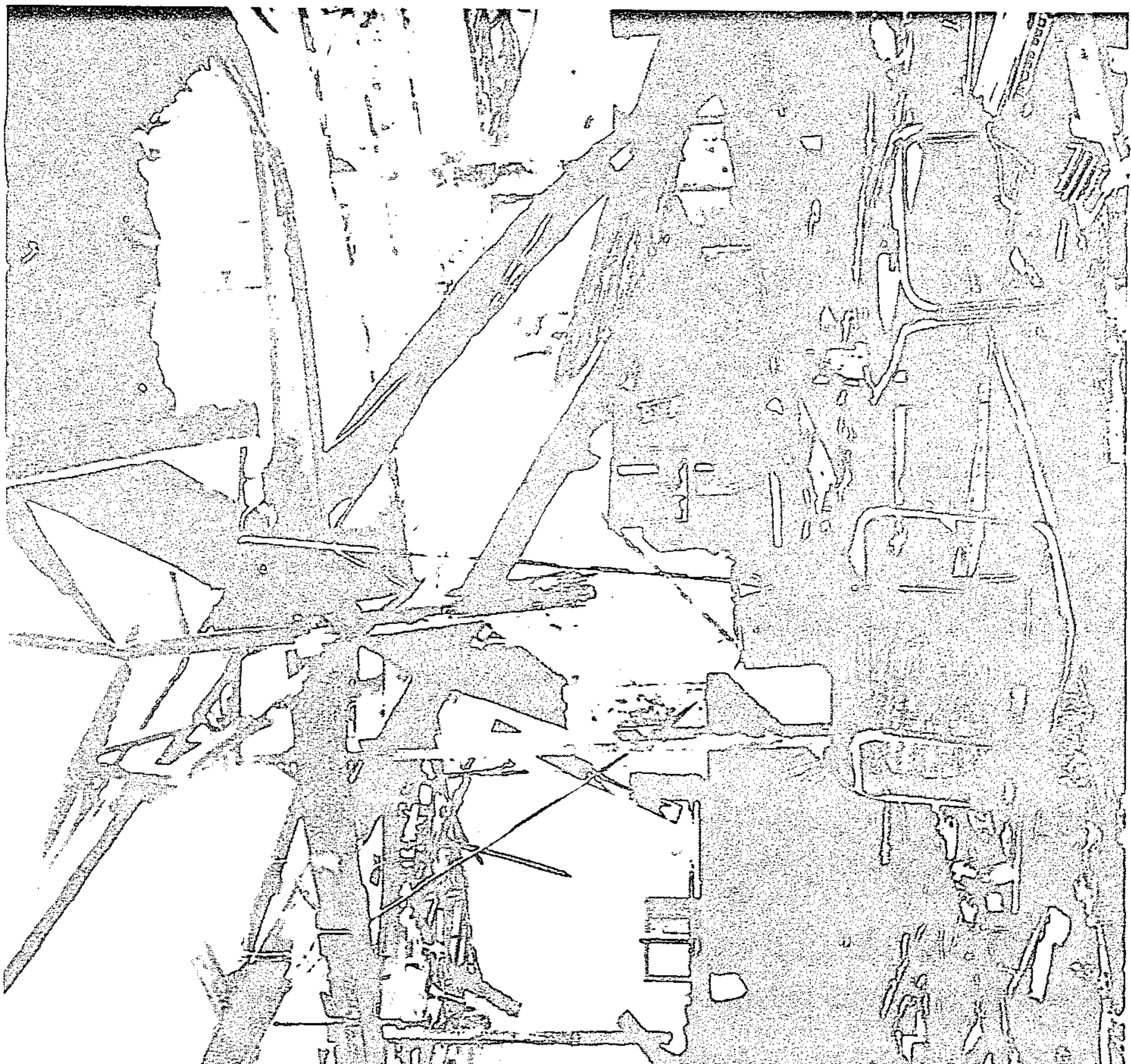
3 BLAST VICTIMS 'SATISFACTORY'

PRETORIA. — Three victims of yesterday's bomb explosion in the First National Bank at Oshakati are in HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, a hospital spokesman said today.

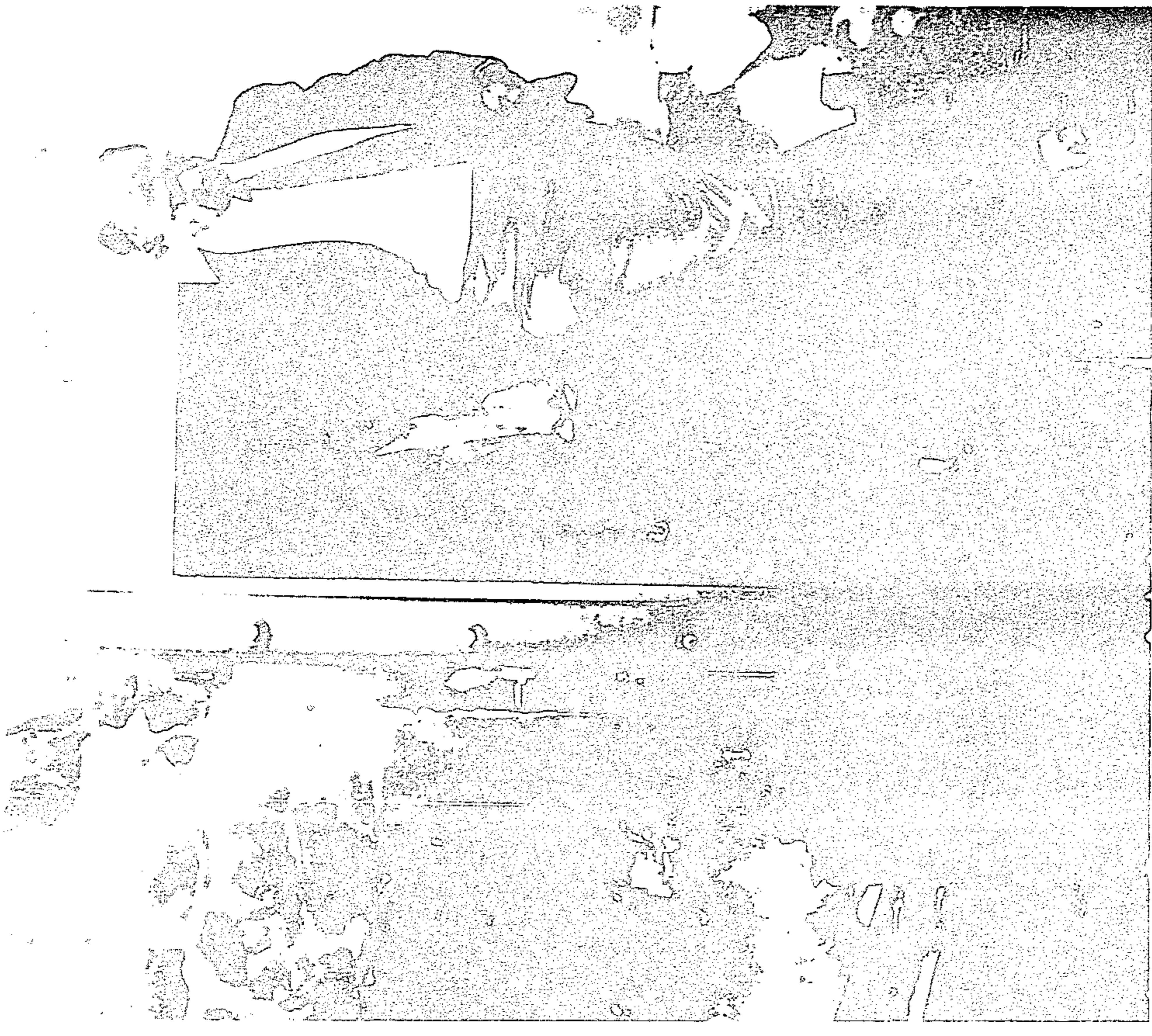
He said the three — a Mrs Carstens, aged about 40, a Mr Dempers, about 30, and a Mrs or Miss Lamprecht, age unknown — were all in "satisfactory" condition.

They were due to be operated on today. Mr Dempers has a badly-injured foot. — Sapa.

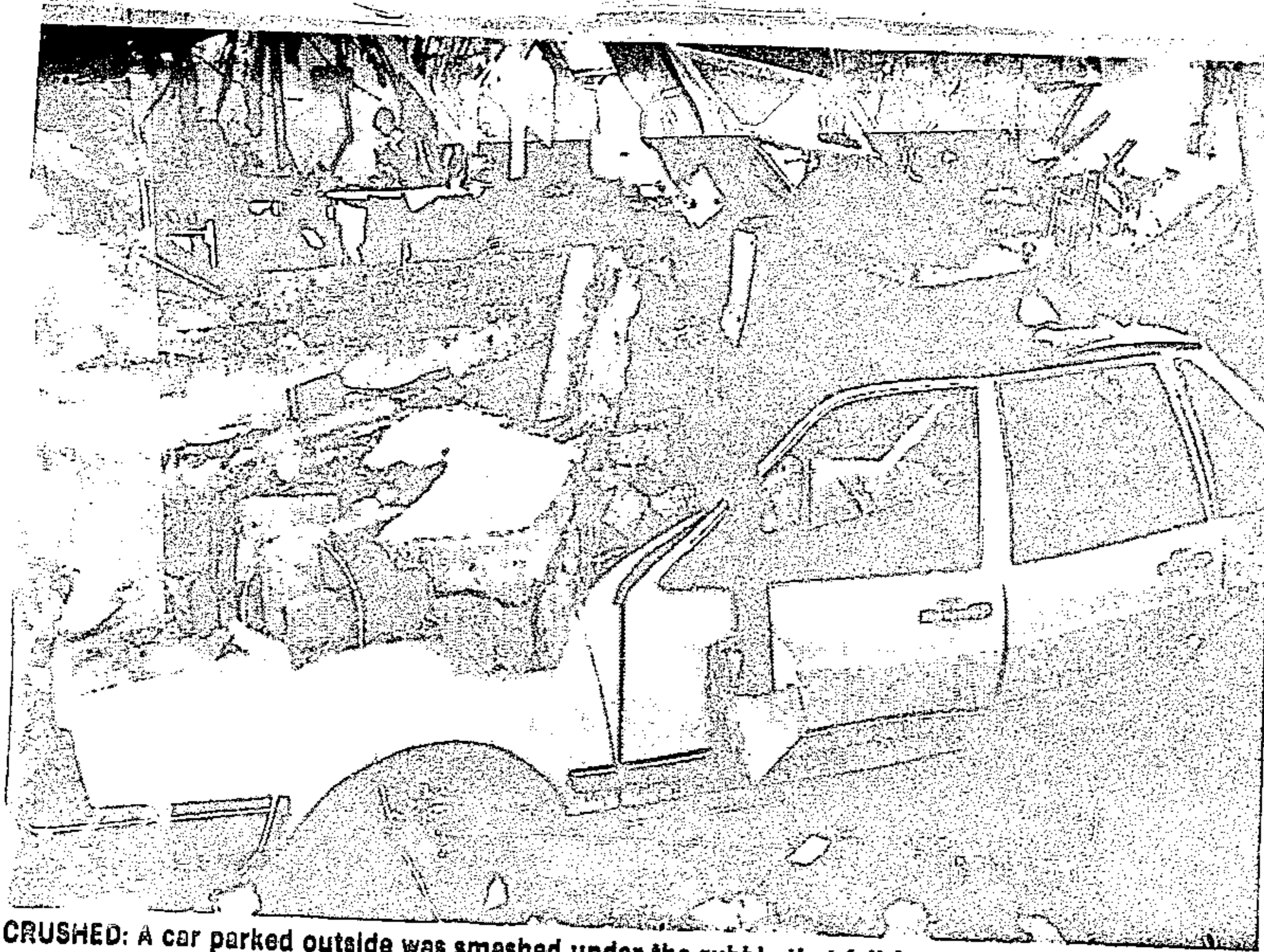
SWAMPY TUMBLERS FIRST NATIONAL PROTECTS POWER



totally wrecked the bank building, blasting off the roof and leaving the shambles inside



DO-UNCAST: First National's Chris Bert steps through the wreckage



CRUSHED: A car parked outside was smashed under the rubble that fell from the devastated building

THE horror of the Oshakati bank bomb was described yesterday by shocked witnesses.

They told how human limbs torn from the blast and lying among the ruins.

People were running from the blast with their clothes and rolling on the ground in frantic efforts to escape the flames.

A man without hair and whose body engulfed in flames, was seen crawling out of the building desperately trying to escape the carnage.

In the street the severed torso of a man lay smoldering. Nearby ... a hand, ripped off by the force of the blast.

"Bodies have been pulled apart," said police man Kierie Durheim.

The bomb exploded through the entrance of the First National bank in the northern Namibian town at lunchtime on Friday.

Sunday Times Febr 21 1988

A man on fire, with no legs, crawled out of the inferno

Reporters flown to Oshakati saw limbs lying amid wreckage scattered across metres around the bank, which was virtually obliterated.

Witnesses also said police fired tear gas to disperse crowds in scenes of panic that followed the explosion.

A military spokesman, revising earlier police casualty figures, said the dead were nine black women, three black men, one white woman and a black child.

Oshakati, about 40km south of the border with Angola, is the largest military base in the area.

Barbarous

The same bank branch was the target of a bomb attack about a year ago which killed a teenager and injured four people.

Bank manager Dirk Lamprecht, who witnessed last year's attack and suffered cuts in Friday's blast, said: "I have always come off the lightest."

First National's managing director Chris Ball led a bank entourage to the scene of the blast.

"This was a barbarous and senseless attack on the community of Oshakati and it achieving nothing," he said.



ON GUARD: Armed soldiers stand watch at the entrance to the bank

**SA jets blast Swapo's
camps deep in Angola**

**Malan terror warning
as bank bomb kills 18**



2/12/88
SJT

REVENGE!

by DE WET, POTGIETER
and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

SAAF fighter jets on a revenge mission yesterday blasted Swapo bases deep in Angola.

And neighbouring states have been warned: More strikes may follow.

Two waves of Mirages and Impas struck at targets near Lubango and Ongiva only hours after the Oshakati bank bomb carnage.

The attack — one of the bloodiest revenge air raids in the bitter bush war — followed hard on Defence Minister Magnus Malan's grim-faced warning in a snap visit to the Zimbabwean border that "enough is enough".

At the same time he hinted at hot pursuit raids against insurgents operating out of neighbouring countries.

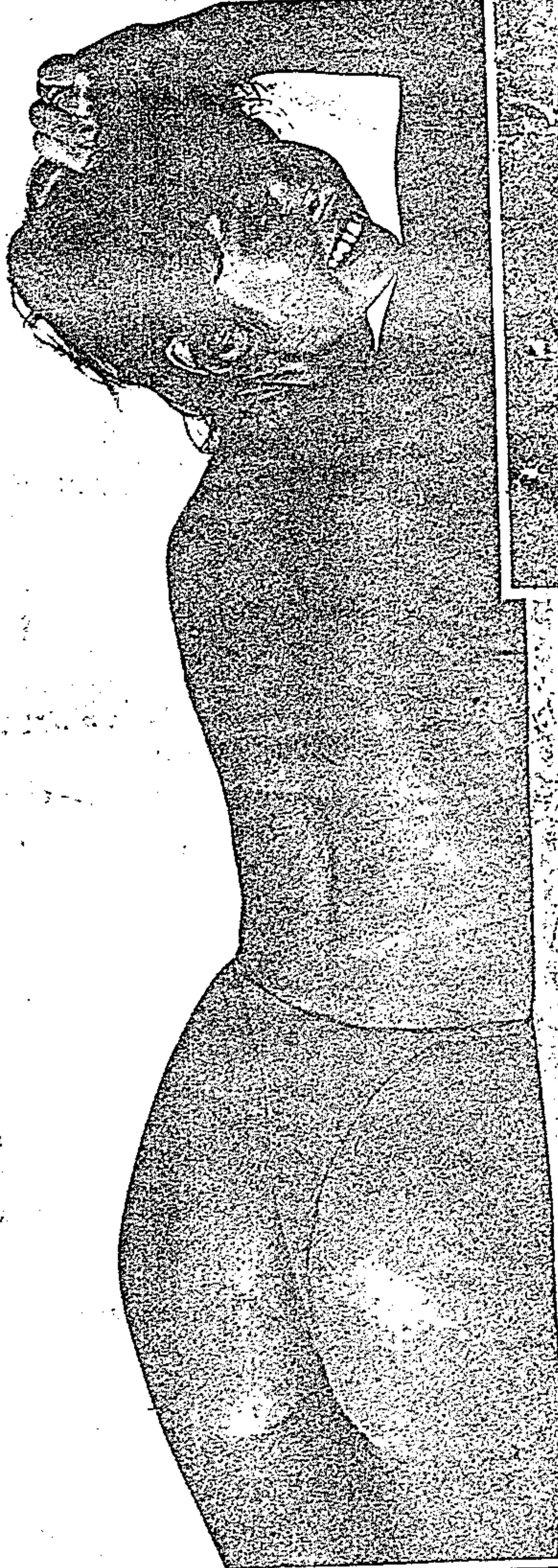
General Malan said yesterday that the Government was determined to cut out the cancer of terrorism at its roots — in training camps and bases.

"We hold nothing against the people of the neighbouring countries but they, too, should be alert to the danger to which they expose themselves should they assist terrorists in any way."

The Angolan raids top a week of plunging regional relations which has seen:

- Foreign Minister Pik Botha engaged in a war of words with Harare over a rocket attack on an isolated farmhouse in South Africa by guerrillas allegedly operating out of Zimbabwe.
- Mozambique slammed by Pretoria over its insistence that it will take part in a regional peace conference only when South Africa changes its domestic policies.

Sharon's bottom is too much for SAA



Sharon van Zanton, whose body offended SAA and, right, how it appears in the ad. Pict:ro: HORACE POTTER

THE first salvos in the Government's war on "permissiveness" were fired last week. SAA dumped a national advertisement for its Rio flight which showed the pert posterior of a beautiful model — because it was "too sugges-

the cancer of terrorism at its roots — in training camps and bases.

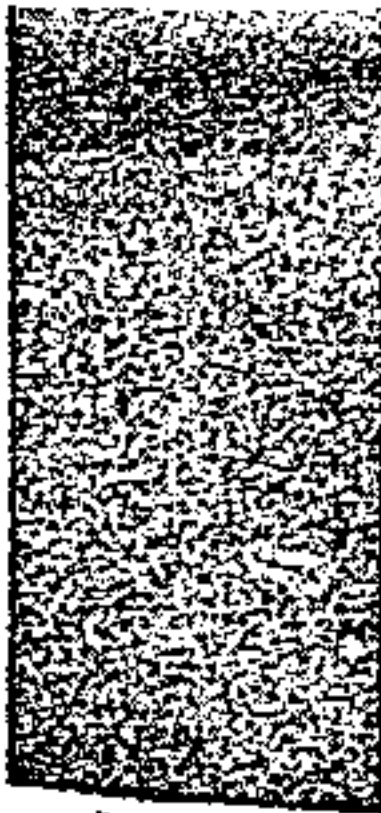
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● Mozambique slammed by Pretoria over its insistence that it will take part in a regional peace conference only when South Africa changes its domestic policies.

● Angolan charges that South African forces are again locked in combat over the strategic town of Cuito Cuinavale in south-central Angola and confirmation by the SADF that another five soldiers have died in fighting.



Sharon van Zyl

Drugs Palazz backee

By BILL

HIGH-FLYING Mafia drug zola had extensive connections with National Party figures in East London.

Before the May general election, he was at the receptions after political rallies which were attended by at least 100 people.

He also threw an election night victory party for National Party workers.

The double life of the convicted heroin dealer who skipped Switzerland and was ushered into the Ciskei, courtesy of National Party MP Peet de Pontes and East London Mayor Robert de Lange, emerged this week.

Mr De Pontes and Mr De Lange have admitted meeting the Italian vice chief in a Swiss prison and then arranging for him to take up permanent residency in the Ciskei.

Both men insist, however, that they did not know he was in jail for drug trafficking.

The revelations have shocked the public of controversy-plagued East London, where claims of a secret National Party caucus in local politics and finance have long been in circulation.

Implicated

Palazzolo was arrested by the SA Police and deported to complete his sentence in Switzerland.

But now: ● The Ciskei Government has cut all business ties with members of East London's National Party circle implicated in dealings with the drug pusher.

● Mr De Pontes has had a meeting with President Botha to explain himself.

● The promising career of the young MP is now on the line — some elements of the Cape NP are pressing for disciplinary action against the man who now bitterly claims he was used by Palazzola.

In East London, the involvement with Palazzola of the powerful National Party supporting the De Lange dynasty has brought calls on the mayor to resign.

"Why should I? I would if I had committed a crime," was his rejoinder in an interview this week.

Mr De Lange last saw his associate and friend, Palazzola, at Cape Town's airport two weeks ago.

Palazzola was then in custody pending deportation to Switzerland to finish his sen-

Bombed

Defence Chief Jannie Geldenhuys yesterday announced that eight Mirage strike aircraft successfully bombed terrorist bases in and around Lubango, a key stronghold of the MPLA on the Benguela railway line.

A second wave of attacks was launched with five Impala fighters against Ongiva, just north of the Namibian border. It was from here that Swapo initiated a number of attacks on the civilian population in Namibia. Gen Geldenhuys claimed.

All South African fighters returned safely.

OSHAKATI HORROR

Picture special: P11

Lubango is more than 300km north of the Namibian border and houses, according to the Defence Force, some of the most important Swapo training bases in Angola.

The prime targets were the Tobias Hainyeko Training Centre and a Swapo holding area about 10km west of the town. Here Swapo terrorists receive training in, among other things, the handling of explosives, Gen Geldenhuys said.

The attacks were reprisals for the biggest bomb blast in Namibian history which rocked the small border town of Oshakati at lunch on Friday.

The bomb, which ripped through a crowded First National Bank building, left 18 people dead and 31 severely injured.

Rushed

Three victims rushed to HF Verwoerd hospital in Pretoria — Mrs W Carstens, 41, Mr Lionel Dempers, 30, and Mrs E Lamprecht, 49 — are "satisfactory".

Mr Dempers's left leg was amputated below the knee. Mrs Carstens is being treated for burns and shrapnel wounds, and Mrs Lamprecht has a laceration of the skull.

Two victims admitted to Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte — Mrs C Teutge and Mrs J Human — are "serious".

Gen Geldenhuys warned that "the security forces will not hesitate to act in the country's security interests

□ To Page 2

SAATF jets blast Angola

□ From Page 1
Haramutenga said the organisation denied responsibility for the attack, describing the blast as part of a South African smear campaign. An equally tense atmosphere prevailed on South Africa's heavily militarised border with Zimbabwe after Durand, liaison officer for the SWA-Namibian police, said the attack was "typical of Swapo's stated policy to take the war into each and every Namibian home".
"We are following up positive leads on the blast and expect to make an early breakthrough," Swapo spokesman Hidipo have already informed cer-

tain Western governments that we are tired of being labelled the destabilisers of southern Africa. "We will act in our own interest, regardless of the possibility that the whole world might rise up against us. Boycotts and sanctions might hurt us, but to succumb to violence means that everything will eventually be ruled by violence."
"This must stop now."
His warning echoed similar utterances against Mozambique.
The hectic week brings regional relations to their lowest ebb since pre-Nkomati days.
There are strong expectations that South African forces will enter Zimbabwe if there are further cross-border violations by guerrillas operating out of that country.

D/D 22/2/88 (221)

Strike on Swapo bases was in revenge — SADF

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Defence Force declined to give further details yesterday about the two "revenge" air strikes on Swapo bases in southern Angola this weekend.

The attacks occurred only hours after the bomb blast at the First National Bank in Oshakati on Friday, which killed 18 people and injured 31.

The Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said the attacks by 8 SAAF Mirage fighters and 5 Impalas on Swapo bases at Lubango and Ongiva were as revenge for the bomb blast.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said neighbouring governments had been repeat-

edly warned and requested not to harbour terrorists.

● Six of the 31 injured in Friday's blast are being treated at Windhoek Hospital.

One of these, Miss Anna Dumeni, is the daughter of the Bishop of Ovamboland, Bishop Cleophas Dumeni.

A hospital spokesman said she was being treated for 60 per cent flash burns and fractures of both legs.

The five other people being treated at Windhoek Hospital are Miss Olivia Kanime, Miss Naomi Mukalele, Miss Frieda Shikongo, Mr Gabriel-Haipumba and Mr Abraham Neilda.

According to the spokesman all of them

are being treated for burns.

He said some also had fractures of the lower legs.

A spokesman for the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria said the three victims who were being treated there were all in a satisfactory condition.

Mr Lionel Dempers, 30, had to have his badly injured left lower leg and foot amputated on Saturday.

A woman, Mrs W. Carstens, 41, was being treated for burns to her face and arms and shrapnel wounds.

A second woman, Mrs E. Lampbrecht, 49, has burn wounds on her face and arms and extensive laceration of the skull.

SA might still have to play 'Soviet card' over Angola

Cape Times 22/2/88 221

FROM time to time, one of President Botha's ministers announces that South Africa has quit the West and become an African country. Usually, the announcement is made by Mr Pik Botha, who has the flamboyance necessary for the occasion.

It is nonsense, of course. South Africa has no intention of quitting the West, whatever quitting the West might mean. For better or for worse, the two are locked into each other.

But in a more limited sense, the announcement is not completely illogical. What Mr Botha really means when he says South Africa is part of Africa is, first, that South Africa will resolve its own problems without "outside interference", and, second, that it will resolve the regional situation in Southern Africa without foreign mediators, peace brokers or conciliators. It will find an "African solution" which will give it better terms than an externally devised one.

This latter aim is possibly realizable. But it needs to be put into perspective. There has been some wild speculation lately over what Pretoria might or might not achieve, one example being that it will "play the Soviet card".

I referred to the "Soviet card" in a recent column. Briefly, what it means is that Pretoria, somehow, will sit down with Moscow and come to an agreement over one or other aspect of the Southern African conflict. The West will then be left watching from the sidelines.

Is this realistic? The first point to note is that the Soviet Union has a reputation to uphold, particularly in the Third World, as an enemy of apartheid. It can talk to De Beers behind closed doors about marketing its diamonds, but it cannot sit down with Pik Botha and cosily carve out a southern African peace settlement.

FOR one thing, it has its support for the ANC and Swapo to consider. It won't just abandon them.

The other point to note is that the Soviet Union does not want to do anything in Southern Africa that will bring it into sharp conflict with the West, and particularly with the United States. In fact, the diplomatic approaches it has made in the past year or two for a southern African settlement have been addressed not to Pretoria, but to Washington. The wider consideration of détente with the US is all-important.

A third point is that the Soviet Union has already lost ground in the region. It is on the way out in Mozambique, and it carries little influence in these days of economic distress in the other frontline states.

Except for Angola. It is in Angola that the Soviet Union will make its stand if it is not to



By STANLEY
UYS



Dr Jonas Savimbi ... would South Africa ditch him?

suffer eventually a humiliating withdrawal from the whole Southern African region.

Similarly, the Cubans will resist withdrawal of their troops from Angola, if withdrawal is presented as a retreat or defeat. Cuba, too, has a reputation to uphold.

The lesson then seems to be that if there is to be a peace settlement in Southern Africa it will have to start in Angola. This is where the "Soviet card" might be played, although not in the form in which it is usually discussed.

The Soviet Union, clearly, is in the mood for a southern African settlement. It has had enough of supporting bankrupt clients, who turn out to be unreliable socialists anyway; it knows that even if it provides massive military support for Angola it cannot ensure an MPLA victory over the combined Unita-SADF forces; it certainly does not want to tangle with the SADF on a major scale; and there is no evidence whatever that it is prepared to have a direct confrontation with the West over South Africa:

In many ways, therefore, the scene is set for a settlement in Angola — except that the key piece is missing. If South Africa can provide this key piece, the settlement will occur. Even if there are hardline elements in the MPLA government who oppose a settlement, there are other, apparently more powerful, elements who seek one, and all the indications are that the Soviet Union will throw its weight behind them. This is one way for Pretoria to "play the Soviet card" — through Angola, not directly with the Soviet Union itself.

The settlement which Pretoria offers Angola will have to be acceptable not only to President dos Santos and his supporters in the MPLA, but also to Moscow. Without Moscow's concurrence, probably, there will be no settlement.

THE advantage such a settlement would have is that the West, including the US, probably would not be antagonistic towards it. The Americans might be miffed that they have been cut out of the final negotiations, but if the settlement resulted in a

Cuban withdrawal, they would still claim it as a major foreign policy success.

This shows the "Soviet card" in a new light: if it is played with the West's approval, not disapproval. Pretoria then will end up with the best of both worlds.

It should be noted here that the settlement terms have changed in one very important respect. Pretoria has delinked Namibia from a settlement. There is no guarantee now that if the Cubans withdraw from Angola, Pretoria will automatically accept Security Council Resolution 435 and prepare for UN-supervised elections and the installation of a Swapo government. Pretoria has made it absolutely clear that it will not countenance a Swapo government in Windhoek.

The key to a settlement in Angola is Pretoria's insistence that Unita must be absorbed into a "government of national reconciliation" in Luanda. As Dr Andre du Pisani (SA Institute of International Affairs) sees it, this is Pretoria's non-negotiable condition.

Luanda, one understands, has made direct approaches to Pretoria for talks, and Pretoria, one understands further, has indicated its willingness to talk. But meanwhile the battle continues over Cuito Cuanavale. Perhaps Pretoria's objective is not only a military one of preventing a further Angolan army offensive next year, but also a diplomatic one of "softening up" Luanda for the tough conditions it will impose in the peace talks.

There are indications from Luanda that the MPLA might swallow a deal with Unita, but not with Savimbi himself. If this is the case, a peace settlement depends on one of two developments: either Pretoria ditches Savimbi, or it continues to "soften up" Luanda until it is ready to accept Savimbi in a "government of national reconciliation". Another of Pretoria's conditions, probably, will be the removal of Swapo and ANC bases from Angola. The Soviet Union might find it difficult to swallow this condition, because it would virtually put the ANC's armed struggle out of business.

These are still early days, therefore, for Pretoria to play the "Soviet card". But in the limited context in which I have described it, it must be seen as one of the cards on the table. When it is played will depend on how hard a bargain Pretoria intends to drive.

From the Bible

Do not be wise in your own eyes; fear the Lord and shun evil. This will bring health to your body and nourishment to your bones.

(Prov 3:7, 8)

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Oshakati bomb blast: Death toll rises to 20

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Two more victims of Friday's Oshakati bomb blast have died in the Oshakati State Hospital, bringing the death toll to 20.

Some of the 44 injured are being treated in Windhoek. Four are in a satisfactory condition, one is in a serious condition in the intensive care unit and another is in a critical condition in the unit.

Two of the five injured people airlifted to South Africa after the blast are in a critical but stable condition in Pretoria. The other three are in a satisfactory condition after surgery.

Denied responsibility

Police have released two people who were arrested within hours of the explosion. A police spokesman said the two were freed after questioning.

Meanwhile, many blacks in Oshakati do not believe the South West African People's Organisation was responsible for planting the 25kg bomb.

Swapo denied responsibility soon after the explosion but the South African Defence Force said the organisation was guilty.

The Defence Force ordered air strikes on Swapo bases in southern Angola on Saturday morning in revenge for the Oshakati bombing. The Angolan Government said that a number of civilians had been killed.

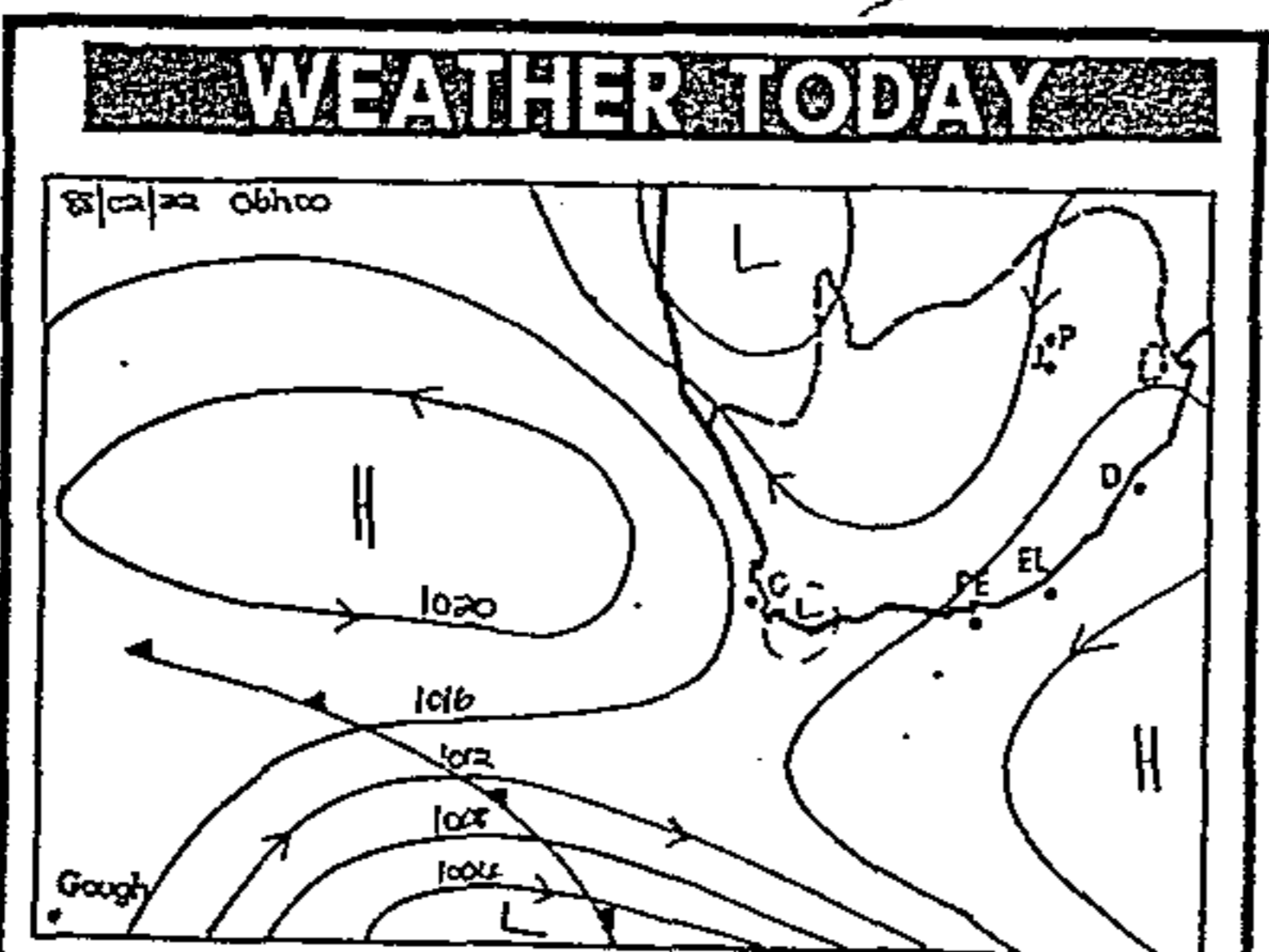
Antagonistic

Cabinet Ministers who flew to Oshakati over the weekend were refused permission to see the victims being treated at the hospital there.

The hospital is controlled by Mr Peter Kalandula's Owambo Administration, which has long adopted an antagonistic stance towards the Transitional Government in Windhoek.

Newsmen, accompanied by a Defence Force officer, were also refused permission to visit the injured in Oshakati.

One minister, veteran politician Mr Dirk Mudge, described the Oshakati bombing as a senseless act committed by extremists. He has called for reconciliation, love and peace in the wake of the killings.



A coastal low will cause fog patches in the evening, otherwise fine and mild.

Fine and mild

WEATHER forecast for the Peninsula, Bolland and Overberg for the period ending 6pm tomorrow:

- ☐ Sunny and warm, becoming cooler along the coast this evening with low cloud or fog patches. It will be fine and mild tomorrow but partly cloudy in the Overberg.
- ☐ Wind, moderate southerly but fresh to strong south-easterly tomorrow.
- ☐ The minimum temperature at D F Malan Airport will be 18 deg C, and the maximum temperature 24 deg C.

THE MOON

First quarter..... Feb 24
Full moon..... Mar 3
Last quarter..... Mar 11
New moon..... Mar 18

THE SUN

Sets today..... 1932
Rises tomorrow..... 0628

THE TIDES

High water:
Today: 0629; 1847
Tomorrow: 0710; 1933
Low water:
Today: 0007; 1249
Tomorrow: 0046; 1333

WATER TEMPERATURES

Sea Point:
Sea..... 12

Pool..... 22

Muizenberg:

Sea..... 17,5

Pool..... 21,5

Newlands..... 24

D F Malan climatological data for yesterday (The figure in brackets shows the average for the month)

Maximum temperature... 26,7 (26,3)

Minimum temperature... 11,8 (15,3)

Mean temperature 19,3 (20,3)

Maximum humidity 96 (94) %

Minimum humidity 43 (48) %

Mean humidity..... 70 (71) %

Mean atmospheric pressure..... 1015,3mb (1013,2

Rainfall 8am -

8am..... 0,0mm

Proposed rainfall for the

City motorist

BOMB BLAST - BISHOP'S DAUGHTER CRITICAL

WINDHOEK — The daughter of Evangelical Lutheran Church Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, Miss Anna Dumeni, is in a critical condition in the intensive care unit of the Windhoek State Hospital, after being badly injured in Friday's Oshakati bomb blast.

Bishop Dumeni last year lost his brother, who was killed in a security force ambush in the operational area—allegedly in southern Angola, according to relatives and friends. Five of the Oshakati victims are

SOWETAN AFRICAN FOREIGN SERVICE

currently being treated in Windhoek, according to State Hospital superintendent Dr Andreas Obholzer. Four are in a satisfactory condition, while the fifth Mr Abraham Miedler, is also in a serious condition in the intensive care unit.

A group of cabinet ministers which flew up to Oshakati over the weekend was refused permission to see the victims being treated at the black State

Hospital at Oshakati. The hospital is controlled by Mr Peter Kalangula's 'Owambo administration, which has long adopted an antagonistic stance towards the transitional government in Windhoek. A group of newsmen, accompanied by an SADF officer, was on Friday evening likewise refused permission to visit the Oshakati State Hospital wards.

Feelings are said to be running high in the black community in the town, many of whom do not believe Swapo was responsible for planting the 25kg bomb which killed 18 people.

Swapo denied guilt soon after the explosion, but the SADF insisted the organisation was responsible, and put in two air strikes on Swapo bases in southern Angola on Saturday morning in revenge for the Oshakati killings. The Angola government said after the raids that a number of civilians had been killed by the SADF bombers.

Meanwhile, police have said they have released two people who were picked up as suspects on Friday within hours of the explosion. A police spokesman in Windhoek said the two people were freed after questioning.

self-governing territory and (b) independent Black state as at 31 December 1987 or the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

On 31 December 1987 the cost of land purchased for consolidation purposes was R1 269 710 501.

The costs relating to the purchase of land are not recorded separately in respect of each state. The figures requested are thus not readily available.

Self-governing territories: size in hectares

178. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

What was the size in hectares of each of the self-governing territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

| | |
|------------|--------------------|
| KwaNdebele | 290 632 hectares |
| Gazankulu | 764 656 hectares |
| Owaqwa | 72 690 hectares |
| KaNgwane | 438 221 hectares |
| Lebowa | 2 212 897 hectares |
| KwaZulu | 3 189 796 hectares |

(As at 31 December 1987.)

Voluntary service

182. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

What percentage of the persons who rendered voluntary service in the (a) Citizen Force and (b) Commandos as at 31 December 1987 was (i) White, (ii) Coloured, (iii) Asian and (iv) Black?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

| | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| (i) White | (a) 98,8% | (b) 84,6% |
| (ii) Coloured | 1,2% | 9,2% |
| (iii) Asian | 0% | 2,1% |
| (iv) Black | 0% | 4,1% |

Detention centres: persons in detention

184. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

(a) How many persons were in detention in each detention centre of the South African Defence Force as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) for what offences was each of them in detention as at that date?

can Defence Force as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) for what offences was each of them in detention as at that date?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) As on 10 February 1988

| | |
|--|-----|
| Witwatersrand Command Detention Barracks | 121 |
| Western Province Command Detention Barracks | 10 |
| Orange Free State Command Detention Barracks | 16 |
| Military Area Walvis Bay Detention Barracks | 75 |
| King's Rest Detention Barracks | 1 |

(i) Contravention of Section 11 MDC (Interference with guards, sentries, etc.) — 1 person.

(ii) Contravention of Section 12 MDC (Dereliction of duty by sentry, watch-keeper, etc.) — 1 person.

(iii) Contravention of Section 13 MDC (Desertion) — 2 persons.

(iv) Contravention of Section 14 MDC (Absence without leave and non-attendance where required to attend) — 177 persons.

(v) Contravention of Section 15 MDC (Assaulting superior officer) — 1 person.

(vi) Contravention of section 19 MDC (Disobeying lawful commands or orders) — 8 persons.

(vii) Contravention of Section 20 MDC (Theft of public property or property belonging to a comrade, mess, etc.) — 12 persons.

(viii) Contravention of Section 24 MDC (Negligently losing kit, equipment, arms, etc.) — 1 person.

(ix) Contravention of Section 27 MDC (Using or taking articles issued to or under control of another person) — 3 persons.

(x) Contravention of Section 33 MDC (Drunkenness) — 5 persons.

(xi) Contravention of Section 39 MDC (Resisting arrest) — 8 persons.

(xii) Contravention of Section 43 MDC (False representations concerning rank) — 1 person.

(xiii) Contravention of Section 22 of Defence Act No 44 of 1957 (Service in the Citizen Force) — 1 person.

(xiv) Common law offence of theft — 2 persons.

Military hospitals: average bed-occupancy rate

185. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) What was the average bed-occupancy rate in military hospitals in 1987?

(2) whether any notifiable diseases were diagnosed at military hospitals in that year; if so, how many cases in respect of each specified disease?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) 72,4%

(2) Yes

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Meningitis | 9 |
| Typhoid | 1 |
| Tuberculosis | 51 |
| Malaria | 198 |
| Hepatitis | 127 |
| Measles | 171 |

Members killed/wounded

187. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

How many members of the South African Defence Force were (a) killed and (b) wounded in 1987?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) 72

(b) The hon member is referred to the reply to part (b) of the written Question No 167 of 1984.

RSA/Namibia: national servicemen teaching in civilian schools

230. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether any national servicemen are teaching in civilian schools in (a) South Africa and (b) Namibia at present; if so, how many in each

case as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) and (b) Yes.

As on 15 February 1988, 16 and 10 respectively.

Detention barracks in RSA/SWA/Namibia

234. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) (a) How many detention barracks have been established in (i) the Republic and (ii) South West Africa/Namibia and (b) what is the total number of offenders that can be accommodated at such barracks;

(2) whether any new detention barracks were established in terms of section 120 of the First Schedule to the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957, in 1987; if so, (a) where are these barracks situated, (b) how many persons/offenders can these barracks accommodate and (c) for what reasons were these barracks established;

(3) what was the average number of offenders detained in detention barracks in 1987?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) (i) 5

(ii) None

(b) 458

(2) None

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

(3) The hon member is referred to the reply in this House to the written Question No 311 of 1987.

Troops deployed in Black townships

236. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) (a) In which Black townships were troops of the South African Defence Force deployed in 1987, (b) what functions did these troops perform in these townships and (c) what total number of persons attached to the Defence Force were deployed in these townships in 1987;

(2) whether any of these troops were national servicemen; if so, how many?

Bomb not ours—Swapo

WINDHOEK. - Swapo has denied responsibility for the massive bomb blast which last Friday devastated the first National Bank at Oshakati in Northern Namibia, killing at least 19 civilians.

The bomb attack sparked a South African airstrike and long-range bombardment on two supposed Swapo camps in Southern Angola at the weekend.

Swapo claimed the bomb was "part of the South African dirty propaganda campaign to smear the name of Swapo".

A statement issued last Saturday by the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said "today South African Airforce fighter aircraft successfully carried out attacks on Swapo targets at Lubango and Ongiva in Southern Angola".

The Angolan Ministry of Defence this week confirmed the attacks on Lubango, in Huila province, and Ngiva in Cunene province. The Ministry said that the South African bombing raid had killed "many Angolan civilians."

A statement released by the SWA Territory Force in Windhoek early this week confirmed a second "revenge attack" on the town of Ongiva. It

said that "long-distance bombardments with cannons" were carried out on the night of February 20 and in the early hours of the following morning. It said this attack on Ongiva was "on target and successful."

Swapo denied that any of its bases had been destroyed.

"Swapo has learned that South African planes have bombed some areas in Southern Angola, killing Angolan civilians, but no Swapo member was in the attacked areas.

The organisation repeated that it was not responsible for the Oshakati bomb, which was the worst single incident of the 22-year-old guerrilla war in Namibia.

Most of the 31 people injured in the explosion at Oshakati sustained serious burns after the building caught fire. At the time of the blast the doors of the bank were locked. This was apparently standard procedure when the bank became too full, allowing staff to control the number of people in the bank.

A police spokesperson said that the explosion was caused by 25 kg of explosives, which was apparently left in a bag at the inquiries counter.

—NNA

221

252-2/3/88 South

spontent, Sapa-Reuter

News in Brief

Blast victim dies

Case Times 26/2/88
(221)
PRETORIA. — An Oshakati bomb-blast victim died yesterday in No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte, bringing the death toll to 21. She was Mrs Jenny Human, 33, wife of a Namibian police inspector. She received burns on 70% of her body. Another blast victim, Mrs Charlotte Taitge, 27, remains in a critical condition, a hospital spokesman said.

DET exam fees up

Case Times 26/2/88
PRETORIA. — The Department of Education and Training has announced an increase in examination fees with effect from November 1988. Fees for full-time Std 10 pupils will go up from R39,60 to R44,00.

Basques kidnap tycoon

MADRID. — The Interior Ministry said yesterday that Basque guerillas kidnapped a Madrid real estate tycoon, Mr Emiliano Revilla, in a car at gunpoint on Wednesday night. Police have identified one of the kidnapers.

NAMIBIA

Bringing peace home

The abhorrent bomb attack on the First National Bank in Oshakati and the subsequent raids by the SA Defence Force into Angola prove one thing, apart from the senseless loss of life: a diplomatic breakthrough in the region is still far — perhaps very far — from becoming a reality.

André du Pisani of the Institute of International Affairs surmises that regional politics are on a treadmill of increasing violence. Both sides, SA and the Soviet and Cuban-

backed Angolan forces, will respond with growing commitment leading to an escalation of the conflict. The FM believes him to be correct.

Du Pisani does not see the Soviets and their surrogates softening on Angola unless SA gives a clear commitment on the implementation of UN Resolution 435, the cornerstone on which independence for Namibia has been accepted, including by SA.

Lost opportunity

But, as the FM stated (*Current affairs* February 5), Foreign Minister Pik Botha's initial statement — when it seemed that US Assistant Secretary of State Chet Crocker (who backs SA's claims that Cuban soldiers be withdrawn from Angola before Resolution 435 can be implemented) had reached some kind of an agreement with the Cubans on troop withdrawal — seemed negative.

Judge Victor Hiemstra, architect of Namibia's current constitution, which has been accepted by the Namibian Transitional Government (TG), is even more pessimistic. In an article written for *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, he says that, given the methods currently being employed in Namibian politics, nothing will happen.

He cites the tension between Pretoria and the TG about ethnic elections, which the South African government wants, but the TG rejects. Hiemstra recommends that the linkage between Cuban withdrawal and Resolution 435 be scrapped by Pretoria and that SA should take a new initiative to implement the resolution by means of an alternative method. In subsequent elections, the Hiemstra constitution could be used as a manifesto, he suggests.

If not, he warns: "... it will only mean another lost opportunity in the land of lost opportunities." Hard words and a finger of admonition to Pretoria.

What will Pretoria do? The end of the war in Angola does not appear to be in sight. The latest skirmishes might well have killed off diplomatic involvement for the time being. What is wrong with giving the moderate Namibians what they want? It would not appear possible to reach a peace settlement with your sworn adversaries if you fail to accommodate your own people. ■

FM 26/2/88

P/D
27/10/88

SWA blast: another victim dies

(221)

JOHANNESBURG — Altogether 23 people have died so far and one — a woman — is still in a critical condition in hospital after the northern SWA town of Oshakati was rocked by a bomb blast last week.

One victim, Mrs Frieda Shikomgo, 25, died in the Windhoek hospital yesterday.

Meanwhile, SWA Territorial Forces' (SWATF) headquarters reported that at least 93

alleged terrorists have been killed in SA Air Force raids since the blast.

Both SWATF and the South African Defence Force denied Angolan state radio's claim that "hundreds" of Angolan citizens died in heavy South African air and artillery bombardments on Thursday.

The bombardments were said to have taken place in southern Angola.

Housing loan boost by Govt

29/2/88
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibian civil servants have had their housing loans and housing subsidies boosted.

Mr Andrew Matjila, who is responsible for the government's Central Personnel Institution, said the move had been made because of high and rising house prices in Namibia.

Windhoek house prices have doubled in the past five years and the capital is experiencing a boom in homes building.

Mr Matjila also announced that in future married women civil servants will be eligible for housing loans, and that there will also be no minimum service requirement for the granting of loans.

Handwritten signature

been entered into in the Republic since the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No 55 of 1949, and (b) in respect of what specified period is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) 28
- (ii) 662
- (iii) 160
- (b) 19 June 1985 to 31 August 1987.

Publications Act: items declared undesirable
262. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Section 47(2)(a)
- Section 47(2)(b)
- Section 47(2)(c)
- Section 47(2)(d)
- Section 47(2)(e)
- Section 47(2)(f)
- (2) Yes

- (a) (i) Section 47(2)(a)
- Section 47(2)(b)
- Section 47(2)(c)
- Section 47(2)(d)
- Section 47(2)(e)
- (ii) Section 47(2)(a)
- Section 47(2)(a)
- Section 47(2)(e)

Proclamation AG26/AG9: persons held in SWA
270. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

Whether any persons are being held in South West Africa under Proclamation (a) AG26 and (b) AG9: if so, (i) how many persons in each case and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (a) (i) none
- (ii) 15 February 1988
- (b) (i) 29 persons
- (ii) 15 February 1988.

Proclamation AG9: persons in detention
271. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

- (a) How many persons who are being held

- (1) How many items were declared undesirable in 1987 in terms of section 47(2)(a), (b), (c), (d), (e) and (f), respectively, of the Publications Act, No 42 of 1974;
- (2) whether any appeals have been lodged against decisions to declare any such items undesirable: if so, how many cases in respect of each of the categories referred to in section 47(2) of the said Act (a) had been (i) upheld and (ii) dismissed and (b) were still pending as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

Publications or Objects

| Publications or Objects | Films | Entertainment | Public |
|-------------------------|-------|---------------|--------|
| 301 | 50 | 1 | 1 |
| 10 | 2 | — | — |
| 12 | — | — | — |
| 31 | 1 | — | — |
| 485 | 6 | — | — |
| — | — | — | — |
| 9 | 18 | — | — |
| — | — | — | — |
| — | — | — | — |
| 8 | — | — | — |
| 11 | 10 | — | 1 |
| 5 | 2 | — | — |
| 13 | — | — | — |

under Proclamation AG9 in South West Africa have been in detention for more than 30 days and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (a) none
- (b) 15 February 1988.

Customs Union Agreement—amounts paid over
284. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) What amounts were paid over to (a) each of the independent Black states and (b) (i) Botswana, (ii) Lesotho and (iii) Swaziland in terms of the Customs Union Agreement in the 1987-88 financial year;
 - (2) what was the balance that accrued to the Republic of South Africa?
- The MINISTER OF FINANCE:
- (1) (a)

Handwritten signature

| Transkei | Bophuthatwana | Venda | Ciskei |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| R350 516 000 | R411 569 000 | R67 070 000 | R156 117 000 |
| (1) (b) | (i) Botswana | (iii) Swaziland | |
| (1) (b) | (ii) Lesotho | | |
| R284 962 000 | R157 396 000 | R134 928 000 | |

- (2) The estimated balance in respect of customs duty, excise duty and surcharge amounts to R2 555 442 000.

Milk-powder exported/imported

285. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:
What (a) total quantity of milk-powder was (i) exported and (ii) imported from 1 September 1986 to the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) was the value of the milk-powder (i) exported and (ii) imported during that period?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

The export and import statistics in respect of milk-powder for the period 1 September 1986 to 30 September 1987 are as follows:

- (a) (i) 800 964 kg
- (ii) 14 222 924 kg
- (b) (i) R2 744 717
- (ii) R23 232 576

Gold made available for manufacturing purposes

286. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:
What quantity of gold was made available in the Republic in 1987 to (a) jewellers and (b) other concerns for manufacturing purposes?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:
(a) 2 218 694.500 gram (1 064 522.500 gram in 1986).

(b) 503 608.200 gram (858 388.100 gram in 1986).

Compulsory military service: conscientious objections

354. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:
(1) Whether any legislative changes are being considered to provide for conscientious objection to compulsory military service on the same basis as religious objection: if

- (2) whether any consideration is being given to reducing the period of alternative service for religious objectors: if so, when is it anticipated that changes will be introduced?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) No, the hon member is referred to Hansard 1983, column 3548 in this regard. The situation is unchanged.
- (2) The hon member is referred to the Defence Amendment Act, 1987 (Act 45 of 1987), in which this power is in fact vested in the Minister of Defence.

Mainline/commuter passengers

377. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:
What was the total number of (a) first-class and (b) third-class (i) mainline and (ii) commuter passengers transported by the rail services in the South African Transport Services in the Republic in the 1986-87 financial year?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (a) (i) 248 999
- (ii) 75 918 186
- (b) (i) 12 132 118
- (ii) 522 686 438

Own Affairs:

Private schools: subsidies
11. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Education and Culture:
(1) Whether any private schools in (a) the Transvaal, (b) Natal, (c) the Cape Province and (d) the Orange Free State (i) have applied for and (ii) have been granted a subsidy for private schools in 1988 in terms of the Private Schools Act

star 1/31/88
**Oshakati bomb
toll rises to 26 (22)**

WINDHOEK — The death toll in the Oshakati bomb blast has now risen to 26 with the death yesterday of Mrs Johanna Onesmus (28) of Luderitz.

Mrs Onesmus had been treated in the Oshakati state hospital since the bomb explosion on February 19.

A number of people are still being treated. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Mr.
Davis

D/D: 1/3/88

Solution suggested for SA's Angolan problems

Daily Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — South Africa's withdrawal from South West Africa/Namibia and the installation of Swapo as the ruling party there could well prove the solution to South Africa's problems in Angola, according to a political consultant and former editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf.

Mr Pakendorf was addressing about 40 guests and members of the South African Institute of International Affairs here last night on the "current situation in Angola".

Breaking his address into "yesterday, today and tomorrow", Mr Pakendorf said that even though South Africa had repeatedly issued statements of its withdrawal from Angola, it had "never really left since 1975".

In mid-December last year, the South African Government said that South Africa had withdrawn again. While there were in fact with-

drawals, new troops were sent in to replace those coming out.

In linking the whole Angolan and Namibian situation, he said that if the Cubans would go then there was a chance that resolution 345 could be implemented.

A military and political stalemate had been reached in Angola, he said.

It was clear the "war" could not be won for several reasons, including waning US support in Southern Africa, increase in other foreign interests in Angola and Soviet foreign policy changes.

Mr Pakendorf said that where South Africa stood, the choice was either the advantages of stabilising or destabilising Southern Africa.

In terms of options, while the Soviets were prepared to talk with Unita, they were not prepared to talk to its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"Is South Africa prepared to dump him?"

Mr Pakendorf asked.

He said that if there was a settlement, South Africa would benefit financially, it would not lose young men sent in to fight an "illegal" war outside the borders, and it would provide a boost for South Africa's standing in the international community.

He said Pretoria would not "simply withdraw".

South Africa could not leave behind it the image that it "had lost" as this could "fan the flames of internal revolution" and "would not sit well with certain white voters".

"They need to withdraw without losing face," Mr Pakendorf said.

He said that the most important change was that South Africa recognised that the USSR had a role to play in Southern Africa and that the Soviets realised that South Africa was needed and that it could not simply be taken by force.

221

Rioting in USSR

MOSCOW. — Several people were injured in ethnic rioting in Azerbaijan linked to a territorial dispute with neighbouring Armenia, an Azerbaijani interior ministry official said yesterday.

Churchwoman detained

JOHANNESBURG. — The acting administrative secretary of the Border Council of Churches, Miss Nomvuzo Tshetu, was detained in King William's Town last week, the SA Council of Churches said yesterday.

Death of blast victim

WINDHOEK. — Another victim of the Oshakati bomb blast on February 19 has died, bringing to 26 the total number of deaths, a police spokesman said here yesterday. The latest fatality was Mrs Johanna Onesmus, 28, of Luderitzbucht.

DID 713188
**Swapo claims
eleven killed** (21)

LUSAKA — Namibian nationalist guerrillas said at the weekend they had killed 11 South African troops and attacked a South African military base in separate clashes in northern Namibia on March 3 and March 4.

A spokesman for the SADF said that "as a matter of policy, the Defence Force announces operational losses after the next of kin have been informed.

"This (Swapo) statement is normal Swapo propaganda which rational people would reject out of hand." — Sapa-RNS

CALL TIPS 2/3/88
29 detainees in Namibia 221

THERE were 29 people in detention in Namibia, President P W Botha said yesterday. All were being held under Proclamation AG 26 on February 15, he said in reply to a question by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point).

221 Star 3/3/88
**24 bishops to
visit Namibia**

Twenty-four Anglican bishops throughout southern Africa will visit Namibia in April.

Canon Winston Ndungane, provincial executive officer of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA), says the Synod of Bishops will hold its next bi-annual meeting in Windhoek.

"The bishops, who meet under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, resolved to hold their April meeting in Namibia because this year marks the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution No 435," says Canon Ndungane.

The synod includes bishops from Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.

221

NP-SWA appeals
Star 3/3/88 (221)
for white elections

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Relations between the six parties of the transitional government in Windhoek have reached a low ebb with the decision yesterday of the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) to petition South Africa directly for a whites-only poll in the territory.

NP-SWA leader Mr Kosie Pretorius made a formal request yesterday that the white Legislative Assembly be dissolved on April 1 to make way for white elections on June 22.

Floods cost Namibia R1-million

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Damage estimated at more than R1 million has been caused to Namibia's main southern rail and road links, which have been closed to traffic after being washed away by floods in the Mariental area.

Traffic on the Keetmanshoop-Windhoek road is being diverted. The Groendoring River in the Asab area swept away part of the main road and the railway line was also washed away.

A grader driver is missing after his machine was caught up in the swirling waters.

Rains of up to 90 mm were recorded in the Mariental area, while in the Onseepkans area on the Orange River more than 120 mm fell, forcing the closure of the road from Karasburg.

The main Windhoek-Keetmanshoop road is expected to re-open tomorrow, but the rail line will only be back in operation on Wednesday, a railways spokesman said.

The main floodwater is due at the river mouth between Alexander Bay and Oranjemund later today.

There are fears in Oranjemund that high tides, which are due this morning, could mean the sea forcing river water back upstream to threaten the Openheimer bridge.

H. H. H. H.

the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

On 31 December 1987 the figures were as follows:

- (a) Whites 10
- (b) Coloureds 11
- (c) Asians 5
- (d) Blacks 282

Crimes against security of State: sentences served
351. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:

How many South West African/Namibian prisoners in South African prisons were serving sentences for crimes against the security of the State as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

None.

I also wish to refer the hon member to my reply to question No 30 and No 210 of 18 March 1986 and 23 February 1987, respectively.

Land and Agricultural Bank: employees

635. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Finance:

With reference to his reply to Question No 84 on 17 February 1988, (a) how many (i) White, (ii) Black, (iii) Indian and (iv) Coloured persons were employed by the Land and Agricultural Bank, (b) how many loans had been issued to employees in respect of each race group, (c) how many loans of (i) over R100 000 and (ii) between R50 000 and R100 000 had been made in respect of each race group, and (d) what rate of interest was being charged in respect of these loans, as at 31 December 1987?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a) (i) 1 010

(ii) 135

(iii) None

(iv) 27

(b) Whites — 511

Blacks — 7

Indians — None

Coloureds — 11

(c)

(i) Whites — 1

Blacks — None

Indians — None

Coloureds — None

(ii) Whites — 297

Blacks — None

Indians — None

Coloureds — None

(d) 3%

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Fears that P W Botha may dissolve Cabinet.

(221) 3/20/88 4/3/88

Election row rocks Namibia

A POLITICAL row has broken out in Namibia which threatens to shatter the fragile unity of the SA-installed administration, after attempts by the National Party to force a whites-only election.

The Cabinet of Namibia's Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) has blocked an NP attempt to force a white election — a move that may prompt SA's President P W Botha to dissolve the present

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

government there.

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) chairman and Cabinet member Dirk Mudge said yesterday the Cabinet would continue to resist NP attempts to dissolve the white Legislative Assembly.

Parties in the TGNU have indicated they will not accept a whites-only election at second-tier level.

The NP has asked for the as-

sembly — which has powers concerning only white ethnic affairs — to be dissolved to make way for white elections on June 22.

Asked to respond, the State President's office yesterday said: "The State President has no comment at this stage on by-elections of the second-tier government as there is a difference of opinion about it".

The NP unsuccessfully petitioned the Cabinet earlier this year about the issue.

SWA-NP leader Kosie Pretorius said his party had then taken

legal advice, and made a formal request on the matter to the Administrator-General.

Chairman of the Cabinet Moses Katjuongua said the AG had, at a regular meeting with the Cabinet on Tuesday, said he would refer the request back to the Cabinet with his comments.

Katjuongua said any attempt by Botha or the AG to hold white ethnic elections in Namibia would be a provocative attempt to destroy current negotiations involving the Cabinet's committee on constitutional matters.

Parcel left in bank just before bomb blast

Staff Reporter

TWO white men were seen leaving a parcel in the First National Bank branch in Oshakati on February 20 just before a huge bomb blast claimed the lives of 26 people and left the building devastated.

Mr Oswald Shivute, secretary to the Ovamboland Legislative Assembly in Namibia, said this yes-

terday while giving evidence in mitigation of sentence at the trial of Ivan Toms. Toms claimed the war in Namibia was unjust.

Mr Shivute said he was officially investigating the Oshakati bomb blast and told the court of allegations that two white men had been seen leaving a parcel in the bank where the bomb went off.

Immediately after the blast he was on the scene and spoke to witnesses there and to people in hospital who were capable of speaking, he said.

"They said that while they were in queues in the bank, two white men in suits came into the bank with a parcel which had money on

top of it. They put it on the counter and left.

"The packet was apparently making noises like a watch (bleeping) and people in the queues began to faint, apparently from fumes which came from the packet. While people were still speculating on the parcel, there was an explosion," he said.

Police fire on 'no Afrikaans' demo

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek

AT least 15 students were injured, two seriously, when camouflaged police opened fire with rubber bullets on a group demanding English as the medium of instruction at the Academy for Tertiary Education in Windhoek on Wednesday.

Up to 100 students had gathered in front of the main lecture hall to protest the continuation of Afrikaans medium of instruction at the academy, which also has university status.

There are about 2 000 students at the academy.

The rector, Professor Attie Buitendacht, called in the police who ordered the protestors to disperse.

As the students began moving off, the police opened fire with rubber bullets and baton-charged the crowd.

A police video unit filmed the demonstration from inside the academy.

As the rector has said the issue of English as the medium of instruction was "non-negotiable", the students also called for a class boycott on Wednesday.

Students fled the lecture hall and were chased by police through the campus. Several were hurt in the stampede to escape the quirts.

A reporter from *The Namibian* newspaper was assaulted by a group of right-wing students, who pushed him down a bank and stole the film from his camera.

The newspaper's editor, Gwen Lister, was removed from campus by police acting on the instructions of Buitendacht.

W/maile 221

4-70/3/88

89 Swapo insurgents killed in north SWA

Argus Africa News Service

Argus 9/3/88 221
WINDHOEK. — Security forces have killed 89 Swapo insurgents in the northern SWA/Namibian operational area so far this year, without loss, says the South West Africa Territory Force.

In a statement, the force said that in the first two months of 1988 there had been a marked increase in the number of sabotage operations carried out by Swapo. These included the bombing of the First National Bank branch in Oshakati, which killed 26 people.

572-4/3/88

60 Swapo soldiers killed






221

WINDHOEK — Security forces in northern Namibia shot and killed 60 Swapo insurgents in various skirmishes last month, bringing to 86 the number of Swapo losses in the first two months of 1988, the SWA Territory Force yesterday.

The security forces suffered no losses.

The 26 insurgency-related incidents in February were considerably lower than the 50 incidents in February 1987.

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Angry police reaction

5/18/88
WINDHOEK — Namibian police have reacted angrily to allegations that white men may have planted the Oshakati bomb last month, killing 26 people. (22)

Mr Oswald Shivute, secretary to the Ovamboland Legislative Assembly in northern Namibia, told a Cape Town court that witnesses saw two white men leave a parcel in the bank shortly before the blast at Oshakati.

Police in Windhoek said on Friday that Mr Shivute should give all his information to police.

If he failed to do so, "I cannot but think that he has malicious intentions", Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

Police blame the blast on the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo). Swapo has denied responsibility. — Reuter.

Star 5/3/88

Whites blamed for blast

Oshakati bank

clients saw the

men — claim

CAPE TOWN — A local government official from Namibia says two white men left a package at a bank just before a bomb exploded last month, killing 26 people.

Mr Oswald Shivute, secretary to the Ovambo-land regional legislature in northern Namibia, said on Thursday that he was investigating the February 19 blast at the First National Bank building in the town of Oshakati.

South Africa, which administers Namibia, has blamed the bombing on black guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo), who have been conducting a 22-year-old insurgency in a bid to win independence for Namibia.

Swapo guerrillas frequently operate in Ovamboland, but the organization has denied responsibility for the bombing and suggested that Government agents were to blame.

"Two white men in suits came into the bank with a parcel, put it on the counter and left," Mr Sivute said, citing conversations with witnesses.

"The packet was apparently making (bleeping) noises like a watch and (there were) fumes which came from the packet," he said. "White people were still speculating on the parcel, there was an explosion."

Mr Sivute made the statements in Cape Town where he was testifying on behalf of Ivan Toms, a 35-year-old doctor who was sentenced on Thursday to 21 months in prison for refusing to serve, even as a non-combatant, in the South African Defence Force.

Toms had called on Mr Sivute to testify about alleged army mistreatment of civilians in Namibia. Mr Sivute said he had received 632 such complaints in the past six years.

Mr Fannuel Kozonguizi, Justice minister in Namibia's Transitional Government, said it was a "blatant lie" to suggest security forces planted the bomb.

"Have we become so gullible that we can believe that the security forces can plant a bomb in a bank in which their own relatives work?" he asked.

Among those killed in the blast was a bank employee married to a police inspector. She and a few other victims were white, while most were black. — Associated Press.

● See Page 4.

6/17/68 4/3/68
27th victim dies

(22)
WINDHOEK — Another victim of the Oshakati bomb blast has died, bringing the death toll to 27. Miss Anna Dumeni died of burns and broken bones this morning. — Sapa.

News in Brief

ONE NEWS 5/3/88

Detainee found hanged 221

WINDHOEK. — A security detainee, Mr. Ignatius Nambondi, was found hanged in a police cell at Oshakati in northern Namibia last Wednesday, police confirmed here. No crime was suspected. A legal representative said Mr Nambondi was taken into detention on February 9 in terms of security Proclamation AG 9.

March 7 1988

5

Uranium: dockers ^{Star} praised ^{2/3/88}

LONDON — Swapo has praised Liverpool port workers for refusing to handle a consignment of uranium hexafluoride because of its Namibian content.

In a statement here, Swapo said the four containers involved were due to be loaded last week on the Atlantic Carrier, which sailed without them when port workers refused to load the consignment.

The workers were now refusing to load the containers on to another ship

The statement condemned British Nuclear Fuels for ignoring the United Nations Decree One on the processing of Namibian uranium. — The Star Bureau.

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D/D 9/3/88

Group 8 commander: SA troops in SWA necessary 224

Daily Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — It would be morally wrong to withdraw the South African Defence Force from South West Africa, the officer commanding Group 8 army base, Colonel M. Buitendag, said yesterday.

Speaking at the East London Technical College's Department of Technology prizegiving ceremony yesterday, Col Buitendag said SADF presence in SWA was necessary.

He said Swapo was a revolutionary organisation whose aim was to overthrow the current political system.

A Swapo victory

would bring Cuban and Russian forces "right onto the borders" of South Africa, he said adding that they would promote a revolutionary climate in South Africa.

Col Buitendag said the SADF had "humanitarian responsibilities" in SWA.

"A SADF withdrawal would be a disservice to mankind and against our own basic religious principles."

He said the SADF presence had raised the standard of living in SWA and maintained a peaceful climate there.

"We will remain there as long as the SWA

people want us," he said.

Ethnic bodies against Bill of Rights — court rules

10-16/85

22/11
Scarp

From MARK VERBAAN WINDHOEK. — The cabinet of the Interim Government in Namibia faces a potential split after a full bench of the Supreme Court here ruled the country's eleven ethnic administrations were in conflict with the Bill of Fundamental Rights.

These tribal, or second-tier authorities were instituted by Proclamation AG8 of 1980 — legislation which has earned the tag of the "apartheid proclamation".

"The whole of proclamation AG8 is in conflict with the fundamental rights bill", annexured to the South African State President's proclamation R101 which established the territory's Interim Government in June 1985, said Judge President Hans Berker.

The Cabinet approached the court last year asking it to express an opinion on whether the Ethnic Authorities Proclamation was compatible with the Bill of Rights.

Issuing the 83-page "advisory opinion" this week, the full bench had no hesitation in pointing out that AG8 enabled whites in Namibia to live better-quality lives.

As a result of the Provisions of Proclamation AG8, "the white population group are receiving infinitely better services and financial benefits than those of the other population groups," said Berker.

This was particularly obvious in the case of educational and health services supplied in Namibia. Berker said the whites "receive these advantages as a result of their membership of a group clearly being established (within the context of the proclamation) on either ethnic, racial or colour grounds, and therefore fall squarely within the unqualified prohibition" of one of the articles of the Bill of Rights.

In terms of AG8, provisions was made for the establishment of representative authorities with legislative and executive powers for each of Namibia's officially-defined 11 population groups. They definitions are: Basters, Bushmen, Caprivians, Coloureds, Damaras, Hereros, Namas, Kavangos, Tswanas, Ovambos and Whites.

Berker said the effect of the combined provisions of the Identification of Persons Act of 1979

and proclamation AG8, was that "every person born or resident in the territory is deemed to belong to one of the 11 population groups", regardless of the wishes of individuals.

Dealing with one of the most relevant sections of the Bill of Rights, Judge Berker said it was of particular importance as it stipulated that there should be equality before the Law for everyone, and "no branch or organ of government nor any public institution may prejudice nor afford any advantage to any person on the grounds of his ethnic or social origin, sex, race, language, colour, religion or political convictions."

The court had no doubt that the second-tier authorities fell within the definition of "branch or organ of government" and "public institutions."

The general provisions of the Fundamental Rights Bill "clearly include the right to participate in the economic and material benefits generally available to all persons without discrimination on any of the grounds mentioned," said Berker.

An analysis of revenue and expenditure for the various ethnic authorities revealed that right from the outset, in 1981, the administration for whites had at its disposal funds which were almost double those of the rest of the representative authorities together.

In 1981, the whites represented approximately seven percent of the total population of just over one million. At that time, the total amount available for the whites for that year was R283,4-million. The administration for Ovambos, an authority representing almost half of the country's total population, had an amount of R38,4-million.

It was abundantly clear the administration for whites "became entitled to and claimed a vast number of assets such as schools, hospitals with equipment and the like, which were under the control of the South West Africa Administration before the introduction of the Proclamation AG8 structure, and which were then used exclusively by whites".

The court had done its job in providing (or showing) that the "apartheid proclamation" is not even vaguely in line with the Bill of Rights. Berker said in conclusion that "it lies in the hands of the cabinet what further action, if any, should or could be taken".



Swapo's Nujoma

Political observers are of the opinion that the cabinet is hamstrung on the issue. Although there are certain members of the cabinet, such as Minister of Health Moses Katjuongua and Mines Minister Andreas Shipanga, who would like to see AG8 abolished, they face stiff opposition.

South African State President Mr PW Botha has already made it clear to the cabinet that minority (white) rights must be amply guaranteed in Namibia. Botha's National Party counterpart in the Interim Government cabinet will most certainly oppose any attempts to abolish AG8, although any such attempts would fail without Botha's go-ahead.

Those members of the cabinet who feel that they cannot morally continue supporting a system which so blatantly favours one population group over the other, will have no other alternative, but to resign from their posts," said one observer.

"It is unlikely that they will do so, however, as they are already too deep in South Africa's pocket. They will have absolutely no credibility if left out on their own," he said.

Angolans accept SWA linkage, says Pik Botha

15/3/88 (221)

From MIKE ROBERTSON, GENEVA. — Angola has accepted in principle the linkage between withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said here last night.

Talks between Mr Botha and the American Under-secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, continued late into the night, but Mr Botha made it clear he was unhappy with the lack of detail in Angolan proposals for phased withdrawal of the Cubans.

He would not be drawn further on the detail of the discussions but said he had received some interesting and useful information from his first talks in two years with Dr Crocker.

Mr Botha repeatedly raised the possibility of other African states seeking a role in the negotiations to end the Angolan conflict.

A senior Foreign Affairs official confirmed that the South African government had received signals from Nigeria, Kenya and Zaire concerning a possible role for them in the resolution of the Angolan conflict.

Mr Botha said the proposals unveiled by Angola at the weekend for the phased withdrawal of 40 000 Cubans which were relayed to him by Dr Crocker were not what he understood by the word "detailed". "Numbers, timetables and dates are what I understand by details. That is the issue that will

have to be taken up now.

"However," he added, "they apparently acknowledge in principle that there is a linkage between the Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435."

South Africa, he said, had made it clear that it would at all times stand by Unita but South Africa could not prescribe that Unita be given a role in the government of Angola. This issue

- Savimbi interview — Page 3
- Malan cuts Argus contact — Page 3
- SA forces to stay in Angola — Page 6

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TOTAL 56 401

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was subsidiary to the Cuban withdrawal. Nevertheless, he added: "The fact is they enjoy majority support from the people of Angola."

A number of possibilities existed for a resolution of the Angolan conflict. All would be welcomed by South Africa as long as they resulted in the removal of the Cubans and peace and stability for the region.

He listed as possible ways forward:

- The US and USSR reaching a settlement for the withdrawal of the Cubans.

- The intervention of African states as mediators. African countries, he said, had a far better concept of realities in the region than either the US or European countries.

- Direct talks between South African and Angola. "I have no prob-

lem in talking to Luan-da."

Angola's plan, which was first presented to US officials on Sunday, linked the withdrawal of Cuban troops to a halt in US and South African support for Unita.

Unita's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at his Angolan bush headquarters on Sunday that negotiations could soon end the country's 13-year-old civil war, but vowed he would not stand down to clear the way for a settlement.

- In Washington, Sapa Reuter reports, President P W Botha was quoted in the Washington Times as saying South African troops would stay in Angola until the 40 000-man Cuban force there left.

"We are staying (in Angola) until the Cubans leave. That was the understanding we had with President Reagan," he said.

Rapid moves for Angola, Namibia settlement

ARGUS
16/3/88

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By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

THERE are rapid developments internationally in the bid to resolve the Angolan and SWA/Namibian conflicts, senior South African sources indicated today.

A senior member of the Government said today: "The next two weeks are crucial. There may never have been a better chance of settling the conflict."

And it has been confirmed that there has been direct contact between South Africa and Angola on a number of occasions.

Topics of discussion have been diverse, including yesterday's body swap, in which the bodies of Angolans were exchanged for the bodies of two South Africans.

Intervened

It is understood that there have also been talks between Unita and the Angolan government in another African country.

A number of African countries have intervened and it is understood there has been increased contact between the US and the Soviet Union, with further talks expected shortly.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Geneva that Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, in his meeting with Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has called on South Africa to help accelerate the quest for an Angolan settlement.

Cubans using chemical weapons, expert claims

BRUSSELS. — Belgian Professor Aubin Heyndrickx claims Cuban troops are using chemical weapons in Angola.

Professor Heyndrickx, an acclaimed toxicologist, visited south-east Angola three weeks ago at the invitation of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Ghent University professor examined eight Unita soldiers in a field hospital near Mavinga.

According to stories published yesterday, Professor Heyndrickx said his first examination clearly showed the soldiers had been the victims of toxic gas.

He described their condition as critical and said two were already completely paralysed.

Further laboratory analysis made later in Ghent confirmed the first diagnosis, the professor said.

Angola confirms swop of prisoners

LUANDA. — A South African Air Force aircraft arrived here to exchange 12 Angolan soldiers for the bodies of two South African corporals, Angolan officials said.

This confirmed an earlier SA Defense Force announcement of the swop.

The officials said the exchange took place at Luanda Airport at 6.30am yesterday.

South African military sources identified the two dead soldiers as corporals Rowland Liebenberg and Louis van Breda, both 25.

An Angolan government spokesman said they were killed in northern Cabinda province on May 21, 1985, when Angolan troops surprised their commando unit outside a fuel depot. The unit's leader, Major Wynand du Toit, was captured.

Major du Toit was swopped last September for 133 Angolan soldiers reportedly captured by Unita rebels.

CONTACTS

A Dutchman and a Frenchman held by South Africa were handed to Angola in the same swop, which took place in Mozambique.

The bodies of the two corporals were originally expected to be handed to South Africa when Major du Toit was freed. Neither side said why the remains were held until yesterday.

In Lisbon a radio station quoted unidentified sources as saying yesterday's exchange followed contacts between Angolan and South African officials at the weekend.

The exchange appeared to be a further step in intense diplomatic efforts to reach a peace settlement in Angola's 13-year-old conflict.

● The Angolan officials also said US envoy Dr Chester Crocker was expected to arrive here soon for talks with Angolan leaders after talks on a Southern African peace settlement with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Geneva.

— Sapa-AP.

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Budget '88

Namibian aid slashed

Political Staff

THE government has slashed its budgetary assistance to the central authority of SWA/Namibia from R573 million to R350 million.

No explanation was given of the decision to cut the assistance which is provided in the estimates of expenditure, tabled in Parliament yesterday under the Finance Vote.

The budget for the South West Africa authority service, dealing with statutory and associated duties as well as rendering supporting services to the office of the Administrator-General, provided under the President's Vote, has also been reduced from R860 000 to R828 000.

But the provision for air transport

facilities for government departments personnel living in the northern parts of Namibia, has been maintained at R910 000.

An unspecified amount has also been budgeted under the Defence Vote where the aim of the vote, according to the estimates, is "to discourage or combat any hostile militant action, whatever its nature, against the Republic of South Africa and South West Africa".

However, under the Development Planning Vote, the administration of Walvis Bay has been increased from R12,7 million to R16,4 million and the financial assistance for industrial development has gone from R1,5 million to R4 million.

11 24 200
R149 691 000
R353 487 000

MATRICULATION

SA's plans 'threaten Namibia's future'

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa's insistence on ethnicity as the basis for any future political dispensation in Namibia could destroy the six-party Transitional Government in Windhoek, says Mr Moses Katjuongua, Cabinet Chairman in the government.

"If this is their attitude then we will get out," said Mr Katjuongua, who is the leader of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu) party component of the government.

He was reacting to a speech made earlier this week in Caprivi by Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar.

Mr Pienaar spelt out clearly that anything other than ethnically-based constitutions will be "totally unacceptable" as long as South Africa is involved in the defence and administration of Namibia.

Mr Katjuongua said it appeared from Mr Pienaar's speech as if South African was trying to abrogate agreements allowing Namibians to decide their own political future.

PROCLAMATION R101

The Administrator-General seemed to be hinting that Pretoria would amend Proclamation R101 of 1985, which set up the Transitional Government in Windhoek.

If this looked like happening, then Swanu would definitely withdraw from the government, he added.

The party would wait until the end of this month to see what progress had been made towards thrashing out a constitution.

If this was going to be continually stalled by South Africa, then he would keep an earlier promise and resign, said Mr Katjuongua.

"How can South Africa expect us — as parties who might one day have to fight a 435 election — to defend apartheid?" he asked.

He believed the current crisis was the worst between the Transitional Government and South Africa since the administration took office in June 1985.

NO PARTNERS

If Pretoria continued to dictate to Namibians how it wanted them to conduct their political affairs, then South Africa would eventually "find itself without any negotiating partners" in Namibia, because it would have lost all credibility.

The speech given by Mr Pienaar was discussed at an emergency meeting of the Swanu Political Bureau, said Mr Katjuongua.

Finance Minister and DTA supremo Mr Dirk Mudge is on an official visit to the US, but the chairman of the alliance, Chief Kuaima Riruako, said the people of Namibia were tired of being prescribed to from outside and should be allowed to decide their own future.

Mr Hans-Erik Staby, a prominent member of Mr Mudge's Republican Party, strongly criticised Mr Pienaar's comments on last week's Supreme Court legal opinion which found that the current ethnic administration system was in conflict with the 1985-proclamation.

INTERFERENCE

Mr Staby said Mr Pienaar's comments on the court findings were blatant interference in the judicial process.

The Minister of Mines and leader of the Swapo-Democrats in the Transitional Government, Mr Andreas Shipanga, called Mr Pienaar's speech "incredible", and warned that if South Africa was going to adopt a dictatorial attitude then his party would also consider pulling out of the Windhoek administration.

"This was not the reason we joined this government. We did not join to protect apartheid or to sleep with apartheid. We are here to do exactly the opposite".

Mr Shipanga said Proclamation R101, which set up the Transitional Government, was "our contract with South Africa".

If that contract were to be broken, or abrogated by South Africa, then the Swapo-Democrats would "not be in that government".

The Mines Minister said he and his colleagues did not join the government because they wanted status or ministerial salaries, but because they wanted to change the system. They remained committed to their aims.

PW halts SADF hearing

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Six SADF members, including senior officers, have been relieved from the necessity of facing a murder trial here after the production of a certificate authorised by President Botha which halted judicial proceedings.

The certificate was drawn up in terms of the Defence Act, stating that the men had acted in good faith in combating terror.

The trial arose out of the death of a prominent Swapo leader and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, during violence at a Swapo rally in Windhoek on November 30 1985.

ARMED SOLDIERS

Charges against the six men were that they were allegedly involved in bringing off-duty soldiers to the rally.

The soldiers were allegedly armed and had started the violence which left Mr Shifidi dead.

Although the military denied the allegations, a later inquest court hearing pointed to the likelihood of involvement of at least some soldiers.

The inquest court proceedings were referred to the Namibian Attorney-General's office in Windhoek and the decision was then taken to prosecute the six men.

22/3/88

D/D 22/3/88

Progress on Angola (221) SWA/Namibia may help SA — Oppenheimer

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Soviet Union was unlikely to walk away from Angola without anything to show for its involvement, such as SWA/Namibian independence, the former chairman of Anglo American, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said here yesterday.

Nor should it be expected that South Africa would become disinterested in the form of settlement in Angola or in the outcome of a settlement in SWA/Namibia, he said as chairman of the national executive of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

"Domestic considerations here will play an

important role. With the government under pressure from the right, it is highly unlikely to agree to anything which smacks of capitulation."

Progress on Angola and SWA/Namibia could have a positive effect on South Africa's international and regional relations, even if the central issue of domestic political change still had to be resolved.

The need to find an acceptable political solution became increasingly urgent as the cost in lives and resources rose on both sides.

He said two years ago, despite intense unrest, the government still claimed reform as its top priority.

"In January 1986 the

State President delivered a reformist speech at the opening of Parliament, which turned out to be his last in that vein."

Now security was the overriding priority.

Anxiety over P W's move in Namibian murder case

CAPE TOWN — President Botha's decision to have charges against six SADF and SWATF members withdrawn in a Windhoek court is to be raised in Parliament.

Confirming this today Professor Nic Olivier MP, the PFP's spokesman on defence, said that Mr P W Botha owed the country an explanation about why he had decided to interfere in the due process of law.

"We cannot talk about the sanctity of the courts and about the excellence of our judicial system if we prevent the law from taking its course as it would appear to have happened in this case."

A certificate authorised by Mr Botha saved the six soldiers from a murder trial in the Windhoek Supreme Court.

The certificate, in terms of the Defence Act, stated that the men had acted in good faith in combating terrorism.

The case arose out of the death of a Swapo leader and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, during violence at a Swapo rally in

Windhoek in November 1985.

The Star Bureau in London reports that lawyers are understood to be considering an application to set aside the ban on the trial.

In a statement released in London yesterday Swapo condemned the ban as "a flagrant dictatorial act in defence of his murderous thugs who have inflicted on the Namibian people a reign of utter terror over so many years".

"Botha's ban on the continuation of the trial is a clear message to his illegal occupying forces that they should continue, undeterred, with the arrests, the beatings, the torture and the murders."

The Independent in London today reported Mr Hartmut Ruppel, a civil rights lawyer in Windhoek, as saying the action made "nonsense" of Mr Botha's claim that he did not like to interfere with the judicial process, as he suggested last week when asked to grant clemency to the "Sharpeville Six".

PW halts trial of soldiers in SWA

CAPE TIMES 23/3/88

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WINDHOEK — The State President has intervened to stop the trial, due to have begun yesterday, of six members of the SA Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force in connection with the death of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner Immanuel Shifidi.

A Windhoek Supreme Court official said a certificate to this effect in terms of Section 103 (4) of the Defence Act was signed by the Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, at the instructions of the State President.

The section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civilian court action if they act in good faith in the combat of terrorism in an operational area.

The six who were to appear yesterday are Colonel J H Vorster of the SWATF headquarters in Windhoek; Col W H Welgemoed, commanding officer of Ovambo's 101 Battalion; Commandant A J Botes of SWATF headquarters; Lieutenant N J Prinsloo of 101 Battalion; Corporal E C Kashimbi of 101 Battalion; and Rifleman S Festus of 101 Battalion.

Mr Shifidi died from stab wounds when fighting broke out at a Swapo political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30, 1986.

In earlier court appearances, the prosecution alleged that the six accused had deliberately disturbed the peace through the violent disruption of the meeting, at which people were attacked with spears, sticks, knives and bows and arrows.

Troops with spears, arrows

Alternatively, the state alleged that the six had instructed members of Ovambo's 101 Battalion to injure people and to disrupt the political meeting.

The state claimed that Col Vorster had requested Col Welgemoed to detach about 50 members of 101 Battalion for that Swapo meeting.

Col Welgemoed allegedly instructed Lt Prinsloo to assemble 50 troops to be armed with spears, sticks, knives and bows and arrows.

A group of 54 soldiers was brought from Ondangua in northern Namibia to Okahandja on November 29 where they were told what to do at the Swapo meeting the following day.

Cpl Kashimbi allegedly drove a vehicle with the weapons for the troops to the Swapo meeting.

The 54 soldiers in civilian dress allegedly infiltrated the meeting which was disrupted by fighting soon after it had started.

People fled and Mr Shifidi was found dead at the scene, while scores of people were injured. — Sapa

D(D. 2313188 (221)) (221)

PW stops soldiers' trial for death of Swapo man

WINDHOEK — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has intervened to stop the trial of six members of the South African Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) in connection with the death of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Immanuel Shifidi.

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The 54 soldiers in civilian dress allegedly infiltrated the meeting which was disrupted by fighting shortly after it had started.

People fled and Shifidi was found dead at the scene, while scores of people were injured.

● Meanwhile, Turkey yesterday criticised South Africa for its occupation of Namibia at a UN seminar on the territory opened in Istanbul.

The Turkish Minister of State, Mr Ali Bozer, called South Africa's control of the territory illegal.

"It is up to the UN... to prove its readiness to resort to coercive measures in case South Africa continues its intransigence," he said. — Sapa-RNS



Eduardo dos Santos

Pik Botha

'SADF offensive' deep in Angola

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The SA Defence Force has embarked on a new offensive 640km inside Angola, outflanking the key government garrison-town of Cuito Cuana-vale to the west and north, according to a report in the London Independent yesterday.

A spokesman for the newspaper last night said the story had come from "South African military people" in Windhoek.

The aim of the offensive was to cut Cuito Cuana-vale's supply lines. The new fighting was taking place 80km north-west of Ponto Verde.

The report said SADF positions had come under repeated bombardment by Angolan MiGs, but their bombing accuracy suffered because they had to remain at high altitudes to avoid the threat from Stinger ground-to-air missiles.

The new attack, it suggested, reflected a belief by senior SADF officers that the Soviet Union had no intention of becoming more deeply involved in the region.

In Harare, Angolan government representative Mr Lopo do Nascimento said that SA, in addition to having four battalions of its regular army stationed in the Angolan province of Cunene since 1981, had launched a major attack against the province of Cuando-Cubango.

● A spokesman for the SADF in Pretoria said: "South Africa's position on Angola has been stated repeatedly and is therefore a matter of public record."

He declined to be drawn on the origin of the report, saying: "I have nothing further to add."

HARARE. — Work was going ahead on the text of an agreement to be signed by Angola, South Africa, Swapo and Cuba, a top representative of Angolan President Mr Eduardo dos Santos said here.

Mr Lopo do Nascimento, in an address to the Interaction policy board, said: "The implementation of this text, internally guaranteed, will make it possible to resolve the problem of Angola and of the independence of Namibia."

The board is made up of former and present world statesmen and advises the Interaction Council, an exclusive grouping of about 30 former presidents and prime ministers from around the world.

"Finally, we are seeing light at the end of the tunnel and we hope that South Africa does not, at the last minute, once again hide the light we are glimpsing, as it did with Resolution 435 of the Security Council," he said.

He told the board that the United States was acting as a mediator between Angola and South Africa and as a guarantor of the agreement's implementation, reports the semi-offi-

To page 2

P.T.O.

4-way accord
ENVOY details

CAPE TOWN 24/2/88

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AFRICAN
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AFRICAN
POST

cial Zimbabwean news agency Ziana.

Mr. Do Nascimento's statement came on the eve of the Lusaka meeting of the frontline states yesterday where the Angolan question will be discussed.

He claimed that the key elements of the agreement were:

- The withdrawal of South African troops from Angola;

- An acceptable calendar for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, beginning with the withdrawal of Cuban troops south of the 13th parallel;

- Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia; and

- Suspension of military aid to the armed groups responsible for "destabilizing Angola" (Unita).

In view of the agreement, the Unita headquarters would have to be moved from Namibia to the eastern part of Zaire.

The "leak" of the purported details of a four-way settlement could be the beginning of a new phase of diplomatic pressure on SA to conclude an agreement, the director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said last night.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, described it as an example of the raising of expectations before progress had been made on the most important element of an agreement — a time schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Mr. Botha said his statement did not mean agreement was impossible, but "we are still very far" from reaching one.

Mr. Do Nascimento said the agreement would be internationally guaranteed, either by the United Nations, the UN Security Council or the major world powers.

"We think that for once it is possible to believe in a miracle," he said.

In his comment Professor Barratt said that if the deal described in the report, which was "obviously a product of the recent talks between (US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) Dr. Chester Crocker and the Angolans", had been proposed five years ago, it may have satisfied Pretoria. But SA's position had hardened since then.

Nevertheless, he said, this could at least be a starting point. — Sapa and Own Correspondent.

D/D 24/3/88

PFP: trial intervention (221) puts SADF above law

CAPE TOWN — The State President P. W. Botha, by stopping the murder trial of six members of the defence force in SWA/Namibia, appeared to support one law for the army and another for those opposed to apartheid, the PFP's spokesman on justice, Mr David Dalling, said yesterday.

Mr Botha's intervention in the murder trial would bring the South African system of justice into international disrepute and would alienate thousands of Namibians.

"Yet, only a few days ago, when approached by Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Colin Eglin in regard to the case of the Sharepville Six, the

State President declined to grant mercy, saying that he did not wish to interfere with the judicial process."

The effect of President's Botha action in issuing a certificate in terms of the Defence Act to stop the trial of six members of the defence force for murder was that the normal course of justice had been interfered with and people, who were possibly guilty of murder, would go unpunished.

His action would also undermine confidence in the judiciary and the defence force was effectively put above the ordinary law of the country, he added.

"If the State President is convinced that the accused persons acted in good faith then he should have confidence in the trial procedures and allow the actions of the persons concerned to be judged objectively," Mr Dalling said.

However, the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, said Mr Botha had not interfered with the independence of the Windhoek Supreme Court when he ordered the discontinuation of the trial.

Mr Pienaar said interested parties were "free to test the validity of the State President's decision in a court of law".
— DDC-Sapa

From MARK VERBAAN
WINDHOEK - Family and friends of slain Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner Immanuel Shifidi have expressed shock and dismay at the decision by State President PW Botha to stop the prosecution of high-ranking Defence Force officers for his murder.

Botha halts trial

24-30/3/88

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Samp

Lawyers acting for the Shifidi family said they would study the certificate of non-prosecution issued by the President "which prevents the court from adjudicating on what are very serious charges". They were considering bringing an application to set the ban aside.

Shifidi's daughter Hilda said: "My family and I demand that the killers of my father be brought to court. These people have killed an innocent man and they are to go free."

Cowardly

"In view of what has happened, Botha must now state clearly whether his troops are here to defend and protect Namibians, or to do just the opposite. We are saddened by this senseless and cowardly act."

The court case was expected to rock the military hierarchy both in Namibia and South Africa following reports that officers as senior as general were implicated in the matter.

President Botha decided to put a lid on the case which stems from a Swapo rally on November 30 1986 in Katutura. The rally was broken up by about 50 members of 101 Battalion, who were specially brought from their base in Northern Namibia.

Dressed in plain clothes and armed with knives, pangas, clubs and bows and arrows, they infiltrated the crowd and began stoning and beating Swapo supporters. Shifidi was stabbed to death in the ensuing chaos.

The rally, attended by more than 2,000 people, was eventually broken up by police in Casspir vehicles who fired teargas and rubber bullets into the crowd.

Details of a military conspiracy to break up the meeting emerged from an affidavit submitted to an inquest held into Shifidi's death.

The Attorney General of Namibia, Mr Estienne Pretorius, decided to prosecute four officers, a corporal and a private for murder, public violence and under alternative charges of contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act.

The men now let off the hook are Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Officer Commanding of 101 Battalion, Colonel Johannes

Vorster, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and private Steven Festus.

One of Shifidi's Robben Island colleagues said after the banning of the court case: "Botha has given a clear indication that not even the law can stop his soldiers from killing innocent Namibians."

Ferdinand Shifidi, brother of the dead man, said: "I am terribly shocked, although this didn't really come as a surprise. Let this be yet another example to the world of just how cruel Botha can be."

A friend of Shifidi said: "What has happened to justice in Namibia? Why is there no equal justice for all? All Namibians demand that these men be tried."

Brutal

A bystander said: "The government wasted no time in blaming Swapo for the brutal killing of Shifidi. By issuing this certificate, does it now prove that Shifidi was killed by Swapo?"

Another Swapo supporter said: "Let this be a clear warning to those calling the SADF 'our national army'. Let them also look at what has been done to Frans Uapota."

Frans Uapota, a resident of Northern Namibia, was allegedly killed by four white SADF soldiers in December, 1985. Before the trial could commence, Botha issued a similar certificate preventing the hearing from taking place.

Another man said: "Shifidi wasted 18 years of his life on Robben Island. He paid back whatever he owed, and now he is dead without his killers being brought to justice."

Shifidi was released in 1985 after serving an 18-year sentence under the Terrorism Act on Robben Island.

able for murders

committee at the factory.

On the night of December 5 1986 the two men, together with Mr Micea Sibiyi and Ms Flomina Mnikathi, were captured by a group of armed Inkatha members.

They were severely assaulted and then driven in the direction of Nottingham Road, where Sibiyi, Ngubane and Mnikathi were killed. Sibiyi escaped.

The inquest magistrate found all the Inkatha witnesses were lying. They included Mr Shiyaboni Zuma, the chairperson of Inkatha's Slangspruit branch in Ashtown, Maritzburg.

The magistrate found there was a strong suspicion that other Inkatha figures were also responsible for the murders.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) expressed concern at the number of violent attacks against its members.

"We believe that many of these attacks can be linked to top Inkatha people."

Cosatu alleged that Inkatha was bent on stamping out democratic organisations through violence and intimidation.

"However, our views have been generally ignored," said the statement.



Samp

24-30/3/88

WINDHOEK — The SA President had not interfered with the independence of the Windhoek Supreme Court when he ordered the discontinuation of the trial of six members of the military, Namibia Administrator-General Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

The trial, in which the six men had to face charges of murdering a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo political rally on November 30, 1986, was to have started on Tuesday.

Proceedings were stopped after a certificate was handed into the court at the instructions of the President in terms of a section of the Defence Act.

The section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civil court action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area.

Trial move was legal

221
B/2009
24/3/88

The Windhoek Bar Council said it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited.

It said Shifidi had died after a group of soldiers of Ovambo's 101 Battalion disrupted a peaceful public meeting.

The (coloured) Labour Party of Namibia said it had noted the development with "shock and abhorrence". The discontinuation of the trial cast suspicion on SA's honesty concerning the people of Namibia.

PFP justice spokesman Dave Dalling said in Cape Town the intervention would bring SA's system of justice into international disrepute. — Sapa.

Dalling attacks PW over trial

THE intervention by the State President in the trial of six members of the Defence Force on a charge of murder would bring South Africa's system of justice into international disrepute and would alienate thousands of citizens in SWA/Namibia, the PFP spokesman on justice, Mr

Dave Dalling, said yesterday.

He said in a statement that the PFP could not support the issuing of a certificate in terms of the Defence Act by the State President, Mr P W Botha, which had the effect of stopping of the trial of the six SADF members.

The certificate stated that the men had acted in good faith in combating terror.

The six were to have stood trial for murder following the death of Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo rally in Windhoek on Novem-

ber 30, 1985.

Mr Dalling said the effect of Mr Botha's action was that the course of justice had been interfered with and people who were possibly guilty of murder would go unpunished. It would also undermine confidence in the judiciary and had effectively placed the

SADF above the ordinary law of the country.

He said if Mr Botha was convinced that the accused had acted in good faith when he should have confidence in the trial procedures and allow the actions of the people concerned to be judged objectively.— Sapa.

PW's ban on trial 'valid'

WINDHOEK — The South African State President had not interfered with the independence of the Windhoek Supreme Court when he ordered the discontinuation of the trial of six members of the military, the Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, said yesterday.

The trial, in which the six men were to face charges of murdering a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo political rally on November 30 1986, was to have started on Tuesday.

Proceedings were stopped after a certificate was handed into the court on the instructions of the State President in terms of a section of the Defence Act. The section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civil court action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area.

Mr Pienaar told a news conference that interested parties were "free to test the validity of the State President's decision in a court of law".

There were precedents in which the courts had been asked to decide whether the State President was acting within the confines of the law through the issuing of such certificates, Mr Pienaar said.

The Windhoek Bar Council said in a statement that it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited.

The Labour Party of Namibia urged the State President "to reconsider his arbitrary decision so

that the guilt or innocence of the accused could be proven in a just manner".

Also in Windhoek, the Namibia Peace Plan group said that by stopping the trial, the State President had by implication "condonéd the possible murder of a fellow Namibian as well as the disruption of a peaceful meeting".

● Advocate Mr Jules Browde, national chairman of the Lawyers for Human Rights, said: "The State President's interference with the course of justice in Namibia is a further inroad into the role of law in this country.

"Lawyers for Human Rights find it extremely disquieting that the State President's professed respect for the sanctity of our courts seems to be conditioned by political considerations."

● Mr Dave Dalling, the PFP spokesman on justice, said Mr Botha's action had several effects: The normal course of justice had been interfered with; confidence in the judiciary was undermined and the Defence Force was effectively put above the ordinary law of the land.

"If the President is convinced that the accused persons acted in good faith, then he should have confidence in the trial procedures and allow the actions of the persons concerned to be judged objectively. Mr Botha's intervention will bring the South African system of justice into international disrepute and will alienate thousands of citizens in Namibia/South West Africa." — Sapa.

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Mr Louis Pienaar



Mr P W Botha



Mr Dave Dalling

Botha's decision to halt trial defended

WINDHOEK. — The South African State President had not interfered with the independence of the Supreme Court when he ordered the discontinuation of the trial of six members of the military, the Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, said yesterday.

The trial in which the

six men were to face charges of murdering a veteran Swapo member, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, was to have started yesterday.

President Botha halted the proceedings in terms of a section of the Defence Act which exempts members of the security forces from court action if they acted

in good faith.

Mr Pienaar said interested parties were "free to test the validity of the State President's decision in a court of law".

• The Windhoek Bar Council said it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited.

'Abused'

It deplored the fact that "an incisive measure such as the issuing of a Section 103 certificate, which provides for a totally different situation, has been abused to prohibit judicial criminal procedure".

• The Labour Party said it had noted the decision with "shock and abhorrence" and asked Mr Botha to reconsider as his action could "give rise to public violence, bloodshed and chaos".

• The intervention by the State President would bring South Africa's system of justice into international disrepute and would alienate thousands of citizens in SWA/Namibia, the PFP spokesman on Justice, Mr Dave Dalling, said.

The course of justice had been interfered with and people who were possibly guilty of murder would go unpunished. The action had effectively placed the SADF above the law.

— Sapa

Trolley dirt: Consumer group's cleaning advice

Staff Reporter

A CONSUMER organization has recommended that supermarkets clean their trolleys at least once a month using a system scientifically tested by the organization.

Mr Karel Gewers, managing director of the Consumer Federation, said that after a survey on the Witwatersrand he had found that out of 30 supermarkets "only about 12 were cleaning their trolleys regularly".

He said he found cases where trolleys had not been cleaned for up to eight years. Trolleys were sometimes used to transport refuse and store meat.

A senior spokesman for a supermarket chain said trolleys in his stores were cleaned at least once a month by steam-cleaning machines and anti-bacterial agents.

NEW ADDRESS FOR JHI

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MONDAY 28 MARCH 1988

'Dirty tricks' in Ovamboland

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Two white men wearing suits went into the bank and left a parcel with money on it lying on the counter. They talked to nobody, and just walked out. "The parcel was making peeping noises, like an electronic watch. It also poured out some sort of gas. People in the bank became suspicious.

"Someone went outside and took the number of the car in which the two white men drove off. Inside, people were becoming ill from the gas.

They called the manager, but before he could respond, there was a massive explosion."

This account of the recent Oshakati bomb blast in which 20 people were killed had been pieced together from affidavits of survivors by an official of the Ovambo Administration, Mr Oswald Shivute.

Many more people, among them Shivute's own sister, were seriously injured in the blast in the First National Bank on February 19. The police immediately blamed Swapo.

The next morning, South African aircraft bombed alleged Swapo bases in Angola. Swapo denied responsibility, and claimed that the

Recently 20 people were killed in a bomb blast at Oshakati in Namibia. The South African police immediately blamed Swapo and attacked alleged Swapo bases in Angola. TONY KARON reports.

bomb was part of a South African "dirty tricks" campaign.

"People were shocked, and very angry. Many of the people killed in the blast would have been Swapo supporters. The immediate response in Ovambo was that it could not be Swapo."

"Swapo only kills security force spies. They even first discuss it with the people in the area before they kill targets.

Oswald Shivute is not your average bantustan administrator. He had been shot at on five occasions in the course of his work.

He was recently in Cape Town to testify on the role of the SADF at the trial of conscientious objector Ivan Toms.

The Ovambo Administration is in constant conflict with its creators - the South African forces.

For example, the Administration

has expelled SADF personnel from its schools and hospitals. "They were trying to indoctrinate the people - to 'win their hearts and minds'," explained Shivute.

Ovambo is generally recognised as a Swapo stronghold. It is the only area in Namibia where black people have not been conscripted to fight against Swapo.

"Most people in Ovambo support Swapo," said Shivute.

Life in Ovambo is hard. "Sometimes you are woken up and kicked and beaten by security forces looking for Swapo. Sometimes they will come and say to you: 'Your dogs were barking last night. Which way were their heads pointed when they were barking?'"

"And you say: 'I don't know. I was in the house.' And they beat you up, because you did not go and look in which direction your dogs were barking," said Shivute.

'Windhoek Six' action condemned Botha under fire for halting trial

M66S 25/3/88

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By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha was under fire from jurists and politicians today with demands for an explanation for halting the murder trial of the "Windhoek Six".

The halting of the trial under a section of the Defence Act of the six SADF and the SWA Territorial Force members was being compared today with President Botha's refusal to use his discretion to commute the death sentences of the "Sharpeville Six" on the grounds that it would be an interference in the courts.

The Bar Councils of both SWA/Namibia and South Africa have condemned President Botha's actions.

President Botha was under fire for not answering for his actions in Parliament yesterday when the matter was raised.

The demands for an explanation from President Botha met with a firm "no comment" today.

The Progressive Federal Party vowed today not to drop the issue. PFP Law and Order spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman has already tabled questions in Parliament and Mr Dave Dalling MP, PFP justice spokesman, said the matter would be raised in the President's vote in Parliament in three weeks time.

Mr Dalling, who raised the issue in Parliament yesterday, said today President Botha "should have been in Parlia-

ment to explain his actions — but then he was very seldom in Parliament".

Mrs Suzman said today: "I am asking whether he has issued such a certificate and why."

"There seems to be in the President's mind that at all times he should act as the father protector of the SADF no matter what — with the police not far behind."

Mr Dalling said in Parliament it was ironic that President Botha had refused to intervene in the case of the "Sharpeville Six" but had stopped the due process of law in the Windhoek case.

"A jungle"

"The Government has ceased to rely on clear law and relies instead on the opinions of the executive. There is no law, it is a jungle."

According to the charge sheet, the "Windhoek Six" were accused of acting jointly or separately and had acted in the execution of a common aim which had resulted in the death of Mr Immanuel Shifidi.

They were accused of having incited 101 Battalion to disrupt a political meeting in Windhoek on November 30 1986 and of assaulting the people present.

The accused knew or should have anticipated their actions could have caused disruption, assaults and even death, according to the charge sheet.

geant van der Merwe.
In another development, Mr Klaus Merwe had n

PW's intervention bad — Council

President Botha's intervention in the Windhoek murder trial of six members of the military created the impression that two standards of obedience to the laws of the land existed — one for the ordinary citizen and another for members of the security forces, the chairman of the General Council of the Bar in South Africa, Mr Henri Viljoen, said last night.

The Windhoek Bar Council said it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited. It deplored the fact "that an incisive measure" such as the issuing of a certificate in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act (issued by the President), which "provides for a totally different situation, has been abused to prohibit judicial criminal procedure in these circumstances".

The six men were to face charges of murdering a Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo political rally on November 30 1986.

PROCEEDINGS STOPPED

Proceedings were stopped after a certificate which exempts members of the Security Forces from criminal or civil court action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area was handed in to the court at the instructions of the State President.

"If the accused are innocent due legal process would have revealed that fact. If they are guilty the protection afforded them by the executive authority is far reaching and unfortunate," Mr Viljoen said.

The creation of the impression that two standards of justice existed "does incalculable damage to the regard in which the law and the country's system of justice are held," he added.

● See Page 13.



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25/1/88

Trial ban 'harms concept of law'

The discontinuation of the Windhoek trial of six members of the military in Namibia created the impression that two standards of obedience to the laws of the land and justice existed, the chairman of the General Council of the Bar in South Africa, Mr H P Viljoen, said yesterday.

He was commenting on the trial, in which the six men faced charges of murdering a Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo political rally on November 30 1986.

Proceedings were stopped after a certificate, which exempts members of the Security Forces from criminal or civil court action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area,

was handed in to the court at the instructions of the State President.

Mr Viljoen said: "If the accused are innocent, due legal process would have revealed that fact. If they are guilty, the protection afforded them by the executive authority is far-reaching and unfortunate.

"It creates the impression that two standards of obedience to justice exist — one for the ordinary citizen and another for members of the Security Forces of the State.

"Such a perception in the mind of the nation does incalculable damage to the regard in which the law and the country's system of justice are held," Mr Viljoen said.

He said the General Council of the Bar joined in a statement by the Society of Advo-

cates for Namibia in which strong exception was taken to the interference of the executive government in the due processes of law.

The Windhoek Bar Council said in a statement on Wednesday that it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

It said it deplored the fact that "an incisive measure such as the issuing of a Section 103 ter certificate (issued by the State President), which provides for a totally different situation, had been abused to prohibit judicial criminal procedure in these circumstances".

Mr Viljoen said the members of the Defence Force who were involved in the incident includ-

ed senior Defence Force officers, two of whom were colonels — one being the Officer Commanding 101 Battalion.

"The Attorney-General of South West Africa decided, after an inquest finding by the Chief Magistrate of Windhoek and a full report by the police, that there was sufficient evidence available to indict the six Defence Force members on a charge of murder."

He said the Bar was convinced that the erosion of the confidence of the ordinary citizen, of whatever colour, in the impartiality with which the Government combated crime, irrespective of who committed it, "is far more harmful to the country than the consequences of allowing the judicial process to run its course". — Sapa.

25/3/87 (221) Star

Sowetan

Sowetan

Human rights group hits at Botha

25/3/87

221

THE Lawyers for Human Rights have criticised the State President, Mr P W Botha, for his intervention in a murder trial in Windhoek and yet refusing to do the same in the "Sharpeville Six" case.

The LHR — watchdogs for human rights — described as "devastating" Mr Botha's issuing of a certificate to stop the prosecution of six soldiers who allegedly murdered a Swapo leader at a rally in Windhoek.

The lawyers said in a statement: "Seen against his decision to grant clemency to a Mamelodi policeman who had been found guilty of murder and sentenced to death, and his refusal to intervene in the "Sharpeville Six" case, the State President has added to his office the portfolios of attorney-general, prosecutor, judge and executor.

"We as lawyers condemn his involvement in judicial matters which is unscientific and politically motivated. We decry his outright contempt for the principle of equality before the law, which is a fundamental human right."

SP 'interfered ruthlessly' with justice

25/3/88
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Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, had "ruthlessly interfered" with the normal course of justice by having murder charges against six SADF and SWATF soldiers withdrawn, Mr Dave Dalling, chief PFP justice spokesman, said yesterday.

"The government has ceased to rely on clear law and relies instead on the opinions of the executive. There is no law, it is a jungle."

Mr Dalling and Mr Peter Gastrow, NDM MP for Durban Central, called on Mr Botha to withdraw the certificate he issued to have the charges dropped.

Mr Gastrow had to withdraw allegations that Mr Botha was "sabotaging" the legal system.

The row over the six members of the SADF and SWATF who were charged with the death of Mr Emmanuel Shifidi at a political meeting in Windhoek's Katutura township comes after Mr Botha refused to bow to pressure to grant the Sharpeville Six clemency because he did not want to interfere with the courts.

"The effect of the SP's action is that the normal course of justice has been ruthlessly interfered with," Mr Dalling said.

"This is ironic for only last week the state president refused to grant clemency to the Sharpeville Six stating as one of his reasons

that he did not wish to interfere with judicial processes. How cynical can one be?"

"Secondly, persons possibly guilty of murder will go unpunished. Thirdly, confidence in and respect for our judiciary has been undermined."

"Fourthly the Defence Force is effectively put above the ordinary law of the country."

Mr Dalling said the Attorney-General had decided to prosecute after considering the evidence of more than 50 witnesses.

The charge sheet included charges of public violence and murder and alleged that about 50 members of 101 Battalion, dressed in civilian clothes and armed with traditional weapons such as pangas and kleries, had

been ordered to break up the meeting.

"In other words, due legal process was being followed and the proper administration of justice was taking its ordinary course," said Mr Dalling.

The accused would have had every opportunity to establish their innocence in a trial.

Mr Gastrow said he agreed with what Mr Dalling had said and added: "It is a scandal that the SP should be the saboteur of our legal system."

He also accused him of undermining the system but was ordered to withdraw the remarks.

It was indefensible, he said.

PW's move confusing, damaging to law - Bar

JOHANNESBURG. — The discontinuation of the Windhoek trial of six members of the military in Namibia created the impression that two standards of obedience to the laws of the land and justice existed, the chairman of the General Council of the Bar in South Africa, Mr H P Viljoen, said yesterday.

provides for a different situation, has been abused to prohibit judicial criminal procedure in these circumstances".

Mr Viljoen said the members of the Defence Force who were involved in the incident included two colonels — one the OC 101 Battalion.

The Bar was convinced that the erosion of confidence of the ordinary citizen in the impartiality with which the government combated crime "is far more harmful to the country than the allowing the judicial process to run its course". — Sapa

"If the accused are innocent due legal process would have revealed that fact. If they are guilty the protection afforded them by the executive authority is far-reaching and unfortunate.

"It creates the impression that two standards of obedience to justice exist — one for the ordinary citizen and another for members of the Security Forces of the State.

"Such a perception in the mind of the nation does incalculable damage to the regard in which the law and the country's system of justice are held."

The General Council of the Bar joined in the fully-motivated statement of the Society of Advocates for Namibia in which strong exception was taken to the interference of the executive government in the due processes of law.

The Windhoek Bar Council said in a statement on Wednesday that it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited and deplored the situation "that an incisive measure such as the issuing of a Section 103 ter certificate (issued by the President), which

w/ more 25-30/3/88

PW saves top soldiers from murder trial

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek (22)

A MURDER trial involving four high-ranking officers of the South African Defence Force was struck from the Windhoek Supreme Court roll this week after President PW Botha issued a certificate banning the trial in terms of the Defence Act.

Due to appear in the supreme court were four white officers, a corporal and a private on charges arising from the death of Swapo member Immanuel Shifidi at a meeting in 1986.

Dramatic evidence of army involvement in the death of Shifidi emerged at the inquest last year into the fatal stabbing of the Swapo nationalist.

The inquest court received a signed affidavit revealing that more than 50 members of a South African army battalion had been ferried from northern Namibia to Windhoek with the intention of disrupting the Swapo meeting at which Shifidi was killed.

According to the affidavit, the soldiers, all members of 101 Battalion at Ondangua, were transported to the capital the day before Swapo was to hold its last meeting of 1986.

They were all black volunteers, dressed in civilian clothing and armed with knives, pangas, clubs and bows and arrows.

Two white soldiers at the 101 Battalion base had paid two bus drivers R1 080 each to take 54 101 Battalion members on a "round trip" to Windhoek and back, the court heard.

At the Swapo rally, the soldiers infiltrated the crowd and began stoning and beating supporters. Chaos erupted and it was at this stage that Shifidi was stabbed in the chest. He died minutes later.

The November 30, 1986 meeting, attended by more than 2 000 people, was eventually broken up by police in armoured Caëspir vehicles who fired teargas and rubber bullets into the fleeing crowd.

Ten months later, the attorney general, Estienne Pretorius, announced six members of the SADF were being charged with the murder of Shifidi.

His decision to go ahead with a prosecution followed an intensive two-month police investigation, which alleged a conspiracy involving Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas

Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Private Steven Festus. Welgemoed is the officer commanding 101 Battalion.

At their first appearance in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court, all six pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, public violence and alternative charges of contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act and were released on a total bail of R5 000.

Botha issued the certificate banning the trial this week while he was meeting the South African-appointed administrator general of Namibia, Louis Pienaar, in Cape Town.

Pienaar signed the certificate, known as a 103 ter of the 1957 Defence Act; that section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civilian court action if they "act in good faith in the combat of terrorism in an operational area". Pienaar yesterday handed the certificate to the attorney general, who had no alternative but to halt the trial.

The Shifidi's lawyers have confirmed the matter would not rest: "We are definitely going to have a very close look at this certificate, which prevents the court from adjudicating on what are very serious charges."

... in the USSR (Z Mokhov): Guerillas...

THE ARTS/BOOKS

A perspective on SA's Vietnam

NAMIBIA IN PERSPECTIVE
 Edited by Gerhard Totemeyer,
 Vezera Kandetu and Wolfgang
 Werner (Namibian Council of
 Churches)

THE history of Namibia is rich in Delphic insights into the future of Southern Africa. South Africa has, in many ways, in the last decade used Namibia as a test bed for its military and political innovations as also its socio-political engineering. This exercise has been most revealing of the National Party government mind. *Namibia in Perspective* touches on numbers of most relevant and revealing issues.

It is now more than 20 years that the war in Namibia has been waged. Year after year the generals of the South African Defence Force have referred to Swapo being on the verge of extinction: yet year after year the scale of military operations and the intensity of legal curbs has grown.

South Africa's grip over Namibia is maintained by dint of military occupation faintly garnished with a constitutional veneer comprising, *inter alia*, a chimerical multi-party congress (MPC) government installed by the South Africa government but bereft of meaningful legitimacy — despite the presence in the MPC government of one-time South African government opponents like Andreas Shipanga and Moses Katjuongua.

Though the world and the people of Namibia may shrug off the MPC government, Pretoria remains in deadly earnest. That is one reason why the Namibian model is so poignantly relevant to South Africa's destiny.

South Africa's political, administrative and constitutional structures in Namibia are designed — a la King Canute — to hold back the tide of black liberation and provide Pretoria with a client administration. To withdraw from Namibia and to allow fair and free elections in terms of UN Resolution 435 would in National Party expectation induce the destruction of apartheid and thus undermine the National Party in its struggle against the *verkrampies*. To stave off this Götterdämmerung and preserve the National Party's monopoly of power the war has been pursued remorselessly; 12 000 Namibians have been killed and many thousands have been injured or driven into exile.

Namibia itself has — apart from meaningful inroads into petty apartheid — become an exercise in super-apartheid, with each ethnic government maintaining an ethnic as well as a geographic jurisdiction over its subjects, in theory, each with its own parliament, its own administration, its own hospitals, its own civil service.

The Namibian adventure has created a giant, bloated civil service riddled with corruption — at the end of the day an invaluable device for winning over various individuals to the cause of the South African government.

It has been calculated that with a population officially estimated at just over one million, Namibia possesses 16 100 public servants working for the central government and 20 400 working for the second tier government (this was in 1985), with an estimated average of one public servant for every 28 Namibians. There are 251 politicians serving in ethnic governments costing R3,8-million a year; the costs of war have been estimated as being over R2-million a day.

In the area of security legislation there has been a consistent tightening of the screws; nu-

merous are the reports of atrocities and deaths at the hands of soldiers and policemen.

The end of the war is nowhere in sight. For those political observers familiar with terrain in the north, the South Africans are winning neither the military nor the political battle.

The answer is perhaps crisply expressed in the words of Major General Charles Lloyd of the SADF who in a BBC interview said: "We can actually destroy our military enemies. But this is not to say that we will destroy Swapo. Swapo is a political thing as well, that is in the minds of the people. Bullets kill bodies not minds ..."

With this very problem in mind the SADF has made special efforts to foster political support in Namibia through the agency of "cultural organisations" namely Ezuva, as also Etango and Ejuva brought into existence by the SADF. It would seem that the SADF generals consider that politics is too serious to be left to the politicians and this venture into a neo *kulturkampf* modelled on Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuurvereniging lines of particular interest to a reader concerned with the growing influence of the military in the political and constitutional life of South Africa as well as the new joint management control system which is being developed throughout the Republic.

Many of these intriguing facts appear in the book. *Namibia in Perspective* also touches on legal repression and the assault on human rights in Namibia.

Certain chapters are ably written by lawyers who are steeped in the atmosphere of forensic conflict in Namibia. Other articles deal with the role and exploitation of women, the development of community organisations and the role of education.

The chapter *Crisis of legitimacy experienced by the interim government*, written by Gerhard Totemeyer, is particularly valuable.

The book reveals the vivid contrast between the democratic rhetoric of multi-party conference leaders and their immediate willingness, once in power, to cut-down on human rights and extend their co-operation, to the extent of nullifying the prosecution of SADF members charged with the murder of civilians.

David Simon and Richard Moorsen have written an insightful chapter on Namibia's political economy and the implication for the future. It is regrettably not possible to deal with the other articles in a review of this scope.

The articles vary in quality and scope. There are far too many symptoms of indifferent editing and it is a matter for regret that there is no chapter which seeks to throw light on the most recent developments in the war zone both north and south of the Kunene.

This collection of articles is nonetheless indispensable reading for those readers interested in the destiny of South Africa's Vietnam.

David Soggot

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Law men criticise exemption of 6

26/3/88

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The discontinuation of the Windhoek trial of six members of the military in Namibia created the impression that two standards of obedience to the laws of the land and justice existed, said the chairman of the General Council of the Bar in South Africa, Mr H P Viljoen.

He was commenting on the trial in which the six men faced charges of murdering a Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo political rally on November 30 1986.

Proceedings were stopped after a certificate, which exempts members of the Security Forces from criminal or civil court action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area, was handed in to the court at the instructions of the State President.

Mr Viljoen said: "If the accused are innocent, due legal process would have revealed that fact. If they are guilty, the protection afforded them by the executive authority is far-reaching and unfortunate.

"It creates the impression that two

standards of obedience to justice exist — one for the ordinary citizen and another for members of the Security Forces of the State.

"Such a perception in the mind of the nation does incalculable damage to the regard in which the law and the country's system of justice are held," Mr Viljoen said.

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The Windhoek Bar Council said in a statement on Wednesday that it had learnt "with shock and disbelief" that the trial had been prohibited.

It said it deplored the fact that "an incisive measure such as the issuing of a Section 103 ter certificate (issued by the State President), which provides for a totally different situation, had been abused to prohibit judicial criminal procedure in these circumstances".

Mr Viljoen said the members of the Defence Force who were involved in the incident included senior officers. — Sapa.

PW's decision to stop 221 soldiers' trial slated

DID 26/3/88

WINDHOEK — The Minister of Justice in the SWA/Namibian transitional Cabinet, Mr Fanuelk Kozonguizi, yesterday expressed regret at the presidential intervention to stop the trial of six soldiers in connection with the murder of a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi.

The South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha, last week authorised the issuing of a certificate in terms of section 103 ter (4) of the Defence Act to stop the trial of the six, including four commissioned officers.

The State President's decision was severely criticised from various quarters, including the Windhoek Bar Council, which stated a section 103

ter certificate provided for "a completely different situation".

The particular section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civil court proceedings if they acted in good faith in the combat of terrorism in an operational area.

Observers said that on the face of the state's case in the Shifidi trial none of the three requirements had been met.

It could not be established in Windhoek yesterday whether interested parties, including the Shifidi family, intended challenging the State President's decision.

● The National Students' Federation said yesterday it was dismayed at State President's move. —Sapa

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PW's halt of murder trial to be challenged

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — President Botha's certificate which indemnified six Defence Force soldiers from facing a murder charge is to be challenged in the Supreme Court here this week.

Prosecution of the six men was ordered after an inquest found Mr Shifidi's death had been caused by a group of unknown men who attacked the rally with knives, pangas, knobkerries, bows and arrows.

Mr Hartmut Ruppel, legal representative of the family of Mr Immanuel Shifidi, the man the six are alleged to have murdered, confirmed they were applying to have President Botha's certificate declared invalid.

The inquest heard that a number of soldiers in civilian clothes were taken from a military base in Owambo to Windhoek just before the rally. The soldiers were seen with a variety of weapons.

The certificate was issued last week just before six soldiers, including four white officers, were to go on trial.

Swapo claimed after Mr Shifidi's death that members of the South West Africa Territory Force were responsible for the killing, and in particular members of the 101 Owambo Battalion.

Mr Shifidi died in violence at a Swapo rally in Windhoek's Katutura township on November 30 1986.

Four of those charged with the murder of Mr Shifidi were from 101 Battalion, including its commander, Colonel Willem Welgemoed.

Apartheid must be the bottom line in any constitutional arrangements in Namibia so long as South Africa has anything to do with the territory.

This much emerged chillingly clear when Pretoria's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, delivered the opening address to the Caprivi Legislative Assembly in Katima Mulilo.

South Africa finds it "totally unacceptable" that there should be any political dispensation other than one built on ethnic lines, Mr Pienaar said.

His words have sent shockwaves through the six-party Transitional Government and have spawned the most serious crisis the administration has faced since it took office in June 1985.

Both Swanu leader Mr Moses Katjuongua (Minister of Health) and Mr Andreas Shipanga (Minister of Mines) have threatened to pull out of the government if Pretoria maintains an "apartheid at all costs" stance.

Despite their empty threats on previous occasions to quit the South African-appointed government, both Mr Katjuongua and Mr Shipanga are closer now than at any other time to giving effect to their warnings of "dire consequences". Both maintain they joined the Transitional Government to begin to dismantle the entrenched system of racial discrimination and not, as Mr Shipanga put it, "to sleep with apartheid".

At issue are two South African Government proclamations — AG8 of 1980 and R101 of 1985.

AG8 is the decree which set up the current, apartheid-style system of separate ethnic administrations, while R101 is the edict which set up the Transitional Government in 1985. Included in Proclamation R101 is a Declaration of Fundamental Rights drawn up by the six parties of the

Shockwaves as Pretoria spells it out for Namibia

government, who were formerly loosely allied in the Multi-Party Conference.

The Supreme Court in Windhoek declared this month, in an advisory legal opinion, that the AG8 system of administration was in conflict with the Declaration of Fundamental Rights, because it discriminated against some Namibians purely on the basis of skin colour. Specifically, the court found that whites enjoy far more in financial and social service benefits (including health, education and pensions) than does any other ethnic community.

Four of the six parties in the Transitional Government — Swanu, Mr Shipanga's Swapo-Democrats, the DTA group of Mr Dirk Mudge and the coloured Labour Party — welcomed the court's finding. The remaining two parties — the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party — rejected it.

South Africa has long supported the NP-SWA in its attempts to defend the system of ethnic representation as the best way of guaranteeing "white minority rights" under a future black government. Indeed, the NP-SWA's proposed draft constitution makes provision for the establishment of the AG8-type ethnic structures that Mr Pienaar was referring to in Katima Mulilo.

Brendan Seery reports from Windhoek on the worst crisis the Transitional Government has yet faced.

The majority group in the government proposed, by contrast, a constitution which would scrap ethnic divisions and revolve around one-man-one-vote democracy.

The question now uppermost in everybody's minds is: does this all mean the beginning of the end for the Transitional Government?

Mr Katjuongua and Mr Shipanga will find their already limited and damaged credibility evaporating if they remain in a situation where the apartheid status quo is maintained. Although Mr Mudge is out of the country at present on a visit to the United States, he is likely to adopt a similar view, having campaigned vigorously against AG8.

The Labour Party would also be likely to go along with its three allies. If all three quit the government, South Africa would be left with only the NP-SWA and the Rehoboth group and the hollow echoes of the crumbling of the Transitional Government as one of "national unity". Yet there are indications that

South Africa has been casting around for other willing partners to play the "own administration game". Pretoria has pointed out on a number of occasions that the parties of the Transitional Government have not been elected and would probably command little support. Also, the majority of the territory's population in the Owambo region have no representation in the current set-up, Pretoria has said.

Mr Katjuongua and Mr Shipanga clearly fear that South Africa will either abrogate agreements and commitments in terms of R101, or seek to amend either that proclamation or AG8 to cut the ground from under the feet of the left-leaning groups in the Transitional Government.

Of course, there is always the option — which Pretoria has exercised before in previous constitutional experiments in Namibia — of "pulling the plug" altogether on the Windhoek politicians and starting again from scratch with those more amenable to the South African point of view.

In any event, it is clear that Pretoria has now said once and for all it will brook no argument in its policy that ethnicity be of paramount importance in any political dispensation in Namibia. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Shifidi's daughter challenges PW move to halt murder trial

3/3/88 Star 221
WINDHOEK — Lawyers for the Shifidi family yesterday served documents challenging the validity of a decision by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to halt the Supreme Court murder trial of six soldiers.

They were to have faced charges of public violence and the murder of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Immanuel Shifidi at a Swapo public meeting in Katutura township outside Windhoek in 1986.

The six are: Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nikolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

On the instructions of President Botha a certificate to halt proceedings in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act was issued by the administrator-general

of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar.

The section indemnifies members of the security forces from criminal prosecution or civil action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area.

Challenging the ruling is the dead man's daughter, Miss Hilda Shifidi, who says in a sworn statement: "It is a matter of great concern to me that those who have been implicated in the killing of my father should be brought to justice."

She submits that the issuing of the certificate is outside the scope of Section 103, since there is no factual basis to believe the accused acted in good faith in connection with "the suppression or prevention of terrorism". Nor did the death and violent disruption of the political meeting take place in an operational area. — Sapa.

CNG links 31/3/88

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Family challenges PW's decision to stop murder trial

WINDHOEK. — Attorneys for the Shifidi family yesterday served documents challenging the validity of a decision by President P W Botha to halt the murder trial of six soldiers in the Supreme Court here, lawyers said.

The six were to have faced charges of public violence and murder of a veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a Swapo public meeting at Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30, 1986.

The six are Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nikolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

At the instructions of the State President, a certificate in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act was issued by the Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, to stop the proceedings.

The section indemnifies members of the security forces from

criminal prosecution or civil action if they act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area.

The applicant in the pending hearing is Mr Shifidi's daughter, Miss Hilda Shifidi.

As respondents are cited Mr Pienaar, Mr Botha, the SWA/Namibian Attorney-General, Mr Estienne Pretorius, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

'Full-scale riot'

In a sworn statement annexed to the summons, Miss Shifidi said: "It is a matter of great concern to me that those who have been implicated in the killing of my father should be brought to justice."

The applicant submits that the issuing of the certificate was outside the scope of Section 103, since there is no factual basis to believe the accused have acted "in good faith" in connection with "the suppression or prevention of terrorism" and that it is "not in the national interest" for the prosecution to go ahead.

Neither did the alleged murder

and the violent disruption of the political meeting take place in an "operational area" as defined by the Defence Act.

According to the charge sheet annexed to the summons, the accused acted in common purpose to incite a 54-member detachment of Ovambo's 101 Battalion to infiltrate the meeting in civilian dress and to attack those present with spears, bows and arrows, knives, sticks and stones.

The fighting developed into a "full-scale riot" in which Mr Shifidi was killed, several other people were injured and property was damaged, the charge sheet said.

The accused should have foreseen the consequences of their actions, it added.

Taking into account all the circumstances, Miss Shifidi said, the issuing of the certificate was not in compliance with the provisions of Section 103 of the Defence Act.

The respondents have 14 days to notify the Windhoek Supreme Court whether they intend opposing the application. — Sapa

In dealing with T.H. White's Arthurian writings, one encounters a technical problem: there is no final, satisfactorily unified and consistent version of White's work. He himself wanted a five-volume edition of the Once and Future Kings; although

CAPE TIMES 1/4/88

'Limpet mine' blast

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WINDHOEK. — A bomb, thought to be a limpet mine, exploded at a petrol station at Arandis, near Swakopmund, on Tuesday night, police reported here. Considerable damage was caused but there were no casualties, as the premises were deserted at the time.

Mine blast victim ²²¹ nearing end of duty

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African soldier killed in a landmine blast in the operational area in SWA/Namibia at the weekend was to have completed his military service in July this year.

The death of Second Lieutenant Jacobus Hendrik Diederichs, 27, was announced in a statement by Defence Headquarters in Pretoria.

He is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs J J Diederichs, of 4 Begonia Road, Thabazimbi; and a 21-year old sister, Magda-Marie.

His mother said the family last saw her son in October, but that they had heard from him in February.

"He said he was looking forward to coming home," Mrs Diederichs said.

He was educated at the Hoërskool Transvalia in Vanderbijlpark, after which he studied for a teaching diploma at Potchefstroom University. Mrs Diederichs said it was his intention to study further after he completed his military service.

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, extended his condolences.

Ethnic issue to be top of the agenda tomorrow

221 B/day
7/4/88

PW to hold talks in 'turbulent' Namibia

WINDHOEK — President P W Botha flies into Namibia amid political turbulence when he visits Windhoek tomorrow for high-powered talks in the territory.

He is to be accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Malan, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and National Education and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

Political sources in Windhoek said the talks with the transitional government and leaders outside the central authority would acquaint Botha at first hand with the latest political situation.

The main item on the agenda is the question of constitutional guarantees for group rights and elections on a regional or ethnic basis — issues of sharp division within the transitional government.

Under discussion will be a

document completed this week by a constitutional committee of the transitional cabinet, which follows last month's Windhoek Supreme Court advisory ruling that the territory's controversial Proclamation AG 8 clashed with the Fundamental Rights Bill.

The proclamation, decreed in 1980 by Viljoen, then administrator-general, provides for the institution of second-tier administrations for each of the territory's officially recognised 11 ethnic groups.

The transitional government majority opposes ethnic governments as disguised apartheid-style structures.

The right-wing, exclusively white SWA National Party and the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party, however, pulled out of the cabinet constitutional committee last week, indicating that they would formulate their own constitutional proposals for dis-

cussion with Botha.

Botha and his entourage may encounter demonstrations against his intervention in the trial of six soldiers charged with the murder of veteran Swapo member and former Robben Island prisoner Immanuel Shifidi.

Shifidi became a martyr when he died during the alleged 1986 break-up of a Swapo public meeting at Katatura by a group of 101 Battalion soldiers.

Our correspondent reports from Cape Town that Botha's political foe Archbishop Desmond Tutu will also be in Namibia tomorrow on an important visit.

A group of Anglican bishops will hold a series of services in northern Namibia tomorrow and on Saturday.

Their visit to the operational area is a prelude to the meeting of the Anglican synod of bishops in Windhoek next week. — Sapa.

SWA leader snubs PW over trial

ARGUS 7/4/88 221

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — President Botha's halting of the trial of six Defence Force soldiers in Windhoek last month has led to his being snubbed by one of SWA/Namibia's most influential politicians.

Mr Justus Garoeb, leader of the Damara Council and chairman of the Damara Administration, said yesterday he had turned down an invitation to meet Mr Botha tomorrow when he visited Namibia.

Mr Garoeb said his refusal was due to Mr Botha's action last month in halting the trial of six SADF soldiers accused of murdering a Swapo member.

Important

The Damara leader said, however, that he and his party did not rule out future discussions with Pretoria.

When Mr Botha's visit was announced, it was said he would meet both the six-party Transitional Government and other politicians.

Political observers speculated that Mr Garoeb and Owambo leader Mr Peter Kalangula were the most important men outside the Transitional Government that Mr Botha would want to meet.

South Africa has made it known for some time that it is concerned that the Windhoek administration is not representative and Mr Garoeb and Mr Kalangula together represent a sizeable part of the population which has so far remained aloof from the political process in Windhoek.

It is also being said in political circles here that Mr Kalangula would be unlikely to accept Mr Botha's invitation in the light of Mr Garoeb's refusal. Both have adopted anti-South African stances for some time, calling for the withdrawal of the SADF and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

The snub by Mr Garoeb followed a plea from a German group, IG, to President Botha not to delay the independence process in Namibia by holding ethnic elections. IG also sharply criticised the State President for interfering in the judicial process by halting the trial of the "Windhoek Six".

Mr Botha will head a high-powered delegation for what are the most important talks about this country since the Transitional Government was installed by him in June 1985.

According to the chairman of the Cabinet in Windhoek, Mr Moses Katjuongua, talks between his government and the South Africans will centre on the question of ethnic or regional elections and the constitutional deadlock.

Mr Botha will be accompanied by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and National Education Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

SA will put forward election proposals

PW to spearhead talks in Namibia

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SPPA
7/4/88

The Star's Africa
News Service

A high-powered South African Government delegation, led by President Botha, is due in Windhoek tomorrow morning for crucial talks with Namibia's six-party Transitional Government.

Mr Botha will be accompanied by four Cabinet Ministers — General Magnus Malan (Defence), Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Mr Barend du Plessis (Finance) and Dr Gerrit Viljoen (National Education).

The one-day visit will be only the second Mr Botha has made to Namibia in his official capacity in the past three years.

He was in Windhoek for the inauguration of the Transitional Government in June 1985.

Windhoek's Health Minister and Cabinet chairman, Mr Moses Katjuongua, said tomorrow's discussions would centre on South African proposals for elections in Namibia and on the current constitutional debate.

The South Africans have al-

ready said that Mr Botha will be meeting political leaders outside the Transitional Government.

Political observers speculated that Mr Justus Garoeb and Owambo leader Mr Peter Kalangula were the most important men outside the Transitional Government whom Mr Botha wanted to meet.

But even before he arrives in Windhoek, he has been snubbed by the influential black politician, Mr Garoeb. The leader of the Damara Council and chairman of the Damara Administration said yesterday he had turned down an invitation to meet Mr Botha. He explained that his refusal to meet the President was due to Mr Botha's action last month in halting the trial of six SADF soldiers accused of murdering a Swapo member.

FUTURE TALKS NOT OUT

But Mr Garoeb said he and his party did not rule out future discussions with Pretoria.

South Africa has made it known for some time that it is concerned that the current Windhoek admin-

istration is not representative and that between them, Mr Garoeb and Mr Kalangula represent a sizeable portion of the country which has so far remained aloof from the political process in Windhoek.

It is also being said in political circles here that Mr Kalangula will be unlikely to accept Mr Botha's invitation in the light of Mr Garoeb's refusal. Both men have for some time adopted virulent anti-South African stances, calling in particular for SADF withdrawal from the north of the country and the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 settlement plan.

The German interest-group, the IG, issued a statement calling on President Botha not to "delay" the independence process in Namibia by insisting on ethnic elections.

For the Transitional Government, discussions with Mr Botha and his delegation will centre on two controversial issues — elections and constitutional proposals. The six-party coalition is split 4-2 on both counts.

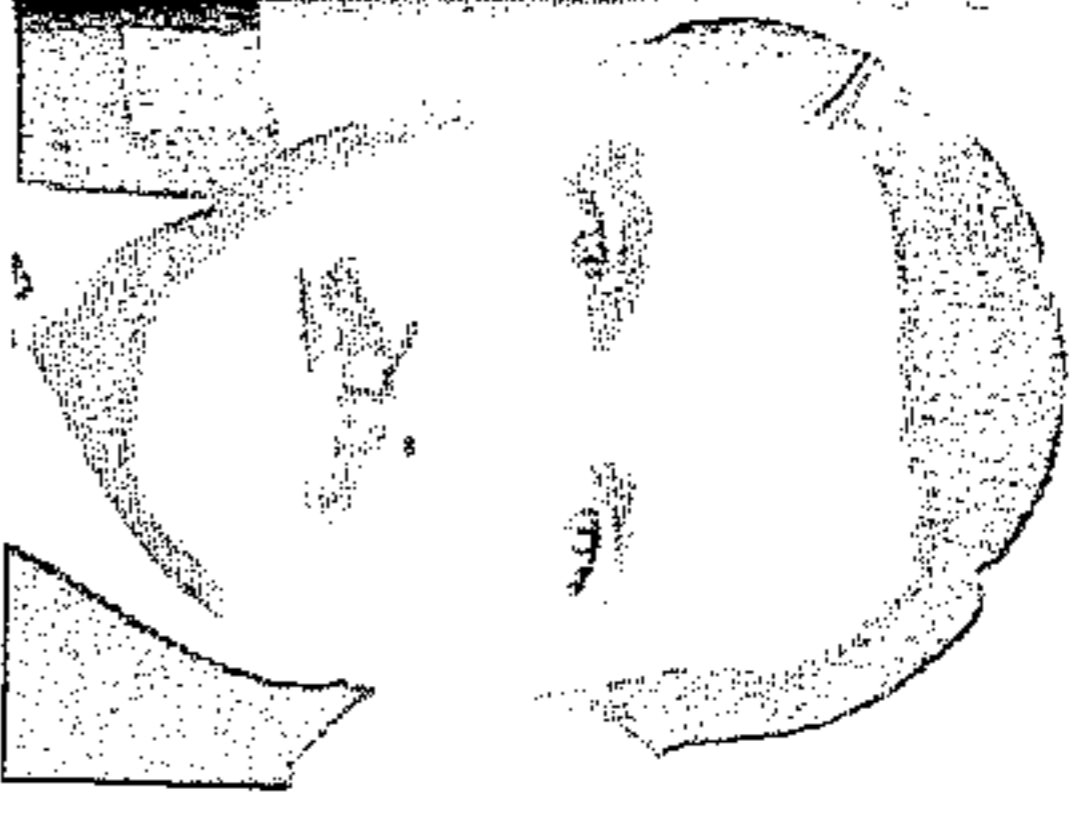
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SA delegation jets into Windhoek

for talks amid gathering storm

b/p 7/14/88

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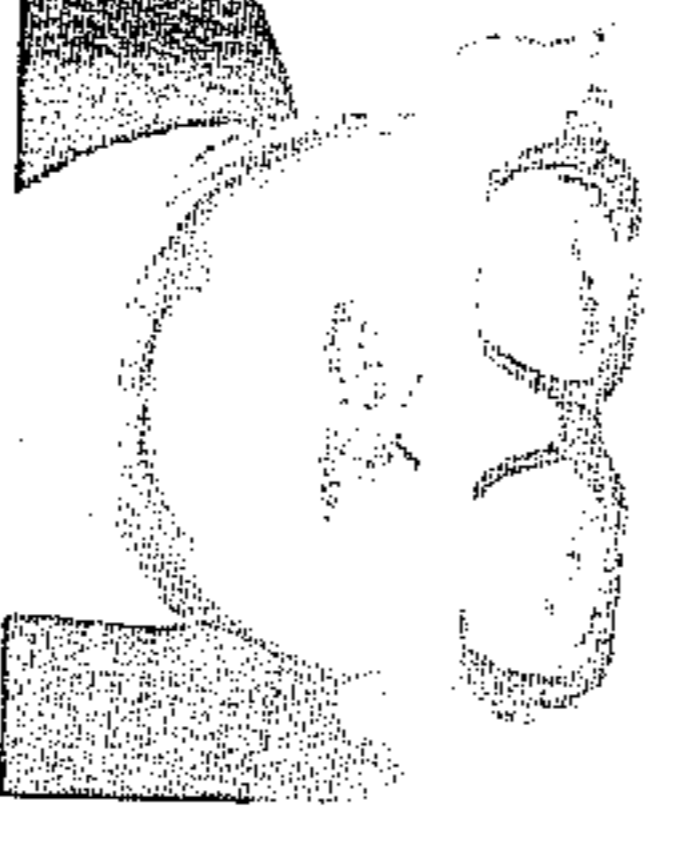
MR P. W. BOTHA



GEN MALAN



MR DR PLESSIS



DR VIJJOEN

WINDHOEK — The South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha, will fly into SWA/Namibia and political turbulence, when he visits Windhoek tomorrow for high-powered talks on the territory.

He is to be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Minister of National Education and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Political sources in Windhoek said the talks with the transitional government and leaders outside the central authority would give Mr Botha first hand information on the latest political situation in the territory.

The main item on the agenda is the question of constitutional guarantees for group rights and elections on a regional or ethnic basis.

These are issues of sharp division within the SWA/Namibian transitional government.

Under discussion will be a document completed this week by a constitutional committee of the transitional cabinet.

This follows last month's Windhoek Supreme Court advisory that the territory's controversial Proclamation AG 8 clashed with the Fundamental Rights Bill.

The proclamation, decreed in 1980 by the administrator-general at the time, Dr Viljoen, provides for the institution of second-tier administrations for each of the officially-recognised 11 ethnic groups in the territory.

The transitional government majority view the ethnic governments as disguised apartheid-style structures which are costly to sustain and which should be abolished.

The right-wing, exclusively white, SWA National Party and the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party, however, pulled out of the cabinet constitutional committee.

They indicated that they would formulate their own constitutional proposals for discussion with the state president.

The administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, has repeatedly stated that South Africa has a right to be heard in constitutional decisions — making as long as it remains involved in SWA/Namibia through administration, defence and financial aid.

Mr Pienaar, who represents the state president in Windhoek, said South Africa would lose its constitutional input in SWA/Namibia only when the territory started the run-up to final independence.

These public provisions are further complicating factors at the talks.

Previously, constitutional arrangements had to be approved by the South African Parliament.

The SWA/Namibian transitional government was not empowered by law to introduce its own interim constitution.

Mr Pienaar said South Africa's clear standpoint was that provision had to be made to accommodate those population groups who wished to maintain ethnically.

Another complicating factor at tomorrow's meeting is the attendance of the chairman of the Ovambo Administration, Mr Peter Kalangula.

South Africa is known to be keen to attract the estimated 600 000 Ovambos to join the internal constitutional process.

The Ovambo last held elections in the seventies, but so far negotiations have failed to bring Mr Kalangula into the transitional government.

Mr Kalangula has repeatedly stated his opposition to ethnic government and to South Africa's continued control of SWA/Namibia.

The chairman of the Damara administration, Mr Justus Garoeb, head of about 90 000 Damaras, has refused an invitation to attend the talks.

Mr Garoeb has been aligned with Swapo since 1984, after initially participating in the multi-party conference which predated the inauguration of the transitional government in 1985.

He said the refusal was in protest at Mr Botha's intervention to indemnify six soldiers, including four commissioned officers, from prosecution for the alleged murder of a Swapo member, Mr Immanuel Shifidi.

Other topics of discussion at the meeting include the latest diplomatic initiatives on SWA/Namibia, the security situation in south-



MR P. W. BOTHA

ern Africa and financial arrangements between the Republic and the territory.

Observers expect strict security precautions to be in evidence when Mr Botha and the senior cabinet members take their seats at South West Africa House on Friday.

The Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will also be in Namibia on Friday important visits.

A group of Anglican bishops led by Archbishop Tutu will be holding a series of church services in northern Namibia at the weekend.

Their visit to the operational area is a prelude to the meeting of the Anglican synod of bishops in Windhoek next week. Sapa

Alter Namibia

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MPs

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Three Conservative MPs have called on the British government to seek to amend UN Resolution 435 on proposed independence for Namibia.

Mr Michael Grylls, Ms Teresa Gorman and Mr Andrew Hunter visited Namibia as guests of the Transitional Government (TGNU) in February. They have called on the British government to take steps to amend Resolution 435 to ensure that a Namibian constitution is agreed before independence elections, as opposed to post-independence, as envisaged by the resolution.

"A constitutional conference, prior to the elections, to put parties on an equal footing and to foment national reconciliation is essential. The British government should assist in organizing such a conference."

Swapo

The MPs said in a report on their visit that the TGNU must be allowed by South Africa and the international community to exercise the right to self-determination as representatives of a large section of the Namibian people.

They take the UN to task for regarding Swapo as the "sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people.

"It is extremely unlikely that elections will be 'free and fair' if the referee is wearing the colours of one side. Indeed, it would seem illogical to hold such elections if the 'legitimate' representative has already been decided."

Carl Lewis 8/16/88 (221)

Namibia: apartheid to go or stay?

By JIM FREEMAN

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, flies to Windhoek today with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan to meet behind closed doors with an eight-member Namibian Cabinet deeply divided on whether apartheid has a future in the country.

It will be the State President's first visit to Windhoek in more than two years, as well as the first meeting with the Cabinet of the transitional government since last March.

President Botha has been pressuring the transitional government to broaden its base of support since its inception nearly three years ago, and he is losing patience as the politicians procrastinate.

One thing is certain, whether the 1,2m inhabitants of Namibia seek the repeal of remaining segregationist legislation, Mr Botha and his appointee in the territory, Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, are determined to maintain the status quo.

The Windhoek Supreme Court a month

ago advised that continued adherence to the cornerstone of ethnicity in the territory — Proclamation AG-8 of 1980 — was a human rights violation and contrary to the transitional government's charter.

Proclamation AG-8 empowers each of Namibia's 11 ethnic groups to maintain own facilities and levy taxes. More importantly, each racial authority has the right to hold elections.

The administrator-general, on a recent tour of the various second-tier authorities, questioned the findings of the court and stated bluntly that the scrapping of Proclamation AG-8 by the transitional government would not be acceptable to Pretoria.

He implied that Namibians would have to live with apartheid for the foreseeable future.

Apart from considerations of appeasing the already conservative whites, the right of the ethnic governments to hold elections is the prime reason for the adherence to AG-8.

The largest ethnic groups in Namibia are the Ovambos and the Kavangos, whose numbers constitute more than half

of the total population.

There is no meaningful Ovambo or Kavango representation in the transitional government, both groups insisting on own elections as a *sine qua non* of even considering participation in national politics.

The South African government having stated that the United Nations settlement plan for Namibia is dead, a "go it alone" approach looks likely.

This can only be done successfully if the majority of the people in the territory approve such a move.

The politicians in the Namibian capital are bracing themselves for bad news on Friday: elections loom in the near future, even if it means learning to live with ethnicity.

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PW in
Windhoek
for peace
talks

WINDHOEK.— The South African President, Mr P W Botha, and four of his senior Cabinet Ministers begin meetings in Windhoek today with a number of SWA/Namibian political leaders in a determined bid to find an acceptable constitutional arrangement for the territory.

Mr Botha, who arrived in Windhoek yesterday, is accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan; the Finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis; the Minister of National Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and top-ranking government officials.

The high-powered South African delegation is clear evidence of Pretoria's resolve to put an end to the internecine strife on constitutional issues that plague the territory.

First to meet the presidential delegation at South West Africa House today are the eight members of the SWA/Namibian transitional Cabinet.

On the table for discussion are two sets of constitutional proposals dealing with the protection of group rights.

ETHNIC LEADERS

The meeting with the SWA/Namibian Cabinet will be followed by a series of interviews with ethnic leaders, including the chairman of the numerically powerful Ovambo Administration, Mr Peter Kalangula.

Observers expect that elections in SWA/Namibia on either a regional or ethnic basis will feature strongly on the agenda.

Political sources in Windhoek said other topics of discussion at today's meetings included briefings by the South Africans on the security situation in Southern Africa, latest diplomatic initiatives concerning SWA/Namibian independence, and financial arrangements between the Republic and the territory.

Mr Botha and his entourage leave Windhoek for Cape Town later today. — Sapa.

Tutu arrives for week-long tour of SWA/Namibia

D/D 8/4/88

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WINDHOEK — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, arrived in SWA/Namibia yesterday for a week-long visit.

The visit will include a pilgrimage to the country's war-torn northern province.

He heads a delegation of Anglican bishops who will travel today to the remote scene of a grinding bush war between South African-led forces and guerillas.

The bishops will hold two services in the war zone.

They will then return to Windhoek for a synod next week of Anglican bishops from throughout Southern Africa.

Archbishop Tutu said the trip was intended to highlight the 10th anni-



ARCHBISHOP TUTU

versary of the adoption of United Nations Resolution 435, a blueprint for SWA/Namibian independence.

"It's our way in our church of expressing solidarity with the people of Namibia in their call for independence and the implementation of Resolution 435, with free elections sponsored by the United Nations."

This year was also the 10th anniversary of a

bloody South African raid against Kassinga, a SWA/Namibian guerilla base in southern Angola, Archbishop Tutu said.

A service will be held tomorrow in the northern town of Oshakati, where 27 people were killed in a bomb blast earlier this year.

Archbishop Tutu's visit coincides with a trip to SWA/Namibia by the South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Botha have been the main protagonists in a conflict between church and state in South Africa, sparked by the outspoken criticism of government policies by Archbishop Tutu and other anti-apartheid church leaders. — Sapa

(221)

President and archbishop on separate visits

Namibia hosts top men of Church, State

WINDHOEK — The State President, Mr P W Botha, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, arrived in Windhoek yesterday on separate visits.

Mr Botha is to hold talks today with Namibian political leaders.

And Archbishop Tutu is on a week-long visit which will include a pilgrimage to the country's war-torn northern province.

The State President was accompanied by the

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha; the Defence Minister General Magnus Malan; the Minister of National Education and Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen; the Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and top-ranking government officials, including the Secretary General to the State President's office, Mr Jannie le Roux.

Mr Botha and his entourage were met on the apron of Windhoek's suburban Eros Airport by

the current chairman of the Namibian transitional Cabinet, Mr Moses Katjuongua; the Administrator-General Mr Louies Pienaar; the Minister of Finance Mr Dirk Mudge; the Minister of Justice Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi and the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer.

After a brief exchange of pleasantries, the South African delegation was whisked away in a motorcade to South West

Africa House where Mr Pienaar was to host a welcoming function for the visitors last night.

A small group of demonstrators greeted the State President's procession outside the security compound of Eros Airport.

Placards lining the streets welcomed Mr Botha to the Territory and urged him to "Protect own rights" in Namibia.

Archbishop Tutu heads a delegation of Anglican bishops who travel today to remote northern Namibia, scene of a grinding bush war.

Services

The bishops will hold two services in the war zone before returning to the Namibian capital for a synod next week of Anglican bishops from throughout southern Africa.

The archbishop said the trip was intended to highlight the 10th anniversary of the adoption of United Nations Resolution 435, a blueprint for Namibian independence.

"It's our way in our church of expressing solidarity with the people of Namibia in their call for independence and the implementation of Resolution 435, with free elections sponsored by the UN," Archbishop Tutu told Reuters.

A service will be held tomorrow in the northern town of Oshakati where 27 people were killed in a bomb blast earlier this year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Senior NP men to visit Hillbrow flatland soon

By Esmaré van der Merwe

A major Government announcement on the Group Areas Act is expected following a visit to Johannesburg's Hillbrow flatland on April 27 by senior Government officials.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Mr Piet Badenhorst, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly, will pay the first official Government visit to the multiracial suburb on April 27.

Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, is expected to accompany Mr Meyer and Mr Badenhorst to a meeting with residents and business groups. The delegation will also be conducted on an evening trip through Hillbrow, The Star was told.

Conservative Party and Progressive Federal Party spokesmen yesterday strongly criticised the visit, which has been organised by the National Party, as a meaningless publicity stunt prior to the October municipal elections.

Both the NP and the CP are to announce detailed strategies for their municipal election campaigns soon.

The NP's Johannesburg divisional

council is expected to announce a manifesto for its campaign next week. The chairman of the Hillbrow council, Mr Daryl Swanepoel, yesterday declined to release details.

However, The Star learnt that the manifesto contains suggestions on the implementation of health standards and methods of countering overcrowding in high-density flatland areas where the Group Areas Act is being contravened.

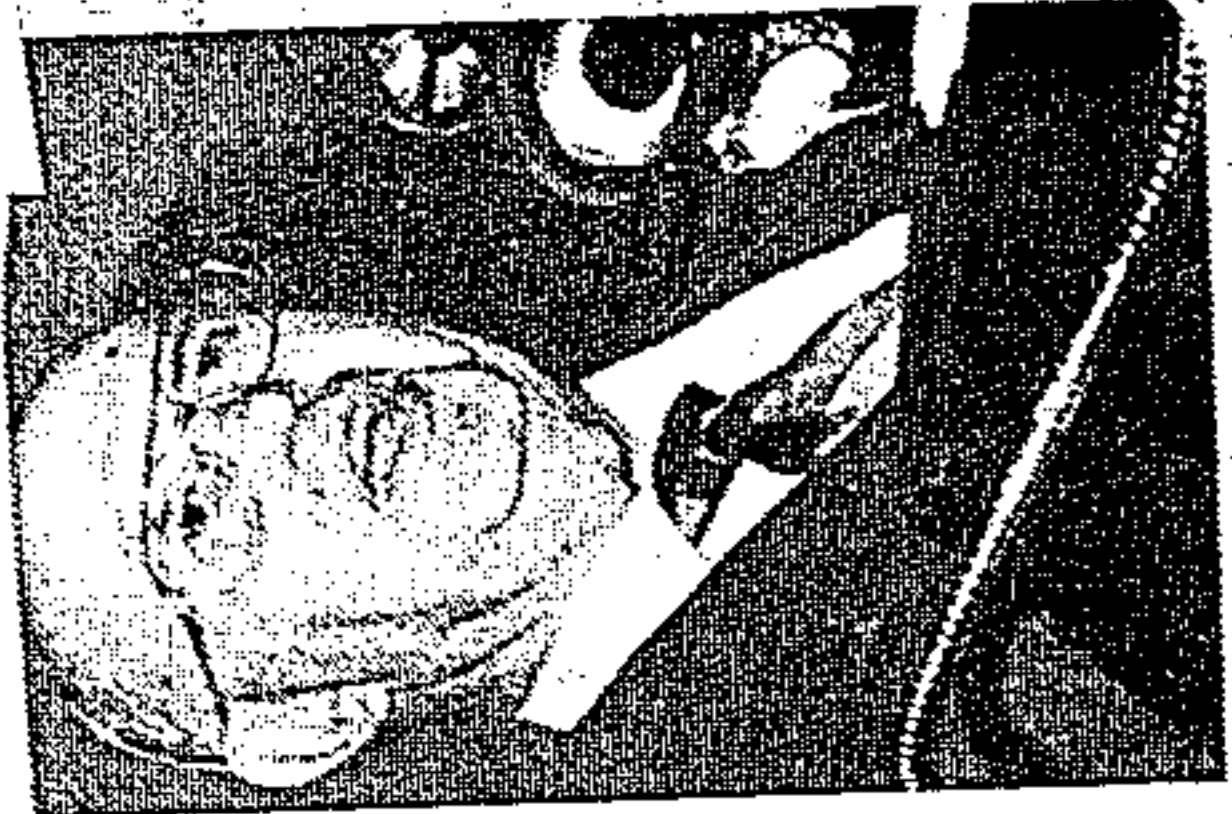
This comes amid predictions that the CP is set to have a major impact on the election results in the Hillbrow area due to residents' dissatisfaction with living conditions in the area.

The CP would announce its "plan of action", drawn up by a special Group Areas Act committee, within the next six weeks, said Mr Fred Rundle, chairman of the CP's Johannesburg regional committee. He was confident the CP could win widespread support in "grey" areas, because "many whites have become locked into the property they have bought there".

PFP Hillbrow councillor Mr Cecil Bass slated the NP's intended manifesto, saying residents were tired of NP promises that proved meaningless.

Sowetan
9/4/88
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PWILINDABA



PRESIDENT Botha

SEVERAL contentious issues are likely to be discussed when President Botha and members of his Cabinet meet the South West African / Namibian Transitional Government and other local leaders in Windhoek today.

There is some speculation that Mr Botha may make an important

announcement about elections for the territory.

Mr Botha will be accompanied by Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Barend du Plessis, the Minister of Finance, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Education and Development Aid.

It is understood that Dr Viljoen will be going in his capacity as a former Administrator-General of the territory.

South Africa and Namibia have a major

the trial of six members of the defence force accused of murdering Mr Immanuel Shifidi at a Swapo rally.

The chairman of the Damara administration, Mr Justus Garoeb, has refused to meet President Botha because of this.

Mr Peter Kalangula, chairman of the Ovambo administration, is expected to attend the talks and there is some speculation that he may take the opportunity to demand the withdrawal of South African troops from his area.

He may also repeat recent allegations that whites were responsible for planting the bomb that killed 27 people in an Oshakati bank recently.

The official view of the talks today is that they are merely a routine continuation of bilateral contact between the two countries.

Official sources point out that President Botha has not met the SWA/Namibian Government since May 22 last year in Cape Town and that he has not paid an official visit to the territory since the transitional government was installed in June 1985.

SOWETAN Correspondent

disagreement about the issue of elections.

The transitional government has recently rejected the principle of ethnic elections against the wishes of the South African Government which has been pushing for such elections for some time.

Power

Last month the Windhoek Supreme Court found that regulation AG 8 which prescribes ethnic second-tier elections, was in conflict with the fundamental rights spelt out in the proclamation which established the transitional government.

At the moment the transitional government has the power to decide whether or not to hold elections.

However there is some speculation that President Botha may increase the powers of the Administrator-General to enable him to proclaim elections.

Another contentious issue could be President Botha's recent interference in the Namibian judicial process to halt

PW arrives in Windhoek...

High-powered talks today

D/D 8/4/88
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WINDHOEK — The South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha, arrived in Windhoek shortly after 5pm yesterday amid tight security arrangements, for high-powered talks today with SWA/Namibian political leaders.

He was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; the Defence Minister, Gen Magnus Malan; the Minister of National Education and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen; the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and top-ranking government officials, including the Secretary General to the State President's office, Mr Jannie le Roux.

Mr Botha and his entourage were met on the apron of Windhoek's suburban Eros Airport by the current chairman of the SWA/Namibian transitional cabinet, Mr Moses Katjuongua; the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar; the Minister of Finance, Mr Dirk Mudge; the Minister of Justice, Mr Fanuel



MR PIK BOTHA

Kozonguizi, and the office commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer.

After a brief exchange

of pleasantries, the South African delegation was whisked away in a motorcade to South West Africa House where Mr Pienaar was to host a welcoming function for the visitors last night.

Earlier yesterday, the streets around the Administrator-General's residence were cleared of traffic and police posted guards on the periphery of the premises where the South Africans were to spend the night.

A small group of demonstrators greeted the State President's procession outside the security compound of Eros Airport.

Placards lining the streets welcomed Mr Bo-



MR P. W. BOTHA

tha to the territory and urged him to "protect own rights" in SWA/Namibia.

Other posters carried messages urging him to do "away with Swapo", while yet others stated that SWA/Namibia welcomed South Africa as a friend whose presence in the territory was a stabilising influence. — Sapa

SWA/Namibian talks get underway

PW announces sweeping new powers

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MR P. W. BOTHA

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, is to receive additional powers of government, including the right to call elections and to take "appropriate" action against local media caught promoting subversion and terrorism.

The South African State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said that among the changes envisaged in the present dispensation was that the approval of the Administrator-General would be required to abolish existing authorities in SWA/Namibia or to diminish their powers of government.

He said that it had been emphasised in talks with the transitional cabinet and other political leaders that "fitting and effective" action had to be taken against organisations which actively engaged in terrorism.

Mr Botha stressed that the transitional government had to broaden its political base and se-

cure the greatest possible measure of support from the people of SWA/Namibia, but said that South Africa would not prescribe to the territory how it should arrange its constitutional affairs.

Over the years, he added, South Africa had made an enormous contribution to protect SWA/Namibia from outside violence and to promote the country's economic progress.

The majority of the transitional cabinet handed a draft constitutional proposal to Mr Botha last night, but the territory's perennial political dispute over ethnicity remained alive and kicking.

The SWA National

Party, supported by the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party is due to present a separate constitutional formula to Mr Botha today.

Mr Botha expressed the hope that all interested parties would get together under the leadership of the Administrator-General to achieve the greatest possible measure of uniformity.

Such agreement would have to be achieved "within months, not years," he said.

Asked what the consequences would be if the issue was delayed yet further, Mr Botha barely concealed a threat: "If people do not want to help themselves, then

others will have to help them."

A decisive issue to be negotiated for SWA/Namibian independence was a time table for the removal of Cuban forces stationed in Angola.

Mr Botha said that "even the government in Luanda accepts agreement on a Cuban withdrawal will have to be linked to implementation of Resolution 435."

Another problem that had to be resolved, he added, was the UN-favoured status of the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo) as the "sole and authentic" representative of the people of the Territory.

Swapo has condemned Mr Botha's visit as an "attempt to strengthen South Africa's political and military strength to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia."

The Swapo representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Kapuka Nauyala, told the national news agency Ziana in an interview in Harare that South Africa had installed three puppet administrations in Namibia before the one Mr Botha held talks with yesterday, "but all have failed dismally".

"The visit is an expression of frustration as the experiments he had done before did not work.

"It is an attempt to strengthen South Africa's political and military strength to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia." — Sapa

More powers to SA's Pienaar in Namibia

BRENDAN SEERY

Less than three years after it appointed the six-party transitional government in Windhoek, South Africa has returned to a more "hands on" policy on Namibia.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, spelt this out yesterday when he and four senior Cabinet colleagues met Windhoek politicians for crucial talks.

In a statement after the deliberations, Mr Botha said powers given to the Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar would be expanded.

Mr Pienaar will be given the final say in whether the transitional government may tamper with the existing system of separate ethnic administrations, and also whether those administrations can go ahead with their own, ethnically-exclusive elections.

Mr Pienaar and the transitional government have also been given permission to take constitution decisions of the SWA Supreme Court to the South African Appellate Division on appeal.

One of Mr Botha's strongest points concerned clamping down on opposition parties and sections of the media here. The State President said he urged that steps be taken against any political organisation which promotes the use of violence to attain its political goals. He said also that he had given the Administrator additional powers to take action against any section of the media which, in his opinion, is "promoting terrorism and subversion".

Observers here believe the main targets of the "get tough" policy are

● TO PAGE 2.

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9/4/88

NEWS

SA'S 'hands-on' policy in Namibia

by BRENDON SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Less than three years after it appointed the six-party Transitional Government in Windhoek, South Africa has returned to a more "hands-on" policy in Namibia.

State President Botha spelt this out yesterday when he and four senior Cabinet colleagues met the Windhoek politicians for crucial talks.

In a statement after the deliberations, Mr Botha revealed that the powers given to Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar would be expanded.

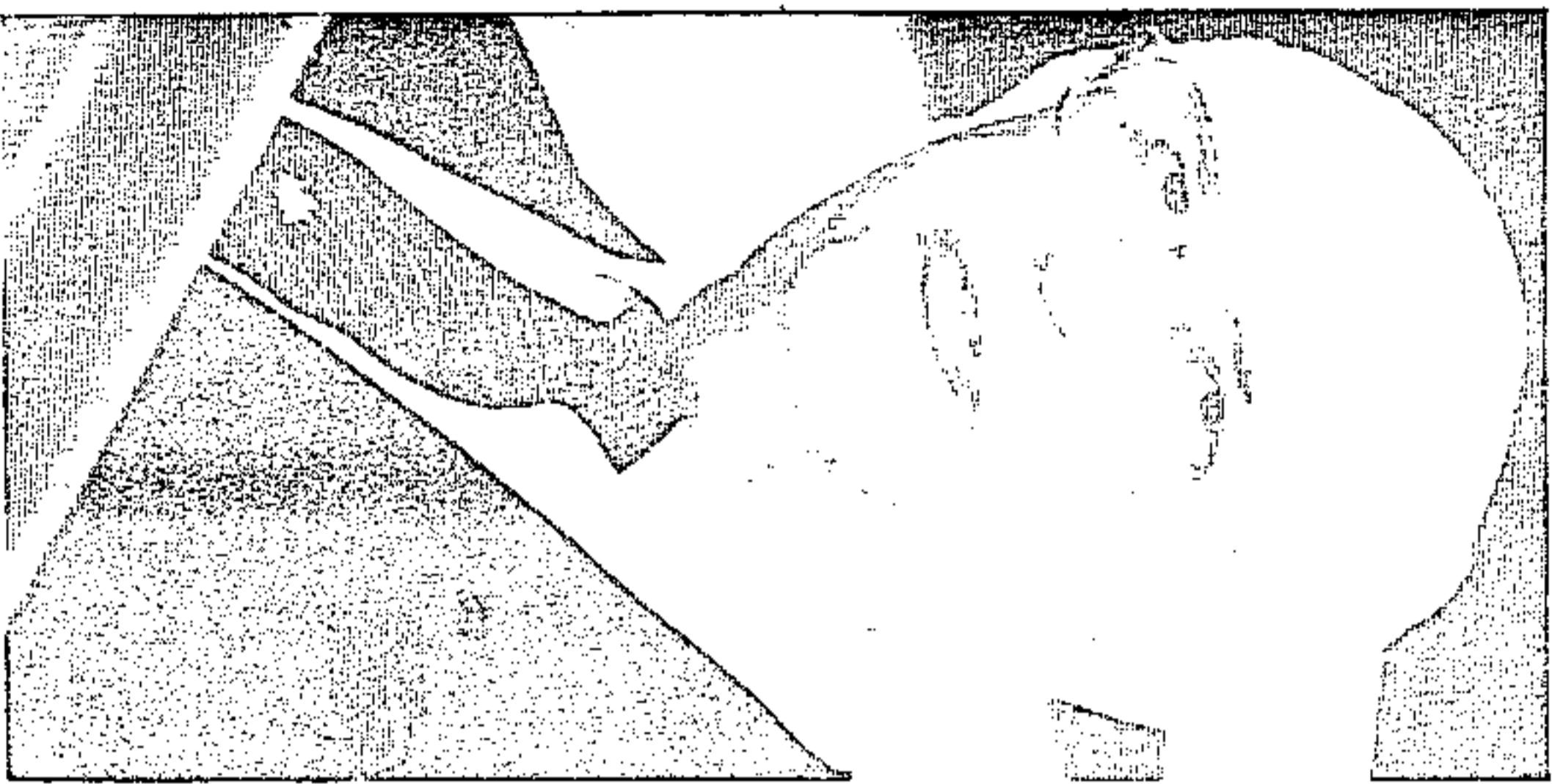
Appeals

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Mr Pienaar and the Transitional Government have also been given permission to take constitutional decisions of the SWA Supreme Court to the South African Appellate Division on appeal.

One of Mr Botha's strongest points concerned a clamp-down on opposition parties and sections of the media in SWA/Namibia.

He urged that steps be taken against any political organisation which promoted the use of



Mr P.W. Botha

violence to attain its political goals.

The State President also said he had given the Administrator additional powers to take action against any section of the media which, in his opinion, was "promoting terrorism and subversion".

Observers believe the main targets of the "get tough" poli-

cy are Swapo, the Namibia National Students Organisation and The Namibian newspaper, the country's only representative of the "alternative Press".

Mr Botha also urged the Transitional Government, which he installed in June 1985 on his last official visit to Windhoek, to expand its base of support.

Significantly, the State President met with Owambo leader Mr Peter Kalangua, a key figure in Namibian politics who has remained aloof from the Windhoek government.

Independence

The President stressed that, although South Africa was not trying to dictate to Namibians, Pretoria made a significant financial and defence contribution to the territory and, therefore, was entitled to some say in its affairs.

He emphasised that the latest changes to the system would not affect the international situation on Namibian independence.

The UN Resolution 435 settlement plan could not be implemented until there was agreement on Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola and a guarantee that the UN would act impartially in any election, said Mr Botha.

The Transitional Government has not reacted officially to the amendments to Mr Pienaar's status, nor has it made any comment on the talks.

'SA must let Namibians choose own government'

by KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

ODIBO (Northern Namibia). — The South African Government must leave the people of SWA/Namibia to choose their own government in free and fair elections, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a congregation gathered in sight of the Angolan border.

The visit of Archbishop Tutu and nine other Anglican bishops to the SWA/Namibian operational area was organised to commemorate the 10th anniversaries of the adopting of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 and the South African Defence Force raid on an Angolan refugee camp at Cassinga.

Archbishop Tutu yesterday addressed an enthusiastic audience of about 2 000, most of whom had walked long distances to attend the service at St Mary's Mission Station at Odibo.

He said he looked forward to the day when Resolution 435 was implemented.

"We will ask the international community to put pressure on South Africa so that that day comes soon," he said.

Bishop George Swartz, of Kimberley/Kuruman, told the congregation they could look forward to a "new united Namibia" built on the foundations of justice and peace, where human rights were respected and protected; "a new Namibia where there is no discrimination on the grounds of race or tribal differences; a new Namibia where the government is freely elected by all the people and which passes laws for the benefit of all."

The mission station at Odibo has felt the effects of the 22-year-old bush war raging in the area with only the ruins of the mission's seminary still standing. The school was gutted by a fire after an explosion in 1980.

The local population is forced to abide by a sunrise to sundown curfew.

Archbishop Tutu will preside over a service here today before returning to Windhoek where he will preach tomorrow.

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New powers for AG in Namibia

WINDHOEK — The South African State President, Mr P W Botha, left Namibians in no doubt that the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, is to assume a new and more powerful role in government, mostly at the expense of the territory's transitional cabinet.

Late yesterday, political sources in Windhoek disclosed that the Namibian Cabinet was discussing whether to resign as its efforts to scrap apartheid were blocked. No outcome had been reported by the time of going to press last night.

Proclamation R101 — which transferred the powers vested in the Administrator-General to the transitional government in 1985 — would be amended in due course to give effect to the new dispensation, Mr Botha told political leaders at South West Africa House.

A sweeping change in Windhoek is that the Administrator-General will also be empowered "to take appropri-

ate action in situations where the media in SWA promote subversion and terrorism".

It is not known precisely how this new measure will be applied to the Namibian press, which has so far been immune from the emergency press curbs enforced in South Africa.

Mr Botha told the Namibian political leaders that "fitting and effective" action had to be taken against organizations which used violence to attain their political objectives.

The transitional government, which was not representative of the people of Namibia, should strive to broaden its political base, he said.

Mr Botha, who returned to South Africa yesterday afternoon, was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of National Education and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and several high-ranking government officials. — Sapa

Pik Botha

10/14/88

SWAPO kills 2 soldiers

TWO South African soldiers died after Swapo terrorists attacked a base in the operational area — presumably with mortars and RPG rockets.

Lance-Corporal Carlos Thomas Moon, 20, leaves his grandmother, Mrs S Abrams of Postmasburg, and Rifleman Jacobus Weyers, 17, his parents, Mr and Mrs H Weyers, of Oudtshoorn. They were wounded on Thursday and died the next day.

2

Botha plays it cool on SWA

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S/Mones

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

BEHIND-THE-SCENES
bridge-building between
the Pretoria and Wind-
hoek governments in the
disputed territory this
week has improved rela-
tions between leaders.

This assessment has come
from a cabinet source in
SWA/Namibia's transitional
government.

There has been widespread
dismay in Windhoek over the
"strong language" used by
President Botha after talks
there on Friday.

Mr Botha was seen to sub-
tract from the powers of the
territory's transitional Cab-
inet and add to the powers of
the South African-appointed
Administrator-General.

Averted

But a Windhoek Cabinet
member involved in face-to-
face talks with Mr Botha dis-
closed that, in reality, the
looming constitutional clash
between Pretoria and Wind-
hoek had been substantially
averted.

The two main elements of
the turnabout are that the
South Africans made it clear
they are "not married" to the
controversial AG 8 legisla-
tion, and that Pretoria will
not force ethnic elections in
the territory, according to
the source.

AG 8 is the law that en-
trenches apartheid through
11 separate, ethnic adminis-
trations in the territory.

There were two other sig-
nificant moves towards
greater internal agreement
in SWA/Namibia.

A senior member of the
dissident National Party, Mr
Eben van Zijl, is leading a
breakaway group that is be-
coming closer to Mr Dirk
Mudge's Republican Party.

The two men met Mr
Botha together and pre-
sented a joint document on
their constitutional views.

Private

Eyebrows were also raised
when Mr Peter Kalangula,
leader of the majority
Ovambo ethnic group that
has stayed out of the transi-
tional government, turned up
in Windhoek against expecta-
tions and had a private meet-
ing with Mr Botha.

The South African Govern-
ment is keen for the transi-
tional government to broad-
en its base, particularly by
including the politically im-
portant Owambos.

Windhoek insiders said
after the meeting Mr Botha's
apparently tough approach
stemmed from a concern for
his domestic constituency:
That Pretoria should not be
seen by South African conser-
vatives to be soft on white
rights in SWA/Namibia.

The more conciliatory
South African approach
seems to be motivated by
broader regional issues.

A possible settlement in
Angola — becoming increas-
ingly feasible — would shift
international focus on
SWA/Namibia.

Then South Africa would
need a "saleable" internal
dispensation in the territory.

Delegation holds services in SWA/Namibia as . .

Tutu accuses SA of strengthening hold

D/D 11/4/88 (221)

OSHAKATI (SWA/Namibia) — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, on a tour of war-torn SWA/Namibia, has accused South Africa of defying the world by strengthening its rule over the territory.

Archbishop Tutu's comments follow the announcement by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, which gave South Africa's chief representative in SWA/Namibia Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, the power to censor opposition newspapers and to push through controversial elections along ethnic lines.

Archbishop Tutu, head of the Anglican church in southern Africa and repeatedly at loggerheads with Mr Botha, said the move was an instance of South Africa "cocking a snook at the world".

"They have been told that their administration of Namibia is illegal. They ought to be pulling out," he told reporters.

"But far from doing this they insist on imposing an already illegal administration. And the world looks on."

South Africa retains control of SWA/Namibia, a former German colony, in defiance of the United Nations.

"What must the South African Government still do to outrage the West to such an extent that they will take action?" he asked.

Archbishop Tutu has been at the forefront of a confrontation between anti-apartheid church leaders and the government, since South Africa's February crack down on black opposition groups, and has also repeatedly berated

Western nations for failing to impose stronger sanctions against Pretoria.

The black Nobel peace prize winner heads a delegation of Anglican bishops who are holding services in remote northern SWA/Namibia, which has suffered nearly 22 years of war between South African-led forces and members of the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo), attempting to oust South Africa from the territory.

Preaching to some 1500 people in Katutura, SWA/Namibia's biggest black township, near the capital Windhoek, Archbishop Tutu mocked Mr Botha for insisting on guarantees for

the rights of the white minority in any future Namibian constitution.

"That is touching," he said. "That comes from a minority leader who has not cared two brass farthings for the rights of the majority in South Africa where he comes from."

Many of Katutura's 60 000 inhabitants support Swapo and fewer than one in ten of SWA/Namibia's one million odd population are white.

Mr Botha's visit to SWA/Namibia last week had made it quite clear that the South African Government really ran the territory, Archbishop Tutu added.

SWA/Namibia's multi-racial interim government, he said, was a front.

"They do what they are told. They are echoes of the master's voice."

The bishops' visit is intended to highlight the 10th anniversary of the adoption of United Nations Resolution 435, a blueprint for Namibian independence.

South Africa refuses to agree to independence until some 40 000 Cuban troops pull out of neighbouring Angola, where they are backing the marxist government.
— Sapa-RNS

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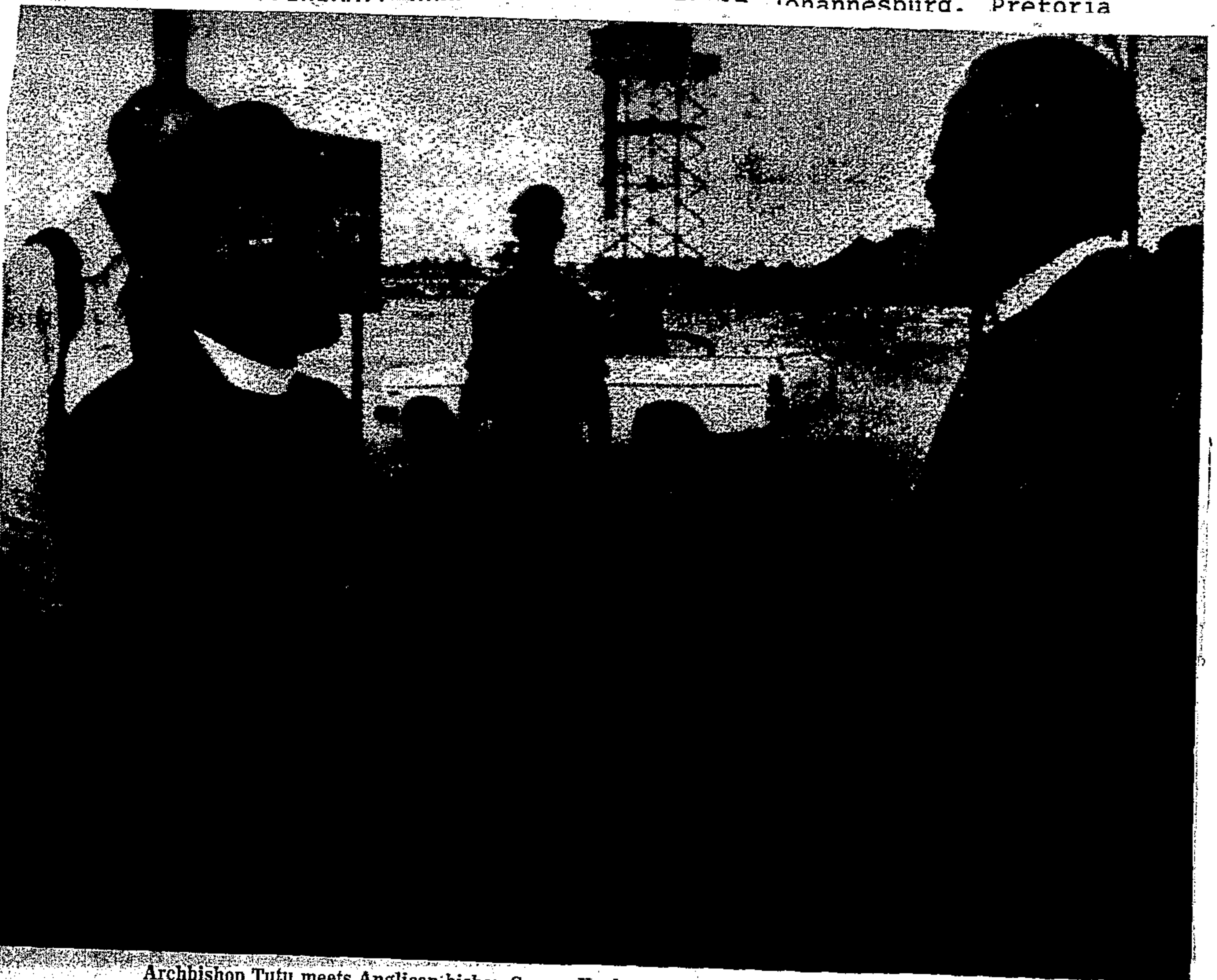
President: C.M. Wilson General Secretary: A. Hammon

Membership:

| | Coloured | Total |
|------|----------|-------|
| 1981 | 673 | 673 |
| 1982 | 742 | 742 |
| 1983 | 817 | 817 |

Registered for: Coloured persons employed as vehicle drivers in:

(a) the Transport Undertaking (No. 1) in Johannesburg. Pretoria



Archbishop Tutu meets Anglican bishop George Kauluma, the bishop of SWA/Namibia, in Oshakati during his visit to the territory. (Reuters)

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Own Affairs:

Plots/building contracts awarded to Clarion Homes (Pty) Ltd

30. Mr Y MOOLLA asked the Minister of Housing:

(1) Whether his Department or any statutory body falling under his Department allocated any plots and/or awarded any building contracts in Mountain Rise and/or the Pietermaritzburg area to a certain firm, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) (i) by whom or what statutory body were these plots allocated and/or building contracts awarded and (ii) when in each case, (b) what is the name of the firm in question, (c) what was the tender price in respect of each such plot and/or building contract, (d) how many (i) plots and (ii) building contracts were involved and (e) what was the (i) area of each such plot and (ii) floor area of each such building;

(2) whether any other firms tendered for these plots and building contracts; if so, (a) what were the prices tendered in respect of each of these (i) plots and (ii) contracts and (b) who submitted each of these tenders;

(3) whether the firm referred to in paragraph (1) of this question has been allocated any other plots and/or awarded any other

building contracts since 1 January 1986 (a) by his Department, (b) by any statutory body falling under his Department and/or (c) on his recommendation or that of his Department by (i) any other agency falling under his Department and (ii) any local authority; if so, what are the relevant particulars?

The MINISTER OF HOUSING:

- (1) Yes
- (a) (i) Housing Development Board.
(ii) 19 February 1988.
- (b) Clarion Homes (Pty) Ltd.
- (c) R450 000,00.
- (d) (i) One.
(ii) None.
- (e) (i) ± 8,3243 ha
(ii) Falls away.

(2) Yes. Tenders were called for proposals and not for price of stand. The best proposals were submitted by Clarion Homes (Pty) Ltd and Sunshine Housing. Clarion Homes (Pty) Ltd offered R200 000,00 more than Sunshine Housing.

- (a) (i) Falls away.
(ii) Falls away.
- (b) Sunshine Housing.
Comhousing.

- (3) (a) No.
(b) No.
(c) (i) No.
(ii) No.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

SWA: status in relation to RSA
*1. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the State President:

Whether South West Africa falls under his direct jurisdiction; if not, what is the status of this territory in relation to the Republic of South Africa; if so, (a) in what manner and (b) in collaboration with whom is the amount of financial aid provided by the Republic to this territory determined?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the hon member specifically to section 38 of the South West Africa Constitution Act, 1968 (Act No 39 of 1968) as well as Proclamation No R101 of 1985. Financial assistance is determined by the Department of Finance, after consultation with the South West African Government.

*2. Mrs H SUZMAN — State President. [Withdrawn.]

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 29 March 1988:

Trojan Horse incident: SAP members suspended
*8. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the members of the South African Police who were involved in the so-called "Trojan Horse" incident approximately three years ago, have been suspended from the Police Force pending the decision of the Attorney-General regarding prosecution; if not, (a) why not, (b) what duties are they performing at present, (c) where are they stationed and (d) what were the circumstances surrounding this incident?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) As soon as the decision of the Attorney-General is known, steps against these members will be considered.

(b) Normal police duties.

(c) At various police stations.

(d) The circumstances were already the subject of an inquest which was held in an open court and which received wide publicity in the media. The court record is a public document which is at the disposal of the hon member.

New Questions:

J G Strijdom Hospital: Black nurse attending to Whites

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether a Black male nurse attended to White female patients in the J G Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg on or about 29 February 1988; if so, what were the circumstances surrounding this incident;

(2) whether it is the policy of his Department that non-White male nurses attend to White female patients;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) No.

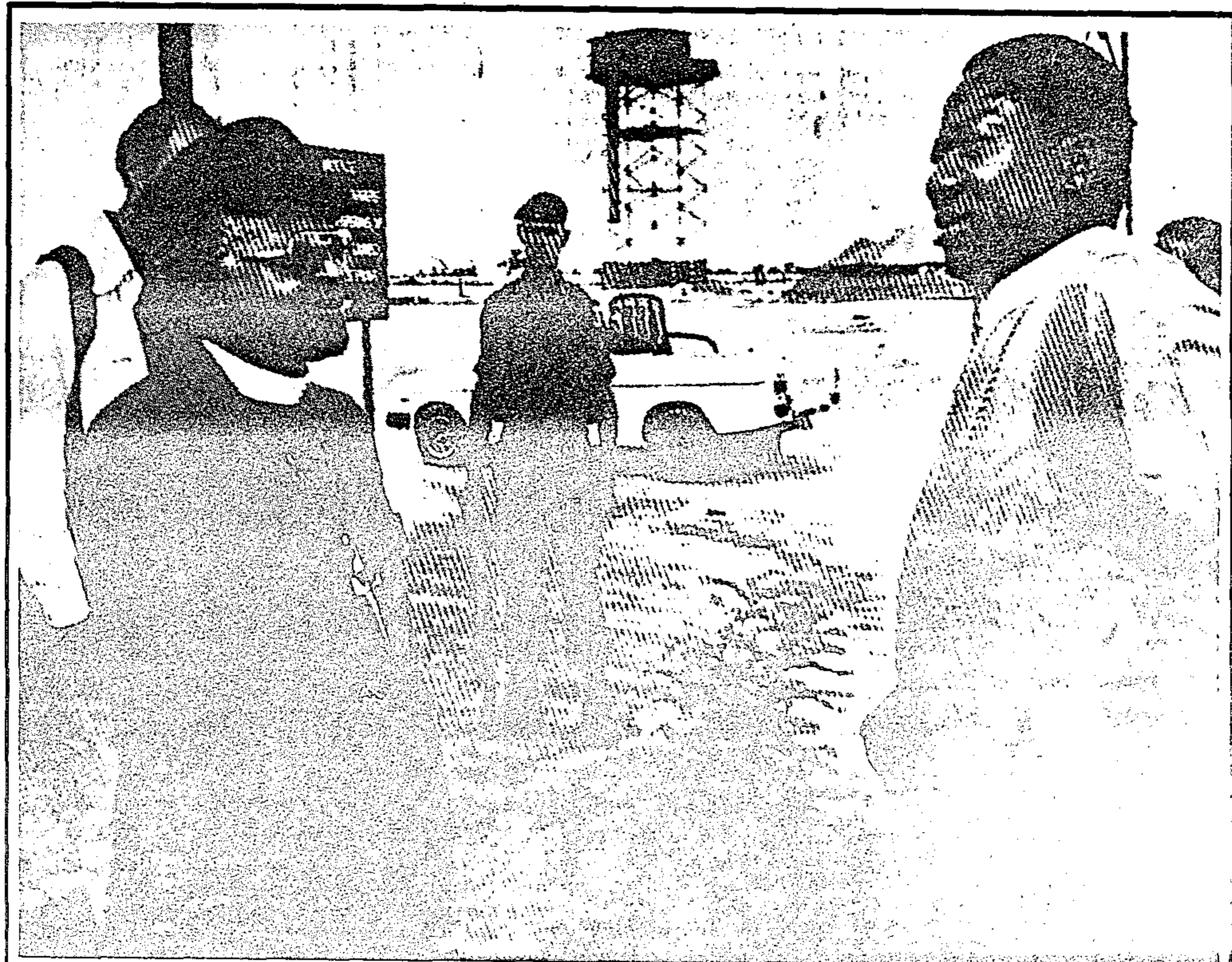
(2) No.

(3) Falls away.

Provincial hospitals: motor-car travel allowances to doctors

*2. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether his Department pays motor-car travel allowances to all doctors working at provincial hospitals in (a) the Transvaal, (b) the Cape Province, (c) Natal and (d) the Orange Free State; if not, why not;



Archbishop Desmond Tutu (left) meets Anglican Bishop George Kauluma, Bishop of Namibia, at Oshikati during a visit at the weekend.

CAC Times 11/4/88 Picture: REUTERS 1721

Apartheid 'needs immoral methods'

From JEAN SUTHERLAND

WINDHOEK. — Apartheid could only survive by "immoral, evil, vicious and brutal" methods, said Anglican Archbishop the Most Rev Desmond Tutu at an ecumenical service in Katatura township's Roman Catholic Church yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu, who received a rousing welcome from more than 2 000 Namibians, cited as one such method the State President P W Botha's quashing of the murder trial here of six army officers 10 days after he had refused clemency for the "Sharpeville Six".

His plea to South Africa to get out of Namibia came a day after Mr Botha tightened SA's grip on the running of the territory.

Archbishop Tutu, who referred to the State President as "my neighbour from Cape Town", is in Namibia for the Southern Africa's Bishops Synod being held to coincide with the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which provides for free and fair independence elections.

Eighteen Bishops, including two from Lesotho and one from Swaziland, took part in yesterday's Eucharist of Solidarity.

"We call on the SA government and on the SADF: Please, please go home. Implement Resolution 435 and so end the misery of the people of Namibia," Archbishop Tutu urged.

"When Namibia is free then it will also mark the end of the suffering of Angolans who are suffering because apartheid does not want Namibia to be free."

He also described as "very touching, very, very touching" Mr Botha's concern with minority rights in Namibia.

"That comes from a minority leader who has not had two brass farthings for the majority in South Africa."

JE fe ha da kil wa bu an vic for ad... ca re gir let me... let the hel du ott in Pa th... we ne da wa th th se

SWA rulers 'echoes' of Pretoria — Tutu

AKG 5
11/4/88
221

From KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

WINDHOEK. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has attacked the SWA/Namibia interim government for being "echoes of his master's voice", saying President Botha has made it clear South Africa is running the territory.

In a passionate sermon to about 2 000 people yesterday, he called on the South African Government and Defence Force to "go home" and for United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 to be implemented now, on the 10th anniversary of its adoption.

He said May 4 was also the 10th anniversary of the SADF raid on the Angolan refugee camp at Cassinga.

The World Council of Churches had called for this day to be observed as an international day of prayer for Namibia.

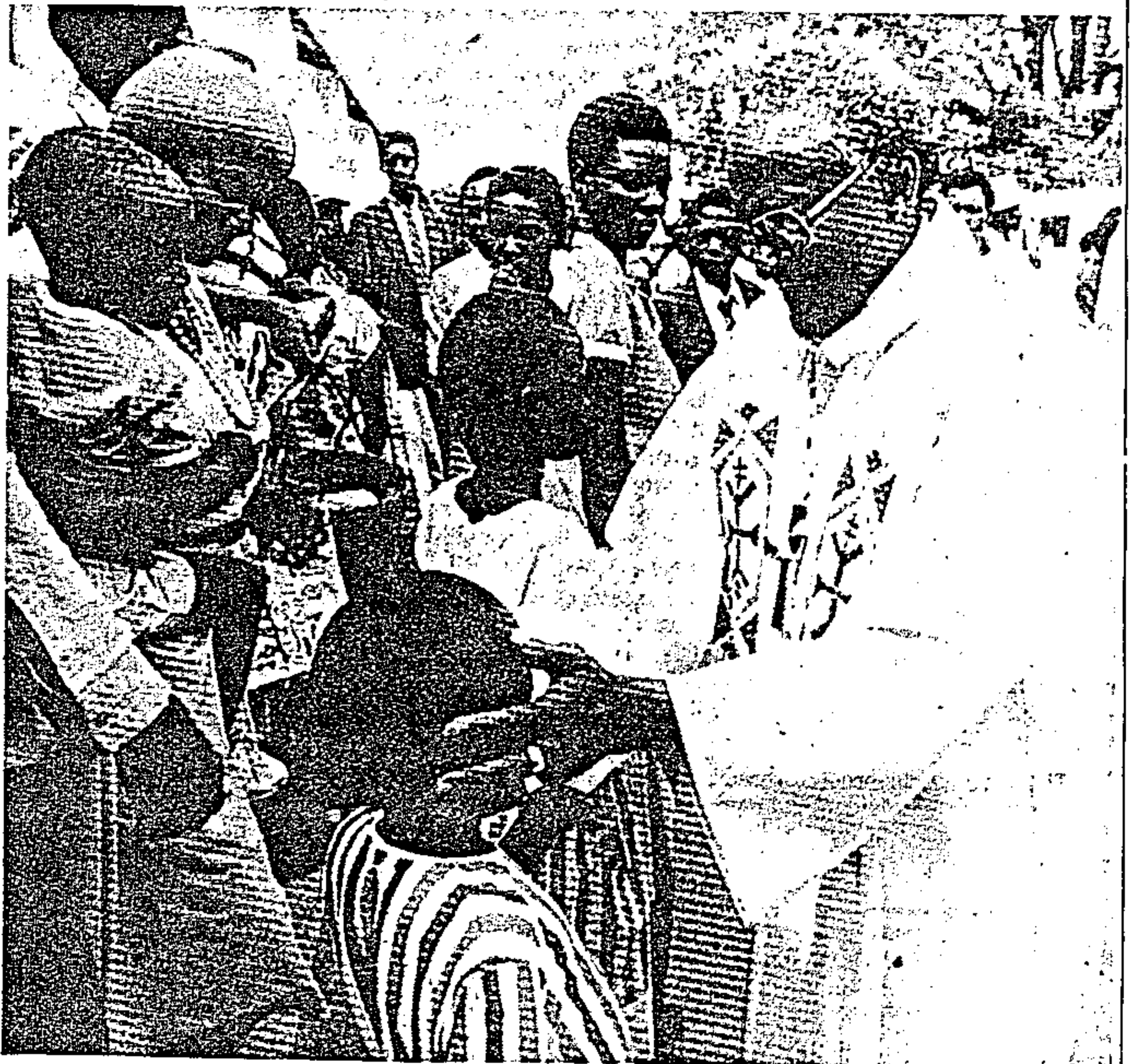
Minorities

Archbishop Tutu sang and danced with the crowd, who were tightly packed into the church in Katatura township, many wearing the red, green and blue colours of Swapo.

"We are told that the South African Government is concerned for the rights of minorities. That is very touching.

"That comes from a minority leader who does not care two hoots for the rights of the majority of South Africa where he comes from."

When Namibia was freed it would also mean the end of



BLESSING: Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets one of the many children who turned out to greet him in Katatura, outside Windhoek.

suffering for the people of Angola, Archbishop Tutu said.

"We don't want communism in South Africa or Namibia, but the best defence against communism is a free, independent and contented people.

"Political, economic and social injustice and oppression are the most fertile soil for encouraging the growth of communism. Discontented people are easy prey for communism."

Calling on the SADF to leave

Namibia, he said: "Look at all the money which has been wasted with protectors protecting those who don't want to be protected.

"So we say to them: Go home."

Namibian Cabinet threatens to disband

WINDHOEK — The Namibian Cabinet may disband in protest unless the President, Mr P W Botha, withdraws new powers extended to his chief representative here, the Cabinet chairman said yesterday.

The chairman, Mr Moses Katjuongua, said Mr Botha's action undermined the credibility of Namibia's interim government.

Mr Botha, during a meeting in Windhoek on Friday, announced new powers for the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Mr Pienaar would be empowered to act single-handedly against "subversive" news media and to authorise elections on a tribal or racial basis.

Mr Katjuongua said Mr Pienaar had offered to discuss the proposed new powers with the Cabinet. Unless the powers were revoked, he said, the Cabinet would disband.

"Our credibility is at stake," Mr Katjuongua said.

In a statement from Luanda Swapo has condemned President Botha's decision to reduce the powers of Namibia's interim government and place more authority in the hands of the Administrator-General.

A Swapo spokesman said Mr Botha's decision to transfer the power to call elections to the Administrator-General was proof that Pretoria wanted "ethnic elections in line with its neo-colonial and apartheid schemes for Namibia". — The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa-AP.

Curbs: ^{can't} ^{12/4/88}

SWA govt verges on collapse ²²¹

By JIM FREEMAN

NAMIBIA'S three-year-old coalition government is verging on collapse with the cabinet meeting tomorrow to decide whether it should continue efforts to achieve self-determination for the territory.

The chairman of the cabinet, Mr Moses Katjuongua, said new constitutional curbs imposed by President P W Botha threatened the existence and credibility of the Transitional Government of National Unity.

"We have fought so hard to scrap apartheid and just when we are on the verge of a breakthrough, new obstacles are thrown in our way."

Mr Katjuongua said that he and at least one other key party in the six-party government would resign if South Africa insisted on upholding apartheid in Namibia.

President Botha announced on Friday that his representative in the territory, Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, had been granted sweeping powers.

Ethnic elections

Among these was the right to refer Supreme Court judgements on constitutional affairs to the Appeal Court, as well as to grant ethnic elections at the request of racial authorities.

Mr Katjuongua's South West Africa National Union (Swanu) and the Swapo-Democrats of Mr Andreas Shipanga have been at the forefront of attempts to scrap apartheid since the government was inaugurated in June 1985.

● Anthony Johnson reports that President Botha last night declined to comment on Mr Katjuongua's threat to resign.



AKG 13/4/88 (221)

Tutu gets taste of bush war

By KAREN STANDER, Religion Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has had several tastes of the 22-year-old bush war in SWA/Namibia during his current visit to the war zone.

He is attending the Anglican Church's annual episcopal synod, which is being held in Windhoek this year to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the United Nations resolution 435 plan for independence. He is accompanied by 18 other bishops from all parts of Southern Africa.

It is the Nobel Peace Prize winner's second visit to the territory since he became Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa two years ago.

The chartered Dakota carrying Archbishop Tutu, Mrs Leah Tutu and his entourage of bishops, aides and a contingent of local and foreign Press from Windhoek flew over the Etosha Pan and "tree-hopped" to avoid heat-seeking Sam-7 missiles.

Landing at the airstrip in Oshakati inside the barbed-wire compound housing the South African Defence Force military base, the party was met by Bishop James Kauluma of SWA/Namibia and an armed soldier, who escorted him from the compound gates to the airport.

Travelling in three hired mini-buses in convoy, the visitors left the compound and drove through the "urban" area where the local people live along the main route to the Angolan border.

Tin shanties are interspersed with gaudily painted concrete-brick structures sporting names such as "Club Sahara" and "Oshaku Love Bar". Butcheries display their fresh wares on tree branches in the open — in spite of the oppressive heat — attracting flies by the swarm.

The normally dusty countryside has been dampened by good rains and it is green and lush, with grass waist-high in places.

The peaceful scene of small children herding cattle and goats grazing next to the road was contrasted by the constant rumble of military activity.

The party passed high mud walls sur-

rounding the Air Force base at Ondangwa before turning in the direction of the border post at Oshikango.

The road had been destroyed in three places, apparently by bombs placed in drainage pipes, and all traffic is forced to drive off the road and around the sections under repair.

At St Mary's mission station, Odibo — just 300m from the edge of the 500m strip of "no-man's land" between SWA/Namibia and the Angolan border — the Anglican bishops were greeted by rows of singing and dancing schoolchildren.

The mission bears the scars of the bush war. Only ruins remain after the mission's seminary and nearby buildings were destroyed by fire after an explosion in 1981.

The huge church was jam-packed with about 2 000 people, most of whom had walked all morning to see and hear the bishops.

Delivering the central message of his visit, Archbishop Tutu called on the South African Government to leave the people of SWA/Namibia to choose their own government in free and fair elections.

Bogged down

He said he was looking forward to the day resolution 435 was implemented and pledged to ask the international community to put pressure on South Africa "so that that day comes soon".

After the three-hour service Archbishop Tutu greeted members of the congregation and Mrs Tutu delighted the crowds by singing and dancing with them.

On the journey to the Lutheran-run guest house at Oniipa the mini-bus carrying Archbishop Tutu and most of the bishops was bogged down and they had to push it out of the mud.

The Anglican party met church leaders before retiring to the guest house at sunset in accordance with the strictly enforced sundown-to-sunrise curfew.

Cabinet summons for Pienaar

By JIM FREEMAN

CP 6 13/4/85

(221)

THE Namibian cabinet yesterday summoned the territory's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, to clarify some aspects of South Africa's policy of greater involvement in the country's politics.

No statement was issued after the marathon eight-hour meeting, but government sources in Windhoek said threats of resignation by members of the coalition were "premature".

One cabinet minister said the announcement last Friday by State President Mr P W Botha, that South Africa would be more closely involved with Namibian constitutional developments, had been over-dramatized.

He described the dispute on whether the territory's Transitional Government should continue its attempts at self-determination as "a storm in a teacup".

WINDHOEK — Namibia's transitional government will continue its efforts to scrap the last vestiges of apartheid in the territory, despite a warning by the South African government that ethnicity must be upheld.

Earlier this week, two cabinet ministers, Mr Moses Katjuongua and Mr Andreas Shipanga, threatened to pull out of the government if South Africa insisted on becoming more involved with constitutional development.

Four of the six-party coalition yesterday maintained that some of the additional powers granted to the Administrator-General violated Namibia's human rights charter.

The reaction followed 11 hours of cabinet deliberations on how to re-

DIP 14/4/88

Cabinet holds to given rights

"We hold the view that several of the steps proposed by the State President are in contradiction with these principles."

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, assured the cabinet on Monday that consultation would be the order of the day.

Addressing a news conference in Windhoek yesterday, the governmental affairs minister, Mr Dirk Mudge, said the State President had given the assurance that South Africa did not seek to prescribe in the constitutional field. — DDC

spond to President Botha's admonition that the transitional government was not doing enough to broaden its support base.

A statement by the parties said the transitional government remained bound to the principles on which it had come into existence.

These were "the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, national reconciliation as the only path to unity and the effort to maintain the fundamental rights of all."

WINDHOEK — Six of the eight members of the Namibian transitional Cabinet yesterday pledged to continue their task of "promoting national self-determination, reconciliation and the upholding of fundamental human rights".

They spoke after a two-day meeting which focused on the visit by State President P. Botha to Windhoek last Friday and decisions announced by him concerning changes to the central authority.

LINE-UP

The six Ministers are Mr Dirk Mudge, Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi and Mr Andrew Matjila of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance; Mr Moses Katjuongua of the SWA National Union and Mr Andreas Shipanga of Swapo-Democrats.

In a joint statement, they

Namibians vow to continue to uphold basic rights

said they had sought clarification from the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, on aspects of decisions announced by Mr Botha.

Mr Pienaar had informed the transitional Cabinet that no official steps had yet been taken to extend his powers and if sufficient progress was made in the constitutional process such legislative changes would be superfluous.

He emphasised to the

transitional Cabinet that South Africa would not prescribe to the people of Namibia how to arrange their constitutional affairs and said Pretoria would not impose tribally-based elections on the territory.

● The United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Bernt Carlsson would hold discussions with resident officials while on a two-day visit to Botswana, the Botswana Press Agency (Bopa) reported yesterday. — Sapa.

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Namibian war's innocent victims

South Africans are generally not well informed about the harsh realities of the war in northern Namibia. This report, filed from Windhoek, highlights the plight of the local population — the victims of atrocities allegedly committed by members of the security forces. The NAMBIAN NEWS AGENCY looks at the "security" offered to the inhabitants of Namibia

BY Ham Oswald Shivute's office at the Ovambo Administration in Ondangua, Northern Namibia, is filled with people complaining about treatment at the hands of South African troops and members of the Koevoet police unit.

His job is not easy, but being the Administration's secretary and liaison officer he hears the complaints of as many as 25 people a day.

He assists victims to make statements and takes their grievances to the police.

Almost without fail he has to report back to the complainants: "Police say there is not enough evidence to proceed with prosecution. Police say the witnesses have disappeared."

He says one of the major problems is that the security forces in the north believe every person in Ovamboland is a Swapo guerrilla.

There have been many atrocities reported to Shivute last month alone. One case which was brought to his attention occurred in the Engela area of the far north in late February.

A 25-year-old resident of the area, Ms Rebecca Mulyofika, was allegedly shot by soldiers and left to die. Her 18-year-old companion, Paulus Shikale, was seriously injured in the incident.

Shikale described from his hospital bed how security forces had opened fire on them while they were returning home. The incident took place 200 metres from the Engela Lutheran Hospital.

Koevoet members

He was shot through both legs, while Mulyofika was hit below the stomach.

After they had been shot, he said, armed members of Koevoet had approached them where they lay on the ground.

They ordered the wounded couple to remain there, and said that if they tried to move they would be shot again.

Shikale said the men tore up his shirt and roughly bandaged their wounds before walking across the road to sit beneath a tree where they ate a meal from tins. The men remained there until sunrise.

Shikale claimed Mulyofika had begged the policemen several times to take her to the nearby hospital, but her requests were met with replies like "shut up or we'll kill you".

"At about 2am Rebecca was still alive, and she pleaded in both English and Afrikaans. Suddenly she gave a deep sigh and said: 'My Lord and Shepherd, take me into your arms'. Then she was quiet," said Shikale.

He added that the Koevoet men reappeared shortly before 7am from the bushes and found the woman dead.

He alleged the men gathered firewood, undressed the deceased and burnt her clothes.

Several days later reporters found bloodstains, firewood and half-burnt pieces of clothing at the scene.

After the Koevoet men had taken Rebecca's body away, an army Buffel arrived with several soldiers.

They said they were looking for the spot where two "Swapo terrorists" had been shot, said Shikale.

'Terrorists'

The soldiers were told that the people who had been shot were civilians and not "terrorists" as reported by Koevoet.

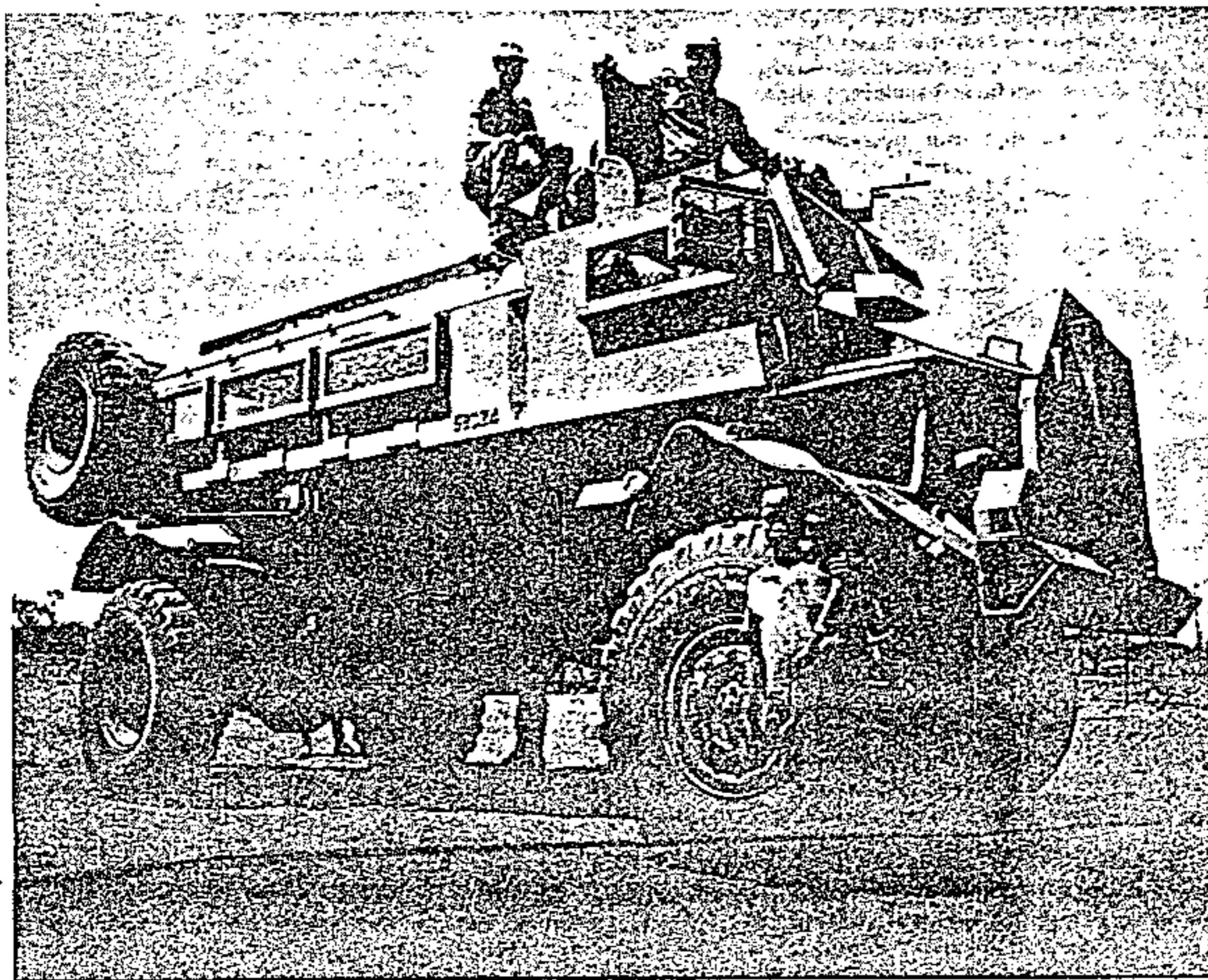
One of the soldiers remarked: "This is exactly the type of thing Koevoet always does, and then we all get the blame." It is understood that this case is being investigated by lawyers.

Early last month a detainee was found hanged in a police cell in Oshakati.

Ignatius Nambondi, of Oshikushashippa in northern Namibia, had been detained under Proclamation AG9 — security legislation which provides for 30 days detention without trial.

On February 28 a man was allegedly shot and killed by members of Koevoet near the spot where Rebecca Mulyofika died. The civilian, Fernando Kumateleni, was employed as a labourer by the Ovambo Administration.

Witnesses, who reported the matter to the administration, said the Koevoet men ordered the wounded



A Casspir similar to the one involved in some of the allegations

man to remain where he was and not to move.

Residents of the area, who said they could hear the man crying out in pain, were too afraid to go to his assistance as the Koevoet men were standing around shouting how they had killed a "Swapo terrorist".

Police in Windhoek said the man was unknown to their office.

In early March a member of the church council of the Anglican Diocese disappeared after allegedly being assaulted and stabbed by members of Koevoet.

According to an Anglican minister in the Tsandi area, Sebulon Itembu had set out in his car to look for stray cattle at Vanyanganyanga cattle post on March 8.

While he was away, a group of Koevoet men who were following the spoor of guerrillas apparently picked up the tyre tracks of Itembu's car. They followed the tracks to Tsandi, where Itembu had stopped over at the house of a friend.

There the Koevoet men allegedly grabbed Itembu and began assaulting him. He was stabbed with a sharp object and taken away bleeding. The minister, Andrew Iyambo, travelled to Oshakati after hearing that Koevoet had towed Itembu's vehicle to the Oshakati base.

Iyambo found the car at the Oshakati police station and enquired about the missing man's whereabouts.

He was told to go to Onimwandi, a Koevoet base in Oshakati. There a group of Koevoet members, who claimed to have arrested Itembu, introduced themselves to the churchman as "Zulu kill".

The group said that Itembu was at "Veld 10" at Ruacana, and added that Iyambo would never see him again unless he was looking for trouble.

A 47-year-old man suffering ill health was crushed to death when police Casspirs allegedly ploughed

through his homestead in the Ongandjera district on the last day of February.

A statement from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (Elcin) said Eliakim Nekundi had been killed by "Koevoet trucks" at his isolated homestead in the Omukondo Village.

Residents of the village said they had seen more than ten Casspirs surround Nekundi's kraal, and that troops began "shooting wildly" into the homestead.

"After the shootings, the Casspirs drove through the homestead killing Nekundi instantly," according to the statement.

Landmine

Describing the circumstances leading to the incident, another resident claimed one of the Koevoet trucks had detonated a landmine while following the tracks of Swapo insurgents in the area. As a result of this, the Koevoet men had allegedly "taken revenge" on Nekundi.

A police spokesman in Windhoek gave a conflicting version of what had happened.

"During a follow-up operation by Koevoet, fleeing terrorists took cover in the kraal of Mr Eliakim Nekundi where the sound of an explosion set the belief that they started opening fire on the police," a spokesman said.

"In the following firefight, Nekundi was caught in crossfire and was fatally wounded."

On March 17 a school in the north was forced to close when 700 students refused to attend classes until the nearby Koevoet base had been removed.

Pupils at the Ponthofi Secondary School in the Ohangwena area objected to the close proximity of the Ohangwena Koevoet base, saying it endangered their lives.

Last year parents unanimously called for the removal of the base for

the safety of their children.

They said when Swapo guerrillas attacked the police base, the school also came under fire when the security forces retaliated. Students at the school had already been killed and wounded, they said, and Koevoet members regularly harassed and intimidated students at the school.

Shortly after the students walked out, soldiers from the Etale base arrested seven pupils and were searching for another three. These pupils were apparently the "ringleaders" of the boycott.

The Attorney-General of Namibia, Mr Estienne Pretorius, has confirmed that he is in possession of a police docket concerning the death of a two-year-old girl in 1986.

Marcelina Silas died after being crushed by a police Casspir at the Onawa village in Ombalantu.

The tragedy occurred on June 10 1986 when Koevoet troops in Casspirs pursued an alleged guerrilla into the village.

The man was shot dead, but two Casspirs ploughed through the hut in which Marcelina Silas and her mother were sitting.

Her mother, Monica Kamulungu, sustained a shattered pelvis.

She was five months pregnant at the time, and lost her unborn child as a result of the incident.

She still walks with a pronounced limp, and described how her family had lived in constant fear of Koevoet since that day.

Shortly after the incident, a police spokesman in Windhoek said: "There was a contact. A terrorist was shot inside the kraal while another person was also killed. A Casspir also drove through a homestead."

Almost a year later the police investigation has been completed.

The Attorney-General said the docket was being attended to.

It is difficult at this stage to say if we will institute charges.

Meanwhile Oswald Shivute continues to hear horror stories of rape, murder, theft, torture and arson every day.

In five years he has taken almost 1 000 statements from victims of security force atrocities.

Last month the chairman of the Ovambo Administration, Mr Peter Kalangula, again made an urgent call for the immediate implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 of 1978.

This resolution provides for a ceasefire and the holding of free and fair elections.

"We want to make it quite clear that our position is not who will win the election. We regard this as secondary. The most important aspect is how to stop the war now, before the Ovambos are totally exterminated," said Kalangula.

A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said: "As far as the SA Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force is concerned, neither of the organisations tolerate, condone or justify in any way illegal actions committed by their members."

"This policy is enforced as far as is humanly possible and evidence of this is the fact that two members of the Defence Force are currently under arrest pending a court appearance on allegations of rape."

"It is also significant that all reports dealing with alleged atrocities in South West Africa/Namibia never mention the atrocities committed by Swapo against the very people they claim to want to liberate."

SWATF

The SWA Territory Force and the SA Defence Force went out of their way to investigate every allegation brought to their attention because illegal actions were not tolerated.

For example, during the first three months of this year 39 alleged atrocities were brought to the attention of the military headquarters in Oshakati by legal firms, newspapers, incident reports, individuals and the Ovambo Administration.

The investigations into 27 of these allegations were completed and only four could be confirmed as containing elements of truth.

"In contrast to this policy, terror and atrocities are an integral part of Swapo's policy," the spokesman claimed.

This policy was common not only to Swapo, but to all terrorist organisations and their track record of murders, assaults, maimings, abductions and kidnappings spoke for itself. These actions were not merely condoned, but actively encouraged.

Reports like these never mentioned the atrocities committed deliberately by Swapo terrorists on instructions from those higher up in the hierarchy, the spokesman said.

It was worth mentioning that Shivute had an open channel of communication to the military headquarters in Oshakati. Over the period January 1 to March 31 1988 the headquarters received only four charges from the Ovambo administration.

"According to Shivute's figures, he could potentially have spoken to about 1 650 complainants over this period (25 a day multiplied by 66 working days), but he only regarded four as important enough to send to the headquarters."

"Investigation proved that only one of these complaints was based on fact and corrective action was taken by the military authorities."

"This is a typical example of the kind of propaganda directed at the security forces in an attempt to discredit and to drive a wedge between them and the local population," he said.

By JIM FREEMAN

NAMIBIA'S transitional government will continue its efforts to scrap the last vestiges of apartheid in the territory, despite a warning by the South African government that ethnicity must be upheld.

"We will not resign," asserted one cabinet minister, who wished to remain anonymous. "If President P W Botha doesn't like what we are doing, and will continue to do, he will have to fire us."

Earlier this week, two cabinet ministers — Mr Moses Katjuongua and Mr Andreas Shipanga — threatened to pull out of the government if South Africa insisted on becoming more involved with constitutional development.

Four of the six-party coalition — representing six of eight cabinet members — yesterday maintained that some of the additional powers Mr Botha granted to the Administrator-General violated Namibia's human rights charter.

This followed 11 hours of cabinet deliberations on how to respond to Mr Botha's admonition that the transitional government was not doing enough to broaden its support base.

The parties said they remained bound by "the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, national reconciliation as the only

Namibia govt battles to end apartheid

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path to unity and the effort to maintain the fundamental rights of all".

"Further discussions to reconcile these differences would have to take place".

They said the additional powers granted to Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar on Friday had not been discussed during talks between the two governments.

Summoned to a cabinet meeting on Monday, Mr Pienaar "gave the assurance that consultation would be a prerequisite in all cases" when South Africa tabled proposals for alternative constitutional structures.

Addressing a news conference in Windhoek yesterday, Governmental Affairs Minister Mr Dirk Mudge said Mr Botha had said that South Africa did not seek to prescribe in the constitutional field and would not insist on ethnic elections.

The cabinet would then continue to execute its tasks as mandated by Mr Botha nearly three years ago.

D/D . 15/4/88

Six Swapo insurgents shot dead — SWATF ⁽²⁴⁾

WINDHOEK — Security forces in northern South West Africa/Namibia shot dead six Swapo insurgents in various skirmishes in the last two weeks, the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said here yesterday.

This brought the number of Swapo fatalities to 159 this year.

Acting on information supplied by civilians, the security forces also found several Swapo arms caches.

Among the ammunition seized were 82 mm, and 60 mm mortar bombs and an anti-vehicle mine.

A civilian, Mr Israel Kondjene, 19, died when he detonated an anti-personnel mine at the scene of a sabotaged water pipeline near

Miershoop in Ovambo on Tuesday.

"It is a known tactic of terrorists to lay mines at the scenes of sabotage," the SWATF said.

Two children sustained 70 per cent burns when an explosive device they had found in the veld was detonated last Friday.

In another incident Swapo insurgents carried out a stand-off bombardment on an Ovambo village on Saturday. The homeguard returned the fire and the insurgents fled. There were no casualties.

The SWATF said several incidents of sabotage to low-risk targets such as storm water pipes, power pylons and water pipelines were reported. — Sapa

Fatherly behaviour

Statesmanship apparently was the victor in the outcome of the recent meeting between President P W Botha and the Transitional Government (TG) of Pretoria's stepchild, Namibia. According to sources who attended Tuesday's Namibian Transitional Cabinet (TC) meeting, talk of a constitutional crisis between SA and Namibia and possible resignations from the TC are exaggerated.

The sources say the Cabinet meeting, which was held to discuss Botha's statement after his day-long visit to Windhoek, was conducted calmly. A spokesman from the office of Republican Party leader Dirk Mudge — a key player — said that a statement was not even being considered at the time.

Earlier it was speculated that the three-year-old TG may be on the point of collapse, because of new constitutional curbs imposed by Botha. TC chairman Moses Katjuongua

was quoted as threatening to resign if "SA insisted on upholding apartheid in Namibia." Apparently this view was not expressed by Katjuongua during the Cabinet meeting.

One of those who attended last Friday's meeting between Botha and the TC says Botha was very calm.

"I've attended previous meetings between Botha and the TG where things were not as calm. This time the president acted in a fatherly way, almost like a Ronald Reagan," says the source.

Not married

The breakthrough was orchestrated by the fact that the visiting South Africans made it clear that they were not "married to the controversial AG8 legislation" — which entrenches apartheid — and that Pretoria will not force ethnic elections on second tier level.

From earlier reports, it also looked as if the National Party's Eben van Zijl, who is apparently leading a breakaway group, is moving closer to Mudge's Republican Party. The presence of Ovambo leader Peter Kalangua at Botha's talks is also seen as a heartening sign.

In the past, relations between Pretoria and the TG have dwindled to the point of complete breakdown. If a system has now been worked out which will enable both parties to strive for the solution of a Namibian settlement, this could lead to peace in the region, and at long last pave the way to a settlement in war-torn Angola. ■

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Namibia Nats give members ultimatum

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) has given its members an ultimatum to choose between the party and the Action National Settlement (ANS) group of Mr Eben van Zijl, the verlig former agriculture Minister.

The ultimatum was delivered by party leader Mr Kosie Pretorius after a meeting of the NP-SWA executive on Friday.

Mr van Zijl is still a member of the NP-SWA but has been dropped from high office because of his verlig ways.

Soon after he was removed from his Cabinet post by the party executive last year, Mr van Zijl formed the ANS with local businessmen, calling the organisation a non-political, "Indaba"-type body.

Although the ANS has done little since its formation, it

now appears to be aligning itself clearly with the more liberal group in the Transitional Government headed by Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA.

Mr van Zijl's organisation signed its name to a revised constitutional proposal and statement submitted by Mr Mudge and his colleagues when South Africa's President Botha visited Windhoek earlier this month.

Political observers here are now watching closely to see if the NP-SWA is again shaken by a liberal split, as it was in 1977 when Mr Mudge broke away and later formed the multiracial DTA.

Reports in the anti-NP press here have suggested that the party is coming increasingly under the influence of South African rightwing organisations, including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

(b) I refer the hon member to my reply to written question number 112.

SWA: parts/areas declared operational areas

*18. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) What parts or areas of South West Africa have been declared to be operational areas for the purposes of section 103*ter* of the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957;

(2) in terms of what proclamation or other legal instrument have such parts or areas been declared to be operational areas;

(3) whether the meeting in Katutura during the course of which Mr Shifidi died, was a meeting held with the intent to commit an act or acts of terrorism as contemplated in section 103*ter* of the said Act?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

As the question relates to matters which will probably be raised in proceedings which have already been instituted in the Supreme Court of South West Africa, the Minister is not prepared to reply to the question.

Inaugural meeting of certain forum in Cape Town: address by member of SAP

*19. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a member of the South African Police, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, addressed the inaugural meeting of a certain forum in Cape Town on 23 March 1988; if so, (a) who was responsible for (i) calling the meeting and (ii) drawing up the agenda, (b) what was the purpose of the meeting, (c) who decided which individuals or groups should attend or be represented at the meeting, (d) how many persons (i) were invited to attend and (ii) attended the meeting, (e) to whom was the forum responsible and (f) what is the name of this (i) member and (ii) forum;

(2) whether the (a) member of Parliament

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

not include outstanding debts on the Account of the Paymaster-General.

*21. Prof N J J OLIVIER — Defence. [Reply standing over.]

Sobantu Township: arrest of 218 Black males

*22. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether approximately 300 persons were arrested in Sobantu Township on or about 23 March 1988; if so, (a) why and (b) how many of these persons were subsequently detained;

(2) whether any of these persons were assaulted by members of the South African Police; if so,

(3) whether any action has been or is to be taken against the policemen involved in such assaults; if so, what action; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) and (b) 218 Black males were taken to a police station for questioning. Eight of these persons were positively connected with serious unrest-related crimes and detained. The other persons were returned to the places from where they were taken.

(2) No.

(3) Falls away.

Ashdown, Pietermaritzburg: arrest of 259 Black males

*23. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether approximately 350 persons living in the Ashdown area near Pietermaritzburg were arrested on or about 21 March 1988; if so, why;

(2) whether any special constables were involved in these arrests; if so,

(3) whether any such constables assaulted any of these persons while they were being held under police guard at a traffic circle; if so, what was the nature of these assaults;

(4) whether any action has been taken against any of the special constables involved in this incident; if so, what action; if not, why not;

(5) whether members of the South African Police conducted a house-to-house search of the area; if so, (a) why and (b) on whose instructions?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 259 Black males were taken to a police station for questioning. Four of these persons were positively connected with serious unrest-related crimes and detained. The other persons were returned to the places from where they were taken.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) Falls away.

(5) Yes.

(a) To trace persons who have committed unrest-related crimes and seize dangerous weapons and also arms and ammunition which are used to commit unrest-related crimes.

(b) The Commander of the special riot unit of the South African Police in the area.

Own Affairs:

Study of Xhosa language: not compulsory for white pupils in Cape Province

*1. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether he intends making the study of the Xhosa language compulsory for White (a) primary and (b) high school pupils in the Cape Province; if so, when; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) and (b) No, because other African languages for instance Tswana, are also widely used in the Cape Province. Schools can, however, offer Xhosa if a suitably qualified teacher is available.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

PW faces Namibian anger

WINDHOEK — Relations between Namibia's internal government and SA reached a new low yesterday when five of eight Cabinet members threatened to resign if they were not satisfied with fresh consultations with the SA government.

The Cabinet members yesterday issued a statement seeking urgent talks with SA, claiming President P W Botha's vesting of greater powers in his representative, Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, had breached an earlier

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

agreement between the Cabinet and SA. Botha is expected to raise the issue in Parliament today.

The statement was issued after a Cabinet meeting attended by Pienaar, who said he felt President Botha had merely confirmed powers he already had.

The statement, issued by Cabinet

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Namibian Cabinet wants meeting with PW

chairman Andrew Matjila, said Botha's recent proclamation conferring greater powers on Pienaar contradicted the principles of the right of Namibians to national self-determination as well as the Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman and Finance Minister Dirk Mudge — who did not endorse the statement — said if individuals resigned from the Cabinet it was likely their parties would replace them.

"I will not advise my party (Republican Party) to resign from the government. What is the point of handing back powers to the AG?" he asked.

The statement was also not signed by the National Party and Rehoboth Bevrydingsparty.

It said Botha's unilateral amendment of R101 had stripped the national assembly of certain powers, giving others to the AG against the wishes of the cabinet and contrary to recent statements of the AG.

221 B/day ● From Page 1 ← 20/4/88
"R101 was the product of a negotiated agreement between the parties of the Multi-Party Conference on the one hand, and the SA State President on the other. It cannot properly be amended unilaterally," the statement said.

The SWA-NP Agricultural Minister Jannie de Wet warned it was within Botha's power to dissolve the general assembly and cabinet in light of the statement, if he so wished.

De Wet was yesterday axed from the cabinet by NP leader Kosie Pretorius who announced he would stand in De Wet's place.

Although De Wet could not comment on his political future, he said Pretorius's decision had not been unexpected because Cabinet was now taking over the "constitutional process" and it had been decided that party leaders and not their representatives should be involved.

D/D 20/4/88
Swapo

to open
Moscow
office

MOSCOW — The South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) was due to open an office in Moscow yesterday.

Foreign ministry officials said that since Swapo was a movement, not a country, its office would not be part of the diplomatic corps accredited with the Soviet government.

The office will now be accredited with a public organisation, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

The African National Congress (ANC), is also included in the group.

African diplomats in Moscow said the new office was an indication of the Kremlin's support for Swapo.

Swapo's leader, Dr Sam Nujoma, said he had been in Moscow for several days to conduct talks with Soviet government and Communist Party officials.

Dr Nujoma said Swapo was still willing to call a ceasefire and negotiate directly with the South African Government on the future of Namibia, an offer Pretoria has refused.

"Swapo is ready any time, any place to talk to Pretoria," Dr Nujoma added. — Sapa-RNS

WINDHOEK — Five of Namibia's eight cabinet ministers have branded their positions as "unte-nable" and say they will resign if South Africa continues to hinder the territory's quest for self-determination.

And in a surprise move, the leader of the National Party of South West Africa, Mr. Kosie Pretorius, axed a sixth minister, the Minister of Agriculture, Sea Fisheries and Water Affairs, Mr Jan de Wet, yesterday after an intense

struggle between the two for leadership of the party.

THE EAST LONDON 26141

Namibian ministers threaten to resign

DAILY DISPATCH, WEDNESDAY,

power struggle between the two for leadership of the party.

Mr De Wet held the post for little over a year.

The five ministers, Mr Andrew Matjila, Mr Moses Kajjuongua, Mr Andreas Shipanga, Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi and Mr Harry Booyesen, who constitute the "black caucus" of SWA/Namibia's Transitional Government, threatened to resign if consultations on the territory's constitutional future prove fruitless.

Meanwhile, four of the transitional government's six member parties, representing six cabinet ministers, have said that the additional powers granted to South

Africa's representative in Namibia, the territory's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, made continued participation in the government a "threat to their credibility".

The cabinet, led by its chairman, Mr Matjila, requested a meeting with South Africa's State President, Mr P. W. Botha as a "last re-

sort" to repeal the new powers.

These powers, announced by Mr Botha in Windhoek ten days ago and promulgated in the Government Gazette last Friday, give the administrator-general a greater say in directing constitutional developments.

At a cabinet meeting

yesterday, at which Mr Pienaar was present, the government decided that his new powers violated Namibia's human rights charter.

The amended charter was also slated as a unilateral violation of the agreement in terms of the proclamation whereby Namibia's Transitional Govern-

ment was created nearly three years ago.

The creation of the government was the product of a negotiated agreement between Mr Botha and the parties of the Multi-Party Conference, which preceded the SWA/Namibian Government.

A statement released by the cabinet said that

"it is our (the cabinet's) view that it (Proclamation R101) cannot properly be amended unilaterally".

"While the cabinet does not question the State President's legislative capacity to repeal or amend any proclamation he makes in respect of SWA/Namibia, it feels compelled to place or

APRIL 20, 1988 — 15

record its inability to accept what has been done in this case."

Mr Matjila and Mr Kozonguizi are members of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance of Mr Dirk Mudge, who until now has been one of the prime proponents of the abolition of apartheid in Namibia.

Mr Mudge's Republican Party now seems set to contest a white election against the National Party among Namibia's 100 000 whites. — DDC-Sapa

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Namibia's govt in crisis

20/4/88 The Star's Africa News Service (221)

WINDHOEK — Namibia's six-party transitional government is today closer to collapse than at any time in its 34-month life, as it waits for a reply to a demand for an urgent meeting with South Africa.

A number of Ministers in the coalition have said they have "reserved their positions" on resignation pending the outcome of the urgent meeting with Pretoria.

The talks have been demanded to discuss South Africa's recent granting of increased powers to its Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, which effectively enable him to dictate the direction of the current constitution negotiations.

Mr Pienaar is also empowered to authorise the holding of ethnic elections — opposed by a number of the parties in the transitional government.

The additional powers were announced on April 8 by State President Mr P W Botha. And last Friday he announced that Mr Pienaar's powers had, in fact, been extended.

The majority of the transitional government yesterday issued a statement expressing concern over the latest development and accused South Africa of breaking previous agreements.

Mr Moses Katjuongua, chairman of the eight-member interim government, is reported by Reuter to have said: "We have been castrated like a bull. We cannot accept what has been done."

Veteran politician and DTA leader Mr Dirk Mudge has said he will warn his party against being "over hasty" in their reaction.

CMT Times 20/4/88

Officer killed in Namibia

221

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An SADF major was killed and a 19-year-old SADF corporal is missing and presumed dead after two skirmishes in the operational area on Monday.

A spokesman at Defence Headquarters said yesterday that Major Lucas Frederick Lotter, 29, of Ondangwa, Namibia, died in a skirmish with Swapo insurgents in which six insurgents were also killed.

Major Lotter is survived by his wife.

The spokesman added that after another skirmish in the area it was found that Corporal Pieter Gerhardus Viljoen du Toit, of Doornkloof, Pretoria, was missing. He said Corporal Du Toit is believed to have been killed. He is the son of Colonel M S du Toit.

Row with SA: SWA²²¹ Cabinet faces collapse

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ARGUS 20/4/88

From BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — Namibia's six-party Transitional Government is today closer to collapse than at any time in its 34-month life as it waits for a reply to a demand for an urgent meeting with South Africa.

But the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, says Windhoek politicians are "over-reacting".

Mr Pienaar's comment came in response to a statement issued yesterday by a number of Ministers in the coalition Transitional Government in which they said South Africa had broken its agreement by granting extra powers to Mr Pienaar.

The powers, which were gazetted last Friday in amendments to the Transitional Government's founding Proclamation R101 of 1985, effectively enable Mr Pienaar to direct the pace and direction of constitutional negotiations.

Mr Pienaar is also empowered to hold ethnic or regional elections, which are opposed by most of the parties in the Transitional Government.

In its statement yesterday, the Transitional Government

majority faction said some of its Ministers had "reserved" their positions on resignation pending the outcome of the request for urgent discussions with South Africa.

Mr Pienaar said this morning that he had yet to receive an official request from the Windhoek politicians for a meeting with President Botha. He said such a request would receive priority attention.

Opportunity

He denied an insinuation that South Africa had "stabbed the Transitional Government in the back" by introducing the new amendments.

Mr Pienaar said the Windhoek government was given an opportunity to make comments after President Botha's announcement of the proposed amendments when he visited Windhoek.

The Transitional Government had not responded, said Mr Pienaar, and the amendments to Proclamation R101 had been promulgated "by default".

In any event, he added, the new powers given him were not so much a reduction in the Transitional Government's own status, but more a "clarification" of a legal situation which

was at times confusing.

Mr Pienaar said he had been instrumental in effecting a "softening" of the amendments, by stipulating that he would only exercise his new powers "in consultation" with the Transitional Government.

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South
Botha

threatens

Namibian

weekly

From MARK VERBAAN

21-2-7/1/88
WINDHOEK. — P W Botha's veiled threat against the progressive media in Namibia could have dire consequences for a local English-language weekly newspaper, The Namibian.

Following talks with the interim government cabinet in Windhoek on April 8, the State President announced that the South African-appointed Administrator-General would be given authority to take "appropriate steps" against media in the territory which promoted "subversion and terrorism".

This is widely believed to be an indirect reference to The Namibian, which for almost three years has been consistently documenting atrocities against the civilian population of Northern Namibia.

The newspaper, which in 1985 was required to lodge a registration deposit of R20 000 in terms of the Internal Security Act, maintains a firm editorial policy favouring the immediate implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 of 1978.

Ceasefire

The resolution provides for the holding of free and fair elections under UN supervision in Namibia and a ceasefire between South Africa and Swapo.

All other newspapers in the territory were required to pay a R10 deposit fee, and in 1986 the Namibian contested its exorbitant registration fee in the Supreme Court.

The judge ruled in favour of the newspaper, and the cabinet was ordered to repay the amount with interest.

Editor of the Namibian, Gwen Lister, feels sure the State President's words were aimed at her newspaper.

"Never, since we first hit the streets, have the police, army or interim government taken us to court for publishing incorrect information. I know they wouldn't hesitate to do so if we published untruths, so what has prevented them? If they try to ban us, we will fight to the bitter end," she said.



15 - 2/14/88

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W/Mail

As PW Botha touched down in Windhoek, two rather different demonstrations greeted him: One, above, attacking him, one below, welcoming him Pictures: Reuter

Namibian cabinet objects to new powers for AG

SEVERAL of the new powers conferred by South African State President PW Botha on the administrator-general of Namibia last Friday, are in contradiction with the principles of the interim government.

This was the main point in a cautiously-worded statement released by the cabinet of the interim government at a press con-

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek

ference on Wednesday. On Tuesday night, six members of the eight-member cabinet met for several hours to discuss the statements made by Botha, which indicated that Administrator-General Louis Pienaar would have sweeping new powers.

These additional powers included the AG having the right to call elections and the authority to take appropriate steps against media which promoted subversion and terrorism.

At the end of the talks last week, Botha said it had been emphasised that "fitting and effective" action had to be taken

●To PAGE 2

P.T.O.

Namibian cabinet objects to new powers

against organisations that applied violence to promote their political objectives.

The state president was probably referring to Swapo, which has been waging an armed struggle against South Africa's occupation of Namibia

To achieve these objectives, Botha's proclamation R101 — which instituted the interim government in 1985 — would be amended.

Of the six political parties represented in the interim government, only four reached consensus that Botha's instructions were unacceptable.

The two parties which released their own statement on Wednesday were the SWA National Party and the Rehoboth Liberated Democrats.

In their joint statement the six other cabinet ministers, Dirk Mudge, Fanuel Kozonguizi, Andrew Matjila (all of the DTA), Moses Katjiuongua (SWA Na-

●From PAGE 1

tional Union), Andreas Shipanga (Swapo-Democrats) and Harry Booysen of the Labour Party, said they had sought urgent clarification from the AG on aspects of Botha's decisions.

On Friday evening, after the South African delegation had returned to Pretoria, Finance Minister Dirk Mudge met Pienaar. Mudge expressed his concern that some of the decisions announced by Botha had not been discussed with the cabinet.

In what appeared to be an appeasement bid, Pienaar reassured the cabinet that no official steps had yet been taken to extend his powers, and that if sufficient progress was made in the constitutional process it would not be necessary to amend R101.

He gave his assurance that the state president and himself would not prescribe to the people of Namibia.

15-21/1/1988
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WINDHOEK — Fresh proposals for regional elections, which attempt to move away from ethnicity, have been accepted in principle by a majority in Namibia's transitional government cabinet.

Although still in a draft stage, they make provision for elections on the second and third tier of government but do not address the first tier which is administered in terms of R101.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pie-

Majority accept fresh election plan for SWA

naar, said he hoped to put the proposals to the test of public opinion either by way of elections or a referendum within the next few months.

The proposals, which have been rejected by the South West Africa National Party, were

presented to President P. W. Botha two weeks ago and described by him as "progress", according to political figures here.

Meanwhile, the management committee of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance last night

called an urgent meeting to discuss events of Mr Botha's visit.

The chief secretary of the DTA, Mr Johann De Waal, said the committee would decide whether it should withdraw from the interim government tonight, thereby collapsing it, or not.

Mr De Waal doubted if there was a chance that the DTA would pull out leaving South Africa and Mr Pienaar to run the day-to-day affairs of the territory. —DDC

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Malaria 221

kills 6 in

Namibia

WINDHOEK — Angola's killer malaria strain which caused the deaths of eight SADF soldiers has moved to Namibia and already left six dead.

Reports in local newspapers and television said three people had died in the intensive care unit of the state hospital on Wednesday night, bringing to six the number of deaths in the territory caused by malaria since last month.

Windhoek hospital superintendent Dr Andreas Oberholzer told the Windhoek Advertiser that malaria was occurring across the country with the exception of coastal areas and the extreme south.

The newspaper reports that the hospital now has 165 malaria sufferers as opposed to only 10 a year ago. Rundu hospital has admitted 420 malaria patients this year.

Security forces kill 23 ²²¹
APG Times 22/4/88
in Namibian skirmishes

WINDHOEK. — Security forces in northern Namibia shot dead 23 Swapo insurgents in various skirmishes in the past week, bringing the number of Swapo deaths to 182 since the beginning of this year, the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said in Windhoek last night.

Two insurgents died in a follow-up action by security forces guarding a water tower near Oshigambo on Monday, when they carried out a stand-off bombardment of the tower with 60mm mortar bombs.

The SWATF also said at least 13 civilians, including nine schoolboys, were abducted to Angola from Ovambo, but several of them escaped and returned home. — Sapa

Swapo fears moves to have it declared illegal

STW 23/4/88

221

**SATURDAY STAR
FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE**

LUANDA — Swapo fears South Africa is about to use new regulations effectively to ban it and also severely restrict Namibia's independent press.

Quoting sources in Windhoek, Swapo said in a statement yesterday that a proclamation that would effectively render Swapo illegal and place curbs on the pro-independence *Namibian* newspaper, was likely to be promulgated soon.

The expected proclamation follows President Botha's recent visit to Namibia during which he threatened action against organisations which promoted "subversion and terrorism".

Sources in Windhoek say the action against Swapo is likely to come through a new regulation enforcing the registra-

tion of political parties, obliging them to condemn the use of violence.

Refusal to register would render political organisations illegal, the statement said.

It added: "Since Swapo is the only political organisation engaged in an armed struggle, Pretoria does not expect it to register under such conditions and therefore would claim that the movement had outlawed itself."

Swapo also expects the imposition of new press regulations similar to those in force in South Africa.

Namibia, Botswana plan joint strategy

River.

Game poachers trigger happy

Star 25/4/88

221
[Signature]

By Brendan Seery

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Poaching by people from Namibia in Botswana's game reserves has reached alarming proportions.

Last year Botswana anti-poaching patrols killed five Namibians in shoot-outs.

Last week wildlife authorities met at Katima Mulilo in Caprivi to discuss the situation and plan joint action.

According to the Director of Nature Conservation in Windhoek, Mr Polla Swart, poachers from Namibia are becoming increasingly aggressive.

In 12 incidents last year, poachers fired on Botswana anti-poaching units. And in one case they shot at a group of tourists who disturbed them.

SMUGGLING RING

A total of 26 cases of poaching involving Namibians in Botswana were reported last year. More than half of the 69 animals killed in these hunts were elephants, suggesting that there was an organised ivory poaching and smuggling ring operating from Caprivi.

Mr Swart said his department would be working closely with the military and the Namibia police in Caprivi to try to control the activities of armed people, particularly those who had acquired automatic weapons.

The Namibian and Botswana authorities have agreed on an anti-poaching programme which in-

cludes the setting up of a group on the Caprivi side of the border. The unit will use aircraft and boats to patrol the border areas.

Conservationists say the game in the Caprivi has declined dramatically in the past 10 years and there are fears the animals might be shot out altogether.

The area is home for a number of endangered species, including the red lechwe, sitatunga small buck, and the sable.

A recent report in the South African Wildlife Society's magazine said the blue wildebeest had virtually disappeared from the area.

In the early 1980s, Botswana authorities claimed that poaching from the Caprivi strip was being carried out by South African soldiers.

According to wardens in the Chobe National Park, elephants were sometimes shot from helicopters. They then had their heads removed with chain-saws.

BUFFALO STAMPEDE

In 1982 a herd of buffalo stampeded into the Chobe River from the Namibian side, resulting in more than 50 animals drowning in the thick "Kari-ba weed" which choked the waterway.

Botswana rangers found evidence that the animals had been shot at from the air with high-powered rifles.

But the authorities in Namibia claimed the animals were thirst-crazy when they stampeded.

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Nujoma plea over Namibia independence

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From ALAN DUNN
The Argus Foreign Service 26/4/88

WASHINGTON. — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, has appealed to the American presidential candidates and public to push for independence in SWA/Namibia.

Noting that Swapo needed the United States to achieve settlement in that territory, he said he wanted American opinion and presidential hopefuls to pressure the Reagan Administration or any future administration into supporting the United Nations peace plan for SWA/Namibia.



Mr Sam Nujoma

Mr Nujoma was speaking on a television interview from Atlanta, Georgia, where he had attended a conference of Third World journalists.

His presence in the US has stirred some controversy, with one congress-

man protesting to the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, over the fact that he was allowed into the country.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo believed the international community had a direct responsibility to help SWA/Namibians to achieve their freedom and independence.

"It is precisely for this reason that we are appealing to American public opinion to support our cause," he said.

NO POWER

He thought it was possible SWA/Namibia would reach independence while Mr P W Botha was President of South Africa. He said Mr Botha did not have the power to prevent people in SWA/Namibia and South Africa fighting and overthrowing the Government.

Mr Nujoma also said that Swapo would "continue to intensify both political and military actions in order to ensure the speed-up of the liberation of our country and people".

● Mr Nujoma is due to speak at a World Council of Churches hearing on SWA/Namibia on Capitol Hill early next month.

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Bid to halt 'propaganda funding'

221

Namibia Cabinet is taken to court

PAPERS filed in the Windhoek Supreme Court claim the interim government's Cabinet and others, including the SWA Broadcasting Corporation, illegally use taxpayer's money from the Central Revenue Fund (CRF) for propaganda purposes.

The action is being brought by the Namibian Council of Churches, the Christian Democratic Action Party, the Damara Council, the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group (NPP 435) and Swapo member Joshua Hoëbech.

They claim in papers filed in February that they, as well as all parties and persons not participating in the interim government, have been prejudiced by the propaganda. They are seeking an interim interdict restraining the defendants from spending money from the CRF.

They point out the Cabinet is an appointive and unelected authority constituted in terms of Proclamation R101, "which enjoys no recognition by a member-state of the international community other than SA and is without status in international law".

The Declaration of Rights as set out in R101, and their rights as taxpayers, form the basis of the application.

The SWABC is allocated funds annually by the Cabinet from the budget. These are withdrawn from the CRF and spent in conflict with provisions, in terms of the Declaration of Rights, of R101, they claim.

The applicants claim the SWABC fails to

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

broadcast lawful statements by spokesmen of majority parties in representative authorities on fundamental issues such as the war and its peaceful resolution, the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and the rejection of the presence of the Defence Force in areas such as Owambo.

Others whom the application claims have acquired money illegally from the CRF in breach of R101 are:

□ Transcontinental Consultancy which, the papers claim, has "from time to time" received funds from the Cabinet in breach of the Proclamation.

The consultancy's MD is Sean Cleary, a former Foreign Affairs appointed adviser to the Administrator-General of the territory.

□ Die Republikein Drukkery, which allegedly prints propaganda on behalf of the Cabinet and is paid from the CRF.

The papers claim the Cabinet publishes magazines and a large number of pamphlets which it distributes locally and overseas free of charge, with all costs defrayed from the CRF.

The defendants have reserved their plea pending further particulars from the plaintiffs. This is due to be filed with the court within the next month.

Flying on a wing and a prayer

South

FEATUR

By TONY WEAVER

NEVER in the history of South African aviation had an ageing Dakota less likelihood of crashing.

The phrase "Flying on a wing and a prayer" took on new meaning as we flew from Windhoek's Eros Airport — on board were 10 Anglican bishops, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Bound for the Namibian war zone, the ancient aircraft droned north, then dropped alarmingly fast to tree-top level as we approached the southern borders of the region where guerrillas of the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia have been fighting for independence from South Africa for the past 22 years. The reason for the sudden, lurching descent was simple — Sam7 heat-seeking missiles only lock on to their target when the missiles are several hundred metres in the air and well away from the launch site.

By flying in at tree-top level, the reasoning goes, you lessen the chance of being blasted from the sky.

Thus began what can be described a triumphal visit for the Nobel Peace Prize winner and nine other South African bishops to the embattled country, the last colony in Africa.

Oshakati Airport: It had rained the night before, after an exceptionally dry summer. We were met by James Kauluma, Anglican bishop of Namibia. With him in his vehicle was a nervous South African Defence Force soldier — blacks are not allowed into the white town of Oshakati without a permit or military escort.

Kauluma's first remark was: "We have had good rains this week." In any other society, that remark would be

merely a conversational pleasantry. In the war zone of Namibia, it conceals a wealth of understatement.

When it rains in the north, the guerrillas move. They are able to travel through the bush without having to go near kraals and water points where the risk of being ambushed by the South Africans or betrayed by informers is high.

Thus began a bizarre journey north — to the Angolan border. As military convoys rumbled incessantly by, we travelled past Air Force Base Ondangua.

We passed a foot patrol of nervous national servicemen and travelled along three detours to avoid bridges which had been blasted in the past weeks by Swapo's Plan guerrillas. Less than a kilometer from the Angolan border, we turned into a dirt track to St Mary's Mission Station at Odibo.

Loud blast

Odibo: The mission station is a mere shell of its former self. In June 1981, armed men came to the church in the dead of night when no-one is allowed out of doors. There is a dusk to dawn curfew, and civilians moving at night risk being shot on sight.

Three quarters of an hour later, there was a loud blast, followed by several smaller ones. Flames leapt into the night sky.

As the sun rose and church workers were again able to move outside without fear of being shot, they found that the seminary complex — a chapel, classrooms, student dormitory, principals' flat, library and office — had

been destroyed by fire.

The attackers wore shoes and were traced to vehicle tracks outside the mission gates. Residents also found an illuminating flare used by soldiers during night attacks to light up an ambush area.

Church leaders say they suspect the South African armed forces — the South Africans lay the blame on Swapo. As Tutu surveyed the ruins later in the day, he shook his head sadly and said: "This is terrible, terrible, this war must end."

As we drove into Odibo, the heavy heat of Africa was pierced by the massed voices of a youth choir singing the praises of Tutu. Hundreds of peasant women ululated and cheered.

The message Tutu and the South African bishops took with them to Namibia was clear: "The South Africans say," he preached to 4 000 people in Windhoek's Katutura township, "that they are here to protect you. But you, the Namibian people who they say they are protecting, don't want them here."

"You say: Go home, and we say: Go home: Leave the people of Namibia alone. We call on the South African government, please implement Resolution 435 (the United Nations blueprint for Namibian independence) and so end the misery of the people of Namibia.

"Nobody, just nobody, can stop justice and goodness winning. Evil, injustice and oppression have already lost."

Tutu ended his sermon by quoting the Swapo slogan, calling for "the building of a new, beautiful Namibia: 'One Namibia, One Nation'".



Archbishop Desmond Tutu is met at Katutura airstrip by Namibia's Bishop Jam Matt Esau, personal assistant to the Archbishop

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Africans see time differently, says seminar absentee

Star 29/4/88

Mr John Mavuso, the former ANC member now a member of the Transvaal provincial executive committee, failed to attend a top level seminar in Johannesburg yesterday focusing on population growth that he was to have addressed.

The other speakers were the former Broederbond head and vice-rector of RAU, Professor JP de Lange and Mr Christo Nel. Mrs Margaret Lessing of the Women's Bureau was to have spoken but did not because she was ill.

The organisers, the Council for Population Development, were unable to explain Mr Mavuso's absence. They said he had contacted them in the morning to say he would be late.

His speech was read by Professor Pieter Haasbroek, a member of the Council, who chaired the seminar. It was attended by about 150 people from

womens organisations, engineering concerns and the business community.

Mr Mavuso said in his prepared speech that time was viewed in a totally different way by the African tradition.

A person experienced time partly in his own life, and partly through the society which stretched back many generations before his own birth.

Time was thus seen as a two-dimensional phenomenon, with a long past, a present and virtually no future. Actual time was that which was present as well as which was past, so that this concept stretched "backward" rather than "forward".

In contrast to western or technological societies where time was a valuable commodity to be utilised, sold and bought, in African traditional life time was created by a sequence of historical events.

Police chief warns papers about 'lies'

Star 29/4/88

WINDHOEK — The Commissioner of the SWA Police, Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws, has warned newspapers that action will be taken against those that disseminate lies about the police.

In a statement published yesterday General Gouws referred to a report in the latest issue of *The Namibian* newspaper.

The report quoted an Ovambo official as saying security forces had abducted about 30 schoolchildren from northern Namibia and dropped them in Angola for "propaganda purposes".

The editor of the *Namibian*, Miss Gwen Lister, and a senior reporter, Mr Mark Verbaan, have been called to give evidence before a military board of inquiry to be convened in Windhoek in terms of the military disciplinary code.

The hearing has been set down for May 20 and is to be held at a military base. — Sapa.

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NAMIBIA GENERAL - 1988

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SA delegation leaves for talks



Mr Niel van Heerden

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

2K/AB

THE South African delegation to the four-power talks on Angola and Namibia leaves for Britain today under the leadership of the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Heerden.

The delegation is understood to include the department's expert on Angola and SWA/Namibia, Mr Andre Jaquet, and a senior representative of the Defence Force.

The talks, between South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States, are being held at official and not ministerial level as a preliminary round to what may develop into more comprehensive negotiations to end the Angolan war.

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The other men around the table will include Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van-Dunem, Mr Jorge Risquet, a member of the ruling politburo and head of external relations in the Cuban Communist Party, and United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker has been involved in two days of preliminary talks in London with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Adamishin. The talks are being held in Britain, which is not taking part at the request of the United States.

South Africa and Cuba will be facing each other across a formal negotiating table for the first time during the discussions, which are expected to

centre on the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola.

Cuba is reported to have sent 6 000 fresh troops to Angola on the eve of the talks, a move which South Africa has noted with some concern.

South African diplomats were cautious today at the prospects for the talks, pointing out that Pretoria wanted at least the great majority of Cuban troops to be withdrawn Angola completely.

● In Lisbon, Unita has claimed to have shot down two Soviet-built Angolan Air Force jet fighters in fighting around the central town of Cuemba on Friday, and killed 67 government troops, Sapa-AP reports.

Swapo head seeks US support for ⁽²²¹⁾ ceasefire in SWA

CHICAGO — The president of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), Mr Sam Nujoma, is touring the United States to seek support for a ceasefire and free elections in SWA/Namibia.

Swapo has been fighting South African rule in SWA/Namibia for 22 years.

Mr Nujoma said he hoped to meet the Democratic presidential candidates, the Reverend Jesse Jackson and Mr Michael Dukakis, during his five-city tour of the US.

Although he has not yet scheduled a meeting with either candidate, Mr Nujoma said he hopes to persuade them to make SWA/Namibia an issue at the Democratic National Convention this summer.

He said the Reagan

administration was supporting South Africa by making SWA/Namibia's independence conditional on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

Asked what he would think of a presidential victory by the current vice president, Mr George Bush, Mr Nujoma said only that "we hope that if the vice president wins the election he will support the just cause of the Namibian people".

Mr Nujoma said one of the reasons for his visit was to "end the conspiracy of silence in the US press".

"We see nothing being printed about Namibia."

According to Mr Nujoma, 16 schools and church buildings had been destroyed by explosions in SWA/Namibia during the past year.

— Sapa-AP

Some mourn while SADF celebrates Cassinga

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — This week, the opposing sides in SWA/Namibia's 22-year-old bush war will commemorate, in their separate ways, the strike 10 years ago on Swapo's camp at Cassinga in southern Angola.

On the 10th anniversary of the May 4 attack, the SADF and the SWA Territory Force will be holding what they call a "celebration" at the military base of Oshakati in Owambo. Journalists have been invited to the event, at which there will be witness accounts of that day in the Angolan bush.

Day of prayer

In Windhoek and elsewhere, Swapo and its allies will be mourning and holding church services, drama productions and rallies. The World Council of Churches has declared tomorrow, May 4, an "international day of prayer" for the people of Namibia.

The Chief of Staff of the SADF, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleason, said in a SWA-TV programme earlier this week that Cassinga had been noted as an important Swapo military base. These bases had been established and strengthened in the wake of the MPLA victory in the Angolan civil war in 1975.

Swapo had been making deeper forays into Namibia from these base camps and it was decided to put in pre-emptive strikes against them. The camp known as Cassinga (Vietnam base) and a camp closer to the border, were the targets, General Gleason said.

Hundreds died

South African ground and air forces hit the camp early on May 4, leaving hundreds of dead Namibians when they withdrew.

Swapo said those killed were civilian refugees who had fled into Angola from Namibia and denied that Vietnam base was a military base. Swapo said many of the dead people were innocent women and children.

Since 1978, Cassinga Day has become a rallying point for Swapo and for other anti-South African groups in Namibia. So far there has been no indication that the authorities in Windhoek intend placing bans on any of the Swapo-initiated Cassinga Day activities, as was done in 1986.

Don't get too optimistic, says P W Botha



Political Correspondent

Pres-Botha

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SPEAKING on the eve of the four-power talks in London on Angola-Namibian situation, President P W Botha yesterday warned against being "too over-optimistic" about a settlement in the region.

Mr Botha said South Africa was prepared to contribute "our share" to finding a solution for problems in the subcontinent provided the country was not told by outsiders what to do.

Speaking during his budget vote in the House of Representatives, Mr Botha added: "But I want to warn against being too over-optimistic because there are not only mischief-makers, but major mischief-makers all over the world who want to destroy

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PW-Botha

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every positive effort to bring about better conditions in southern Africa."

However, Mr Botha emphasized that the moment the Cubans left Angola and Namibia was out of danger, South African forces would leave too.

He said the government wanted SA troops to return to their primary responsibility of protecting South Africa's borders.

"The moment the Cubans go, then we have a new ball game — then the whole situation will take a turn for the better."

South Africa was a regional power and believed that it was in the interest of Namibia's future and that of the whole of Southern Africa that "the Cubans must go".

South Africa had said from the outset that the Cuban presence in Angola was contributing to the civil war and crippling the economic future of the country.

Mr Botha said that in talks he had held with African leaders in "recent weeks," he had told them that peace in Southern Africa could only be served if the Cubans left the region.

Cubans 'an excuse for presence of SA bases in Namibia'

A Cuban troop pullout from Angola might not be enough to end South African rule in Namibia.

This is the view of analysts as Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States try to unravel the complex conflict that has plagued southern Africa for 13 years.

Pretoria has long said the estimated 40 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola are the main obstacle to independence in Namibia.

"But one should not think that if the Cubans withdraw, South Africa would automatically agree to the implementation of UN Resolution 435," says Professor Mike Hough, head of the strategic studies department at Pretoria University.

The Security Council resolution of 1978 laid down guidelines for the independence of Namibia, but its implementation has been delayed by Pretoria's demand for a Cuban withdrawal.

"The Cubans are being used by South Africa as an excuse to retain its bases in Namibia," says Professor Robert Schrire, senior political scientist at the University of Cape Town.

"South Africa has the least incentive (of the parties to the conflict) to reach a settlement," he adds.

The link between a Cuban pullout and the Namibian issue, established by Pretoria with US support, has dogged protracted diplomatic attempts to free Africa's last major dependency.

President Botha warned on Monday against high expectations of a breakthrough during the current London talks.

The South African Institute for Foreign Affairs' Mr Brian Bench says Pretoria appears to be hardening its position on Namibian independence.

"New goalposts are now being set up and a new environment is being created for the players. The process will probably take years rather than months," Mr Bench says.

Analysts say that although the Cuban presence close to South Africa's border has caused genuine concern in Pretoria, the real issue for the



Mr Neil van Heerden, head of the South African delegation at the talks in London.

Government is the balance between the advantages and disadvantages of holding on to Namibia.

"At the bottom line, we are looking at domestic-security considerations on the part of both the South African and Angolan governments," Mr Bench says.

Namibia — arid, flat and four times the size of Britain — has provided South Africa with a major shield against guerilla infiltration while putting its own forces closer to bases of nationalist forces fighting for black-majority rule.

In negotiating Namibia's future, President Botha also has to weigh the potential fallout of the territory's independence in his own country.

Namibia's white minority, roughly 10 percent of its population, has dominated the territory but black nationalist guerillas are widely expected to win post-independence elections.

Analysts say President Botha could face a strong backlash from whites in South Africa if he allows Namibia to pass into the kind of majority rule that the African National Congress is fighting for in South Africa.

"A settlement in Namibia will put the focus on South Africa," says Professor Hough. — Sapa-Reuter.

'SA will withdraw troops'

Sowetan

4/5/88

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PARLIAMENT — South Africa had "no claims" against Namibia and would withdraw its troops as soon as the Cubans left Angola and SWA-Namibia was "no longer in danger," President PW Botha has said.

Speaking in the House of Delegates during debate on his Budget vote, Mr Botha said the moment the Cuban troops left and Namibia was "out of danger", South African troops would return to their bases and to their "primary duty, that of protecting the borders of our country."

South Africa subsidised Namibia's one-million strong population by about R1-billion a year, said Mr Botha.

"Without wanting to hurt them they are the most subsidised community in Africa, maybe in the world. We have no claims against South West Africa. We'd like to see progress towards independence."

South Africa would not stand by and let foreign troops dictate in

Angola, however.

"The Cubans must go. They contribute to the civil war and the Cuban presence is crippling the economic future of Angola," said Mr Botha.

In his talks with prominent African leaders he had stressed that peace would be served if the Cubans withdrew.

Crucial

"The moment the Cubans go it's a new ballgame and the whole situation will turn for the better and improve," said Mr Botha.

To voluble support from MPs in the house,

Mr Botha said South Africa was crucial in the sub-continent in terms of its technology and expertise. It was prepared to contribute its share but not at the dictates of the outside world.

Against the background of the Four-Power Talks due to begin in London this week, Mr Botha warned against too much optimism. All over the world there were not just "mischief makers" but "major mischief makers" who did not want to see a peaceful resolution of the Southern African conflict.

PW 'is selling

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out to Swapo'

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By Esmaré van der Merwe

Right-wing Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff has appealed to fellow-Afrikaners to assist Namibia's whites in fighting off UN Resolution 435 and President Botha's "selling-out" to Swapo.

In a statement criticising Mr Botha's recent visit to Namibia, Professor Boshoff said the future of white Namibians had not been clarified.

Afrikaners had not had the opportunity to accept or reject Resolution 435 by means of an "own volk vote".

By saying the people of Namibia should decide on their own future, the South African Government tried to avoid "the image of selling out the Afrikaners to Swapo", Professor Boshoff said.

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The Namibian winning post is still on the move

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IT IS 22 years since the United Nations cancelled South Africa's mandate to rule Namibia and almost 10 years since the Security Council adopted Resolution 435 for Namibian independence and Pretoria, along with five Western nations, agreed to UN-supervised elections there.

The heady optimism about a peaceful resolution to the Namibian impasse back in 1978 was reflected in newspaper headlines which spoke boldly at the time of "Huge SWA peace plan" and "Namibian plan on the brink".

Four years later, after numerous false starts, delays and disappointments, a newspaper headline declared: 'West has been manufacturing optimism on Namibia'.

Wishful thinking

The latest round of exploratory 'talks about talks' in London has again seen, almost inevitably, the unrealistic raising of expectations about an end to the conflict and independence for Namibia.

After days of banner headlines screeching about "peace breakthrough" and "Angola summit", President Botha was this week forced to step in to curb the hyperbole and wishful thinking — even though much of it portrayed the South African Government in a positive light.

Mr Botha, no doubt wary of the danger posed by mushrooming expectations the Government might not want to meet, warned in Parliament that the public should not be "too over-optimistic" about a settlement in the region.

As head of the State Security Council, Mr Botha has a special appreciation of the fact that Namibia will not be allowed to gain its independence until he and the power elite of the security establishment deem this to be in South Africa's interests.

There is little compelling evidence to suggest that the top brass believe the time is ripe for a final pull-out from Namibia, let alone Angola.

Concern has been expressed, it is



By ANTHONY JOHNSON

true, about the R1 billion annual "subsidy" South Africa has to fork out for its various Namibian operations and commitments.

The deaths of growing numbers of white soldiers in Angola has also become a sensitive issue and undoubtedly places constraints on SADF military adventures.

Still, it will be a tough assignment to persuade the generals, for example, that the strategic Caprivi Strip — a launch pad for strikes against targets in the Frontline states — is no longer worth hanging on to.

Even if the Cubans do leave Angola it is quite possible — if the history of South Africa's manoeuvring around the Namibian independence issue is to serve as a guide — that new stumbling blocks and preconditions will be hatched to delay the process.

Moving post

As far back as August 1979 the territory's Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, said on the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen as his successor: "I think South West has been lucky to get a man who will take it past the winning post."

Since then the winning post has been moving at varying speeds but always fast enough to ensure that Namibians do not reach it.

Swapo vice-president Mr Mishake Muyongo was closer to the truth than even he could have realized when he observed during the early diplomatic moves towards independence:

"South Africa is capable of doing anything and always chickens out at the last moment when things do not go in its favour... they want an independent Namibia they can control."

The Angus Thrusday May 5 1988

'Peace is attainable' in SWA and Angola

'Re-engagement in diplomacy' must continue after talks, says Crocker

PEACE in Angola and SWA/Namibia was attainable if the "re-engagement in diplomacy," which began in at the peace talks in London, continued constructively at the next meeting, the chief American mediator, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, predicted yesterday.

The next meeting, scheduled to take place at an African venue within weeks, would "step up the pace of the process," focusing on South African, Angolan and Cuban attention on "highly specific, concrete details still to be worked out."

Positive results would depend on South Africa and Angola. A ceasefire agreement and the "untangling of the entangled forces" would be necessary for settlement negotiations to succeed.

America would continue to offer its mediatory services. He warned against the "risks of pursuing military solutions," adding: "It is, after all, their (South Africa's, Angolas' and Cubas') boys who are dying in these wars, not ours."

The scope for a settlement capable of backing influential American and Soviet emerged more clearly.

That, he suggested, would depend very much on the political will of South Africa and Angola to pursue diplomacy through compromise and mutual agreement, by "narrowing the gaps" between their respective demands.

"That's the work that lies ahead," he said.

Dr Crocker put the four-nation London talks into perspective at a Press briefing several hours after a joint South African, Angolan and Cuban statement emerged, saying the meeting had been "constructive" and that "progress" had been made.

Earlier, the South Africans said they believed progress had been achieved as the talks amounted to "getting to know each other's points of view on the issues surrounding the Cuban withdrawal and Resolution 435 directly from the other parties".

There was a common "deep and genuine desire for peace in the region".

One South African source said: "A great deal more will have to be done before we can accurately determine how real the chances of a settlement are, but this first meeting was constructive and made progress towards establishing that."

Dr Crocker said: "What's been going on here represents a re-engagement in diplomacy, but does not represent a settlement."

The London meeting focused on "the basic issues of principle" — the technical specifics — over which there were major differences of opinion.

He said: "It is clear the parties recognise that a peaceful settlement involves compromise: there were initial efforts on each side to get ideas from each other on the conceptual approach to issues that have not been discussed between them before."

He added: "We would emphasise that while progress has been made and an important step taken, there are big and tough issues lying ahead, and gaps that will need to be bridged. We do not feel those need be unbridgeable."

The delegations demonstrated "a serious and businesslike approach. We were impressed by the tone of discussion, the absence of polemics and the iteration of serious purpose."

"Without that, one obviously does not get much done. That bodes well for the work that lies ahead."



The South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, in Washington, arrives for the peace talks in London.

From MICHAEL MORRIS in London

The time-frame of Angola's phased withdrawal proposal was "not one that is very likely to represent the end of the process."

"It is clear to us there are some gaps to be narrowed (between South African and Angolan demands), but it is also clear on both sides there is a readiness to take necessary decisions to do that. We will see."

Dr Crocker said he had not detected an "unwillingness" on South Africa's part to withdraw from Angola.

Asked about the SWA/Namibia element of Angola's demands, he said: "The questions of Namibia and Angola are closely related. We do not see any other way to settle it, and apparently the parties do not either. That's the framework in which they are negotiating."

Within the broader context of international relations, he said, the Angolan issue was relevant to the United States' relations with the Soviet Union.

"What may be significant here is that there may be a mutual recognition that it can be useful if... some effort is made to explore how it might be possible for us to support a settlement if outlines emerged more clearly."

Meanwhile, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has expressed his satisfaction with the progress reported at the conclusion of the London talks.

At a Press conference yesterday, he said he had told the State President about the course and substance of the talks so far and would be providing him with more details once the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Heerden returned to Cape Town. Mr van Heerden led the 12-man South African delegation.

Mr Botha described the Angola talks and the recent exchange of goodwill messages between President P W Botha and President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique as a new "serious initiative" having been launched in the sub-continent.

He also called on American legislators to consider these initiatives and to take into account that in the same week a historic separation of Siamese twins had united all South Africans in a spontaneous demonstration of compassion and support. This was an inappropriate time to think of sanction.

The Minister could not say at this stage what results would flow from the talks, but he immediately rejected reports in London newspapers that his absence was a sign of a lack of interest in the talks or that he did not take them seriously.

The reports had been taken into the negotiating room and had been denied by the Angolans, who confirmed that the talks had been arranged at official level only, specifically excluding him.

"I believe this is the way the problems of the region ought to be resolved, by meeting around the conference table," he said.

Mr Botha disclosed that the talks had resulted from his meeting with Dr Crocker in Geneva in March and subsequent exchanges between their governments.

Other diplomatic sources indicated that the South African Government might be more excited by the outcome of the talks than the thus far bland joint statement recording "progress" indicated.

The participation of Dr Savimbi's Unita movement in the next round of talks was considered possible.

It is understood that Dr Savimbi has had firm undertakings from the South Africans which were reflected in the as yet highly confidential proposals presented to their Angolan and Cuban counterparts.

These sources also point out that the recent visit of General Jacinto Veloso and the exchanges of presidential goodwill messages between South Africa and Mozambique undoubtedly touched on the Angolan talks and that Mozambique might have played "broker" as it had done with the release of Major Wynand du Toit.

If this role was limited it was likely to grow after last week's exchanges.

Another factor that has raised the South Africans' hopes of success is the apparent genuineness of Cuba's offer to withdraw its troops from Angola.

Dr Crocker said Swapo's and Unita's interests were not being sidelined by the latest Angolan diplomatic initiative.

Speaking after the four-nation talks, he said: "The outcome of this process has implications for both movements."

He said the London talks had taken place among sovereign governments "by mutual agreement". This did not mean Swapo's and Unita's interests were being ill-served.

Dr Crocker said: "The question of removing foreign forces from Angola is the best way to create conditions in which internal peace and reconciliation can occur so that the issues and interests relating to those parties are by no means being put on one side. They are very much in the minds of the people involved."

He emphasised that the United States "has no intention of ending its relationship" with Unita, adding that this had been the subject of bilateral talks with Angola.

However, America's relationship with the rebel movement was not a feature of the four-nation peace talks.

"We did not come here to negotiate issues which are not part of the settlement and our relationship with Unita is not a bargaining chip in these discussions."

Unita was nevertheless a vital element in the Angolan spectrum.

Dr Crocker said: "There is no doubt Unita is a significant political force, a significant nationalist force. The Angolan parties are going to have to decide how to live at peace with each other."

"It's their business how and when and on what terms they achieve that... but it was not on the table for these talks. We sense there is a recognition of that on all sides."



The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Alfonso Van Dunem, arrives for the second session of talks on SWA/Namibia and Angola.

Demos and bomb blast in Namibia

WINDHOEK — Police fired rubber bullets, a bomb caused minor damage and two Owambos were killed in an accident, as Namibia remembered the South African Defence Force's raid into Cassinga yesterday.

The raid, 10 years ago, left more than 520 dead.

Minor damage was caused in a bomb blast at a rail bridge in Windhoek yesterday morning, police said. There were no casualties.

In Oshakati, two Owambos were killed when a lorry transporting troops collided with two other vehicles.

One man was a member of 101 Battalion, the other a civilian.

The army commemorated Cassinga Day with an impressive show of strength in Oshakati.

More than 70 vehicles, including Eland armoured cars, Ratel armoured troop-carriers and artillery pieces, drove through the town.

'Zola now

African venue for Angola talks

CAF,
TIMES
5/5/88

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The four-power conference for peace in Angola and Namibia has agreed to a follow-up meeting in an unnamed African capital "within weeks".

It is believed the venue will be the Cape Verde Islands and that specific proposals for the withdrawal of up to 40 000 Cuban troops from Angola top the agenda with unspecified reciprocal offers from South Africa on withdrawal from Angola and Namibia.

A joint statement issued by South Africa, the United States, Angola and Cuba said the talks had taken place in a "constructive atmosphere" and that "progress" had been made.

'Important step'

US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who chaired the meeting, said it was an "important first step".

As he spoke the high-power South African delegation headed by deputy Foreign Minister Mr Neil van Heerden and Defence Force Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys was flying home to report to President P W Botha.

Dr Crocker said the Angolan government, acting jointly with the Cubans had, in March this year, put forward proposals which incorporated the "concept of total Cuban troop withdrawal over a period of time".

America would continue to mediate as long as the warring parties "stayed serious. It is after all their boys dying in these wars, not ours", he said.

In Cape Town Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha cautioned that while he was heartened by the course the talks had taken he could not speculate on the eventual results.

He added: "I trust that those on Capitol Hill will pause and think before proceeding to legislate further sanctions against Southern Africa because it is impossible to target sanctions against South Africa alone.

"The steps also come at a time when an operation was performed on Siamese twins which seized the imagination and compassionate support of all South Africans, irrespective of their colour."

Police fire at Cassinga Day procession

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WINDHOEK. — Police fired rubber bullets yesterday to scatter about 3 000 pupils marching in Katutura township outside Windhoek in commemoration of Cassinga Day, a police spokesman, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, said.

Yesterday was the 10th anniversary of a South African military strike at Cassinga, about 250km north of the Namibian border with Angola.

Swapo, which commemorates Cassinga Day annually, said the former Angolan mining town was a refugee camp.

Five-hundred-and-eighty-two people, including 120 children, died in the attack while hundreds of others remained unaccounted for; and 119 people were taken captive and held for more than six years at a camp near Mariental in Namibia, according to Swapo literature.

The SADF claimed Cassinga — code-named Moscow — had been Swapo's main operational base in southern Angola with extensive military installations, including anti-aircraft positions.

In a Cassinga Day message this year, the general secretary of Churches in Namibia, Dr Abesai Sjehevali, said Namibians would not be consoled till peace and a just independence had been established. — Sapa

WINDHOEK. — A bomb blast caused minor damage at a train bridge in Windhoek's southern industrial area yesterday morning, police said. There were no casualties.

About 200 grams of explosives were used in the blast.

Police also reported that about 3 000 school pupils marching through Katutura township outside Windhoek were dispersed with rubber bullets. — Sapa

DID 615788

Cuba: troops stay till SWA independent 221

LONDON — Cuba has reinforced its troops in Angola to more than 35 000, to be withdrawn only when South Africa grants independence to Namibia, a Cuban Government official said yesterday.

Mr Jorge Risquet, who led the Cuban delegation to the four-party peace talks here this week, said the reinforcements had been brought in to stem an escalating South African invasion of southern Angola since October.

He said about 9 000 South African troops, backed by tanks, armoured cars, planes and artillery were taking part in the latest incursion.

"In the face of this extraordinary aggression, extraordinary measures were necessary to paralyse and repel it."

He referred to a recent article in the official Cuban newspaper Granma, which said Cuban reinforcements in the form of mechanised

infantry units, tanks and artillery and anti-aircraft units had recently been transported to Angola.

Mr Risquet said his government's view of the London talks was that they concerned securing independence for Namibia and obtaining guarantees for the security of Angola.

These included a withdrawal of South African troops to within South Africa's borders, and an end to South African and US support for the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

"If these conditions are met, the Cuban military contingent will have finished its internationalist mission and will return home."

He said four years was proposed by Angola as a timetable for the total Cuban pullout sought by Washington and South Africa.

He said he was moderately optimistic about reaching a negotiated settlement.

Reacting to the Cuban statement, the leader of the South African delegation; the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said last night the leaking of details of the ongoing agreement and negotiations on a selective basis was contrary to an agreement between the parties.

He told reporters it had been agreed that none of the parties would release details on the talks which were of the kind that could not be conducted in public, and expressed the hope that references to a timetable by the Angolan delegation were not the beginning of a process of selective leaks. — Sapa.

unclear

ion. 132
He confirmed written notice of application for leave to appeal was served on him by the State Attorney at 9.30 am yesterday.

The mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Solly Rubin, when asked if blacks would be prosecuted if they swam on the city's beaches, said he was unsure of the council's legal position on this point.

However, he would handle the issue with discretion, humanity and caution until the matter was clarified.

Editorial opinion P8

DID 615788

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Settlement 'requires untangling of forces'

Star
6/1/83

By Michael Morris, The Star Bureau

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LONDON — Peace in Angola and Namibia is attainable if the "re-engagement in diplomacy" in London continues constructively at the next meeting, according to chief United States mediator Dr Chester Crocker.

The next meeting, scheduled to take place at an African venue within weeks, would step up the pace of the process, focusing South African, Angolan and Cuban attention on "highly specific, concrete details still to be worked out", Dr Crocker said.

Positive results would depend on South Africa and Angola. A ceasefire agreement and the "untangling of the entangled forces" would be necessary for settlement negotiations to succeed.

The US Assistant Secretary of State warned against the risks of pursuing military solutions, adding: "It is, after all, their (South Africa's, Angola's and Cuba's) boys who are dying in these wars, not ours."

The scope for a settlement capable of gaining influential US-Soviet backing was within reach if outlines emerged more clearly.

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The South Africans said they believed progress had been achieved in "getting to know each other's points of view on the issues surrounding the Cuban withdrawal and (UN) Resolution 435 directly from the other parties".

Cuban pullout depends on SA

LONDON — The Cuban delegate at the talks with South Africa and Angola said yesterday that Havana would withdraw its troops from Angola under a four-year timetable hingeing on South Africa's readiness to give independence to Namibia.

He also said a pullout was conditional on South Africa and Unita guaranteeing to cease attacks on Angolan soil.

Mr Jorge Risquet Valdes, of the Cuban Communist Party politburo, was speaking at a news conference after a two-day US-mediated conference aimed at settling the Angolan civil war.

A joint statement on Wednesday at the end of the talks said progress had been made and the parties agreed to meet again in a few weeks' time at a still-undecided African venue.

"Our optimism could be defined as moderate," Mr Risquet said.

He said the Cubans came to the London talks seeking "non-interference in the internal affairs of Angola and assurances that Angola is not going to be attacked again".

FORCES TO REMAIN

Mr Risquet said Cuba also insisted on the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which demands independence for Namibia.

Cuban forces in Angola, which he said numbered more than 35 000, would remain "as long as Angola needs us."

But "if the abovementioned conditions are met, then Cuba's role will have been fulfilled", Mr Risquet said.

LEAKS

● Sapa reports South Africa's Director General of Foreign Affairs and the country's delegate to the talks, Mr Neil van Heerden, reacted to the Cuban statement in Cape Town yesterday, saying that the leaking of details of the ongoing agreement and negotiations, on a selective basis, was contrary to an agreement between the delegations.

● See Page 9.

Angolan, SA officers met in London

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Angolan and South African military officers met in London alongside the talks between Angola, Cuba, the United States and South Africa, according to the Mozambique news agency AIM.

A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria said last night he had no comment to make on the report.

AIM, quoting sources in Luanda, said the Chief of the Angolan General Staff, Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca, and the military adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Mr Jose Maria, had taken part in the meeting.

NOT IDENTIFIED

It did not identify the South African participants and gave no other details.

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jamie Geldenhuys, was in London for the four-party talks as part of the South African delegation.

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Cubans 'leak' details of peace talks

Political Correspondent

EFFORTS to achieve peace in Angola and Namibia remained on track today in spite of a Cuban breach of an agreement that no details of the talks would be divulged.

Mr Jorge Risquet Valdes, a member of Cuba's politburo, has stated that four years were proposed by Angola as a timetable for the total Cuban pull-out sought by Washington and Pretoria.

He said his government's view was that the talks were

about securing independence for Namibia and obtaining guarantees for the security of Angola.

These included a withdrawal of South African troops to within its borders and an end of South African and United States support for Unita.

South Africa has in the past rejected suggestions for a start to the Namibian independence procedure while there is only a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs,

who led the South African delegation at the London talks, said today that no agreement had been reached on a phased Cuban withdrawal.

No timetable was decided on and the talks were only the beginning of the negotiation process.

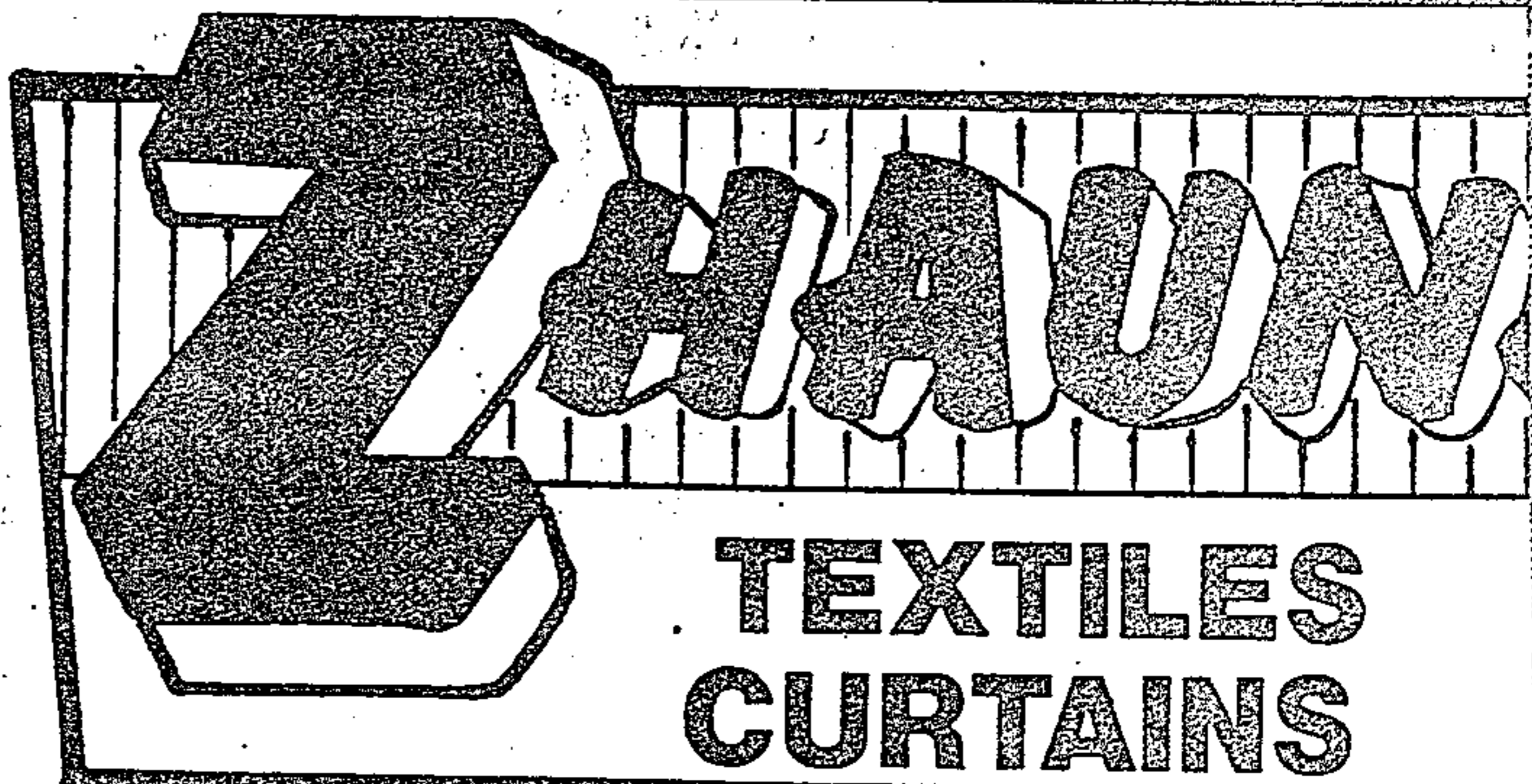
There had been an agreement not to make public pronouncements while the talks were in progress. He hoped the Cuban remarks were not the beginning of a process of leaks while the talks were in progress.

However, Mr van Heerden said he did not think the Cuban action was a setback to the talks.

● Cuba has confirmed an increase in its military presence in southern Angola and has sent troops closer to the border of South West Africa/Namibia, Sapa reports.

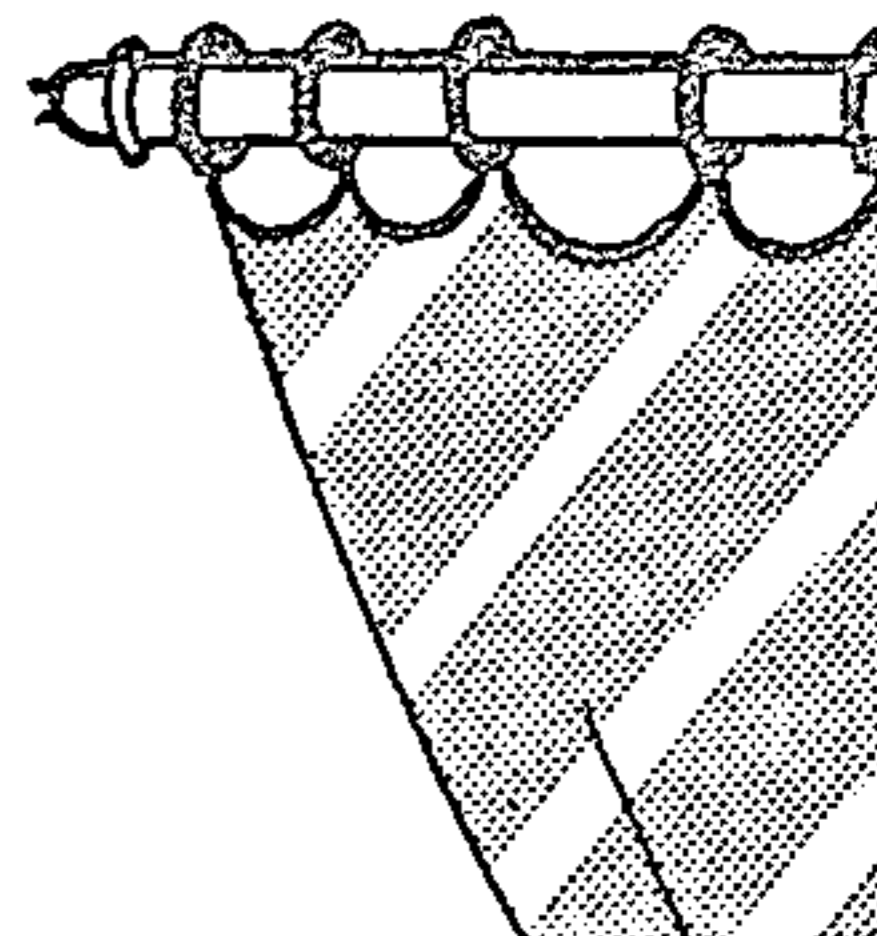
Mr Jorge Valdes said more than 35 000 troops were now stationed in Angola. Some were sent last month to within 70km of the border between Angola and South West Africa/Namibia.

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Crocker reassures Swapo and Unita

The Star's Foreign Bureau (221)

LONDON — The interests of Swapo and Unita are not being sidelined by the latest Angolan diplomatic initiative, says US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker.

After the four-nation talks ended in London on Wednesday, the chief American mediator said: "The outcome of this process has implications for both movements."

He said the London talks had taken place between the sovereign governments "by mutual agreement" but this did not mean that the interests of Swapo and Unita were being ill-served.

Dr Crocker said: "The question of removing foreign forces from Angola is the best way of creating conditions in which internal peace and reconciliation can occur, so the issues and interests relating to those parties are by no means being put on one side. They are very much in the minds of the people involved."

He emphasised that America had no intention of ending its relationship with Unita, adding that this had been the subject of bilateral talks with Angola.

But America's relationship with the rebel movement was not a feature of the four-nation peace talks.

"We did not come here to negotiate issues which are not part of the settlement, and our relationship with Unita is not a bargaining chip in these discussions."

Nevertheless, Unita was a vital element in the Angolan spectrum.

Dr Crocker said: "There is no doubt Unita is a significant political force, a significant nationalist force."

"The Angolan parties will have to decide how to live at peace with each other. It's their business how and when and on what terms they achieve that ... but it was not on the table for these talks. We sense there is a recognition of that on all sides."

apt 7/15 7/5/88
Soldier dies,
(22) (22)
one missing in

Swapo clash

PRETORIA. — A South African soldier died and another was missing after a clash with Swapo insurgents in the operational area on Wednesday, the SADF said yesterday afternoon.

A statement issued by the SADF said Lance Corporal Hendrik Jacobus Venter, 20, died in action against Swapo guerillas in the operational area late on Wednesday.

He is survived by his father and stepmother, Mr and Mrs AJ Venter, of Sixth Avenue, Lambton, Germiston.

A second member of the Defence Force, Private Johan Papenfus, 25, went missing in the same action. He is the brother of Miss M M F Papenfus of Sunnyside, Pretoria.

— Sapa

12/6 Argus 2/5/88

12/6 Argus 2/5/88

BATTLE FOES MEET — ACROSS A TABLE

by MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — They have faced each other — and each other's guns — across the battlefield.

Shell for shell, they have exchanged the harrowing missives of war.

But for the first time in Angola's 13-year conflict, South African, Cuban and Angolan generals and diplomats faced each other this week, across a table.

The four-way London talks, at an exclusive hotel, have been welcomed all round as a preliminary step that has broken the ice.

The London Times went further, calling it "a considerable feat" that could ultimately see Southern Africa

"even overtake the Middle East as the next centre for superpower peacemaking".

But, as The Times points out, "what matters most now is that the momentum set in London should not be lost".

From the little information which emerged after a news blackout was imposed, it is apparent the parties did not spend much time arguing the details of their respective demands, but rather setting out and getting to know each other's "basic principles".

That they have agreed to meet again so quickly, somewhere in Africa, is undoubtedly a sign they are taking it seriously, because the next round is bound to see a start being made on the nitty gritty of how to

end the conflict. That's where the difficulties lie.

For the Angolans and Cubans, a phased four-year troop withdrawal hinges on independence for Namibia and an end to US and South African aid to Unita.

That, as it stands, is unacceptable to Pretoria. It wants the Cubans out of the picture first.

Disconsolately

It is clear the most essential element is a willingness to compromise, if a negotiated settlement is to be achieved.

This is precisely the quality that the chief American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, hopes will come to the fore. It hasn't yet.

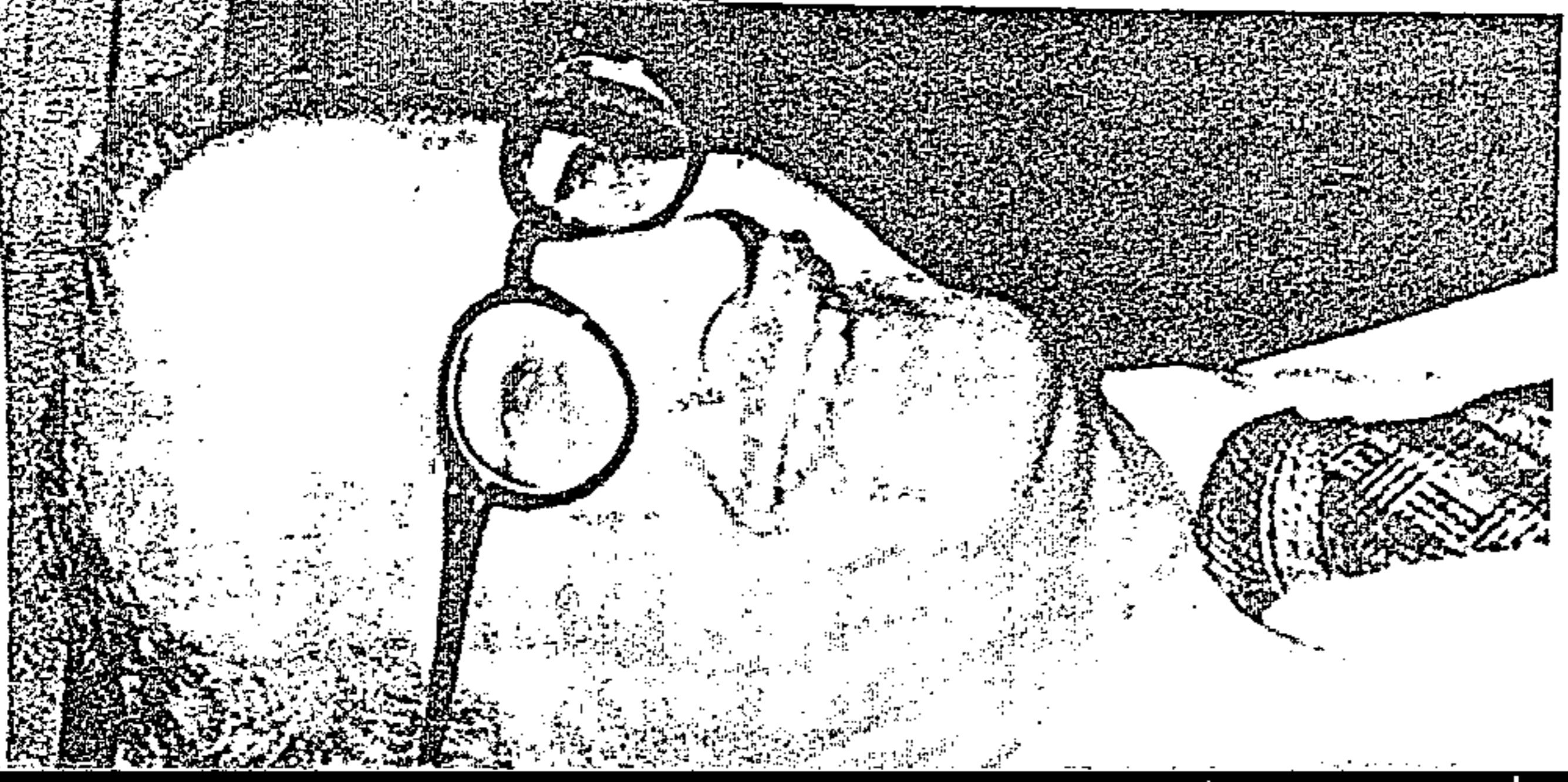
But the negotiators have at least got to know each other.

Why did it take so long? And is this the beginning of the end? The questions are tantalising — the first because the delay, for whatever reason, has been utterly wasteful, the second because the past record of diplomatic manoeuvring in the region is far from hopeful.

Some seasoned Africa commentators remarked disconsolately after the talks ended: "Optimistic? No, I've burned my fingers too often in the past with optimistic predictions about the Namibia/Angola issue."

Even Dr Crocker said: "We'll wait and see. This effort has been underway for about a decade. It's fair to be sceptical... no-one's holding their breath."

There is a view among some observers that negotiations will not be sustained in earnest until there is a clear winner, and a clear loser, militarily. According to this view, the generals on both sides are itching to prove their might.



Chester Crocker

Dr Crocker hopes that is not going to happen. Not for his sake, he avers. "After all, it's their boys who are dying in these wars, not ours."

Attempts at "military solutions", he continued, "have been very costly and have produced nothing".

The big battles around Cuito Cuanavale, the rising war damage, growing casualty lists and the growing cost may have been the biggest factor behind the willingness of the South Africans, Angolans and Cubans to meet round a table.

The fear of becoming bogged down in an apparently unwinnable, directionless war must worry the Pretoria and Luanda governments.

See also Page 16.

CHM Times 9/5/88
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Onus now on SA — Dos Santos

NAIROBI — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said preliminary talks in London had put the onus on South Africa to show it was serious about ending the conflict in Angola and Namibia.

"The proposals put forward by Angola and Cuba are realistic and flexible," he said in Luanda on Saturday.

"Now, it is up to South Africa to respond in a positive manner."

The talks in London last week were attended by South Africa, the United States, Angola and Cuba, which has about 40 000 troops helping the Angolan government fight Unita.

Pretoria and Washington insist that independence for Namibia must be linked to the withdrawal of the Cubans from the region.

Meanwhile, the Mozambican news agency Aim has reacted with scepticism to a report in the Sunday Times that President Joaquim Chissano had been given an assurance by Cuba's President Fidel Castro on withdrawal of his troops from Angola.

The report said President Chissano had spoken to Dr Castro on Tuesday night, but Aim said it was "unlikely" as President Chissano was flying back from Zimbabwe at the time and immediately left for the north of Mozambique, "where he still is". — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

● Angola: Cuba, SA out together? — Page 5

Page 3

Cuban troops 'march south'

 The Star's Africa News Service

Cuban, Swapo and Angolan forces are advancing towards the Namibian border, according to reports from Lisbon and Maputo.

They appear to be heading for the border town of Ongiva, which has been a frequent target of South African attacks in the southern Angolan province of Cunene.

Cuban troops are usually used as a back-up to Angolan troops and have never operated in large numbers south of the 15th parallel.

The reported offensive comes as Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States are preparing for a second round of negotiations.

A contingent of Cuban mechanised infantry is said to have been transferred to Angola to reinforce the 40 000 Cubans already there.

It has also been reported that the South African and Unita offensive around the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in south-eastern Angola appears to be over, and that South African and Unita troops have withdrawn at least 50 km from the town.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjung, monitored in Maputo, said the troops advancing southwards were more than 200 km south of their starting point. Cuban sources said the "allied forces" were very close to the Namibian border.

In Lisbon, the well informed newsletter *Africa Confidential* said considerable Cuban troop moves had been noted in southwestern Angola.

It said South Africa and Unita had abandoned plans to take Cuito Cuanavale because a study had shown that any attack on the town would result in at least 200 South African casualties.

● See Page 3.

Pik Off to Congo

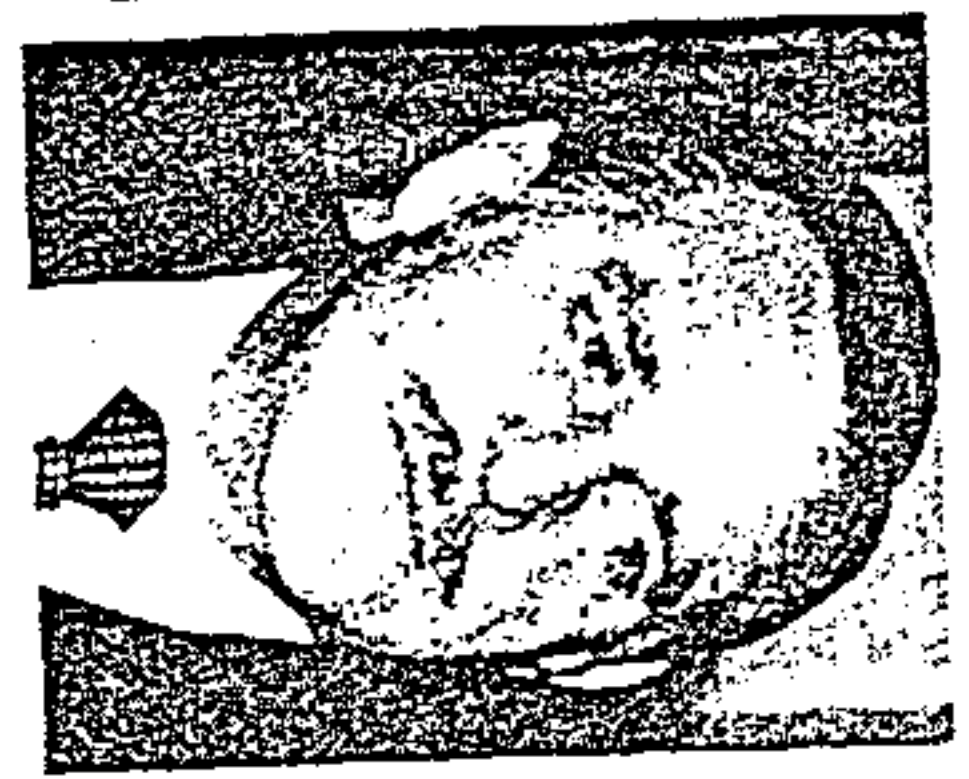
Cape Times 10/5/88

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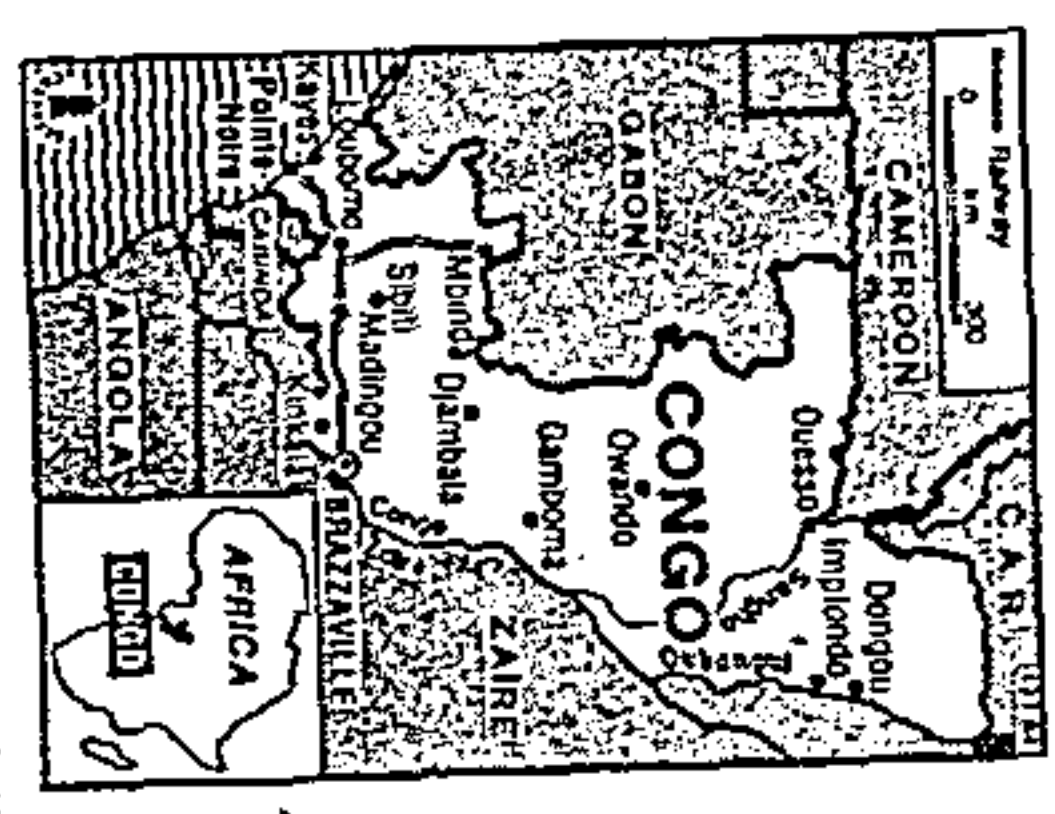
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, are to fly to the Congo Republic this week for talks on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

The high-powered South African delegation is expected to arrive in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville on Thursday and return the following day. The latest peace talks are not seen as a direct continuation of last week's four-power discussions in London at which the United States and Cuba were also present, but it is significant that the Brazzaville meeting has been elevated to ministerial level.



Mr Pik Botha



African countries

Mr Botha did not confirm details but said that "it is already known that further meetings would take place between Angola and South Africa in the future" and that Pretoria was "not opposed to Brazzaville as a venue".

Mr Botha said: "The SA government has been in contact with several African countries over the past month in connection with matters of communal interest and to exchange opinions on a number of important questions regarding our continent, including the necessity for peace and stability in our region."

"These discussions are continuing."

The latest talks follow a meeting between an official of the department of Foreign Affairs and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique at the weekend.

Mr Botha, speaking during his budget vote in the House of Assembly yesterday, said that if Cuba could "with dignity" withdraw its troops from Angola, then "a whole new ball game" would prevail.

In such an event South Africa would be able to proceed with the independence of Namibia on the basis of long-standing agreements — a reference to UN Resolution 435.

The Cape Times' correspondent in London reported last night that diplomatic circles, including the Americans, were "stunned" by the news of the Brazzaville talks.

The meeting was thought to pre-empt arrangements already under way for the second stage of US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker's four-nation exploratory talks.

Diplomats in London, who admitted they knew nothing about the plan until they received agency news releases, assumed it would be "complementary" to Dr Crocker's initiative.

They were uncertain whether Cuba and the United States would be present as observers.

But diplomats acknowledged that it fitted with Mr Pik Botha's wish for an "African solution" to the crisis in south-western Africa in which Angola and South Africa were not dictated to by the superpowers.

NRGub 12/5/88

Geldenhuijs to visit Lisbon

— news agency

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuijs, will travel to Lisbon in a few days' time, the Mozambique News Agency, Aim, reports.

The agency linked General Geldenhuijs's visit to the peace negotiations on Angola but some observers said it could be connected with negotiations on security arrangements for the Cahora Bassa dam.

Aim said General Geldenhuijs would meet the Portuguese armed forces chief of staff, General Lemos Ferreira, and might also hold talks with officials of the Portuguese foreign ministry.

The trip will take place "later this week", it said, without giving a date for the visit.

The agency did not give any further details on the talks but said a number of political and diplomatic figures connected with the Angolan issue would visit Portugal within the next few days.



Later this month Mozambican, South African and Portuguese officials are expected to meet in Lisbon to discuss financial and security arrangements for the Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique.

It has been reported that South Africa has agreed to provide logistical support for a force defending the powerlines from the dam.

● The Defence Force refused to comment today.

Gang flees after gunfight

Talks in Congo problems - Pik

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Political Staff

THE crucial talks at the end of the week between Angola and South Africa in Brazzaville, the capital of the Congo Republic, which were nearly jeopardized by press leaks, appear to have been saved.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Parliament yesterday afternoon that a question mark had been placed over the talks because of the leaks and "they may not take place".

However, although Department of Foreign Affairs officials would not confirm that the talks would definitely take place, it seemed last night that they would go ahead as planned.

Namibia settlement

A South African delegation, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, is scheduled to leave South Africa on Thursday and return late on Friday.

The discussions with their Angolan

counterparts will not involve other governments.

They are not regarded as a continuation of the four-power talks in London last week, but as a complementary, bi-lateral initiative by the South African and Angolan Governments.

No agenda for this week's discussions has been released but it is understood they will focus on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the role of Unita in the event of a peace settlement and the implications for the situation in Namibia.

Yesterday, Mr Botha again committed the South African government to a settlement in Namibia in terms of the Security Council resolution 435.

But Mr Botha has publicly stated a number of times in the past that he supports an African settlement to the problems in Southern Africa, including the Namibian and Angolan disputes, in which the governments were not dictated to by the superpowers.

The talks at the end of the week are in keeping with this approach and although no major statements are expected in Brazzaville, they could pave the way for a regional solution.

224 Cuba finds peace talks 'positive'

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11/5/88

LISBON. — Cuba found last week's four-party peace talks on Southern Africa "positive", and may speed up its plan to withdraw 40 000 Cuban troops from Angola if South Africa agrees to do likewise and grant self-rule to Namibia, a Cuban cabinet minister said here yesterday.

The Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Raoul Roa, who is in Lisbon to discuss last week's meeting in London involving negotiators from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States, said after meeting Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Joao Pinheiro, Havana was encouraged by SA's stance at the talks.

"We think the meeting was positive," he told reporters, "the South Africans took serious positions, and the results were good."

Echoing Angola's position in the talks, Mr Roa said: "When Namibia is independent and there are no more (South African military) incursions into Angola, there'll be no need for Cuban troops in Angola."

Noting Angola's Cuban-backed demand that both South Africa and the United States stop backing rebel Unita troops, Mr Roa said Unita was "nothing without foreign aid".

The four-year plan to withdraw Cuban forces from Angola presented to US negotiators in March in Luanda, could be accelerated, he said.

"We're flexible on the timetable for withdrawal," he said, adding the speed of the Cuban departure depends on "South Africa's attitude" during the negotiating process.

Asked to confirm reports of a second meeting, Mr Roa said "an African country" was discussed as the site of the next round of talks. — Sapa-AP

Obstacles to peace in southern Africa

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several major hurdles must be cleared before current initiatives to settle southern Africa's various problems can succeed.

South African Government sources remain cautious about the prospects of the various talks scheduled between South Africa and Angola and between South Africa and Mozambique, and they warn against over-optimism.

This week's talks between South

Africa and Angola in Brazzaville in the Congo are apparently in jeopardy because of leaks to the media about their location and time.

But it is understood the talks will still take place on Friday.

Among the hurdles that have to be cleared before peace can be brought to southern Africa are:

● The withdrawal of the more than 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

Although Cuba has made clear its willingness to withdraw from Angola, the best specific offer it has made to date is to move its forces to north of the 13th parallel within a year and to phase all its troops out of Angola over four years.

● The withdrawal of the 3 000 troops South Africa has admitted to having in Angola, and an end to its support for Unita.

● Independence for Namibia and withdrawal of South African forces. South Africa has said it will remain in Namibia until the Cubans have left Angola.

PARTY TO TALKS

● South Africa's insistence that Unita be a party to talks to end the civil war in Angola and that the Namibian internal parties be party to any talks affecting Namibia.

● Angola's insistence that Swapo be party to regional talks affecting Namibia.

● Talks between South Africa and Mozambique depend on problems relating to the rebel MNR movement being cleared up.

Malaria kills 22

82 in Namibia

Star 11/17/88

The Star's Africa News

WINDHOEK — Namibia's malaria death toll has climbed to 82, but experts say the epidemic appears to be slackening.

Six people died in the Windhoek State Hospital at the weekend, bringing to 82 the number of official deaths in the epidemic, which began in mid-March, said the hospital's superintendent, Dr Andreas Obholzer.

Argus 12/8/88

Windhoek repeats offer to Swapo to enter discussions

The Argus Foreign Service

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WINDHOEK. — Windhoek's transitional government has repeated its offer to Swapo to join in the current Namibian constitutional discussions.

A statement from the government this week said Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma was welcome to return to Windhoek and sit around a table with the territory's internal parties to thrash out a constitution.

The government was reacting to reports of comments made by Mr Nujoma last week after a meeting with a senior US State Department official, Mr Michael Armacoast. The Swapo leader reportedly said he was in favour of a democratic system in Na-

mibia where elections would be held every four or five years, and where there were guarantees of freedom of speech, association and the Press.

The transitional government said if Mr Nujoma was serious in his remarks, he should return to Namibia and renounce violence as a solution. If, however, he was only speaking for propaganda purposes, then "time and his countrymen will judge him harshly".

The Windhoek administration has made a number of offers to Swapo to take part in the political discussion in Windhoek. The organisation has said it will only negotiate directly with Pretoria on independence for the country.

Congo talks go ahead, despite Cuban troops

By BARRY STREIB 12/21

TODAY'S crucial talks between South Africa and Angola in Brazzaville in the Congo People's Republic are to go ahead in spite of increasing tensions in southern Angola and earlier fears that leaks about the venue would jeopardize the discussions.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in the House of Representatives yesterday that the talks would go ahead despite a dangerous build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola.

Mr Botha said he had just received the latest news of the Cuban troop movements in Angola and their movement south towards the Namibian border, possibly with Swapo elements either among them or following them, was seriously raising the temperature and tensions in the region.

He also warned against over-optimism about the Brazzaville talks.

The South African delegation, which is expected to leave for Brazzaville later today, will be headed by Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and is likely to return before the weekend.

● Pik warns — Page 4

Nujoma invited to aid peace process

WINDHOEK — The Namibian transitional Cabinet has invited Swapo leader Sam Nujoma to help draft a final constitution for the territory as an alternative to violence.

A statement yesterday by the chairman of the Cabinet, Mr Andrew Matjila, pointed out that Mr Nujoma had told US officials last week that he supported basic democratic freedoms in Namibia, including elections at regular intervals.

Mr Nujoma's statement offered the best hope to date that agreement on a constitutional formula could be achieved among Namibians to lead the territory to a peaceful and prosperous future, the statement said.

INVITATION

"The Cabinet has decided to invite Mr Nujoma to join the democratic parties in finalising a constitution that contains these principles as an alternative to violence," Mr Matjila said.

"Such a step will remove the biggest obstacles on the road to peaceful independence.

"If Mr Nujoma is prepared to put his signature to a constitution which guarantees democratic rights and a bill of fundamental rights in a multi-party State, freedom is truly within reach of all Namibians." — Sapa.

Superpower guarantees wanted on ANC in Angola and an independent SWA/Namibia.

The deal SA is seeking

SOUTH AFRICA is demanding superpower guarantees that African National Congress insurgents are removed from Angola and that they will not be allowed into an independent SWA/Namibia, according to diplomatic sources.

If the Angolans, and their Cuban and Russian backers, agree, the chief prize for Pretoria in the current United States-sponsored negotiations may not be the removal of Cuban troops from Angola, but the collapse of the ANC's terrorist campaign and the delivery of the organisation to the negotiating table.

There have been serious doubts that South Africa has any intention of ending its 69-year-old rule of SWA/Namibia, but the South Africans appeared to be serious at last week's talks in London. The prospect that the ANC will be forced to negotiate may be the ultimate prize

which could persuade them to give up the territory. Military reality partly dictates this, but it also coincides with the strenuous efforts of the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, who has worked for eight years to get the Cubans out.

Dr Crocker's linkage plan is not simply a deal involving a swap of Cubans out of Angola for South Africa out of SWA/Namibia. The small print would change the face of Southern Africa.

According to State Department sources, the current deal looks like this: Complete withdrawal of the Cubans within one year. SWA/Namibia given independence under United Nations resolution 435.

Swapo will be forced to sign a non-aggression pact with Pretoria. No foreign troops, including ANC insurgents, will be allowed on SWA/Namibia soil.

The small print of a possible agreement on the independence of SWA/Namibia and the removal of Cuban troops from Angola could change the face of Southern Africa, as RICHARD DOWDEN of the London Independent reports.

The territory will remain within the South African sphere of influence.

Walvis Bay, SWA/Namibia's only port, would remain in South Africa's hands. It was not part of the former German colony, and resolution 435 merely says that an independent SWA/Namibian government will negotiate with Pretoria over its future.

The South Africans will drop their support for UNITA rebels in Angola. The Americans have said they will continue their support for UNITA as long as the Russians aid the Marxist MPLA regime. The Americans estimate that, mutually enfeebled, the Angolan parties will have to settle.

The Americans and South Africans say all this is held up by the timetable on Cuban

withdrawal. Officially, the Angolans will send home the Cubans within four years of SWA/Namibia independence, but they have indicated they are willing to be flexible, and may even match the one year the Americans and the South Africans are demanding.

But the meat of the negotiations is over guarantees.

How can the South Africans be prevented from marching back into SWA/Namibia? How can the South Africans be sure the Cubans won't come back to Angola?

Washington sources say talks between the American Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, have made some

progress on this. There will almost certainly have to be a United Nations Security Council resolution as an addendum to resolution 435.

Privately, the Americans are saying that once in place, the arrangement will be guaranteed by the South Africans themselves. There is no choice: they are the most powerful force in the region.

The message to the frontline states from Washington, according to one State Department source, is: "If you keep your nose clean and don't provoke South Africa, we will back you. But if you harbour ANC guerrillas and the South Africans come over the border and kick you, don't look to us."

But can the South Africans really pull out of SWA/Namibia? They have just discovered oil in the Kudu field off the coast and have also invested millions in military installations.

The consensus, among observers is that South Africa is playing for time by attending the talks. On the other hand, Pretoria will never get a more sympathetic President than Mr Reagan. Now is the time for a deal.

Western intelligence sources estimate there are 8 000 to 10 000 ANC insurgents in Angola and Tanzania. Their main infiltration routes are through Swaziland and Botswana. Both countries are committed to stopping the infiltration.

If South Africa can secure the expulsion of the ANC from Angola, an agreement that it should not be allowed in an independent SWA/Namibia and can force Botswana

na and Swaziland not to harbour the organisation, it need worry only about the Zimbabwe border — a mere 240km. And Zimbabwe itself officially allows only a political, not a military, presence within its borders.

On the other side of the continent, there is talk that the Mozambicans are being forced to negotiate with Pretoria. Keeping out the ANC will be high on the agenda.

If Pretoria agreed to the United States plan, there would be no ANC presence within 1 200km of South Africa's borders, and the ANC may have no alternative but to negotiate with Pretoria.

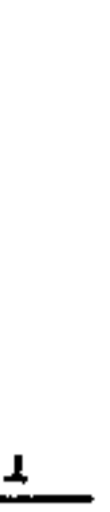
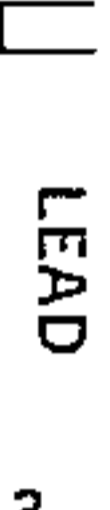
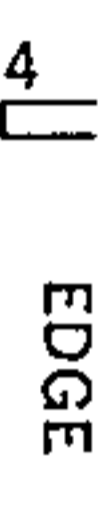
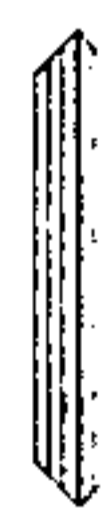
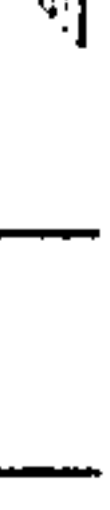
A Washington source said: "We would have no problem with that."

So far the Soviet Union, which ultimately underwrites the Cuban presence in Angola and its MPLA government, seems to have no problem with this plan, either.

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Nujoma invited to help draft (221) SWA constitution

WINDHOEK — The SWA/Namibian transitional cabinet has invited Swapo's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, to help draft a final constitution for the territory, as an alternative to violence.

A statement by the current chairman of the cabinet, Mr Andrew Matjila, pointed out that Mr Nujoma had told United States officials last week that he supported basic democratic freedoms in SWA/Namibia — including elections for a government at regular intervals.

Mr Nujoma's statement offered the best hope to date that agreement on a constitutional formula could be achieved among SWA/Namibians to lead the country to a peaceful and prosperous future, the statement said.

"The cabinet has decided to invite Mr Nujoma to join the democratic parties in finalising a constitution that contains these principles as an alternative to violence," Mr Matjila said.

"Such a step will remove the biggest obstacles on the road to peaceful independence.

"If Mr Nujoma is prepared to put his signature to a constitution which guarantees democratic rights and a Bill of Fundamental Rights in a multi-party state, freedom is truly within reach of all Namibians."

In the earlier part of this decade, a US-brokered diplomatic initiative secured the commitment of all SWA/Namibian parties, including Swapo, to Western-style democratic principles upon implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), concerning the



MR NUJOMA

territory's independence.

The UN settlement plan provides for a ceasefire and the phased reduction over four months of South Africa's military presence in SWA/Namibia to a residual force of 1 500 men confined to bases.

A 7 500-strong UN task force is to supervise election campaigns in conjunction with South Africa's administrator-general over a seven-month period from the date of implementation, leading to the convening of a constituent assembly assigned with the drafting of a constitution.

South Africa and a number of SWA/Namibian political parties favour the drafting of a constitution by the interested parties before elections are held, which will mean re-negotiation of the UN resolution.

Arguments in support of this view are that such a process would ensure the widest possible acceptance of the constitution in SWA/Namibia and that the internationally-supervised elections would lead directly to the formation of a government, instead of requiring a further ballot for a government to rule an independent SWA/Namibia in terms of the constitution drawn up by the constituent assembly. — Sapa

CHE TRIPS
13/5/88

(221)

Vital Brazzaville talks start today

Nujoma on invited visit to Cuba

HAVANA. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma arrived in Cuba on Wednesday at the invitation of President Fidel Castro, the official newspaper Granma said yesterday.

He was met at the airport by Mr Jorge Risquet, a member of the politburo of the Communist Party who headed Cuba's delegation to recent talks in London on the conflict in Namibia.

In addition to a Cuban-Angolan delegation, South African and US representatives attended the talks in the British capital.

Swapo was not directly represented at the London talks, but the Cuban-Angolan delegation presented its position.

A major demand was for the application of UN Resolution 435, which calls for the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and independence for the country. — Sapa-Reuter

From BARRY STREEK

BRAZZAVILLE, Congo. — Vital talks between South Africa and Angola are to begin here today. Both delegations arrived last night.

The South African delegation, headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, arrived here about an hour before the Angolan representatives.

The Angolan delegation is headed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Fernando van Dunem — not the Foreign Minister, Mr Afonso van Dunem, as expected — and Major-General Roberto de la Monteiro, head of Fapla, the Angolan army.

The official discussions — which could pave the way for the withdrawal of some 40 000 Cuban troops from Angola — will start this morning and are expected to

last all day.

The agenda was described last night as "loose" but Mr Botha said the build-up of Cuban and Angolan troops in Southern Angola would definitely be taken up.

He said South Africa was "very concerned" about the situation. "We want to see how sincere and serious they are about getting peace," Mr Botha added.

Today's talks are "in a sense" a continuation of last week's discussions in London, he said.

Mr Botha and General Malan were met at the Maya-Maya Airport in Brazzaville by Congo's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Antoine Mdinga-Oba.

Mr Botha praised the Congo government on his arrival, saying the South African government was "very grateful" to Congo for being the host at "these important talks".

He said it was important that

the talks were held in Brazzaville and they should be continued in other capitals on the African continent because "we are part of Africa".

He also said: "We are entitled to hope that a solution to the region can be resolved in the region."

Sapa-Reuter reports that an Angolan news agency report monitored in Lisbon described the Brazzaville meeting as "an exploratory meeting between experts at the request of South Africa".

Diplomatic sources said the talks would give Mr Botha and General Malan an opportunity for more intimate exchanges than were possible in London.

The US and Cuba are not due to attend the Brazzaville meeting, which South African officials said had been arranged before London peace talks.

SA, Angola meet

at secret venue

in Brazzaville

From PIERRE CLAASSEN
South African Press Association

BRAZZAVILLE. — South African and Angolan government ministers met at a secret venue here today to renew Angolan peace talks.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha leads the South African team which includes the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. Angolan Justice Minister Mr Fernando van Dunem heads his delegation, replacing Foreign Minister Mr Afonso van Dunem, who led the Angolan delegation at last week's four-nation London meeting.

Soon after 9am Mr Botha and his delegation left the State accommodation where they had spent the night after arriving in the Congo capital by air.

He was in a confident mood.

"We met some Congolese trade contacts last night and these were so encouraging that I have decided to stay on for another day after the Angolan talks," he said.

Yesterday Mr Botha told journalists that today's talks could be seen as a continuation of the London talks where the Cuban and American delegations had encouraged South Africa and Angola to meet again as soon as possible.

Although he refused to comment on the substance of today's meeting, Mr Botha drew a parallel between the Angolan and the Afghanistan situa-

(Turn to page 3, col 5)



SECOND ROUND: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha chats with Congolese Foreign Minister Antoine Ndinga-Oba shortly after arriving for a second round of talks with Angolan officials seeking regional peace in South Africa.

Congo talks held in secret

(Continued from page 1)

"Mr Gorbachev has said that the Afghan problem is a regional one. He said that if it can be settled regionally, Russia would withdraw."

The same treatment should be given to Angola.

"The United States and the Soviet Union must be able to disengage with dignity and honour," Mr Botha said.

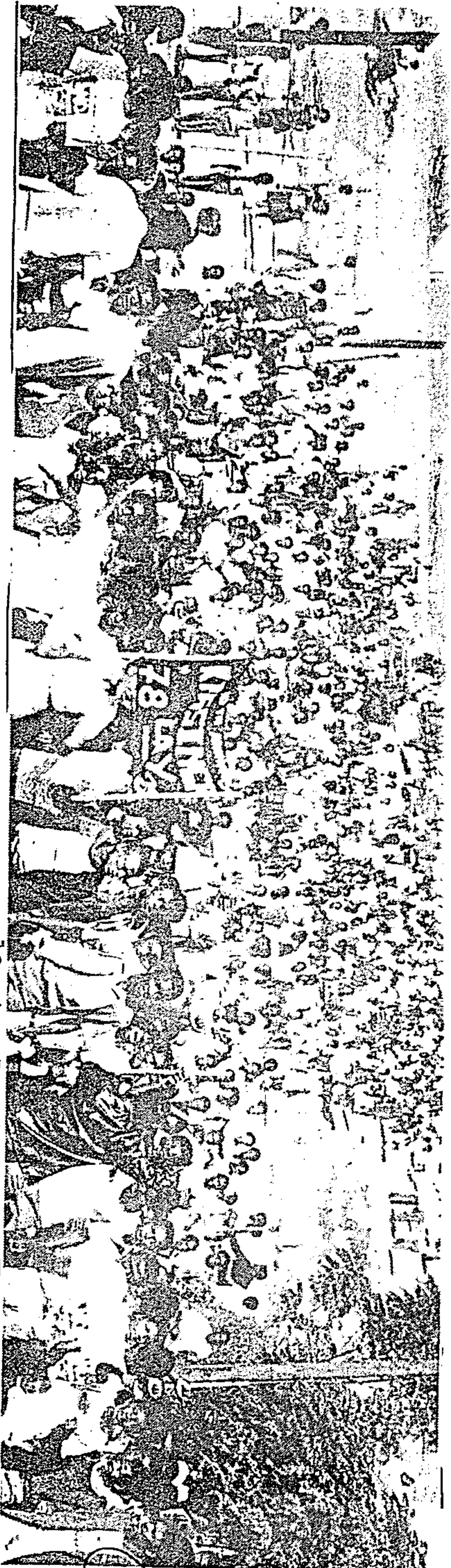
Luanda has already stated that it wants its problems solved in a regional context and Mr Botha was therefore echoing Angola on this point.

● Peter Fabricius of The Argus political staff reports that the Angolan peace initiative is gaining momentum and a third round of talks between South Africa and Angola at ministerial level could take place within weeks.

As Mr Botha and General Malan jetted into Brazzaville

yesterday senior South African diplomatic sources said another meeting was already on the cards.

Mr Botha said that both delegations at today's talks "would be reporting back to 'other interested parties' and South Africa would be keeping the Americans informed.



Cassinga Day, the 10th anniversary of an SA Defence Force raid in Angola in which 600 Namibian refugees were killed, was marked in two ways. The SADF celebrated the "victory" over what they said was a Swapo camp; and thousands of Katutura township pupils, who claim the raid victims were mostly women and children, marched in protest against SADF "insensitivity". The march (above) ended when police opened fire with rubber bullets and teargas.

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

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Castro pledges support for peace

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HAVANA — Cuban President Fidel Castro has pledged full support for efforts to bring peace to Southern Africa.

The president is reported to have voiced his support at a meeting with the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma.

The two met this week to discuss the recent meeting in London of representatives from Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States.

Swapo was not directly represented at the London talks, but the Cuban-Angolan delegation presented its position calling for the application of United Nations resolution 435/78.

The resolution calls

for the withdrawal of South African troops from SWA/Namibia and independence for the country.

It also calls for an end to aggression in neighbouring Angola, where guerillas are fighting the Marxist government.

Mr Nujoma described "the broad support" he had recently received from the people of the US for SWA/Namibian independence.

He told President Castro the US was growing more and more dissatisfied with the apartheid system of racial segregation in South Africa.

Mr Nujoma arrived in Cuba on an official visit on Wednesday.

The length of his stay has not been announced. Sapa-RNS

hawkers can contact Mr Beukes at 880-1175 seven days a week.

JUST HAWKING THE DOGS: Martin Lewis and Derek Beukes (foreground).

Swapo bulletins banned

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CAPE TOWN — Eight information bulletins produced by Swapo in Luanda are among this week's list of publications banned for distribution, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.

The issues banned are those of November 1983, April, June, October, and December 1986, and January, February and May 1987.

A publications committee has prohibited possession of "The Hot 'n Healthy Times" (Eroticus Publications, San Francisco) and a 1986-1987 catalogue "Adult goods, sex aids, no-

velties, lingerie, games etc" (A F Products, Hillbrow).

A committee has decided that "West Africa 28 March 1988" (West Africa Publishing, London) and "Beating Apartheid and Strengthening the Frontline" (ICFTU Press, Brussels) were not undesirable provided they are made available only in legal deposit and university libraries.

During the past week, 22 films were submitted for examination. Nine of these were unconditionally, and 13 conditionally, approved.

From today it is an offence to import and/or distribute the following publica-

tions/objects (name of producer/author in brackets):

Abreca — Order of Service, and Abreca — June 16 Service (Abreca, Braamfontein). The Socialist No 210, March 1988 (International Socialist, Melbourne).

Hammer and sickle flag with Russian colours (not stated). CCCP: Workers of the World Unite — flag (not stated).

Two T-shirts with the words "Undermine their pompous authority" and "Menace me Dennis". (producers not stated). Three T-shirts, one with the letters CCCP, another displaying a hammer and sickle and CCCP, and the third showing a soldier holding a gun with a Russian slogan (producers not stated).

Care newsletter No 85 1987 November/December (Care Newsletter, Australia). Sharpeville 21 March 1960, Sharpeville Day is Ours — pamphlet (Defend UDF Committee).

T-shirt, Bayco Salutes Isitwalandwe, Govan Mbeki, Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain (not stated). Tranz No 18, No 20 and No 33 (Swish Publications, London).

Happy Sex, Spass am Sex (Dr Maurice Yaffe, Elizabeth Fenwick). Gek Nr 50 (Sonskyt Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Johannesburg) — Sapa.

Fifth man escaped Broederstroom net

CME THIS 14/5/88 (22)

Political Staff

A FIFTH member of the suspected Broederstroom terror gang deserted before the other four were caught and a massive cache of deadly weapons was captured by Security Police.

They were said by police to have been betrayed by a member of the ANC because of internal division in the organization over its continued use of violence.

But, it seems that internal tension sparked off a split in the group some time before the four were trapped in a dawn raid on their Broederstroom smallholding near Pretoria.

It is not known exactly when the "Fifth Man" left the group but it must have been some time before his comrades were caught and he is not suspected by police

of betraying them.

The four suspects were yesterday named as former Rand Daily Mail reporter Mr Damian de Lange, who is in his early thirties, and identified as the "Commander" of the group; Swazi-born Susan Catherine Westcott, 24, who gained British citizenship through marriage; Mr Hugh Murdock Lugg, 30, a former art student at both the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch; and Mr Ian Hugh Robbertson, 36, who was a student at the University of the Witwatersrand and a Nusas member.

According to reliable sources the "Fifth Man" left the group and made his own way out of the country apparently to rejoin the ANC.

However, he is said now to be paying the price for his desertion in an ANC "punishment camp" somewhere in Angola.

How the group infiltrated the country is not known but Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said it had already been established that the route had been through Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The "Fifth Man" presumably used the same route to get out.

Mr Vlok warned neighbouring countries South Africa "could not" and "would not" allow them to harbour terrorists or allow them to use their territories to infiltrate South Africa.

The arms cache found at Broederstroom was among the largest yet seized by police in South Africa.

Numerous documents, maps and hit-lists were found.

Mr Vlok's spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said the four would be brought to court as soon as possible.



Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Justice, in ways of ending the Angolan war. Picture: REUTERS

From BARRY STREEK

BRAZZAVILLE. — The Angolan-South African peace initiative received a significant boost yesterday when the two governments agreed to meet the other parties involved in last week's London talks again "soon" — in Africa.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said after 3½-hour negotiations yesterday that as far as his delegation was concerned the next round of negotiations would be held again in the Congo capital, Brazzaville.

The Congolese government has agreed to host these talks.

Mr Botha said "very important matters of a delicate nature" had been discussed and both the Angolan and South African delegations agreed there could be "no military solution for our continent, in particular not for Southern Africa".

Peace and stability

The South African delegation expressed the hope that peace and stability for Southern Africa would be achieved through negotiation in Africa.

Yesterday's talks demonstrated the willingness of the Angolan and South African governments to address the problems facing them.

Neither Mr Botha nor the Angolan Minister of Justice, Mr Fernando van Dunen, referred to the possible withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Neither did they refer to Unita, nor an international settlement of the Namibian issue — all key issues. However, it is clear that sufficient progress has been made for the four-nation discussion between SA, Angola, Cuba and the United States to be resumed soon.

The presence of the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the head of the NIS, Dr Niel Barnard, as well as the Chief-of-Staff of Fapla, the Angolan army, Major-General Roberto Leal Monteiro, indicated that security issues, including the presence of Cuban troops, were raised yesterday.

Congo government praised

The fact that the Congolese Foreign Minister, Mr Antone Ndinga-Oba, opened yesterday's discussions, was present at the end of them and that the Congolese government has agreed to host the next round of talks, has given backing to the policy of settling disputes regionally within Africa.

Mr Van Dunen said yesterday's talks had clarified each country's point of view of the problems facing them.

He and his delegation hoped the talks would be resumed "very soon to find a peaceful and honourable solution to the problem".

Both Mr Van Dunen and Mr Botha praised the Congolese government for hosting the discussions.

Peace Priorities

No military solution for our continent?

Mr Tins 14/5/88 (221)

ANGOLA WARNED — PULL CUBANS BACK OR FACE TERRIBLE BATTLE

W/G-AR643 14/5/88

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by PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA bluntly told the Angolans at the historic peace talks in Brazzaville to stop the current Cuban southward offensive — or risk a terrible battle.

"We will not let the Cubans have victory — no matter what the cost," the Angolans were told.

The South African delegation, headed by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, flew back from the Congo to South Africa early today.

Before leaving, both Ministers met Congo President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

According to top South African Government sources the Cuban "push" to the south into the Kuniene province was seen by South Africa as the main topic at the talks.

Little movement

One of the main purposes of the next round of talks — which will probably be held in Brazzaville, within weeks — will be to establish if the Angolans have pulled the Cubans back.

On the more basic issue of complete Cuban withdrawal from Angola in exchange for SWA/Namibian independence under United States Resolution 435, there seemed to have been little movement.

Certain peripheral proposals were made and these will be reported back to both Governments.

South Africa appears to be taking a hard line, not budging from its position that the Cubans must pull right out before UN 435 can be completed.

Diplomatic sources had said before the talks they thought that South Africa might consider extending the seven-month

timetable for implementing UN 435 in order to give the Cubans more time to pull out.

Meanwhile, South Africa regards the termination of the Cuban southward offensive as a crucial test of the Angolans' commitment to eventual complete withdrawal of the Cubans.

South Africa told the Angolan delegation — which was headed by Justice Minister Mr Fernando Franco van Dunem — that the Cuban advance could jeopardise the whole initiative.

They said the Cubans presented no real threat to South Africa, which knew their exact strength and positions.

But the Cubans, already close to the SWA/Namibian border and to the South African troops, would soon reach the point where "a tiny spark could set off a huge explosion".

South Africa believes that the Cuban advance is aimed either at revenge or at improving their bargaining position.

The South Africans had the impression that the Angolans

were willing to pull the Cubans back.

The Angolans were also taken to task for harbouring the ANC.

South Africa regards the well-publicised Brazzaville talks as a historic event and a diplomatic coup.

This is the first time the Government has publicly visited a West African country since a South Africa Prime Minister visited Liberia in the Seventies.

South Africa regards it as a lesson to its critics in the West that it was received "hospitably, courteously and publicly" by a Marxist-Leninist African country while being shunned by the West.

The visit is also seen as a triumph for the South African policy of "leaving Africa to the Africans" and as a sign that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost policy is being taken up by other communist states.

South Africa is counting on the Russian glasnost to exert pressure on the Cubans to pull out of Angola.



Induna Pikl Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha underscored his attitude that African problems must be solved by Africans when he arrived at the Brazzaville peace talks wearing a traditional African knitted cap and carrying a staff.



Pictures: PETER FABRICIUS

The heads of the delegations to the Angolan peace talks in Brazzaville, Congo emerge stony-faced after a tough 3½-hour session yesterday. They are, from left, Mr Fernando Franco von Dunem, Angolan Justice Minister; Mr Antoine Edruga Oba, the Congo's Minister of External Relations; and Mr Pik Botha, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs.

SA 220

IT is worth reminding oneself that the war in Angola is about Namibia. This salient fact is frequently obscured, and often forgotten, as South Africa becomes increasingly involved in a complex, international diplomatic web aimed at settling the Angolan conflict.

Without the entanglement of the Namibian issue, Angola would simply be the site of a not uncommon African scenario — a beleaguered government being harassed by an army of rebel bushfighters.

If it were not for Namibia, it would have meant very little indeed to South Africa — with unfriendly neighbours in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana — whether the MPLA or Unita ruled in far-off Angola.

But it is because of Namibia that Swapo is in Angola; it is because of Swapo that South Africa is in Angola; it is because of the South Africans that the Cubans say they are in Angola; along with the Cubans come the Russians; and it's mainly because of the Russians that the Americans want everyone out of Angola. That is now more feasible than it has been for the 12 bloodletting years of the conflict.

But a meaningful settlement in Angola inevitably entails a solution of the root problem of Namibian independence.

And that raises immediately the underlying question: Is South Africa truly willing — or let us say, more charitably — in a position to afford to go through with an internationally acceptable independence settlement for Namibia?

Probably only three men in total know the answer to that question

by Lester Venter
Our Political Correspondent looks at what a settlement would imply



southern Africa — with all the concomitant benefits in terms of warding off sanctions, gaining international respect, and establishing new economic horizons.

Then there is also the fact that South Africa seems seriously intent on promoting governmental reform in Namibia. President Botha used his last visit there — irrespective of the belligerent grandstanding that accompanied it — to build bridges with the progressively-inclined internal parties there.

And South African diplomats

FOR ANGOLOLA read NAMIBIA

are talking privately of the now urgent need to build out the status of the internal parties, particularly broadening their base by including the territory's majority ethnic group, the Ovambos.

There can be only one reasonable purpose in doing this — placing them in a position to be able to contest Swapo in the open election that would be part of the 435 process.

Cunning

On the other hand, though, can President Botha — in view of the serious Conservative threat he faces at home — be seen to be "selling out" Namibian whites (most of them South African citizens) to the likelihood of a Soviet-backed Swapo government?

The more than three decades-long diplomatic soft-shoe shuffle over Namibia has seen more than

one cunning time-buying exercise by South Africa. Is this answer one?

Once again, the answer lies with the two. Sorry, three.

The issue that drew the Cubans to Namibia and Angola — the one is known as just that — "435".

Some years ago, South Africa said: We accept 435 for Namibia but before it can be implemented, the Cubans must get out of Angola. And the reason for that is that with Cuban backing for the MPLA, Unita will be defeated; and that defeat entails Swapo getting full, and unfair, hospitality in southern Angola from where it will be free to launch its terrorism war against Namibia.

In time the Americans came to agree with South Africa on this issue. And there the matter went into stalemate for several years, with Cuban withdrawal becoming

the key problem to solve. Just lately the Cubans, Soviets, Angolans and even Swapo, have come to accept the reality of linkage. But they have tried to give it an interpretation of their own.

The Cubans, they say, are prepared to withdraw — but only after 435 has been implemented. Behind this diplomatic posture is the reality that the Cubans and their allies have plenty of reasons for cutting their losses and getting out of Angola.

South Africa has proved they are not going to win through a military strategy. Moscow wants to get on with far more serious glasnost-type business with Washington, and Luanda is now bankrupt through having to carry the cost of the Cuban presence, out of its oil and diamond revenues.

But a face-saving way of pulling out is needed. The sensible thing to do now would be for all the parties to sit down and work out a plan for putting into action both aspects of the linkage problem simultaneously. That is, marrying a timetable for Cuban withdrawal with a timetable for 435 implementation in Namibia.

Tinkering

Indeed, it is just such a plan that diplomats are working on at the moment.

Technically, it involves an expanded view of linkage — and may involve, additionally, some tinkering with the details of 435.

All sides, according to diplomatic sources, regard these factors as feasible. The most interesting, and most promising, aspect of the formula involves the guarantees required by both sides.

Ultimately, those guarantees can be underpinned only by faith. And faith entails the parties getting to know and size one another up.

That is the stage that the multilateral talks are in at present. Getting through that stage successfully would constitute one of the most exciting international diplomatic success stories of our time.

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

LISBON — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuto Buthelezi, on a four-day private visit to Portugal, has described talks in London on Angola and Namibia as a possibly "significant step" towards peace in the region.

He told an invited lecture audience in Lisbon on Monday night that real regional peace would only come "once South Africa is liberated".

"This in turn will mean liberation for the whole of southern Africa and provide an impetus for the spread

of free market economics throughout the continent."

Chief Buthelezi, who was invited to Portugal by a political think-tank linked to the ruling centre-right Social Democratic government, told a questioner:

"I oppose sanctions against South Africa because I do not want to see my country's economy destroyed. I do not wish to liberate my country and then be left with a repeat of the situation in Angola and Mo-

SA/Angola talks could lead to peace in SWA — Buthelezi

(221) (250)
May 19 88

zambique. More than 50 per cent of the current black population in South Africa is under 15 and we need jobs for them, not an economy in ruins."

War, natural disasters and ill-judged efforts to impose Marxist-style governments, have left both the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique in ruin.

Chief Buthelezi said he would be transmitting his anti-sanctions message to Portuguese leaders, including the

Prime Minister, Mr Anibal Silva, with whom he will meet during his visit.

Portugal, West Germany and Britain have consistently vetoed the European Economic Community's efforts to impose sanctions on South Africa. There has been a shift in Lisbon's attitude recently and the Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, has admitted that unless there were signs of faster progress in dismantling apartheid, Portugal might have to

reconsider its stand on sanctions.

Chief Buthelezi appealed for a "constructive international approach" to ending apartheid, describing current "foreign input" in South Africa's affairs as "unbalanced".

He suggested that selected foreign governments should set up an international union, based inside South Africa and linked to existing foreign embassies, to make a joint contribution to change.

This is the first time that any black South African leader has visited Portugal since the 1974 revolution dismantled Lisbon's African empire.

To SWA plan must go ahead if Cubans withdraw SA told

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From BARRY STREEK

D/D 16/5/88

CAPE TOWN — The South African Government will have no alternative but to go ahead with the agreed plan for an internationally-recognised settlement for SWA/Namibia if an agreement is reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

After last week's talks with an Angolan delegation in Brazzaville, senior government officials made that point clear.

Mr John Vorster, when he was prime minister, and Mr P. W. Botha have repeatedly stated that the only barrier preventing a SWA/Namibian settlement in terms of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 was the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

The South African Government has maintained that it is impossible to hold free and fair elections in SWA/Namibia with the presence of such a large foreign force immediately across the country's borders.

Implementation of resolution 435 could, at today's prices, cost as much as \$1500 million and there has been no agreement as to who will foot the bill.

Costs and other factors could result in a renegotiation of the terms of the resolution, but the

South African Government is adamant that if agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops is reached, the internationally-agreed package for SWA/Namibia's independence will be implemented.

It is reliably understood that the SWA/Namibian question was not discussed at Brazzaville, but it is accepted that if agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops is agreed, the settlement must then take place.

● Ken Pottinger reports from Lisbon that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, apparently concerned at being sidelined from the current talks, has asked Portugal to set up a meeting between the ruling MPLA government and Unita to discuss the question of peace in Angola.

Dr Savimbi's request is contained in letters sent to President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

A special Portuguese emissary travelled to Dr Savimbi's Jamba head-

quarters to collect the letters.

Unita officials in Lisbon say that Dr Savimbi plans to apply for a visa to visit Portugal during a forthcoming tour of Western European capitals.

The application may severely embarrass Lisbon's centre-right Social Democratic Government which has sought to persuade the rebel leader not to visit the former colonial capital because it could jeopardise bilateral relations with Luanda.

A conservative Portuguese newspaper has meanwhile reported growing support for a scheme to partition Angola along the Benguela railway line.

The idea was apparently discussed at recent meetings in London between US and Soviet officials.

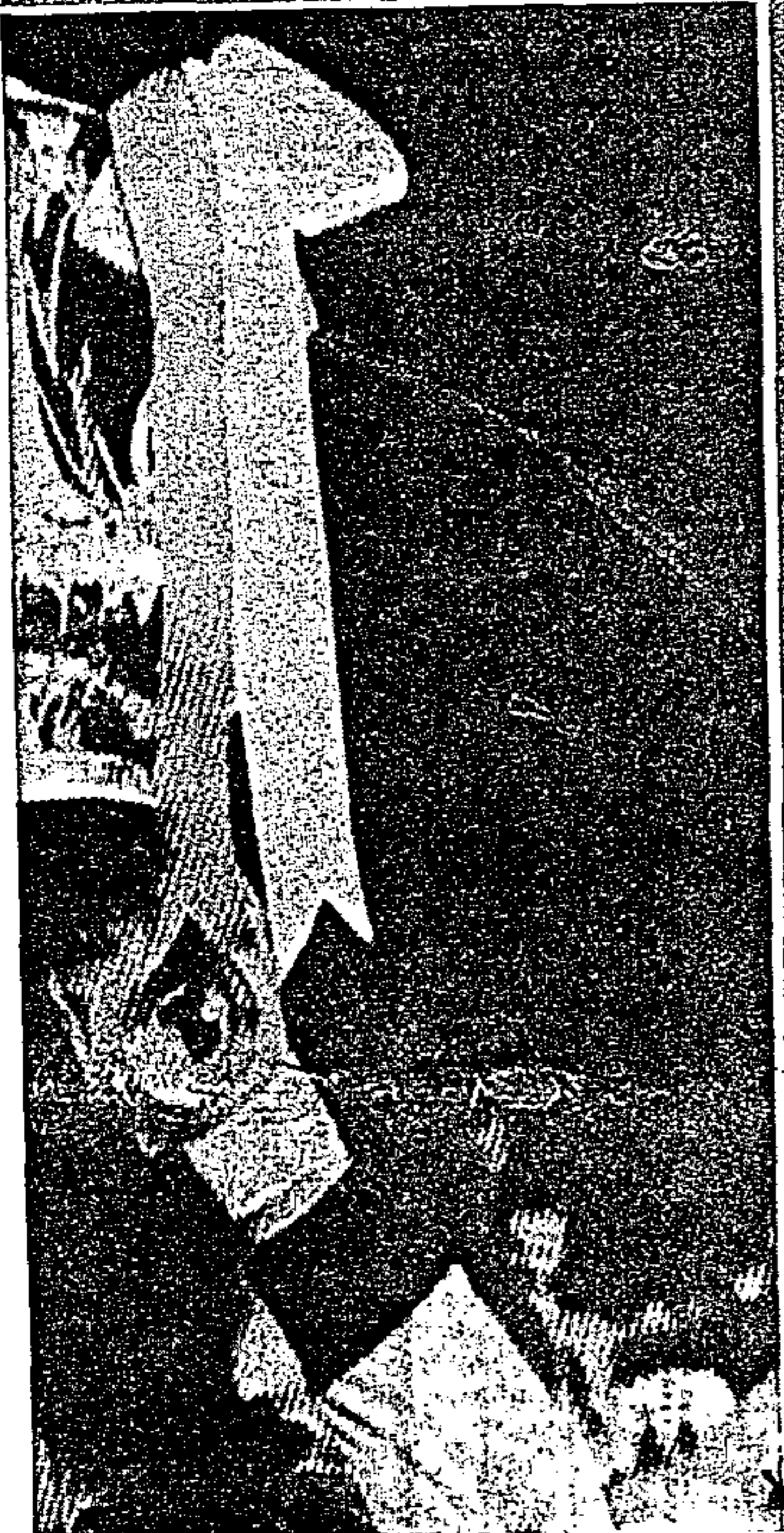
The division of Angola would please neither Dr Savimbi nor President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, but it has been suggested that if the US and the Soviet Union decided on such a solution

their clients in Angola — Unita and the MPLA government — would be hard pressed not to accept the deal.

Peace in balance

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CUP!



By BARRY STREEK and
WILLEM STEENKAMP

THE Angolan peace talks are balanced on a knife-edge after a sharp warning by South Africa that the southward movement by Cuban and Angolan troops will not be tolerated.

Three battalion-sized Fapla (Angolan armed forces) groups — each with about 250 Cubans and 150 Swapo insurgents — are moving into Angola's 5 Military Region, just north of the border with Ovamboland, sources said last night.

Military observers said the intention appeared to be to move the groups as far south as possible before the insurgents crossed the border into Ovamboland.

MORE REPORTS See page 2

If they were attacked and driven back across the border, the Fapla troops would be able to cover their retreat and stop any pursuit, preferably by inflicting heavy casualties.

An infiltration by 450 insurgents, even if only partly successful, could have a "serious disruptive effect" on the military situation in the Ovamboland area, the sources said.

Although the rainy season was over, conditions for infiltration were still good and the infiltrators would be backed by a better-than-usual logistical system, thanks to the nearby Fapla groups.

The Angolan government was em-

To page 2



LEFT OUT? ... Dr Jonas Savimbi

Savimbi bids for talks with MPLA

Own Correspondent

LISBON — Dr Jonas Savimbi's pro-Western Unita movement, apparently concerned at being sidelined in talks on ending the Angolan war, has asked Portugal to set up a meeting between the ruling MPLA government and the guerillas to discuss peace.

Dr Savimbi sent letters containing his plea to President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, via a special Portuguese emissary last week.

The emissary, Mr Marcelo Rebelo Sousa, confirmed at the weekend that he had travelled to Dr Savimbi's Jamba headquarters to receive the letters which he had passed on to Portuguese leaders.

Unita officials in Lisbon said Dr Savimbi planned to visit Portugal during a tour of Western European capitals including London and Paris.

His visa application will severely embarrass the Portuguese government which has sought to persuade the rebel leader not to visit as it could jeopardize bi-lateral relations with Luanda. However, Unita has strong support among government officials who would react strongly to any attempt to prevent a visit by Dr Savimbi.

P.70.

From page 1

phatically told at last week's Congo talks that if the southward movement of Cuban and other troops continued it would result in a "terrible" battle.

South African military sources said this was no idle threat.

The head of the Angolan delegation to the Brazzaville talks, Dr Fernando van Dunem, conveyed Pretoria's views to his government, and Luanda's response, expected this week, could determine the fate of the peace initiative.

South Africa made it clear that any attempt to give the estimated 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola a victory or to improve their bargaining position through military advances could wreck the peace initiative.

Both at the four-nation meeting in London two weeks ago and in the Brazzaville talks, complex proposals and counter-proposals for a settlement of the Cuban question were discussed.

But government sources said everything hinged on the demand that the southward thrust be stopped. If the Angolan response was positive, it would demonstrate to Pretoria that the peace initiative was being taken seriously.

Optimism

There was some optimism among the South African delegation that this obstacle to achieving a regional peace settlement would be overcome — setting the scene for the next round of discussions between Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States, which will likely be held in Brazzaville and which could be decisive.

During last week's talks the South African team, headed by the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, found the Angolan approach had changed dramatically from previous talks at the Cape Verde Islands, Ilha del Sol, Maputo and Lusaka.

One of these earlier meetings nearly broke up after Dr Van Dunem lectured Mr Botha on the evils of colonialism and apartheid.

Diplomats believe that one of the chief reasons for the new approach is the marked change in Soviet foreign policy.

The Kremlin is apparently pulling back from involvement in expensive and often unsuccessful regional conflicts and concentrating on internal economic development.

The diplomats believe the USSR has decided that "enough is enough" and told Cuba that its military involvement in Southern Africa must be reduced.



FOREIGN RELATIONS ... Mr Pik Botha in Brazzaville with the Congolese Foreign Minister Mr Antoine Ndinga-Oba during the talks. Picture: REUTER

An improbable venue

By BARRY STREEK

PARTICULARLY for a white South African, Brazzaville, the city with half-a-million people on the mouth of the mighty Congo River, seems improbable as a venue for the South Africa-Angola talks.

On the one hand, there is Nelson Mandela Avenue, posters demanding the ANC leader's release and pictures of Karl Marx and Lenin.

On the other hand, there are well-run luxury hotels with excellent French or local cuisine. And prices to match: R7 for a bottle of coke, R16 for a bottle of beer and, in the case of one journalist, a bottle of Burgundy wine at R160.

With the gross national product at an average of \$1 230 (R2 700) a head, Congo is certainly not among the poor countries in

Africa and Brazzaville, its capital, reinforces this impression.

What makes it all seem so improbable is that the Congolese government is regarded as one of the more radical regimes in Africa and is officially committed to socialism. It also has close ties with Soviet bloc countries, Cuba and Angola.

Yet, Brazzaville does not seem like the capital city of a dedicated socialist state.

Certainly, Congo also has close ties with France, from whom it has received substantial economic aid. The cars and hotels confirm its financial links with the West.

Its political system is highly centralized around the only legal political party, the Parti Congolais du Travail (PCT), the Congo Workers' Party, and President Denis Sasson-Nguesso.

The President, who came to power after a coup in 1979, clearly impressed the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, during the two-hour meeting on Friday and they discussed, in some detail, the South African government's reform policies.

President Sasson-Nguesso's willingness to host the Angola-South Africa talks and to meet the two South African cabinet ministers demonstrates the pragmatism which has characterized his government's economic policies.

It is this approach that has enabled the improbable venue of Brazzaville to become the site of the talks which may possibly lead to peace in Angola, the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the independence of Namibia.

Cubans: Namibia link for SA

THE South African government will have no alternative but to go ahead with the agreed plan for an internationally-recognized settlement of Namibia if agreement is reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

This was made clear by senior South African government officials after last week's talks with an Angolan delegation in Brazzaville.

They said that both Mr John Vorster, when he was prime minister, and President P W Botha had repeatedly stated that the only barrier to a settlement of the Namibia dispute in terms of Security Council Resolution 435 was the presence of Cuban troops.

Implementation of Resolution 435 could, at today's prices, cost as much as \$1 500 million (about R3 000m) and there had been no agreement on who would pay for its implementation.

Congo meeting could lead to new 'detente'

By BARRY STREEK

SOUTH AFRICA'S clandestine relationships with the rest of Africa are slowly coming out of the closet — a development which was graphically illustrated last week in Brazzaville, the capital of the People's Republic of Congo.

Not only were the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, involved in direct negotiations with Marxist MPLA government in Angola, but they also held publicly-disclosed discussions with Congolese businessmen and met the President of Congo, Mr Dennis Sasson-Nguesso.

The programme of the ruling Parti Congolais du Travail (PCT), the Congo Workers' Party, is officially Marxist-Leninist and the government has long-standing ties with the Soviet bloc, Cuba and Angola.

At present, Malawi is the only country in Africa to have diplomatic relations with South Africa.

But Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Ivory Coast maintain links through "trade" offices. Trade between Mauritius and South Africa is flourishing.

South Africa also has direct air links with these countries, as well as Botswana, Zambia and the Cape Verde Islands. Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe use South African harbours extensively.

Mr Botha repeatedly stressed in Brazzaville that South Africa was an African country and the delegates were participating as Africans.

The South African government's determination to develop links with countries to the north seems to indicate that a new phase in South African foreign policy has begun.

- Two gunmen open fire in an Irish pub, killing three people.
- Iran claims the US navy jammed radar to aid Iraqi jets in a raid on an oil terminal.

Jamie Hardesty, a high school student who survived the crash, helped push people to safety, said a schoolboy.

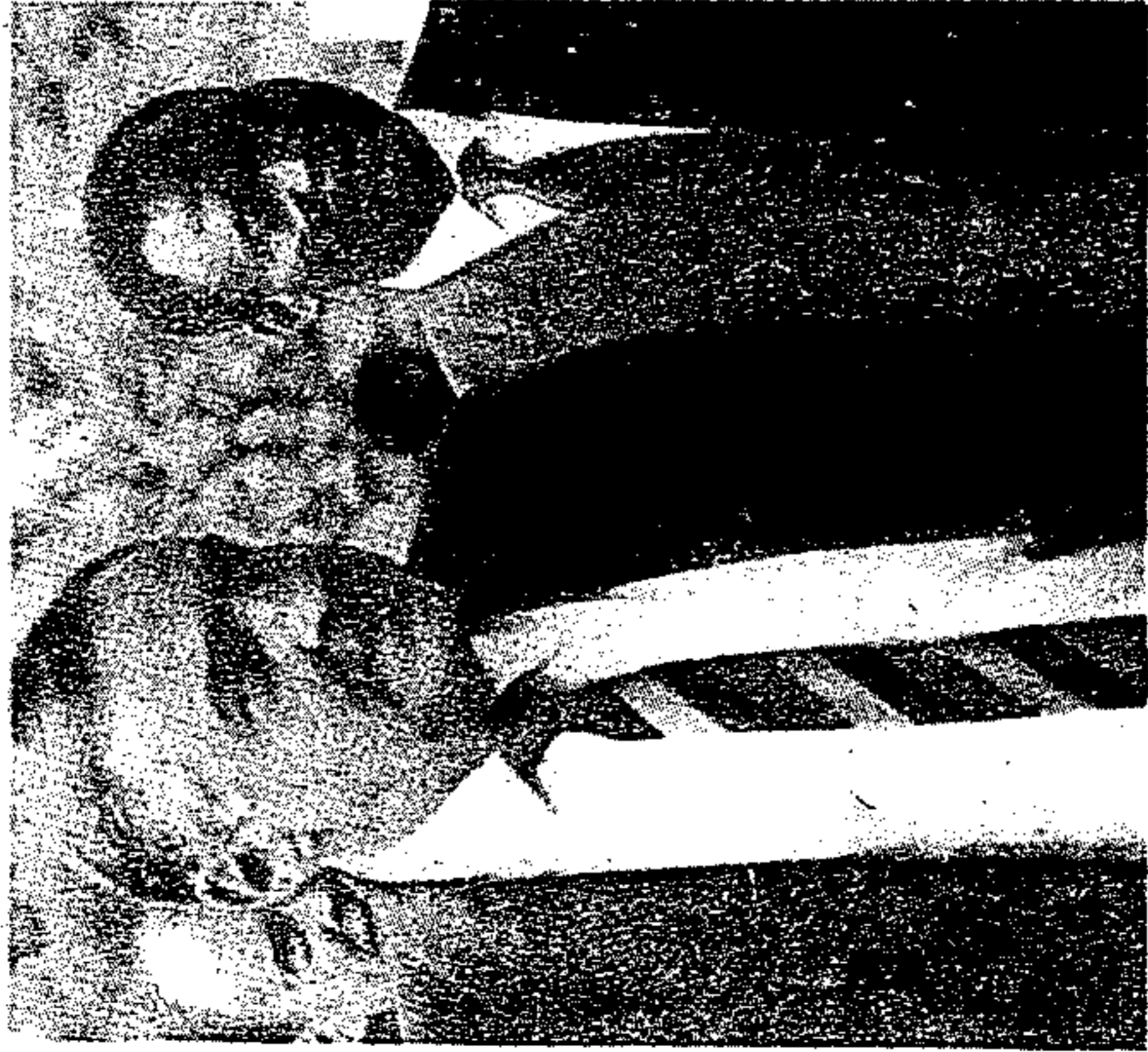
and windows of the bus.

truck and looked up and saw flames," said Wayne Cox (14).

"I was under a lot of people. That's probably

At least eight of the injured, including the truck driver, were in critical condition yesterday according to police and hospital officials.

as Cubans advance



Congo's Foreign Minister, Mr. Antoine Ndinga-Oba, greets his South African counterpart, Mr. Pik Botha, before talks began in Brazzaville last week on the Angolan conflict.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

Hostilities in southern Angola and northern Namibia could escalate dramatically as South Africa squares up to face a possible new Cuban/Swapo onslaught on Ovamboland.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan warned in an interview today that if Swapo forces continued to push through to Namibia behind a Cuban shield, "this could be the spark that starts the fire".

Last week, military sources pooh-poohed reports of a massive Cuban push southwards, saying this was blatant propaganda to improve Cuba's position at peace talks and to create the impression that Cuba was a major force in the region.

But South Africa issued a blunt warning at last week's Brazzaville talks with Angola that there would be a "terrible battle" if the current mass movement of Cuban and other forces continued towards the Namibian border.

The current regional peace talks may have been the catalyst for the latest military manoeuvres and bellicose statements on the part of the various parties in the region.

Troop activity

Each party is trying to strengthen its bargaining position at the negotiating table.

South African military sources today confirmed intelligence of massive troop movements involving 4 000 to 6 000 Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces in and around the Angolan region just north of Ovamboland.

There was no evidence of a massive march southwards, but there was a lot of troop activity, the sources said.

Sources now believe Cuba may be moving to help Swapo insurgents from any possible hot pursuit operations in southern Angola, inflicting heavy casualties on South African forces if such a confrontation takes place after a major Swapo attack on Ovamboland.

General Malan said today the presence of Swapo was the main reason South Africa objected to the Cuban movements in southern Angola.

He said he would be dealing with the general situation during the Defence budget vote in the House of Representatives this afternoon.

South Africa has refused to be drawn on Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma's statement at the weekend that he would like to take part in future rounds of current peace talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

Mr Nujoma, however, said he would refuse to take part in talks involving Unita.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was reported at the weekend as saying he wanted to take part in talks with the MPLA government.

Parties

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said today: "It has been stated repeatedly that all parties involved in the Angola/Namibia conflict must be part of any settlement".

South Africa's position continues to be that Unita and the internal parties making up the transitional government in Namibia must be involved in any settlement for the territory.

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hosted close to a million tural Society.

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Namibian exile gunned down

WINDHOEK — A Namibian exile has allegedly been shot to death in Lusaka in a political assassination.

A spokesman for the Swapo-Democrats Party (Swapo-D) in Windhoek — a member of the South African-appointed transitional government — identified the dead man as Mr Callistus Sofoli. Mr Sofoli was the Swapo-D representative in central Africa.

A party spokesman said Mr Sofoli was gunned down on Saturday night by two unidentified assassins.

— The Star's Africa News Service.

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(221)

Hunting rules ⁽²²¹⁾ in Namibia ^{Star 17/5/68}

WINDHOEK — The new Hunting Act in Namibia would probably be in force for this year's hunting season from June 1 to July 31, the chairman of the Game Producers' Association, Mr Frikkie Engels, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Engels said prospective hunters had to ensure they complied with the permit system introduced by the new Act.

They had to produce covering letters of authorisation from game farmers when applying for the

R25 permits at any police station in Namibia or from the Directorate of Nature Conservation.

There was no limit on the number of animals hunted on farms equipped with game-proof fencing.

On all other farms, the maximum number per hunter was three head of large game or 12 head of small game or a combination of these figures.

Hunters from outside the territory did not need further permission to export their trophies. — Sapa.

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Malan warns of new aggression by Swapo

221

Political Staff

Aggressive action from Swapo could be expected soon as a result of the southwards movements of Cuban troops offering a shield to Swapo, said Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

He warned that "talking was not yet peace". While the SA-Angola talks in Brazzaville were taking place, Cuban forces were moving southwards, apparently in support of Swapo.

Speaking during the defence vote debate in the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Malan said while he wel-

comed the talks and trusted that the outcome would be positive, "we must be realistic and cool-headed".

It appeared, he said, that about 25 percent of the 45 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola were moving southwards to just north of Ovamboland. With them were Fapla and Swapo forces.

"They are, apparently opening the way for Swapo from whom we can expect aggressive actions," he said.

The South African message was that while the MPLA government was holding talks with

South Africa, Cuban "mercenaries" were taking aggressive military steps.

"It just doesn't fit and jeopardises the negotiation climate," said Mr Malan.

South Africa was resolute on this point and Mr Malan and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha had told the MPLA delegation in Brazzaville that the talks were of no use if the Cuban movement southwards did not stop.

While talks were taking place in London, Cuba had been sending troop reinforcements and some of the most sophisticated weaponry to Angola.

AK645 17/5/88
Time-bomb defused 221

... only seconds to spare

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A bomb was defused in Walvis Bay post office by police 42 seconds before it was due to go off.

The postmaster, Mr D J van Lill, called the police yesterday when a packet was seen in the building soon after painters had left. They had been putting finishing touches to repairs following a bomb blast in November.

Police found a plastic bag containing just over two kilograms of plastic explosive, with a Russian-made MUW-11 timing device.

According to Captain L F Gresse of Walvis Bay, the experts said the timer would have gone off in 42 seconds.

The bomb was bigger than that used in November. There were no injuries in the November explosion.

Argus 17/5/88

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Cuba links withdrawal to UN troops

MAPUTO. — Cuba is ready to start withdrawing its troops north of the 13th Parallel near the Benguela railway line in Angola by October 10 if United Nations troops arrive in Namibia by September, the Cuban embassy here has said.

The arrival of the United Nations troops would be linked with a UN plan for the independence of Namibia. — Argus Africa News Service.

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LUANDA. — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola says the Cuban reinforcement is a response to the intensification of the war by South Africa. — Argus Africa News Service.

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HAVANA. — Cuban troops operating in southern Angola near the Namibian border should not affect negotiations for peace in the region, a Cuban official said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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LISBON. — United States Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin are to hold surprise talks tomorrow in Lisbon to discuss apparent snags in negotiations for an Angola-Namibia peace settlement. — The Argus Foreign Service.

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WASHINGTON. — Readers of Izvestiya, one of the most important newspapers in the Soviet Union, have been told that they should not expect a swift solution to the Angolan conflict. — The Argus Foreign Service.

□□□

LISBON. — Unita rebels said they killed 127 government soldiers and two Cubans in attacks that included raids on a power station and an oil depot. They said the biggest battle took place last Thursday when the rebels killed 87 soldiers in an attack on the town of Luimbale in central Huambo province. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cuban tanks move in Angola troop build-up

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

THE nature and scope of the war in northern Namibia and southern Angola could be changed by huge new Cuban and Fapla troop movements in the region.

South African military sources have disclosed that large amounts of conventional equipment were being moved into the area, including tanks, giving rise to speculation that the Cuban and Angolan forces were planning a string of bases along the border with Namibia to facilitate Swapo's operations against the territory.

The military sources were concerned at what appeared to be thousands of Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops moving in and around the region north of Ovamboland.

Shield

South Africa has already warned Angola there will be a "terrible battle" in the region unless the threatening manoeuvres are stopped.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan warned yesterday that if Swapo forces crossed into Namibia behind a Cuban shield "this could be the spark that lights the fire".

General Malan said in Parliament last night that about 25 percent of the 45 000 Cuban troops in Angola appeared to be involved in the gathering of forces.

He repeated the warning given by him and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Brazzaville last week, that unless the

movement south was halted, further negotiations with the Angolan Government would not make sense.

General Malan also said that the introduction of additional Cuban troops in Angola at the time that exploratory talks were underway in London, as well as the delivery of the most sophisticated weaponry, were not conducive to a climate for negotiations.

Such actions also did not tally with what South Africa had been told, that the Cubans would be taken out of Angola, he said.

Swapo forces

Military sources last night expressed fears that Cuba and Angola were trying to change the nature of the conflict in southern Angola and northern Namibia from a low-intensity war to a conventional war.

What concerns South Africa most is the involvement of Swapo forces in the movements.

General Malan told the House of Representatives last night he welcomed present initiatives aimed at peace negotiations and he trusted there would be a positive conclusion.

However, he cautioned there should be realism and coolheadedness. "I am not optimistic that negotiations are going to yield quick success," he added.

Nonetheless, South Africa wanted peace and stability and stable neighbours, which was why it took part in talks, General Malan said.

● See page 11.



Simpson wins World Class wrestling championship

An angry fan, top right, points an accusatory finger at the wrestlers in the ring at the Good Hope centre last

Sowetan 17/5/88

Exile is assassinated

A NAMIBIAN exile has allegedly been shot to death in Lusaka, Zambia in a political assassination.

A spokesman for the Swapo-Democrats Party in Windhoek — which is a member of the South African-appointed transitional government — identified the dead man as Mr Callistus Sofoli. Mr Sofoli was the Swapo representative in Central Africa.

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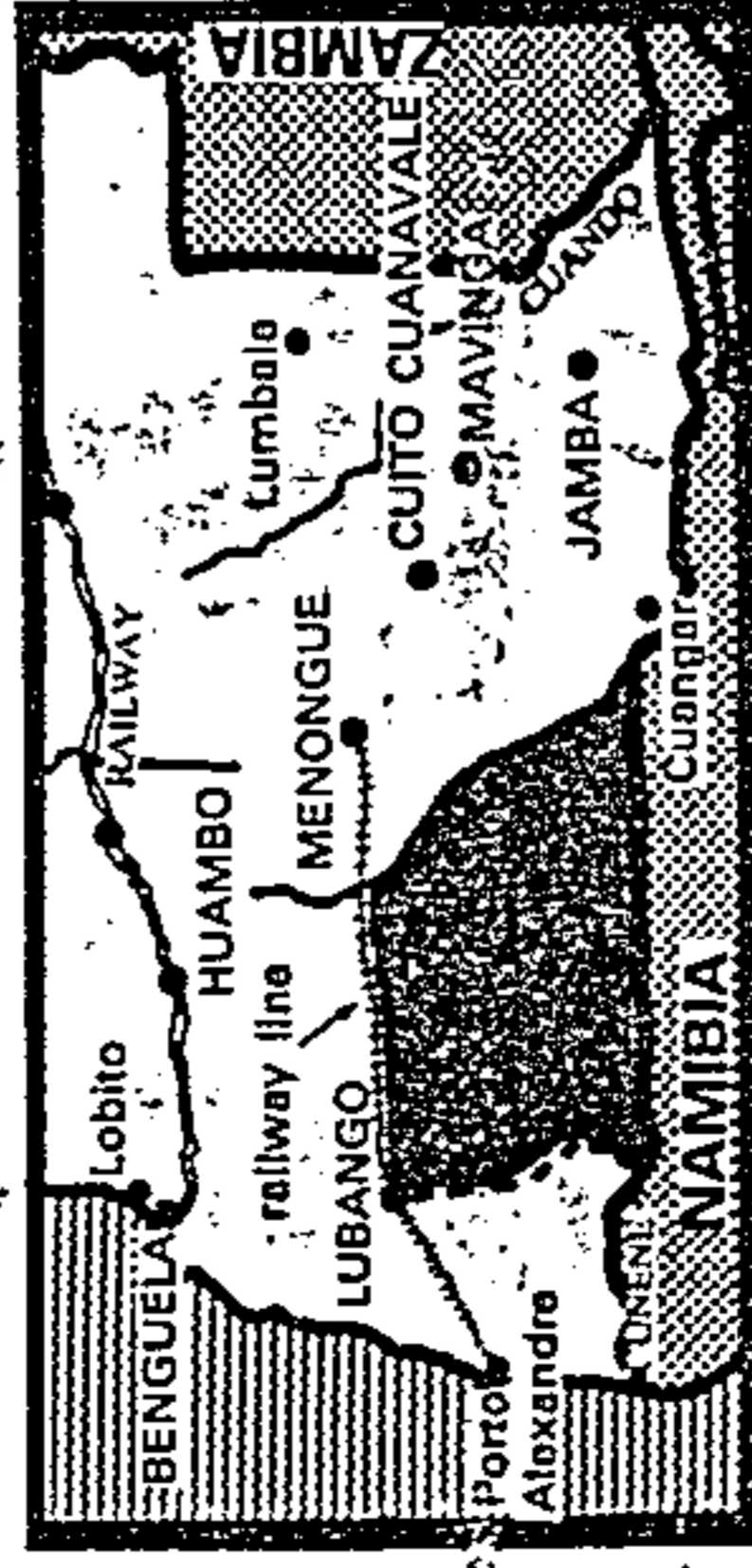
Cape Times 17/5/88 (221)

Cape Times LOOMS

A SHOWDOWN loomed yesterday between Angola and South Africa over an advance towards the Namibian border of about 11 000 Cuban and Angolan troops — accompanied by several hundred Swapo infiltrators — with both governments taking a hard line.

In Cape Town, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan poured cold water on the prospects for a speedy or successful resolution to Angolan peace talks started in London and Brazzaville this month.

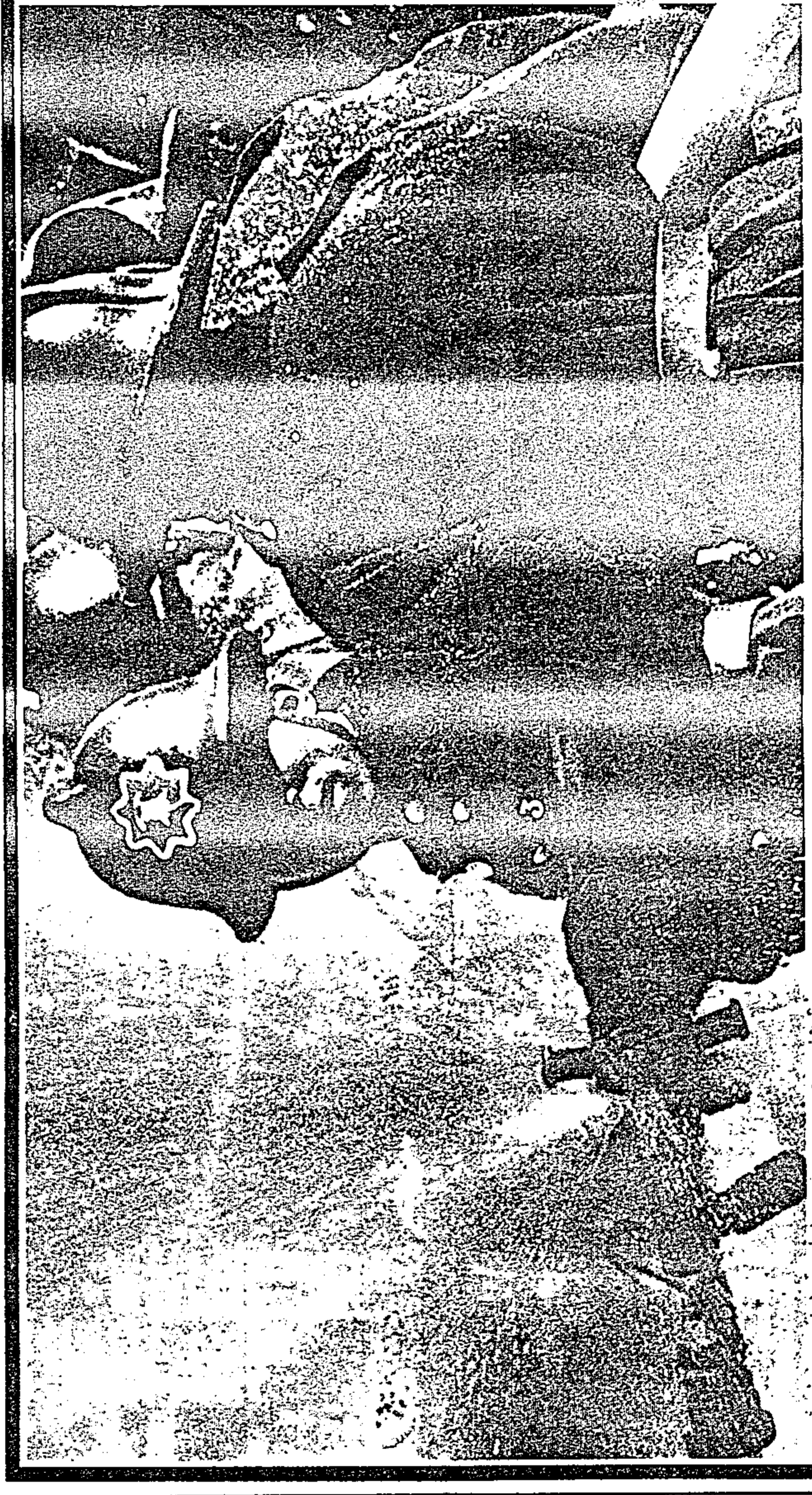
While he welcomed the fact that the talks were taking place, he warned that from "the communist viewpoint" negotiations were no more than "the



CRUCIAL ZONE ... The red area is the approximate area of Angola's Fifth Military Region. It is the most crucial for South Africa as it borders on Ovamboland, Swapo's recruiting area and the most densely populated border region.

continuation of the military struggle around the "table" and accused Angola and Cuba of undercutting prospects for a "lasting peace" in the region.

Speaking in the House of Representatives, General Malan said neither the southward march of at least three columns of Cuban, Angolan and Swapo troops, nor the reinforcement of Cuban forces in Angola during the recent four-nation London peace talks, was consistent with peace negotiations.



OOPSI ... Not all the water went where it should have gone at the end-of-course display at Epping Fire Station yesterday, and some firemen ended up dripping wet. Report, PAGE 3.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishi will hold the talks at an undisclosed Lisbon venue tomorrow.

The meeting is a prelude to the May 29 Moscow summit of President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev at which the Southern African conflict is on the agenda.

Speaking during his budget vote in the House of Representatives, General Malan said that 3 000 South African troops in South-East Angola had killed between 7 000 and 10 000 FAPLA forces and (Cuban) mercenaries since late last year. A total of 31 SADF members died in same period.

South Africa had captured and destroyed \$1 billion worth of equipment in Angola which had received \$4.9 billion in military aid from the Soviet Union in the past five years, he said.

Swapo

The Cubans moving towards the Namibian border — estimated at one-fifth of the total number of in Angola — were interwoven with Fapla forces and Swapo "terrorists", General Malan said.

"They are apparently making the path open for Swapo, from whom we can expect more aggressive action."

Turning to the recent rounds of peace talks, General Malan said that while he hoped for a "positive outcome" to the talks, "we must be realistic and remain cool-headed". — Political and Own Correspondents with Sapa-Reuter-AP.

CAG Trip
17/5/88 (10) 221

From page 1

The general's remarks were reinforced late last night by a SA Defence Ministry spokesman who claimed that the joint Cuban-Angolan-Swapo forces were concentrated in three areas — Xangongo, Lubango and Cahama — about 300 to 400km north of the Namibian border.

The spokesman said some Cuban and Fapla forces were even further south and small groups of Swapo insurgents were "all over the place".

'Self-defence'

In Luanda, Angolan President Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday defended the estimated 10 000 Cuban reinforcements in his country, saying their arrival was "in response to the intensification of the war by South Africa and in the spirit of self-defence".

Mr Dos Santos also rejected out of hand any question of sharing power with Unita or negotiating with Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement for an end to the 13-year-old Angolan civil war.

In another development, the leading US and Soviet government negotiators on Southern Africa will meet in Lisbon this week for talks on the regional peace initiative, a US Embassy official said yesterday.

Crocker

US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Mr State Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign

Namibian parties 'to go ahead with new plan'

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Star 17/5/88

By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The majority faction of Windhoek's six-party transitional government says it intends to push ahead with its proposals for an interim constitution for Namibia, a draft of which was given to President Botha last month.

Finance Minister Mr Dirk Mudge told a press conference here yesterday that he would "not be surprised if South Africa tries to put a spoke in our wheel" over the draft proposals.

Education Minister Mr Andrew Matjila, chairman of the Cabinet, said he and his colleagues envisaged that their proposals would be put to the Namibian people through elections or a referendum.

The latest documents were drawn up with inputs from the Action National Settlement group of the former National Party of S W A Minister Mr Eben Van Zijl and from the Caprivi African

National Union, which are both outside the government.

The proposals were given to Mr Botha when he and other top South African Ministers visited Windhoek last month.

The Ministers at the press conference made it clear that the draft had not been accepted by the minority faction, the National Party of S W A and the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party, which are believed, however, to have the sympathetic ear and support of the South African Government.

The proposals outlined by the majority faction included:

Ethnicity

- An "interim arrangement" of district authorities which would effectively amend the current, ethnically-based system of representative authorities and give effect to the central government's policy of decentralisation.
- A new municipal system where race restrictions would be scrapped, but where property owners would be given greater weight in the electoral process than those who owned no property.
- A new policy on communal or tribal land, giving the State nominal ownership and aimed at developing "economic units".
- A number of revisions to the transitional government's own Bill of Fundamental Rights, including the stipulation that all political parties have "peaceful and democratic objectives" and providing that conscription and compulsory education may not be challenged on human rights grounds.
- The protection of culture, language and traditions through the establishment of a National Culture Council.

'Not enough debate over Namibia'

CP contests UN resolution

Star 17/5/88
221

The Government had not given leaders in Namibia and its own Cabinet members sufficient opportunity to debate the implications of UN Resolution 435 before accepting it, Opposition leader Andries Treurnicht said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the budget vote of the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr FW de Klerk, Dr Treurnicht said he wished to react to last week's allegations by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that he (Dr Treurnicht) and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) had accepted the resolution as NP Cabinet members.

'Simplistic'

He objected to Mr Botha's "simplistic" representation that CP members had accepted the UN resolution.

There had not been sufficient opportunity to discuss the matter in the NP



Dr Andries Treurnicht ... has problems with '435'.

caucus, and the passage of the resolution had occurred somewhat differently from what had been suggested, Dr Treurnicht said.

The Cabinet had also not discussed the resolution with Namibian leaders, but had addressed them on the topic in a way that "made him ashamed".

He said the federal system proposed for Namibia

had been problematical for him because he could not accept such a system in Namibia and then oppose it in South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht wanted to know whether the Government could accept the preamble to the UN resolution, which said in effect that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal.

Mr Botha's imagination had run away with him last week. It had been NP policy through all the years to oppose power-sharing, Dr Treurnicht said.

Replying to Dr Treurnicht, Mr de Klerk said Cabinet members should either resign if they did not agree with Government policy, or abide by decisions.

Dr Treurnicht had not left the NP because of Resolution 435.

It was the first time in the six years since Dr Treurnicht had left the NP that the CP leader wanted to make Resolution 435 a point of contention. — Sapa.

Swapo denies security force claim

I was on a mission to kill Owambo leader — captured insurgent

Star 13/5/88 (221)

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A self-confessed Swapo insurgent has told how he was infiltrated into northern Namibia on a mission to assassinate Owambo administration chairman Mr Peter Kalangula.

Mr Stephanus Johannes (21) — whose military codename was "Danger" — said in Windhoek yesterday that he had confessed voluntarily to security forces.

But he also said he had been assaulted and given electric-shock torture by interrogators from the SWA Police's controversial Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.

FEARS FOR HIS LIFE

Mr Johannes, who was arrested on April 18 and is due to be released today, said he intended joining the Namibian security forces because he fears for his life now that he has turned his back on Swapo.

The story of the alleged plot to assassinate Mr Kalangula was made public by the Owambo leader himself last week, after he had met with Namibian Administrator-General Louis Pienaar.

According to the military, Mr Pienaar was asked to inform Mr Kalangula of the assassination plan because the Owambo leader has refused to communicate directly with either the SADF or the SWA Terri-

tory Force (SWATF).

Mr Kalangula expressed disbelief that Swapo would try to have him killed, because he was "not important enough to warrant that sort of treatment".

In a communique from Luanda, Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya dismissed the confession as security force propaganda and denied that the organisation had planned the assassination.

Mr Johannes said he had been given the task of killing Mr Kalangula by a senior Swapo intelligence officer who had told him that Mr Kalangula was an "enemy of the people" because he co-operated with the security forces and was unjust in the way he distributed Owambo administration funds.

The Swapo insurgent said he was told to shoot Mr Kalangula when the opportunity arose, either in his office, at church or in the street.

Mr Johannes said he had been one of three cadres trained for the assassination mission, but for security reasons they did not know what instructions each one had received.

He said that after the assassination he was to go to a pre-arranged pick-up point and wait there until contacted by Swapo insurgents or sympathisers.

On earlier scouting missions to Owambo, Mr Johannes said, he did not know how to give himself up to the security forces and he lived in fear of being hunted down by Swapo insurgents if he surrendered.

Mr Johannes was arrested when fellow workers at a shop in Ondangwa saw him with a Tokarev pistol and reported him to the police.

Police seek girl's father

Vereeniging Bureau

Police are looking for a 38-year-old Vanderbijlpark man who has allegedly indecently assaulted his young daughter several times.

The eight-year-old schoolgirl's father apparently disappeared from home shortly after

the incident was reported to the police.

A police spokesman said the girl was apparently indecently assaulted on several occasions between September last year and May 15 this year.

The matter was reported to the police by the child's mother.

More land for workers

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis has approved the enlargement of a black town near Mossel Bay.

He said in a statement in Cape Town yesterday

porary gas-project construction workers, squatters from the JCC camp, and the town's natural population growth. — Sapa.

TELLING THE TRUTH

Senior SWATF officers said they were satisfied Mr Johannes was telling the truth about his mission. They said documents captured from insurgent commanders had corroborated his story.

A senior officer said it would have been "pretty foolish" for Swapo to acknowledge the assassination mission.

He said that because of poor communications in Angola, Swapo's headquarters in Luanda were not always in touch with forces in the bush hundreds of kilometres away.

"It is also quite possible that 'Danger's' commander did not inform Swapo headquarters of the mission to kill Mr Kalangula," he said.

SWATF spokesmen said the 30-day period in which Mr Johannes could be held without trial expired last night and he would be set free today. Documents were being processed to enable him to join the security forces. — Sapa.

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Political Staff

IT was time there was greater clarity about the definition of "guerilla" and "terrorist", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Defence Budget in the House of Assembly, General Malan said sections of the media still referred too often to the ANC and Swapo as "insurgents" and "guerillas".

"Our media and the public should realize that the ANC and Swapo use international terrorist tactics, that they are terrorist organizations," he said.

"While guerillas pit themselves against far superior combatants, terrorists choose to attack weak and defenceless civilians ..."

On South Africa's involvement in south-east Angola, he said the SADF had had two choices — to get involved or face the possibility of Unita being destroyed.

The second option would have opened the way for ANC and Swapo infiltration of Namibia.

Sapa reports that General Malan also said South Africa found itself in an undeclared war for the thoughts of its citizens.

He said the nature of the conflict had been simplified as being between supporters and opponents of apartheid.

The marketing of a people's democracy was the starting point of the conflict situation, he said.

A people's democracy referred to a power clique which would manipulate the masses.

Turned Swapo fighter to join security forces

WINDHOEK. — A Swapo guerilla, captured on a mission to kill the chairman of the Ovambo administration, Mr Peter Kalangula, would be released within the next few days and join the security forces, a SWA Territory Force spokesman said here yesterday.

The guerilla, Mr Stefanus Johannes (war-named "Danger"), 21, was arrested in northern Namibia on April 18 and became the centre of controversy over whether he had indeed been on an assassination assignment.

Mr Kalangula was informed at a meeting last week by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, of the arrest. Mr Pienaar urged Mr Kalangula to interview the would-be assassin.

Mr Kalangula declined, saying he was "sceptical" about security forces claims.

From Luanda, Swapo's secretary for information, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, denied in a statement on Friday that Mr

'No combatants at Cassinga'

WINDHOEK. — There were no Swapo fighters at Cassinga when South African-led security forces from Namibia raided the camp 250km into Angola 10 years ago on May 4, Mr Stefanus Johannes said here yesterday.

Mr Johannes, arrested in Ovambo on April 18, told a news conference he had been abducted by Swapo insurgents from his home at the age of 10 and taken to Cassinga.

"It was a big camp with many people but there were no Swapo combatants when it was attacked," he said.

Mr Johannes, who is to join the security forces, was asked how he had managed to change his allegiance to Swapo's cause so quickly.

"I changed it long ago," he replied. "But I was told by Swapo I would be killed if I gave myself up." — Sapa

Kalangula was on a "hit list", saying the Ovambo official was not enough of a threat to Swapo's independence struggle to warrant the organization's particular attention.

Mr Hamutenya said the arrested Swapo insurgent would be no more than an "impostor".

A senior SWATF

spokesman, Colonel As Kleynhans, told a news conference yesterday that Mr Kalangula was refusing to speak to the security forces, who decided to request Mr Pienaar to inform Mr Kalangula of the arrest.

Col Kleynhans said it would have been "pretty foolish" if Swapo had acknowledged the assassination mission. — Sapa

Third of SA forces in Angola not white

CPA Links 18/8/88 Political Staff

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SOLDIERS who are not white constituted about a third of the 3 000 troops involved in South Africa's recent operations in south-eastern Angola and between 65% and 70% of all fighting elements in the operational area.

These figures were disclosed yesterday by former Defence Force information officer Brigadier Kobus Bosman in a scathing National Party attack on the Conservative Party for belittling the role of people of colour in the Defence Force.

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe was attacked by several Nationalist speakers during the debate on the Defence Budget for asking how coloured people and Indians could talk of "our" army when they did not do military training.

the ANC believed
a traitor. — Sapa

ONE TOP 18/5/88 221
Bomb defused

WINDHOEK. — Police defused a powerful time bomb with only 42 seconds to spare at Walvis Bay Post office on Monday. Police said the activated bomb was in a plastic bag. — Sapa

CP sees a 'Red flag flying over Windhoek'

The Conservative Party supported the SADF's role in Angola, but if the peace talks succeeded and Resolution 435 was implemented in SWA-Namibia, Swapo might be elected and years of effort by the SADF would be wasted.

Speaking during the defence vote debate, the official Opposition defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, predicted "the Russian flag might flutter over Windhoek" if Resolution 435

was finally put to work.

After all these years on the Namibian border and beyond, everything could be lost after all the fighting.

Mr Roger Hulley (PFP) expressed concern that the conflict in SWA-Namibia and Angola was becoming less one of guerilla skirmishes and more a conventional one with set battles. —Parliamentary Staff.

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SR 15/5788

Stowaway is a problem for SA

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Star 19/5/88

WINDHOEK — The Ghanaian stowaway who came ashore in Namibia, Mr Immanuel Gyani (24), is presenting a diplomatic problem for the South African authorities, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Gyani, who has recovered from his 14-day ordeal at sea, does not want to return to Ghana.

This leaves three options:

He could be repatriated through the High Commissioner of Ghana in London, the International Committee of the Red Cross could take him as a refugee, or he could apply for a work and residence permit in Namibia, the spokesman said.

According to Mr Gyani's account to the authorities,

he and three other men stowed away on board a Singapore-registered ship in Accra harbour on April 21. Their presence was discovered three days after the vessel put to sea.

Three days later the ship's captain ordered that they be dropped overboard in a small life raft.

The captain's parting message to them was that if they reached land they would probably find themselves in Angola, Namibia or South Africa.

Eaten by sharks

Mr Gyani said one of the stowaways drowned at sea and the other two were eaten by sharks.

The lone survivor reached Namibia's inhospitable Skeleton Coast at Cape Fria south of the Cunene River on May 11. A nature conservation official found him close to death the next day.

Mr Gyani was admitted to a hospital in northern Namibia and has since been discharged.

The Foreign Affairs official said the authorities were trying to establish the identity of the ship and of its captain, who was thought to have contravened international maritime law.

Military sources in Windhoek said Mr Gyani had indicated that the name of the Singapore-registered ship was the Nenpton Torquis.

It is not known whether the South African authorities will initiate a prosecution of the vessel's skipper, which it is believed to be entitled to do if the incident took place in South African or Namibian territorial waters. — Sapa.

SW 19/5/78 (221)

Swapo-Democrats ask Lusaka for body

WINDHOEK — The Swapo-Democrats party has asked the Zambian Government to send home the body of central committee member Mr Kally Shafooli who was killed in Lusaka on Saturday.

In a statement published yesterday, Swapo-D claimed Mr Shafooli had been assassinated by a Swapo agent.

According to the statement, the dead man had left Namibia in 1974 to join Swapo's military wing but he fell out of favour with the organisation and joined Swapo-D in 1978.

He was on his way to Canada when he was shot. — Sapa.

40 pupils (22)

5 teachers

abducted

Star 19/5/68

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The SWA Territory Force (SWATF) says a group of 12 Swapo insurgents has abducted five teachers and 40 pupils from a school in Owambo.

A spokesman said six children and three teachers escaped from the kidnapers as the group headed towards the Angolan border in two vehicles.

Security forces followed their trail to the border, then called off the pursuit.

Cuban troops massing 70km from border

CAPL T. 215 19/5/88

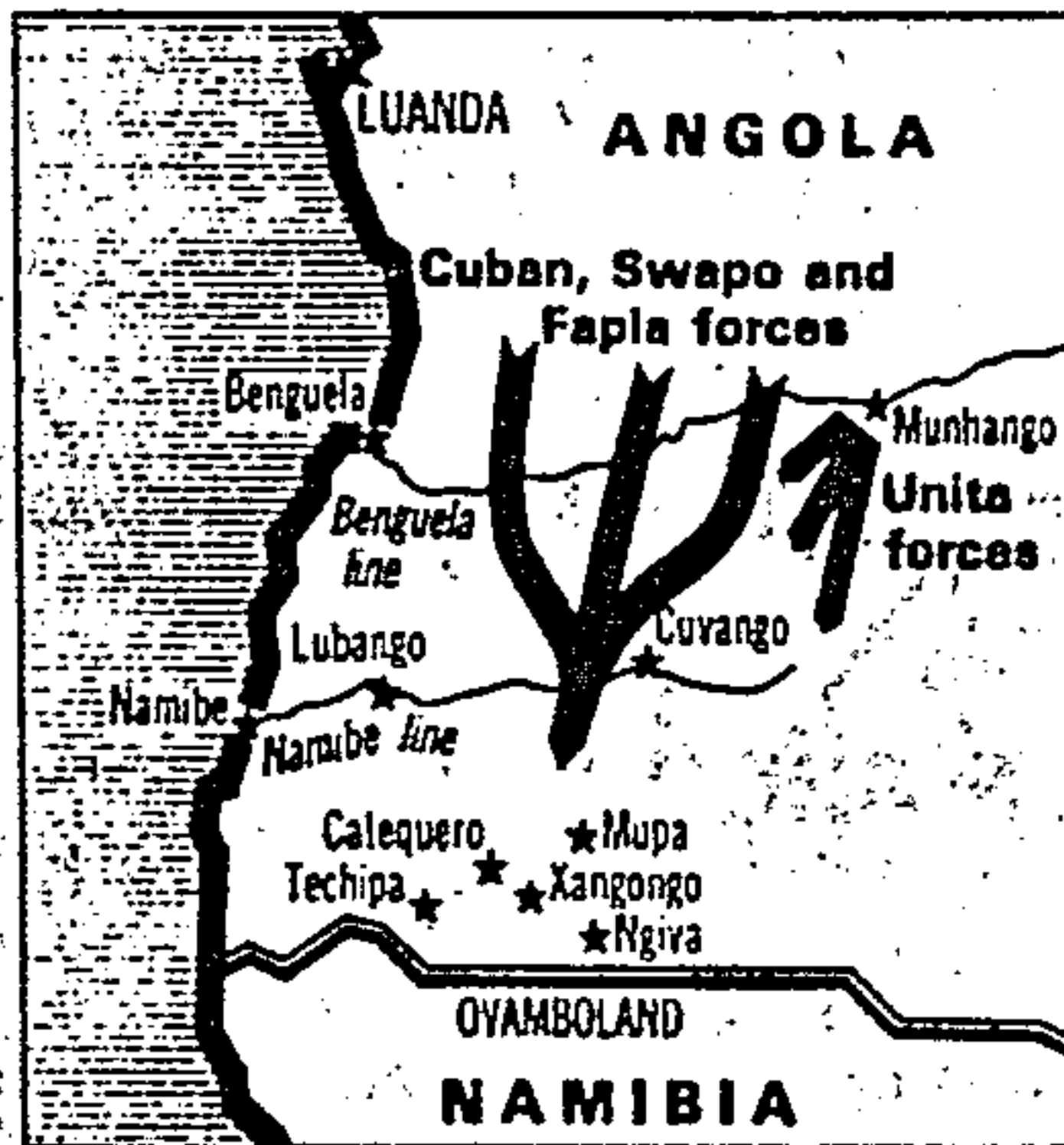
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INTELLIGENCE sources claimed yesterday that Cuban troops were only about 70km from Namibia where they are massing with Swapo and Fapla forces at Ngiva — one of five spearheads close to the border.

The sources claimed that other concentrations of the combined Cuban-Swapo-Fapla elements were being established at Techipa, Xangongo, Catequero and Mupa.

The sources said yesterday it was not yet clear how many Cuban troops had reached the five assembly points but earlier this week the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said about a quarters of the 45 000 Cubans in Angola were involved in a push towards the south. Yesterday he warned again that the Cuban advances had to stop.

Intelligence reports yesterday also indicated that Unita forces, which are operating widely between



To page 2

From page 1

the Benguela and Namibe lines, are harassing the Cuban columns.

● In Lisbon US and Soviet officials met yesterday for new talks on Angola.

The US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, discussed how to keep up the momentum of complex negotiations.

On Tuesday Dr Crocker was in Brazzaville where he met the Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso. Dr Crocker said Washington was relying on Soviet support in current efforts to end conflicts in Southern Africa.

The US is expecting from Moscow "not only words but also deeds to genuinely and concretely back the search for a settlement in this region of Africa," Dr Crocker told reporters. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

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Call Times 19/5/88

Namibia's freedom 'central to peace talks'

LUANDA. — Swapo said yesterday it had received assurances from Angola, Cuba and the United States that there could be no peace settlement in Angola and Namibia without independence for Namibia.

Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, information secretary for Swapo, said in an interview that independence for Namibia was central to the current peace initiative involving South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States.

"We have had high-level talks with Angolan, Cuban and American authorities and they all reassured us there would be no re-negotiation of (UN Resolution) 435 and that there could be no deal that does not include immediate implementation of 435," he said.

Mr Hamutenya said that Swapo was not taking part in the negotiations at the moment because it had no part to play at the present stage.

He claimed that South Africa had been forced to the negotiating table by what he called the deteriorating military position it faced on its frontiers and in southern Angola.

● In Windhoek, a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force said yesterday that Swapo insurgents had abducted 40 pupils and five teachers from a school north of Ombalantu. — Sapa-Reuter

Cap Times 19/5/88

Hospital blast injures woman

LUSAKA. A bomb ripped through a house in the suburbs here that had been converted into a hospital for refugees from Namibia.

A Zambian woman was seriously injured in Tuesday's blast.

Miss Sida Nangolo, was taken to hospital with serious arm and leg injuries, police said.

It is believed the bomb had been planted near the gate of the house earlier in the day.

The blast damaged the walls, shattered windows and ripped a hole in the roof, police said.

A spokesman said the home had been converted into a hospital by Swapo for refugees from Namibia. Miss Nangola was the common-law wife of one of the exiles.

— Sapa-AP

Prospects 'good' for Angolan peace plan

McGraw
19/5/88

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The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — The top US and Soviet policy-makers for Africa are expected to announce positive movement today in the complex negotiations for a regional peace settlement in Angola and Namibia.

Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, are to speak separately to journalists about their talks yesterday.

Though both men were tight-lipped about the results of their meeting, the second such encounter in three weeks, there were strong indications that multi-lateral negotiations remained on track for a Cuban pull-out from Angola and independence for Namibia.

Moscow summit

Mr Adamishin is scheduled to give a news conference at the Soviet embassy while Dr Crocker is due to speak to reporters after a brief meeting with his Portuguese counterpart, Mr Jos Durao Barroso.

In Washington, US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz said the Angola-Namibia issue would receive "more attention" at the May 29 US-Soviet sum-

mit in Moscow "than any other regional question".

During their meeting yesterday at the US embassy compound and later over a "working dinner", Dr Crocker and Mr Adamishin discussed how to maintain momentum in the interlocked negotiations for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

Military build-up

"The agenda centred on a Cuban withdrawal, Unita and Namibia," said a US diplomatic source, adding that the question of the Cuban military build-up had also been discussed.

One source close to the talks said there seemed to be "good prospects" for progress on a regional peace settlement.

For seven years, Dr Crocker has led the US effort to mediate a solution linking the exit of some 40 000 Cuban troops from Marxist-ruled Angola to Pretoria granting Namibian independence.

The on-and-off negotiations gained new impetus when Dr Crocker brought together representatives from Pretoria, Luanda and Havana on May 3 and 4 for talks in London.

A new round of four-party talks is expected later this month.

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Surprise round of talks on Angola

The Argus Foreign Service LISBON. — The top United States and Soviet policy-makers met for an unexpected second day of talks and indicated positive developments in negotiations for a Southern African peace settlement.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker told a news conference there appeared to be "more flexibility" by Cuba about shortening its proposed four-year timetable for the withdrawal of its 40 000 troops from Angola.

"It is positive that the United States and the Soviet Union are talking," Dr Crocker said, referring to his seven-year effort to broker a regional peace solution.

POLITICAL WILL

At a separate news conference Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin underlined Moscow and Washington's "political will" for a regional settlement, linking independence for SWA/Namibia to a Cuban withdrawal.

"We believe it is possible to untie the Angola-Namibia knot. Difficult but possible," Mr Adamishin said, adding that Moscow would consider serving as a "guarantor" for such an agreement "if we are asked."

He was "not violating any secret" in disclosing that Luanda and Havana had proposed September 29 this year, the 10th anniversary of the UN's Resolution 435, as the date for Pretoria to begin implementing the UN independence formula.

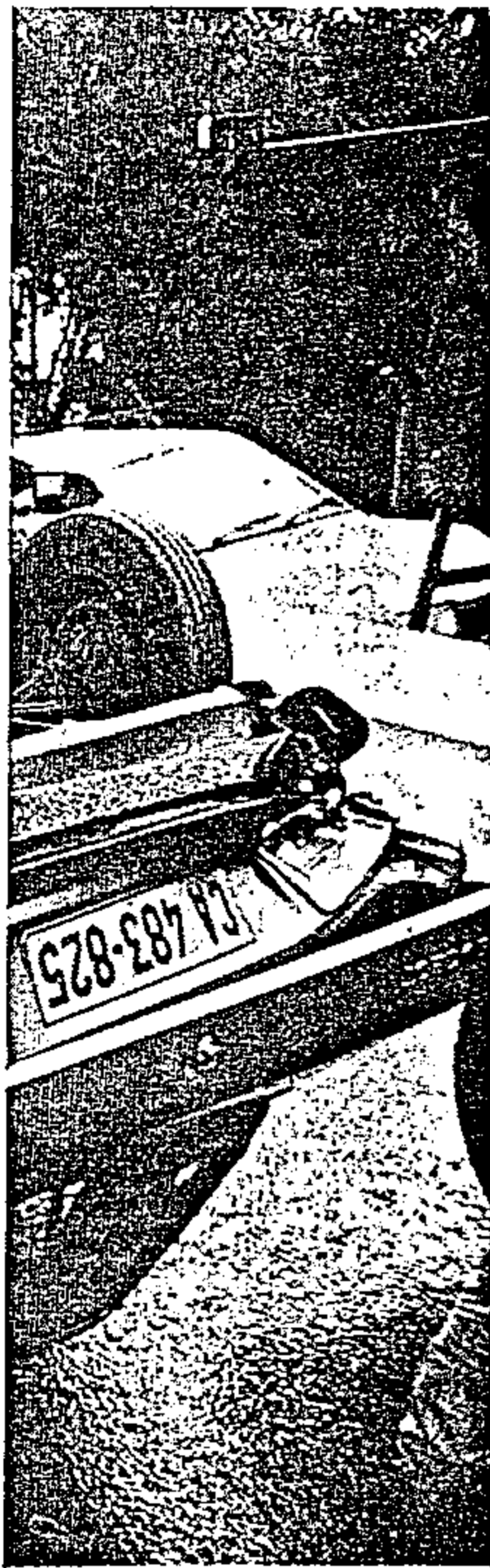
The two diplomats, who met in the US Embassy in Lisbon on Wednesday, spoke to reporters separately before a second round of discussions yesterday afternoon.

MOSCOW SUMMIT

They said yesterday's previously unannounced talks were the last in their recent series of bilateral meetings before the May 29 superpower summit in Moscow, where the Namibia-Angola issue will figure prominently.

Dr Crocker is also expected to preside over a second round of four-party negotiations, involving South Africa, Angola and Cuba, before the summit.

The four first met in London on May 3 when Cuba and Angola proposed a four-year timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.



Pictures: JOHAN SCHRONEN.

by of Cape Town yesterday



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Argus 20/5/88

Four soldiers, 9 Swapo die in skirmishes

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The SWA Territory Force has announced the deaths in action of four of its soldiers, while nine Swapo insurgents have been killed in skirmishes in the operational area in the past two weeks.

The dead soldiers names have been listed as:

● Lance-Corporal Festus Petrus, 24, of Okatno, who is survived by his father.

● Rifleman Hilifilua Haimbodi, 22, of Onangwhe, who leaves his wife.

● Rifleman Johannes Petrus, 21, of Ondangwa who is survived by his father.

● Rifleman Willem Robert, 23, of Oshakati, also survived by his father.

The statement said that a number of caches of Swapo weapons had been found and destroyed, following information provided by villiages.

Swapo insurgents had been responsible for a number of "atrocities" against the population, including the abduction of 40 pupils and five teachers from a school in Owambo, the statement said.

Security forces had followed the tracks of the group north, but had lost them at the Angolan border and had abandoned the chase. A group of six pupils and three teachers managed to escape from their kidnapers and returned to their school.

A low-level road bridge in the Owambo area had been sabotaged on May 13, the statement said.

A trip to the Cape brings the Ju/wasi closer to Namibia

A conference clears old suspicions between the people of Bushmanland and their southern neighbours.



Tsamko of the Ju/wasi Farmers' Union, listens intently to social anthropologist John Marshall during the conference

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

WHEN the two Bushmanland representatives met the former president of Swapo this month at a conference on "Struggle for land in Namibia", the Swapo politician had a stern lecture ready.

Said Danny Tjangorea: "If the Ju/wasi don't identify with the broader struggle in Namibia, I am going to raise hell."

The Cape Town conference taught Tjangorea that a more subtle approach would be appropriate.

Not many of the Ju/wasi have even heard of Swapo.

The few score "Bushman trackers" who have been recruited into the South African Defence Force have given the Ju/wasi the reputation of being fierce foes of Swapo.

The truth is that the Ju/wasi live in geographic and historic isolation, fighting for survival in their remaining corner of Bushmanland. It is another San subgroup—the !Kung, from Angola—who make up the bulk of the military's "Bushman battalion".

The Cape Town conference marked a rite of passage into the larger world for the Ju/wasi—and something of a revelation for others at the conference, like Swapo.

Academics, community workers, and the two representatives of the Ju/wasi Farmers' Union, Tsamko and !Xau, began to share a common understanding of what was initially perceived as two separate issues: the Ju/wasi's wrench into the present, and the political struggle in Namibia.

The discussion was punctuated by whispered musical clicks of the San language as the proceedings were translated for the two Ju/wasi.

Their people have lost 90 percent of their land and the means for a hunter-gatherer way of life. Now they survive as cattle farmers with their diet supplemented by foraging.

Yet the new life of the Ju/wasi is grim: no other farmers have had to contend with an administration so apparently indifferent to their survival.

The conference heard how the government turned their land into a game reserve and then into a trophy hunting area which nurtures large populations of big game.

The Ju/wasi have been left defenceless against lions which kill their cattle and elephants which destroy their precious water pumps.

A delegate asked: "In what way can we help you?" "Give us guns to protect our cattle from lions," said delegate Tsamko. He said killing lions with a bow and poisoned arrows is a dangerous and limited way of coping with the problem.

For the first time in their history, the Ju/wasi are in conflict with nature and its official keeper, the Department of Nature Conservation.

"We are not against conservation, but when it comes to pitting animals against people, we have a problem," said Tsamko.

"We want to be paid for the loss of our cattle. What would you do if my dog attacked your property?"

At the conference, a key issue was the Ju/wasi's alienation from mainstream politics.

"The struggle for Bushmanland should not be isolated from the broader struggle in Namibia," suggested Tjangorea, who came as Director of Communications for the Namibian Council of Churches. "We have all been dispossessed and suffered at the hands of colonial rule."

As the discussion progressed, both the Ju/wasi and Tjangorea were coming to a new understanding of each others' problems.

Said Tjangorea: "We are guilty of neglecting the Bushmen as we have looked to the macro issues, but in finding a solution for the Bushmen we have to see beyond Bushmanland."

!Xau had something similar to say as he contemplated the burden of what he had learnt at the conference:

"Speakers here have said that we are all Namibians but no one has ever told us that before. We are going to change this and take what we have learnt today home to our brothers and sisters."

Paul Weinberg and Cliff Bestall

AN open letter to President Botha from some members of the fine arts community in and around Johannesburg who find objectionable Minister Stoffel Botha's actions towards the press:

WE consider it undemocratic that the Minister of Home Affairs, without consulting the people, is entitled to make decisions for the people.

THE contributors to this page pledge their support for the Weekly Mail and its informative, intelligent reporting.

WE protest the threats to its existence, the livelihood of its staffers, and the fundamental violation of freedom of expression.

IN accordance with responsible protest, this page will be sent to

President Botha and Minister Stoffel Botha.

Colin Richards, Penny Siopis, Margaret Voster, Karel Nel, Michele Raubenheimer, Marilyn Martin, Jenny Stadler, Sally Gaule, Elizabeth Delmont, Barbara Buntman, Sandra Klopper, CL Coetzee, Rhoda Rosen, Michelle Jersky, Anitra Nettleton, Ricky Loujes, Fiona Rankin-Smith, Kendell Geers, Bryan Michael, Anya Fitschen, Andrew Bannister, Anthony Paton, Ilse Lemmer, Gifia Livanos, Martiné Mentis, Paul Shelly

Robert Brand, Jean-Marie Enslin, Erika Hibbert, Cathy Farlam, CJ Morkel, Phillipa Daniels, Paula Beck, Bernice Garb, Natasha Labe, Lauren Kaplan, Christine Digby, Erika Elk, Marion Swart, Mallory DeKock, C Vias, Desiré Chimes, Natasha Fuller, Andrex Huxhzim, Jane Duncan, Di Hyslop, Helen Joseph, Anthusa Sotriades, Mboya Mashidi, Mary Anne Bahr

Margaret Roestori, Anton Coetzee, Suzette Grace, Reggi BarDavid, Gregory Kerr, Ann Kerr, Beverley Marks-Paton, Sue Kaplan, Jane Alexander, Gill Cargill, Debbie Bell, Gail Van Lingen, Arlene Amahler-Raviv, Clifford Rabie, Nina Romm, Pippa Lea, Thea Soggot, Ruth Jacobson, Gail Behrmann, Roger Ballen, Lynda Moross-Ballen

Hona Anderson, Peter Anderson, William Kentridge, Charlotte Schaer, Handspring Puppets, Judith Mason-Attwood, Michael Goldberg, Lenore Nott, Karen Harber, Uwe Schönfeldt, Joanne Cachalia, Sharon Cort, Janice Mowson, Doreen Hemp, Annette Loubser, Keith Schultz, Richard Brown, Michael Dunn, Richard Smith, Lisa Roetger, Ernie Tamsen, Yda Walt

Gael Neke, Wilma Cruise, Kim Sacks, Barry Douglas, Wendy Goldblatt, Charlotte Katzen, Austin Hleza, Carol Smollen, Elspeth Burkhalter, Annmarie Berry, Maureen de Beer, Chris Green, Digby Hoets, Bea Jaffray, Peter Jaff, The Lieberman Pottery, Joan Meyer, Charmaine Renzon, Zonja Zytow, Ros O'Connor, Tina Van Der Walt, Suzette Munnik, Susan Sellschop, Eugene Hön, Mark Edwards, Andrew Munnik

Durant Sihlali, Monika Von Moltke, Lindy Solomon, Z Mpalweni, Mandu Chiloane, Margaret Makhoana, Tanki Mokhele, Zwandile Mlangeni, David Goldblatt, Ingrid Hudson, Rodney Barnett, Pierre Hinch, Lisa Trocchi, Anthony Bannister, Paul Michaelson, Gideon Mendel, Ingrid Gavshon

Jenny Gordon, Karin Skawran, Rayda Becker, Steven Sack, Marion Arnold, Keith Dietrich, Robert Hodgins, John Clarke, Brenda Schmahmann, Valerie Bester, Josie Grinrod, Julia Charlton, Gerda Engelbrecht, Elsa Lamb, Francis Galloway, Eunice Basson, Clinton Harrop-Allin

ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

Peace in their time?

A political settlement in Namibia may still be a long way off — but there are strong signals that SA has never been more committed to breaking the regional logjam holding up independence for the disputed territory. There are good reasons for this. Even South African alarm at new Cuban and Swapo advances in southern Angola, and Angolan claims that the manoeuvres are aimed merely at countering SADF and Unita strategies, are unlikely to derail the latest peace initiative, according to government sources.

This belief is strengthened by an unplanned top-level meeting in Lisbon, scheduled for Wednesday this week, between senior US and Moscow Africa experts, which Western diplomats in the Portuguese capital link to the threatening Cuban troop movements.

Assistant US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker and his Soviet counterpart Anatoly Adamishin were to meet (unexpectedly) in Lisbon for what Portuguese officials described as an assessment of the latest developments in the four-party efforts to negotiate an Angolan peace.

A South African government source says the mutual sabre-rattling should not be allowed to detract from the significance of last week's talks between SA and Angola in Brazzaville and the prospect of further and even more constructive meetings. Pretoria now knows that time is running out and that it may never have a better chance to settle — on acceptable terms — in both Angola and Namibia.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan's seemingly harsh comments and apparent pessimism in parliament this week have to be seen against the background of what is at stake. Both sides — Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and SA and Unita on the other — want "peace with honour." A certain amount of posturing in the run-up to achieving that is inevitable.

A surprisingly optimistic view of the latest initiative came this week from veteran Namibian politician, Bryan O'Linn, currently chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group 435 (NPP), a Windhoek-based think-tank that liaises with pro-Resolution 435 groups, including Swapo.

O'Linn, no friend of Pretoria, nevertheless believes SA now has good reason to want to settle in Namibia and Angola and is optimistic that positive results will be achieved. "I think they know that when there is a new administration in the US, the price (of peace) will be higher. They may be left holding the Cuban-linkage baby alone. I



must credit them with the wisdom to know that," he told a press briefing in Cape Town this week.

He hopes SA will not see the latest initiative as merely another "diplomatic exercise and delaying tactic," but as a genuine effort to find a way to implement Resolution 435. "Most Namibians and most important political parties in Namibia reject the coupling of Cuban withdrawal to the implementation of 435. Namibians resent being held hostage to achieve the settlement of all the problems of southern Africa," he says.

O'Linn adds that SA has been shielding behind "constructive engagement" and US support for Cuban-linkage since 1981; but constructive engagement is dead or dying and sanctions are emerging as the US's primary policy instrument in the region. He is convinced that it is in both the short- and long-term interest of SA to implement 435 this year.

O'Linn rejects government assertions that the settlement plan is 10 years old and outdated. He says it has been modified over the years and remains the most acceptable plan for independence.

The Lisbon talks may also focus on a possible partitioning of Angola along the Benguela railway — a move viewed with some sympathy in both Moscow and Washington despite outright opposition from the two clients fighting the war on the ground.

Meanwhile, in a clear bid to ensure it is not ignored in the present negotiations, the pro-Western Unita movement announced in

Lisbon on Monday that it had launched a new offensive in the eastern Cazombo area of the country and was on the brink of totally controlling the area through which the vital Benguela rail crossing into neighbouring Zaire runs.

For its part, Cuban-backed government forces were said to be concentrating troops and armament in Menongue in preparation for a large scale offensive against Mavinga, behind the present South African-Unita line harassing Cuito Cuanavale.

Ironically, it looks as if SA and Angola, the two main players, will sooner or later have to deal with their Unita and Cuban partners. Or else peace will only be a pipe dream. ■

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9/15/88

9 Swapo killed

WINDHOEK — Security forces in northern Namibia have shot dead nine Swapo insurgents in the past 14 days, and lost four men in fighting, the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said here yesterday.

The SWATF added that insurgents had sabotaged a low-water road bridge in Ovambo last Friday. — Sapa

Malaria ⁽²²⁾ death toll 'over 100'

SA
23
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The malaria epidemic in Namibia is almost over, but it has left more than 100 people dead.

A spokesman for the Windhoek Department of National Health said fewer cases were now being reported as cold weather sets in across the country. A nationwide spraying campaign has also had its effect.

The epidemic this year is thought to have been triggered by unseasonably late rains and mild weather which saw mosquito swarms move much further south than normal and the introduction of treatment-resistant strains of malaria from Angola.

The official death toll stands at 95, but officials believe many more deaths may have gone unreported. A total of 42 people died in the Windhoek State Hospital, which handled the bulk of serious cases of the strain of cerebral malaria.

PK 645 27/5/88
221

War almost certain to escalate, warns Swapo

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — The confrontation in southern Angola will "almost certainly escalate in the near future" unless there are moves to implement UN Resolution 435, says Swapo's information secretary, Mr Hideo Hamutenya.

Referring to the latest joint Fapla-Cuban-Swapo advance into southern Angola, Mr Hamutenya said: "No number of threats from Pretoria will change the new balance of forces now actively confronting each other in that south-western part of Africa.

Mr Hamutenya was quoted by the Namibian newspaper here as warning: "South Africa will pay dearly for any deci-

sion not to continue with the negotiations."

He told the newspaper that the troop movement into southern Angola was meant to "flush the invading South African troops out of Angola".

He remarked that the Angola-Namibian conflict now presented Pretoria with a choice of either resolving matters on the battlefield or through negotiations. The military solution was, for South Africa, "a difficult proposition now".

Cubans^{27/5/87} advance a 'serious threat'²²¹

Pretoria Correspondent

Cuban forces pushing southwards towards the Angolan-Namibia border posed a "serious" military threat to that territory, the Chief of the SA Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said yesterday.

General Geldenhuys revealed at a press briefing attended by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, that Cuban combat aircraft, including a sophisticated MIG 23, violated Namibian airspace three times in the past two months.

INTEGRATED

The most recent incident — a low-level penetration near Ruacana — occurred less than two weeks ago.

General Geldenhuys said a worrying aspect of the build-up was that Cuban and Swapo forces were integrated for the first time.

Mr van Heerden said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had warned the United States and Angola during talks recently that the build-up of a large body of Cuban troops could create the danger of a flashpoint.

General Geldenhuys said the influx of Cubans and their integration with Swapo was unconnected with recent fighting in the Cuando Cubango region.

"A disturbing dimension has been the formation of three new integrated Swapo-Cuban battalions," he said.

"The deployment of the integrated battalions, coupled with the substantial back-up provided by the recently deployed Cuban forces in the region, has considerably enhanced Swapo's terrorist capabilities."

ARGUS 27/5/88

Cubans moving south are 'serious threat'

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Cuban forces pushing southwards towards the Angolan-SWA/Namibia border posed a "serious" military threat to that territory, the Chief of the South African Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said today.

At a Press briefing also attended by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Heerden, General Geldenhuys disclosed that Cuban combat aircraft, including a sophisticated MiG-23, violated SWA/Namibian air space three times in the past two months.

The most recent incident — a low-level penetration near Ruacana — happened less than two weeks ago.

General Geldenhuys said a worrying aspect of the build-up was that Cuban and Swapo forces were integrated for the first time.

PROVOCATION

He said the Cuban build-up could be seen as provocation. "The danger is that the provoked party could react and this could lead to war."

In addition, "sophisticated and high-technology" weapons, especially mobile Sam-8, Sam-9 and Sam-13 missile systems, were deployed in the "Fifth Military Region" (or Kunene Province), the briefing was told.

Mr van Heerden said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had warned the United States and Angola during talks in London and Congo Brazzaville recently that a large body of Cuban troops could create a danger of an unexpected flashpoint.

"The thing we need least now (while the talks continue) is a heightening of the risk of clashes," Mr van Heerden said.

DISTURBING

General Geldenhuys said the influx of Cubans and their integration with Swapo was unconnected with recent fighting in the Cuando Cubango region along the Lomba river near Cuito Cuanavale.

A "disturbing dimension" had been the formation of three new integrated Swapo/Cuban battalions. One of these, comprising about 200 Cuban troops and 250 Swapo terrorists, was based about 60km from the SWA/Namibian border.

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ANGOLAN jet fighters — including at least one MiG-23 — crossed into Namibia three times in the past eight weeks, the Chief of the Air Force-designate, Lieutenant-General J P B van Loggerenberg, revealed yesterday.

And the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jan Geldenhuys, said SA would "consider all military options" to counter the "serious" situation created by the southward movement of Cuban and Swapo forces — some of which were within 60km of the Namibian border.

The two generals were speaking to journalists in Pretoria.

Lt-Gen Van Loggerenberg said despite "occasional" violations of Namibian airspace over the last 10 years, "this is the first time there have been so many in such a short time".

Previous violations were at high altitudes, but at least one of the recent cases involved a MiG fighter flying at low-level "in the vicinity of Ruacana".

'Act sensibly'

"It was actually seen by a light aircraft pilot, who got the fright of his life. The nature of the violation was different," he said.

One of the violations involved a Cuban pilot and another a sophisticated MiG-23.

While SA would "like to act sensibly and responsibly" for fear of torpedoing the Angolan peace talks, there were limits, and a "keen eye" would be kept on developments, "because if it reaches the point where they threaten (us) too seriously, we shall have to consider other options".

The Cuban force consisted of six infantry regiments, three special infantry battalions, an anti-aircraft unit equipped with missile systems and guns, a "sophisticated array" of radar systems, an artillery regiment with guns and multiple rocket-launchers and a tank regiment with 105 T-55 and T-62 tanks.

A "disturbing new dimension" was posed by three battalions each of about 200 Cubans and 250 Swapo insurgents — the first time Cuban and Swapo elements had combined.

The southernmost battalion — which was supported by tanks and artillery — was based up at Xangongo, about 60km from the border.

Swapo was now able to conduct its raids into Namibia while operating under the protective wing of a large force situated near the border.

It appeared the southward move had been independently undertaken by the Cubans as a "taunting manoeuvre".

There was a serious water shortage in central Ovamboland, and if the Calueque pumping station near Ruacana was threatened or occupied, "it will definitely be a serious threat to Ovamboland".

To page 3

P.T.O.

ANGOLAN jets cross border

97/5/88
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221

(Signature)

Angolan jets

CAPE TIMES
27/5/88

(24)

Meanwhile the director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), Mr Francois Heisbourg, has said in London that he was "extremely cautious" about the prospects of a settlement emerging from the latest round of peace talks.

This was because Angolan oil sales offset the cost to Moscow of military aid and the presence of 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola had not drawn wide criticism from black Africa.

In the 1987/88 Strategic Survey, written before the latest round of talks, the IISS said that since the collapse of Angola's autumn offensive, nei-

ther the USSR nor Cuba had softened their support; "indeed the immediate military responses suggested a hardening of attitudes".

And a New York Times report yesterday quoted Angolan military commanders as claiming that the US was training and supplying Unita rebels in Zaire.

The goal was to create a second guerilla front away from SA so that Unita could shed its "negative image as puppets of apartheid", said Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca, chief of staff of the Angolan armed forces. — Defence and Own Correspondents with Sapa-Reuter

SA warned
of greater
conflict
in Angola

BRENDAN SEERY
Saturday Star Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya has warned that the confrontation in southern Angola will "almost certainly escalate in the near future" unless there are moves to implement the UN Resolution 435 settlement plan for Namibia.

Referring to the latest joint Fapla-Cuban-Swapo advance into southern Angola, Mr Hamutenya said "no amount of threats from Pretoria will change the new balance of forces now actively confronting each other in that southwestern part of Africa".

Invading troops

Mr Hamutenya was quoted by *The Namibian* newspaper as warning Pretoria: "South Africa will pay dearly for any decision not to continue with the negotiations".

The Swapo information secretary told the newspaper that the troop movement into southern Angola was meant to "flush the invading South African troops out of Angola".

He remarked that the Angola-Namibia conflict now presented Pretoria with a choice of either resolving matters on the battlefield or through negotiations.

However, he added that the military solution was now "a difficult proposition" for South Africa.

OAU lashes UN over aid to refugees

Star 2/15/88

ADDIS ABABA — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) accused the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) yesterday of sharply reducing aid to

South African and Namibian refugees in neighbouring black-ruled states. Brigadier General Hashim Mbita, the executive secretary of the

OAU's Liberation Committee, said in a statement that "the Frontline States are very much concerned over the steady and substantial reduction of UNHCR assistance to refugees under the care of the national liberation movements, more particularly Namibian refugees, over the last three years."

The OAU official complained that UNHCR aid to Namibian refugees under the care of Swapo had gone down from R8 million in 1985 to R2 million in 1988, "despite the increase in the number of refugees from that country".

Brigadier Mbita also protested that the UNHCR had not allocated any funds at all this year for South African refugees being cared for by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress movements. — Sapa-Reuters.

He accused refugee commissioner Mr Jean Pierre Hock of "insensitivity and negligence of responsibility so far as the refugees of southern Africa are concerned."

Focus on Swapo prisoners

21

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has taken up the case of 100 people from Namibia held by Swapo.

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They are being held in Swapo camps in Angola and Zambia as alleged spies. Star 3/15/88

Dr Perez de Cuellar was urged by a group of British MPs to press for the release of the detainees or for their trial before an internationally recognised court. — Sapa.

switched off just after
ght of statements

No tax aid for us, says Eskom

The electricity supply giant Eskom is an "entirely self-funded independent organisation" and does not get funds from the taxpayer, the commission said yesterday.

Reacting in a statement to what it said was a tendency in the media to include Eskom in the list "of those who are supported by taxpayers' money," the commission said:

"Eskom is not, and never has been, in receipt of Government funds collected from the taxpayer."

It was "an entirely self-funded independent organisation which gains its revenue from sales of electricity and loans in the financial market," the statement said. — Sapa.

Namibian gas: test results awaited

WINDHOEK — Soekor was processing and analysing geological information obtained from the third test hole in the offshore Kudu gasfields of Namibia, the Director of Geological Survey, Dr Roy Miller, said yesterday.

The work was being done on behalf of the Namibian State-owned Swakor, which holds concessions for offshore prospecting.

Dr Miller said a report from Soekor

on the test results was expected in about four months' time.

"Swakor will decide on its next step on the basis of that report", which would also determine the siting of the next test hole, he said.

In spite of exceptionally good results obtained in the third Kudu test hole this year, Namibia did not have a proven, viable gasfield at this stage, so more drilling was needed, he said.

Swakor chairman Mr Skerf Pottas announced last month that two gas-bearing sandstone layers had been found in the third Kudu hole drilled to a depth of 4526 m into the Atlantic off Luderitzbucht in southern Namibia.

The combined gas flow from the two sandstone layers was about 1,23 million cubic metres a day.

A flow tempo of about 350 000 cu m a day was considered sufficient for commercial production.

Mr Pottas said the gas pressure was almost identical to that of the first Kudu hole drilled in 1974.

The second hole drilled last year did not yield encouraging results, he said.

Dr Miller said Swakor was hoping to attract private-sector investment to help fund the huge costs of exploration. Technology to convert gas into liquid fuel had made great advances in the 15 years since the first dry methane gas was found in the first Kudu hole. — Sapa.

NRP meets to wrap up affairs

DURBAN — The Natal head committee of the defunct New Republic Party met at the weekend to tie up its affairs.

About 50 people representing 13 constituencies in the province attended, a spokesman for the party said.

The committee donated R8 500 to Mr Ralph Hardingham, its sole MP, who represents Mooi River, to help finance his constituency office.

About R100 000 was left in the NRP's residual fund in Natal, the spokesman said. This would be used at the discretion of trustees, who include former leader Sir de Villiers Graaff and Dr Fran Cronje.

As Mr Hardingham is a sitting MP, the NRP has decided not to deregister.

Township... beach...

Administrator's powers won't change, says SA

8/22 3/1/88
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa says it will not consider any amendments to Proclamation R73 of 1988, which gives South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek wide powers to dictate the pace and direction of constitutional change in Namibia.

A statement issued in Windhoek by the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, yesterday made it clear that any attempts by the six-party transitional govern-

ment to negotiate the point would be futile.

The expansion of Mr Pienaar's powers was gazetted through Proclamation R73, which itself amended Proclamation R101 of 1985, which was the legislation that established the transitional government.

FINAL SAY

Mr Pienaar was given his new political muscle following President Botha's visit to Windhoek.

Mr Botha told the transitional

government that Mr Pienaar would be given the final say in whether the Windhoek government may tamper with the existing system of separate ethnic administrations, and also whether those administrations can go ahead with their own, apartheid-style elections.

Mr Botha's dictates were immediately received with shock by four of the six parties in the coalition, who demanded that the proposed powers for the Administrator-General be negotiated.

De Cuellar
probe into
Swapo-held
'spies' (221)

JOHANNESBURG. — The UN Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, has taken up the case of 100 Namibians being held in captivity by Swapo.

They are being held in Swapo camps in Angola and Zambia as alleged spies.

Dr Perez de Cuellar had been urged by a group of British MPs to press for the release of the detainees or for their trial before a recognized court.

In Windhoek Swapo spokesman Mr Daniel Tjongarero said Dr Perez de Cuellar was simply fulfilling an obligation to member states of the UN.

"He has been asked by member states to find out what the situation is and as we see it, it's not a question of him intervening in Swapo matters, he's fulfilling an obligation," Mr Tjongarero said.

Mr Tjongarero said there were "spies from SA in our own camps".

● In Addis Ababa, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) accused the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) yesterday of sharply reducing aid to South African and Namibian refugees in neighbouring states.

Brigadier General Hashim Mbita, the executive secretary of the OAU's Liberation Committee, said the frontline states were concerned at the steady reduction of UNHCR assistance to refugees under the care of the national liberation movements in the last three years. — Sapa-Reuter

PW turns down new 221 Star 1/6/88 request from Namibia

WINDHOEK — The State President, Mr Botha, has turned down a request by the Namibian transitional Cabinet to discuss or renegotiate new governmental powers granted to the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, including the authority to call elections.

Mr Pienaar said yesterday that Mr Botha discussed the issue last month with the transitional Cabinet, which did not object.

The discussion took place when Mr Botha visited Windhoek. — Sapa.

Ministers upset by PW's stance

221 B/day

1/6/88

New threat to quit govt in Namibia

THE threat by Namibian Cabinet Ministers to resign was repeated yesterday after President P W Botha turned down their request for further talks on the sweeping new powers granted recently to the territory's Administrator-General.

Botha said in a statement issued by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar's office in Windhoek he did not plan to reconsider the proclamation which granted the additional powers, and further discussions on the matter would serve no purpose.

The statement said there had been no objections by the transitional Cabinet when the principles contained in the proclamation were discussed with Botha during talks in Windhoek on April 18.

Cabinet chairman Andrew Matjila said yesterday the Cabinet believed there was "a misunderstanding about the true state of affairs" surrounding the discussions.

After an urgent meeting yesterday, the Cabinet decided again to write to the Administrator-General with a second request for talks with Botha, Matjila said.

The Administrator-General is the President's appointed representative in the territory.

"We stand by our request to speak to the State President," he said.

Five of the eight Cabinet Ministers continued to "reserve their rights" on whether they would withdraw their parties from the transitional government

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

and resign, he said.

He declined to comment on the "hypothetical" possibility that the government would collapse if the Ministers resigned.

He said the Cabinet's constitutional proposals would be finalised in two weeks' time.

In recent interviews, Ministers said they believed Botha's amendments to Proclamation R101 had stripped them of powers and rendered the interim government impotent in the face of ongoing criticism of its limited legitimacy.

Minister of Justice and Information Fanuel Kozonguizi said SA had "reached the bottom in terms of unpopularity".

"As Information Minister, how do I present our position abroad?" he asked. "If you're a puppet and the little you can do is taken away, you're politically dead."

In yesterday's statement, Botha said granting wider powers to the Administrator-General enabled him to contribute constructively to the constitutional development of the territory.

In terms of the proclamation, the Administrator-General is able to take action against the media if they promote terrorism and subversion.

The interim government would have to obtain his permission before an established authority could be scrapped or its powers curtailed, and he also has the

● To Page 2 ➡

P.T.O.

(221) B/day 1/6/88

Namibian ministers in quit threat

power to disband elected authorities for election purposes.

Sapa reports Finance Minister Dirk Mudge, presenting his budget yesterday, sounded a warning that unless unexpected financial windfalls emerged, Namibia was highly unlikely to find itself in the same favourable financial state next year.

The budget provided for expenditure of R1,945bn without having to raise taxes or severely curtail statutory expenditure.

One of the reasons for the expected difficulties was a persistent drop in SA's financial aid.

"I have already pointed out that the South African allocation has dropped from 35,3% of the appropriated current and capital expenditure in 1986-87 to 17,6% this year," Mudge said.

← ● From Page 1

"I am not sure that the serious financial problems which this causes for us are adequately appreciated both here and in SA."

It seemed SA was pursuing a long-term policy to lessen Namibia's financial dependence by curtailing budgetary assistance.

"I would like to give an early warning that our financial problems will become more difficult as we are forced to stand on our own feet.

"Unfortunately, this is the price for independence which we must now begin to pay."

Mudge said Namibia had to increasingly take over state functions previously funded and operated by SA.

CAPE TIMES 11/6/88 221

SA cuts financial aid to Namibia

WINDHOEK — Namibia would have to start paying the price for its independence, the Minister of Finance in the transitional government's cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said warning that South Africa was starting to make the region less financially dependent on it.

Mr Mudge presented a budget providing for expenditure totalling R1 945,4 million for the financial year ending March 31, 1989.

The expenditure represented an increase of R48,7 million or 2,7% on the previous financial year.

Mr Mudge said in his budget speech in the National Assembly the estimated expenditure left a deficit on revenue of R774,6 million to be financed from various sources, which included a surplus of R150 million from the previous financial year.

A major source of financing the deficit was budgetary aid to Namibia of R308 million voted by the South African Parliament this year.

The same amount in aid to Namibia was allocated by South Africa last year "which naturally represents a decline in relation to our total voted

budget, from 18,1% to 17,6%", Mr Mudge said.

"Although we are grateful for aid from that source, it is clear that in the coming years we shall have to attempt to reduce our dependence on South Africa and to stand on our own feet to a far greater extent, no matter how difficult it may be at first."

He sounded a warning that unless unexpected financial windfalls emerged, Namibia was highly unlikely to find itself in the same favourable financial state next year.

He wasn't sure that the serious financial problems which the drop in South Africa's allocation would cause was "adequately appreciated here or in South Africa".

It seemed South Africa was pursuing a long-term policy of lessening the financial dependence of Namibia on the Republic by curtailing budgetary assistance.

"I would like to give an early warning that our financial problems will become more difficult as we are forced to stand on our own feet.

"Unfortunately, this is the price for independence which we must now begin to pay." — Sapa

PW 'no' on Pienaar powers

WINDHOEK. — President P W Botha has declined a request by the Namibian transitional cabinet to discuss or renegotiate the granting of government powers to the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

The powers, including the authority to call elections, were given to Mr Pienaar after a visit to Windhoek last month by Mr Botha.

In a statement Mr Pienaar said Mr Botha had thoroughly considered the issue before his visit to Windhoek and had discussed the matter with the transitional cabinet who made no objections. — Sapa

Sweden increases ²²¹ Swapo aid to R24-m

LUSAKA — Sweden is increasing its aid to Swapo to about R24 million in 1988/89, the Swedish Embassy in Lusaka said yesterday.

Ambassador Carl Persson said in a statement that the new figure was agreed at a meeting in Luanda on Friday with Swapo officials.

Swapo is fighting a guerilla war to end South Africa's disputed rule of Namibia.

Mr Persson said the Swedish aid was being used mainly to supply the daily needs of about 70 000 Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia — including education. — Sapa-Reuter.

MPLA

Star 2/16/83 221
sets out

conditions

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — A ceasefire agreement between South Africa and Swapo is one of the conditions the MPLA government in Luanda has put forward for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

Other conditions are that South Africa withdraw all its troops from Angola and that both the United States and South Africa end all support for the Unita rebels.

The conditions were disclosed by the Angolan Justice Minister, Mr Franca van Dunem, to Mozambican journalists after meeting with President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on Tuesday.

Mr van Dunem, who led the Angolan delegation in the talks with South Africa in Brazzaville last month, said the "gradual" withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola would depend on the conditions being fulfilled, according to a report by the official news agency, Aim.

WORLD NEWS

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HISTORIC PACT . . . President Ronald Reagan and MR Mikhail Gorbachev shake hands after signing the INF treaty. **REPORT, page 3** Picture: REUTERS

Angola's D-day

APR TALKS 2/6/88

221

MOSCOW. — The United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 this year for settling the problem of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said yesterday.

This had emerged from talks between the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and the deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, MR Anatoly Adamishin, during the Moscow superpower summit, he said.

The date is the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for independence for Namibia.

There were, however, "important remaining differences" — particularly a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawals — but in agreeing to a September target date "you can conclude that there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be 'solved now', the official said.

Our Washington correspondent reports that the Reagan administration may consider new economic pressure on SA if Pretoria is seen to be stalling on an Angola settlement, according to Commonwealth eminent person General Olusegun Obasanjo. — *OWN*

road between Laingsburg and Leeu-Gamka

Briefcase bomb defused *221*

WINDHOEK. — Police at Swakopmund defused a powerful briefcase bomb at a popular coffee house on Wednesday.

271

WHILE Cuban troops are massing on the Namibian border, it is quiet on the other side — a bit too quiet. There should be the sound of children playing in the villages, but all one can hear is the clatter of dominoes played by bored teachers.

Last Sunday the children went "on strike", as the locals put it. Tens of thousands of northern Namibian pupils are boycotting classes to protest against the presence of military bases near the schools.

With over half of the Namibian population living in the war zone, the boycotts are taking place over a wide area — from the populated semi-urbanised strip between Ondagua and Oshikati to remote areas consisting largely of subsistence communities. The boycotts are the biggest protest yet against the South African army of occupation.

Take the secondary school in the northern Namibian village I visited

last week as an example. It is a 1 1/2-hour rough road drive from the nearest tar road and only 10km from the Angolan border. The village is dominated by a barbed-wired and sand-bagged fortification. With its palm trees, it looks like a set imported from Hollywood's Vietnam.

The rest of the village consists of a mission clinic and a few *cuca* shops that sell beer and essential items. Across the Oshena, a dried-out shallow water course that ferries the rainy season's water to Etosha Pan, lies the school.

The school was built by the Owambo administration and opened to 600

All's quiet on the Namibia front. The kids are on strike

Over a vast area of northern Namibia, children are boycotting schools in protest against the South African occupation. By

ALISTAIR TEELING-SMITH

pupils at the beginning of the year. With long distances between the traditional homesteads and the school, as well as the dusk-to-dawn curfew stringently enforced by the military, all the students board at the school's new hostel.

They left their hostel and went back to their homes. "We will return when our strike is successful," when the

army moves away from our schools," said one student.

The boycotts were sparked off when a Koevoet base next to Phonofi Secondary School was attacked by Swapo guerrillas. In the return fire a number of children were killed and wounded.

On March 17, the Phonofi students staged a stayaway to protest against the close proximity of the military base to their school. Since then, at least 26 schools and 15 primary schools have been affected by the boycotts. Students are striking in solidarity with students at Phonofi and calling for the removal of all security

force bases close to other schools.

In April, parents and pupils in the war zone requested that the South African government remove these bases.

On May 10 Namibia's administrator general, Louis Pienaar, told the chairman of the Owambo administration, Peter Kalangula that after the discussions between South African President PW Botha, the security forces and the interim government, it had been decided the bases would remain.

Pienaar said the security forces would be prepared to build "bomb shelters" at the schools to protect the staff and the students, which was unacceptable to the Owambo administration, teachers, pupils and parents. Over the last two weeks, many other pupils and students at Ongwediva Teachers' Training College have come out on strike.

● The author is national secretary of the End Conscription Campaign.

Namibia is now having to swallow a bitter economic pill

Star 3/6/88

221

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Though Namibia may be a long way from political independence, it is being forced by "Big Brother" Pretoria to take the first and often painful steps on the road to economic self-reliance.

But as Windhoek's wizards try to balance the books, it has become clear that bitter financial medicine will have to be swallowed soon.

This emerged clearly this week when Finance Minister Mr Dirk Mudge delivered his 1988/89 Budget to the National Assembly.

He said: "I would like to give an early warning that our financial problems will become more difficult as we are increasingly forced to stand on our own feet. Unfortunately, this is the price of independence which we must now begin to pay".

His news for Namibians was: No tax hikes, no tax concessions, but "unless an unexpected windfall appears from somewhere, it seems highly unlikely at this stage that the end result next year will be so favourable".

The massive predicted R774 million Budget deficit for 1988/89 is a complete turn-around from last year's R150 million surplus and 1986 current account surplus of R643 million.

Fancy financial footwork from Windhoek's finance department experts proposed that the deficit be financed in large measure by borrowing R236,6 million and also through an overdraft facility of R80 million

with the Reserve Bank.

South Africa's R300 million contribution to Windhoek's coffers will also go towards financing the deficit.

The question of South African financial aid has placed Mr Mudge and his advisers between a rock and a hard place this year.

Pretoria's budgetary assistance for 1988/89 is being held at the same level as last year — R308 million.

As Mr Mudge pointed out, this is a decline from 18,1 percent to 17,6 percent of the territory's total proposed expenditure, quite apart from the significant decline in real terms. South Africa's contribution was 35,3 percent as recently as 1986/87.

Mr Mudge remarked that the reduction in South African contributions caused a "serious financing problem" for the Windhoek authorities — a problem which was apparently not "adequately appreciated" both in Namibia and in South Africa.

Pretoria also calls the shots as far as Namibia's slice of revenue from the Southern African Customs Union is concerned.

This year South Africa agreed to raise the Namibian allocation by R42 million to R392 million.

Problem is that Windhoek's financial planners have to find money to run the South African-instituted and apartheid-style system of 10 separate "ethnic" administrations. This year those administrations will swallow just over R447 million.

Plea to PW Botha on school boycott in border war zone

Star 4/6/88

221

WINDHOEK — As an estimated 20 000 pupils continue a boycott of schools in northern Namibia in protest at the siting of military bases near schools, a leading Namibian churchman has asked President Botha to intervene.

Dr Abisai Shejevali, general secretary of the Council of Churches in Namibia, sent an urgent message to Mr Botha this week asking him to remove army and police bases situated near schools in the Ovambo war zone.

He said there was grave danger students might be caught in crossfire between Swapo insurgents and security forces.

Students of Ponghosi Secondary School began boycotting classes in mid-March in protest against the presence of a nearby police base.

Two pupils were killed last year when Swapo mortar bombs fired at the police base hit a school hostel.

Last month, South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, said officially the authorities

BRENDAN SEERY

would not move the base, despite pleas from Ovambo politicians and church leaders, including Ovambo Administration chairman Mr Peter Kalangula.

Following Mr Pienaar's announcement, other school pupils in Ovamboland joined the Ponghosi boycott. Students at a number of other schools close to military bases voiced similar complaints.

At the height of the boycott, it was estimated 20 000 children and student teachers were refusing to attend classes.

Early this week, the boycott spread to a school outside the operational area as pupils at Otjikoto in Tsumeb went on strike in support of Ovamboland pupils.

Police used teargas, batons and whips to disperse stone-throwing protesters.

Police and school officials allege that intimidation is rife and those wishing to return to classes have been threatened with death.

Superpowers make date for Namibia peace

221

5/6/88

CP/120

THE United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 for settling the problems of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said this week.

The official said this emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin during the Moscow superpower summit.

The two sides here were able to indicate their support for establishing September 29, 1988... a target for resolving outstanding differences", said

Question hangs over Cuban, SA co-operation

the official, who briefed reporters on condition he was not named.

The date is the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which called for independence for Namibia. South Africa has continued to rule the territory in defiance of the resolution.

Pretoria has said it would grant independence to Namibia provided

40 000 Cuban troops supporting the Angolan government against SA-backed rebels are withdrawn from Angola.

"We agreed that it would be useful to register the agreement on the target date, which is what I'm doing at the moment," the official said.

The official said there had been significant new momentum in tackling the Angola-Namibia problem

in recent months!

Last month, Crocker chaired a meeting in London of Angolan, SA, Cuban and US officials, the first time the four parties had sat down together since civil war broke out.

The meeting was followed by Angolan-SA talks in Brazzaville later in the month.

The projected deal would also involve the withdrawal of SA troops fighting alongside the rebel Unita movement.

The US official said: "There are important remaining differences... but you can conclude there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be solved.

The official said the superpowers agreed that there should be an early follow-up meeting. Other US officials said the four parties who were at the London talks were expected to meet again.

Although the Soviet Union did not take part in the talks, it supplies weapons used by the Angolans and Cubans. Crocker has met Adamishin several times in recent months to discuss the Southern Africa situation.

Officials say the main outstanding problem is a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal.

Some US officials have also said privately that there was a question mark hanging over South Africa's willingness to concede full independence to Namibia.

copy prints 6/6/88

Mugabe slams the 'arrogant' white minority

221

HARARE. — President Robert Mugabe has criticized Zimbabwe's prosperous white minority and accused it of displaying "British arrogance" towards blacks and failing to adjust to a changed society.

Whites awoke yesterday to find Mr Mugabe's remarks broadcast in news bulletins and splashed on the front page of the Sunday Mail, Zimbabwe's biggest newspaper.

Mr Mugabe was speaking on Friday in New York to black American journalists, who asked him if his government worried about the disloyalty of some of the white community.

"Yes we do — to a very great extent," Mr Mugabe replied, according to a report by the national news agency Ziana.

"We feel we have bent ourselves over backwards, and stretched our hand of friendship and reconciliation in their direction, and that their response has not been as complete as we would have wanted it to be," he said.

"We do not know what we can do. At the beginning of our independence, we gave them a choice. Those who wanted to live with us

are free to do so ... we are not going to go back to the past and start harassing them because of past sins ..."

Mr Mugabe said that eight years — the period since Zimbabwe's independence — was quite a long time for anyone to adjust.

He criticized white parents who tried to keep their children in what he called a "cultural, political and social laager".

"They resent going to the same schools as blacks. They will not allow their children to participate in public events like celebrations for our independence anniversary. There is that reluctance and indifference."

He said some whites, used to years of having the whip-hand over blacks, were "still in a state of shock and cannot adjust".

Mr Mugabe suggested that the British background of some whites might be at the root of the problem.

"For all the respect I have for the British, they remain British wherever they are," he said.

— Sapa-Reuter

ARG 45 7/6/88 (221)

SWA 'independent soon'

FOREIGN firms were pulling out of South Africa for the same reason they ought to have left Nazi Germany in the 1930s, Mr Pat Poovalingam (PRP Reservoir Hills) told the House of Delegates.

Speaking in the Foreign Affairs vote, he said if the world had taken the same attitude to Hitler as it had to South Africa the Holocaust might have been avoided.

The Government's policies affronted the dignity of 1.5-billion people in the world — everyone whose skin was not white.

Mr Poovalingam said he believed SWA/Namibia would become independent in the not too distant future.

It had to be asked why South Africa was still in SWA/Namibia, 42 years after the UN resolution calling on it to leave.

The Rossing uranium mine no longer had any particular use. It would make more sense strategically to have to patrol the territory's desert-like southern borders than the heavily forested Owambo-land area and the Oranjemund diamond fields were almost worked out.

There would not be much benefit in South Africa continuing its colonialist exploitation.

One reason for the Government not handing over was possibly that it felt it had to continue to protect the relatively small number of Afrikaner farmers in the territory. Was this why SA's young men had to give up their lives?

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and his officials should make the Government understand that it was itself this country's real enemy. — Sapa.



Goosen displays one of the new "closed container" meals which will be introduced on all SAA domestic flights from tomorrow.

Pupils baton-charged as school boycott continues

Star 7/6/88 (22)

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibian riot police units yesterday baton-charged demonstrating school pupils in continuing unrest in Windhoek's Katutura township.

A police spokesman said 43 people had been arrested in different incidents outside three schools when groups of rioters tried to intimidate pupils and prevent them from attending classes.

Sjamboks and batons were used by the police-

men to break up the crowds of demonstrators.

One person was injured.

Katutura pupils went on strike late last week in support of their colleagues in the war-torn Owambo region, who have been boycotting classes in protest against the presence of security force bases near schools.

Police fired teargas and rubber bullets to break up demonstrations outside schools in Katutura last week, and also briefly detained two journalists who were covering the unrest.

Tim Conroy suspended over slurring

By Duncan Guy

Radio announcer Tim Conroy has been suspended from reading the news pending an SABC investigation into why his Saturday broadcast at 6pm appeared to be slurred.

Pending the outcome of the inquiry, a spokesman said Tim Conroy would work on "other programmes he normally presents."

Mr Conroy was unavailable for comment last night.

Military crisis on Namibian border will test Soviet sincerity

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

The military crisis on the Angolan-Namibian border will be a test of the Soviet Union's sincerity in seeking a negotiated solution to the conflicts in southern Africa.

Analysts believe Moscow has the power to stop the tense confrontation between South African and Cuban forces from exploding into a battle that, if it were to come about, might be the bloodiest for South Africa since World War 2.

The question is whether they want to do it.

Informed opinion is still that the Cubans, although supposedly acting largely on their own initiative, probably do not intend to get involved in a shooting showdown and have staged the confrontation for political rather than military advantage.

But the fear among analysts is that the situation — which has already led to clashes between Cuban and South African

reconnaissance units — could get out of hand, throwing into action some of the most powerful forces yet to oppose each other in the Angolan war.

If Cuba and South Africa start slugging it out across the Namibia border, issues of national pride, domestic and international politics and military strategy will make it difficult to cool the conflict.

But Moscow is regarded as having the ability to bring Havana to heel, not by stopping its arms supplies — there are already enough weapons in place for a destructive conflict — but by putting a squeeze on Cuba's economy.

It is believed that the only thing keeping Cuba's economy viable is massive Soviet support amounting to about R8 billion a year, including big subsidies for Cuba's sugar exports and oil imports.

Mr Andre du Pisani, director of the South African Institute for International Affairs in Johannesburg, agrees that the Soviets hold the key to what happens in Angola through their ability to pressure the Cubans and Angolans.

"The real leverage in dictating the course of events in Angola," he says, "is at superpower level — the Soviet Union and the United States."

The United States, says Mr du Pisani, can exert powerful economic influence on the Angolan government through its control of the Western finance and technology that Luanda increasingly needs.

OLD POLICY

Analysts do not discount the possibility that Moscow's professed desire for peace and negotiated settlements in southern Africa is a cover for pursuing its old policy of widening its influence in the region.

They point out that not only has the Soviet Union supplied the tanks, jet fighters, missiles and other sophisticated armaments now deployed by the Cubans but also the ships from which it was unloaded at Angolan ports in recent months while Moscow was urging a political settlement.

This could have been intended only to strengthen bargaining positions in the negotiations with South Africa and prepare for a settlement without loss of face. Or it could be aimed at weakening South Africa's resistance in Angola and Namibia.

Whichever it was should be revealed by developments within the next weeks. The most important indicators will be whether the Soviets are able to bring their allies back to the negotiations with South Africa that have been jeopardised by Angola's sudden demand for a change in the agreed venue of Brazzaville, and whether the military crisis on the border turns into warfare.

Rubber bullets for Namibia *W/Mail* boycott pupils

By MARK VERBAAN, *221*
Windhoek

POLICE opened fire with rubber bullets and teargas on hundreds of schoolchildren this week boycotting classes in solidarity with northern Namibian colleagues.

The boycott has snowballed into a national crisis since March 17, when Ponthofi secondary school was closed after its 600 pupils stayed away to protest against the proximity of a South African military base. More than 25 000 students from 35 secondary and primary schools have joined in the boycott.

Pupils and teachers at Ponthofi and three other schools near military bases claim the presence of the bases is a risk to their lives, which are endangered when guerrillas from the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Swapo's armed wing, Plan) launch attacks on the camps and South African security forces retaliate.

Administrator-General Louis Pienaar has refused to order the bases moved, suggesting instead that security forces build bomb shelters for the schools.

On Monday morning dozens of police vans swooped on Katutura township outside Windhoek. Groups of children were pursued down streets while police fired teargas and rubber bullets. Journalists watched as pupils and bystanders were assaulted with batons before being thrown into the vans. Forty-three students were arrested; five are still being held.

One victim was admitted to the Katutura Hospital's intensive care unit after being struck on the head by a rubber bullet.

A statement released by Police Inspector Kierie du Rand said police moved in after "groups of between 35 and 50" people arrived at three schools in Katutura and began "stoning road-users. The groups prevented children from attending classes. The groups were dispersed with rubber bullets, sjamboks and quirts."

88/9/91-01

Cubans, Swapo are reinforced

CUBAN and Swapo forces in Angola had been reinforced and were now spread across a 450 km front about 20 to 30 km north of the Namibian border, the head of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in Pretoria. *221 Sowetan 10/6/88*

Addressing a media conference on Wednesday night at the Waterkloof Air Base on developments in Southern Angola over the past two weeks, he said the Cuban-Swapo forces had been reinforced. A few days ago, after the forces were deployed,

elements moved southwards towards the Namibian border and were now occupying Southern Angola towns such as Capira, Hepda, Shangalala and Chitado.

Many were armed with tanks and armoured vehicles.

"To sum up, most of the action over the past few days took place in these areas, but we are prepared and ready to counter any movement which might counter the security in the region."

Call-up

With regard to Swapo, Gen Geldenhuys said another military implication was that the organisation would be placed in "a better position than in recent years" to continue its activities across the border.

The SADF is calling up Citizen Force members in response to the Cuban presence on

SA Press Association

the Namibian border, Gen Geldenhuys said.

SABC radio news quoted him as saying there was no reason for panic and that the SADF was fully capable of dealing with the situation.

Asked about the present diplomatic initiative between South Africa and Angola over the withdrawal of Cubans from the territory, a spokesman said on behalf of the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, that expectations should not be aimed too highly but that South Africa would be present.

Encouraging

Mr van Heerden could not attend because of an indisposition.

"Over the past few days it has been our feeling that these (troop) movements have placed a

cloud over the talks.

"It would appear, from Moscow reports, that there are encouraging intentions to go ahead, but time will tell whether this is so."

Asked whether a recent report that the strength of the Cuban forces in southern Angola was 11 000, Gen Geldenhuys said after "a rough calculation" the figure could be correct in round figures if troops to the north were included.

"Suffice it to say that we have the forces to handle the situation, although the situation is serious — and more serious than it was — but we can handle it. The point is, how does it affect the negotiations?" — Sapa.

Teacher goes to jail

PRE-SCHOOL teacher Farieda Khan was due to begin serving a six-month sentence yesterday for being a member of the African National Congress. *229 Sowetan 10/6/88*

In April, Khan pleaded guilty to being a member of the ANC from December 1982 to June 1987 and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, of which 18 months were conditionally suspended for five years.

She said although she had appealed, she had decided to go to jail.

"My attorney said the appeal could take more than a year to be settled. Seeing the sentence is six months we felt that we should get it over and done with. But I will not withdraw my appeal."

Jeers for Archbishop

DISPATCH

Swapo blast bridge

W/E 01645

11/6/82

221

WINDHOEK. — The headquarters of the South West Africa Territory Force has announced that Swapo terrorists have sabotaged a low-water bridge on the national road between Ondangwa and Oshikango with explosives, SABC radio news reports. The blast occurred 20km north of Ondangwa. — Sapa

Swapo

Cuban forces in Angola had taken over from the Angolan army the role of providing a protective shield and support for Swapo insurgents, the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, said in Windhoek yesterday.

This confirmed a report from Maputo in which the South West African People's Organisation claims it is involved in operations with Cuban troops.

Swapo added that it had launched a fresh offensive inside Namibia.

Other new developments are:

- In Washington, President Reagan's top Africa official, Dr Chester Crocker, warned that the current Cuban and South African military escalation in Southern Angola was a "risky game for either side to pursue".

- The Conservative Party urged the Government to pull out of the Angolan peace talks, but the Progressive Federal Party welcomed the diplomatic approach to the problem.

- United States intelligence bosses said they wanted to continue sharing information with South African agencies on the military activities and equipment of Cuban forces in southern Africa, exempting intelligence co-operation on the Cuban presence from a proposed ban on co-operation between the United States and South Africa.

SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS, CORRESPONDENTS

In Windhoek yesterday, General Meyer said, after a reference to new battalions of Swapo and Cuban troops: "For years the Angolan army, Fapla, has given shelter and support to Swapo's murder gangs, but in spite of that the terrorists' position deteriorated and their numbers were reduced."

"With great bravado, the Cubans have taken over the role after years of keeping the Angolan government going."

General Meyer said one of the reasons for this development was probably to strengthen Swapo's negotiating position in forthcoming talks on the regional conflict. "But the build-up of forces north of the border heightens tensions and may jeopardise further negotiations."

A Swapo communique,

behind Cuban shield, Joint op in Angola, offensive in Namibia — insurgents claim

Star 11/6/88

monitored in Maputo, said its forces and Cuban troops were "flushing out" South African troops from southern Angola.

At the same time, said Swapo, its forces had launched an offensive inside Namibian territory aimed at disrupting what it called preparations for further South African involvement in southern Angola.

"The simultaneous offensives have resulted in a high human and material loss for the South Africans," the Swapo communique said.

Neil Lurssen reports from Washington that Dr Crocker said what was different now was the pattern of deployment of Cuban troops in southern Angola and the South African call-up of military reserves.

Asked what the the US and the Soviets hoped to see achieved by September 29 this year — a target date named at the Moscow summit for the Angola peace process — Dr Crocker said: "We are not talking about a par-

ticular magic date for implementation day. It is far too soon to talk in these terms.

"There are many gaps that are basic and still need to be breached. It is more of a date to see if the negotiation target can be concluded."

Craig Kotze reports that the Conservative Party lashed out on Thursday at the Government for "condoning the massing of Cuban troops" and of "turning a blind eye" to it.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said he believed every effort should be made to resolve the issue by diplomatic means and

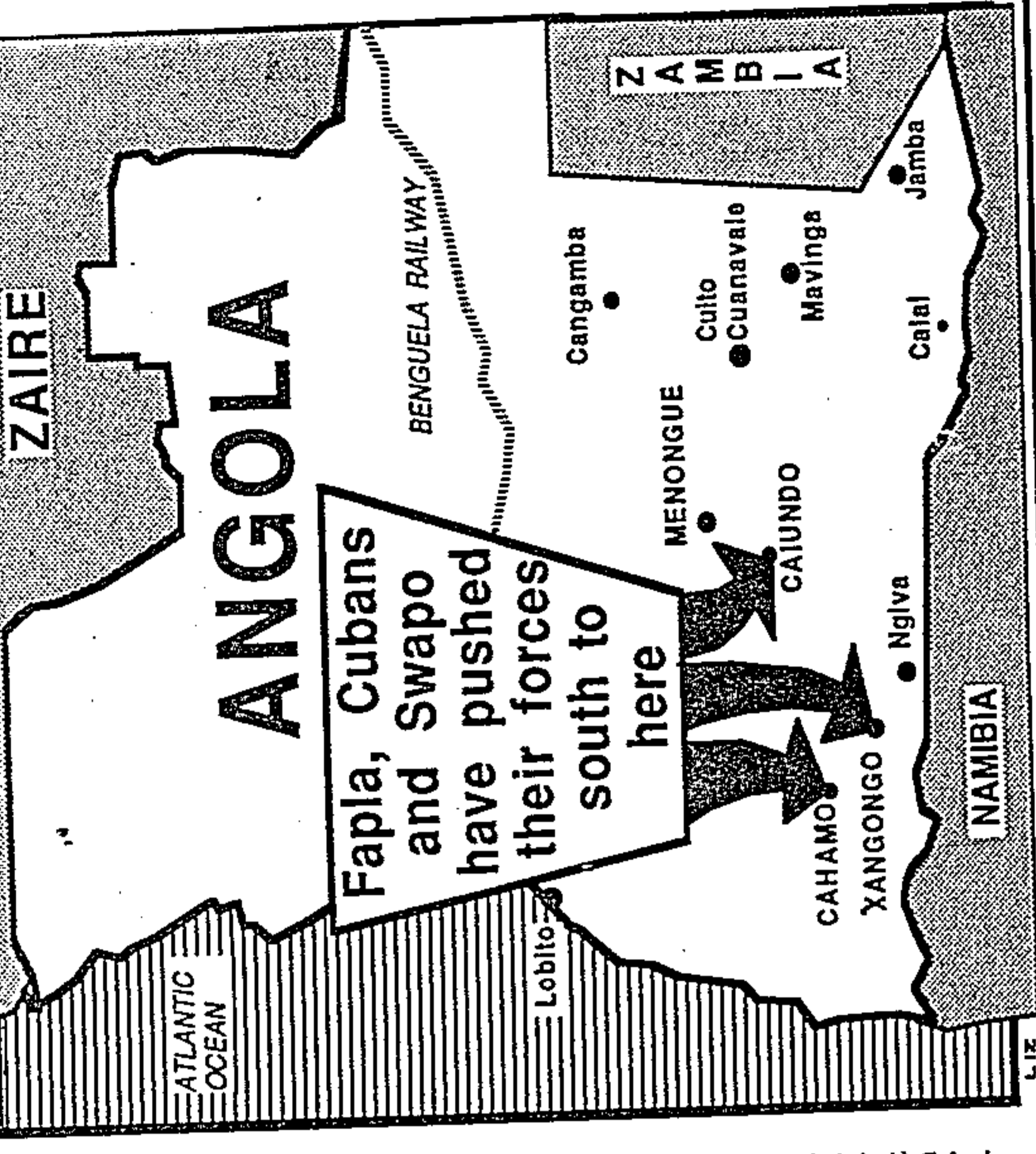
to continue with the peace talks, despite being "deeply concerned" about the buildup.

Alan Dunn reports from Washington that United States intelligence wants to continue sharing information with South African agencies on the military activities and equipment of Cuban forces.

This emerged when the House of Representatives Committee on Intelligence exempted intelligence co-operation on the Cuban presence from a proposed ban on any intelligence swapping between the US and South Africa.

Congressman Ron Delums, a liberal Democrat from California who is chief architect of additional sanctions now under debate, argued at one of three hearings on the bill on Capitol Hill for a total severance of intelligence-sharing.

behind Cuban 'shield', Fapla, Cubans and Swapo have pushed their forces south to here



Cheney

Be at your

Police patrol streets of Windhoek's townships

School boycott set to enter its third week

STAR 13/6/84 (221)

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The SWA Police Task Force is patrolling the streets of Windhoek's townships this morning as the schools boycott looks set to enter its third week.

The Soweto-style protest action is being seen by observers as one of the biggest protests yet against the Windhoek transitional government and the continued South African presence in Namibia.

Fears have been expressed that the situation may reach the point where authorities decide to implement South African state of emergency regulations in the country.

Windhoek's township schools were virtually empty last week, as thousands of pupils boycotted classes in sympathy with school strikers in the Owambo war zone, who have been protesting for a number of weeks against the presence of security force bases close to their schools.

According to Education Minister Mr Andrew Matjila, groups of intimidators were roaming the Katutura and Khomasdal townships at the weekend trying to force pupils to continue their stayaway. He said the government was committed to the maintenance of law and order and the police would be used if necessary.

There was an outcry last week about the actions of police riot units, after numerous incidents where demonstrators were teargassed, shot at with rubber bullets and beaten with batons.

Mr Matjila — who is also chairman of the Cabinet of the transitional government — has said the bases will stay, and has accused radical elements of using the issue to stir up unrest.

Mr Matjila has warned those pupils who do not report for classes this morning that they will have to re-apply for admission to schools and will not be given a hearing unless accompanied by their parents.

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Drugged and deported



NIGERIA's seventh military ruler, General Ibrahim Babangida, has come under new criticism after an outspoken sociology professor, Patrick Wilmot (left), was kidnapped, handcuffed and drugged, then put on a plane to London. ANGELA COBBINA reports

THE kidnap and deportation of one of the government's leading critics has heightened the growing tension between Nigerians and their military rulers.

Four men stopped Jamaican-born sociology professor Patrick Wilmot while he was out driving one night and bundled him into a waiting car. He was driven, handcuffed and drugged,

1000km to Lagos, detained for the rest of the day without food or drink, then put on a mid-night plane to London, wearing only a safari suit.

The government, pressed for an explanation by shocked colleagues and students at Ahmadu Bello University, Kaduna, claimed Wilmot was a South African spy whose ardent

socialism had been a clever veil of deception. This has been dismissed as nonsense.

Many believe he was kicked out of the country because of his continued criticism of the government of Major-General Ibrahim Babangida — not least for its low-key anti-apartheid stance.

Wilmot's forced exit comes only weeks after the popular Nigerian

publisher and presidential aspirant, chief MKO Abiola, had his passport seized following a clash with the military.

The resulting furore, in which soldiers were dubbed "mad dogs", looked as though it might force the military to clean up its act. Government officials admitted it had erred, but the change of heart seems only superficial.

son Ayodeji and an air force vehicle. The driver demanded money for repairs and when Ayodeji refused a lorry-load of soldiers turned up at his father's home, fired shots, forced Abiola out of a business meeting and took him and other members of the household into custody.

Abiola had just been awarded one of the country's most prestigious titles, the Aare Ona Kakanfo — the leader of the Yoruba people. He was released but his passport was seized and he was prevented from making a routine business trip out of the country.

This harassment of one of Nigeria's most popular and powerful figures backfired. People marched in protest and Abiola's description of the military as "mad dogs" was emblazoned in newspaper headlines.

The army tried to patch things up by sending its chief public relations officer on a goodwill visit to the headquarters of Abiola's newspaper empire in Lagos. In an interview with Britain's BBC radio, the government admitted it had done wrong.

Claims to be progressive

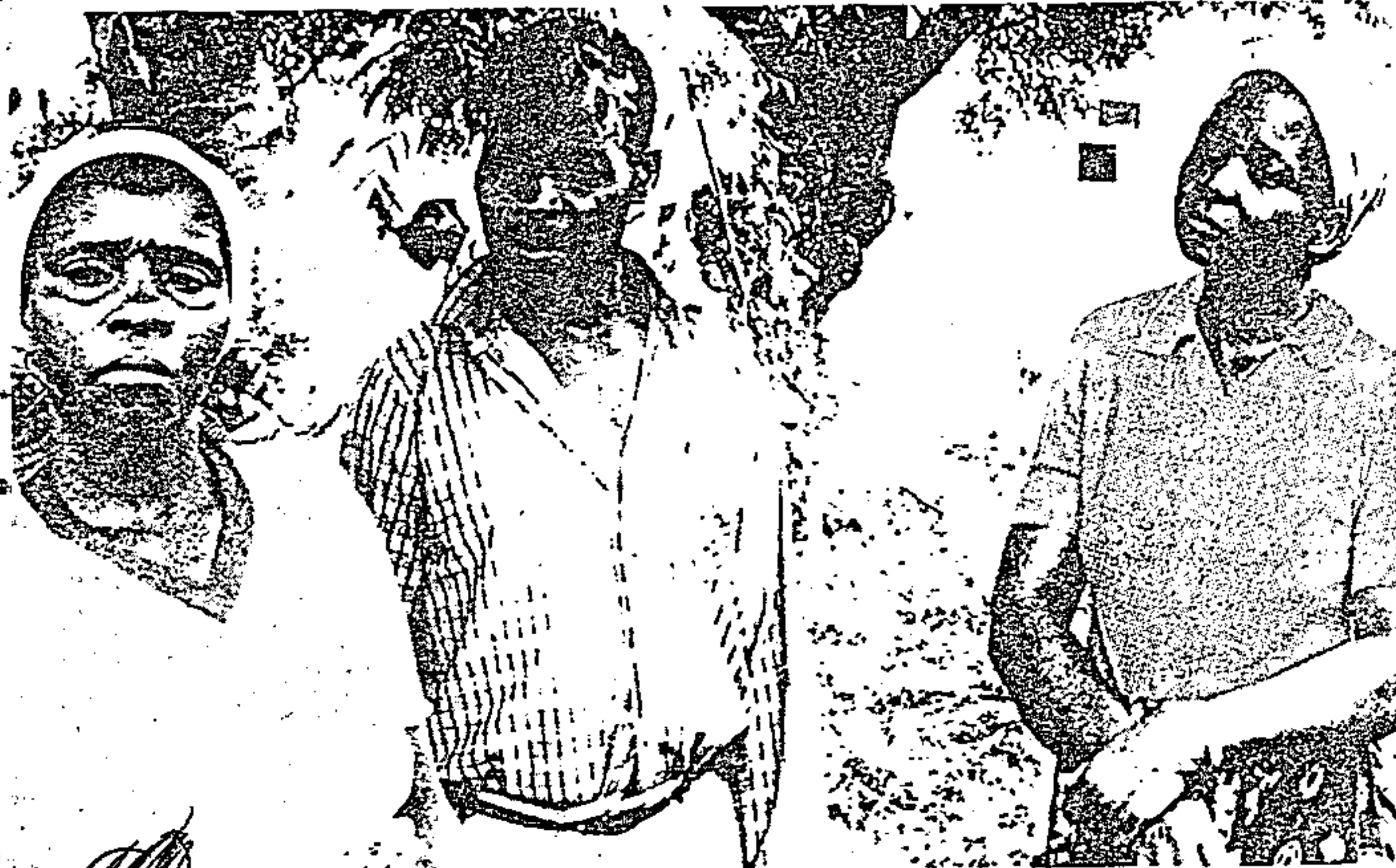
Wilmot's deportation has renewed alarm. Wilmot has been a thorn in the side of most Nigerian governments since he arrived 18 years ago. Babangida is not the first to try to get rid of him.

His Marxist analysis of the Nigerian political scene has questioned different leaders' claims to be progressive and anti-imperialist. His documentation of Nigerian business links with South Africa and more recently of links between Tel Aviv and Lagos, have caused further embarrassment.

As a result, Wilmot has suffered almost constant harassment over the past decade. In 1981 an attempt to kidnap and deport him failed. When his father died in January he was not allowed to leave the country to attend his funeral.

Undeterred, Wilmot helped organise the anti-apartheid demonstrations that greeted British prime minister Margaret Thatcher on her visit to Nigeria in January.

Wilmot says he is willing to return from Britain to Nigeria to answer the charges against him. His Nigerian wife fears for his safety if he returns. She says: "I am just happy he is still alive." — GEMINI NEWS



Mama Lydia (right) and friends. Their cooperative is approved by the government

No time for magic talk

IT was eleven in the morning when Antonio's pick-up truck arrived at the Laolane cooperative, a few miles outside the Mozambique capital, Maputo.

Mama Lydia and the other women in the cooperative were planting beans and peas on two small plots of reddish earth.

Antonio had brought two sprayers with him for the infested manioc crop. In the field, he showed them how to mix the pesticide.

The manioc was badly damaged. The tops of the tall leafy stalks were caked with a strange white parasite no-one had seen before. Another aid worker with a magnifying glass plucked the head from one of the stalks and called the women to inspect a colony of bugs under the leaves.

The manioc leaves were important to the women of Laolane cooperative. They made a good nutritious broth. But there was a problem with the field and many local residents were saying it was nothing new to find another ravaged crop.

A long time back, they argued, someone had put a bad magic into the ground, there was no hope for it. Mama Lydia and the aid workers did not like that kind of talk.

They did not like the local name for the infestation either. It was being referred to now as the AIDS of manioc. The rumour was that you would die if you ate a single leaf, let alone the root.

Mama Lydia and the other women said the crop could be saved. They also said the problem lay with local attitudes, not with the field itself.

WHILE many in Mozambique starve because of destabilisation, a system of farming cooperatives is making progress around the capital, Maputo. JEREMY HARDING reports

Mama Lydia and the others walked up and down the field stripping the infested heads from the manioc stalks, while Antonio and another man followed behind spraying each plant until most of the crop had been treated. Then the women went back to plant the rest of the beans and peas.

Whatever becomes of the manioc this season, the Laolane co-op itself is going from strength to strength. It has been running for several years and now has a small bio-gas plant and a kindergarten. All this has been largely self-financed.

Laolane is part of the Zonas Verdes or Green Zones, a network of more than 200 agricultural cooperatives on the fringes of Maputo.

The Green Zones have become a model of the growth of the small farming sector in Mozambique after years of costly agricultural policies which the Frelimo government modified at the party's fourth congress in 1983.

However, the Green Zones system,

which has roughly 12 000 members, most of them women — was a non-governmental scheme begun before Frelimo decided to encourage family sector agriculture. Relations between the cooperatives' general union and the ministry of agriculture were not always easy.

Today the political picture is different. In February president Joaquim Chissano gave his blessing to the Green Zones, describing them as an example of socialism in practice. The cooperatives, which survived the lean years of low-level price fixing, are now set to lead the sector in what looks like a much healthier market.

The cooperatives are geared primarily to self-sufficiency in food for participating communities. Marketable surplus is a welcome bonus. Under the current stage of Mozambique's economic recovery programme this emphasis is vital.

Producer incentives in the form of relaxed price controls have made the vegetable stalls in Maputo fuller. But, coupled with devaluation, they pose long-term problems at the consumer end unless wages in the capital can reflect the increase in living costs.

Mama Lydia and her fellow workers have always hoped that the Green Zones scheme would enable them to survive and keep much of Maputo supplied in addition. That is the key to the rapprochement between Frelimo and the cooperative movement. — GEMINI NEWS

When Babangida seized power from Gen. Muhammadu Buhari in August 1985, Nigerians hailed the passing of 18 months of "dictatorship". Babangida repealed hated security and censorship laws which had sent many to jail and in a series of public debates on key issues he gave the nation a semblance of democracy.

But despite promises of fundamental changes in Nigerian society, problems of corruption, rising crime and economic malaise persist. Babangida's populist radicalism has been replaced by increasing conservatism. A number of those at odds with government policy, like former foreign minister Bolaji Akinyemi, were removed from office.

For many Nigerians, Babangida, the country's seventh military ruler, has become "more of the same". Now that the army's power seems firmly consolidated, it appears increasingly to behave as if it were above the law.

In the last few months several incidents have hit the headlines. In November Brigadier Joshua Dogonyaro, of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, sent soldiers to a school in Borno State to bring his children back to him. He had divorced his wife and was contesting custody, but apparently was not prepared to wait for the court verdict.

On January 22 soldiers at the Armed Forces Residential Centre in Lagos set fire to seven vehicles and harassed passers-by after one of their colleagues' wives had been knocked down by a car.

Passport seized

A day later Dr Tosin Ajayi, a Lagos hospital director, was verbally and physically abused by the army-led Environment Sanitation Team for building a wall around the parking lot of his premises.

Then two days later came the "Abiola incident". It arose following a minor traffic accident involving chief Abiola's

Namibian editor freed

THE editor of *The Namibian* newspaper, Gwen Lister, was released on Tuesday after being detained last Friday.

Lister was detained in terms of legislation which provides for detention without trial for periods of up to 30 days.

Police gave no reasons for the detention, but it was thought to be related to an official document concerning increased powers for the Commissioner of the SWA Police.

Police confiscated the document from the newspaper's offices last Thursday and Lister reported the incident on the front page on Friday, with excerpts from the document.

Sapa

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Schools shut after boycotts

22

WINDHOEK. - Many schools in Namibia are still closed following the shooting and teargassing of pupils in Katutura here last week when thousands of students boycotted classes in support of demands of Northern Namibian pupils that Defence Force bases near their schools be removed.

At the same time the largest Namibian trade unions have threatened a national day of protest unless detainees are released, SADF bases removed from the vicinity of schools, and the police counter-insurgency unit Koevoet be withdrawn from the townships.

Pupils at schools all over the country this week ignored an ultimatum set by interim government education minister Andrew Matjila to return to school by Monday or face dismissal.

This follows police action in Katutura early last week when teargas was used and at least ten people were wounded when police opened fire with rubber bullets. Forty-three people were detained of whom 38 were later released.

Trade unions have demanded that all Namibian detainees be released by Friday June 17.

A spokesman for the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) said workers had demand that employers pressure the government to meet worker demands linked to the student boycotts.

Protest action

"If the demands made by workers are not met by June 17, Namibian workers will take national protest action on June 21 and 22."

The feeling among union members was that parents could not go to work when the lives of their children were endangered.

The education crisis was sparked when pupils at Ponghosi Secondary School in northern Namibia was closed down after 600 pupils boycotted classes in protest against the proximity of their school to military bases. Pupils at at least 35 other Namibian schools joined the boycott.

Pupils and teachers at schools in Ovambo claim the presence of the military bases endangered their lives and that they were caught in the cross-fire between the SADF and Swapo insurgents.

The South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has refused to remove the bases but offered to build bomb shelters at the schools.

This was rejected by parents, teachers and pupils.
- Namibia News Agency

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Self-confessed
terrorist on (221)
murder charge

WINDHOEK — A self-confessed Swapo insurgent, Andreas Vilho (24), has pleaded not guilty in the Windhoek Supreme Court to a charge of murder and two charges of attempted murder.

The prosecution alleges Vilho shot and killed a worker, Mr Elia Shikongo, and tried to kill two special constables, Mr Harens Swartz and Mr W Kavankundu, on the night of May 28 last year.

According to evidence before the court, Vilho fired a burst of machine-gun fire from an AK47 rifle at a microbus taking people to work in Katutura township.

Mr Shikongo, an occupant of the bus, died in the hail of bullets.

In a sworn statement handed in to the court Vilho said he entered Namibia from Angola in March 1987.

A week after the shooting he went to his brother, who was a member of a police counter-insurgency unit, at Oshakati.

Vilho said his brother took him to the police who arrested him. — Sapa.

Water cut in Cuban raid

From MARK VERBAAN WINDHOEK.- Fighting which broke out between South African troops and Cuban forces in Southern Angola this week has resulted in Northern Namibia's essential water supply being seriously disrupted.

The interim government's Minister of Water Affairs, Mr Kosie Pretorius, said here on Wednesday the Cuban air attack had severely damaged the water installation at Calueque.

"The damage was of such a nature that at this stage

it was impossible to transport water from Calueque," he said.

The air strike had damaged the dam wall and ruptured sections of the pipe, which runs for 2,5 kilometres above-ground from the dam towards Ovamboland.

Effectively this means that 80 percent of Ovamboland's water supply has been cut off - and in an area which is predominantly drought-stricken, a crisis situation could arise almost immediately.

The Calueque dam was supplying 40 million cubic metres of water a year to Ovamboland, and it could be months before the first rains fall in the region.

A second pump at Calueque, which was soon to become operational, would have provided for a further 40 million cubic metres to Ovamboland.

The situation has, however, been partially salvaged by a water scheme at Ruacana near the border and on Namibian soil.

The people of Ovamboland will be able to receive eight million cubic metres of water from Ruacana, which is about 20 percent of what they were receiving before Calueque was bombed.

18641 16/5/88

Malan warns Swapo against Cuban 'shield'

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent
SOUTH AFRICA was today cautiously watching developments in Angola as reports continued that Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces were still moving south.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned if Swapo used Cuban troops as a shield to launch attacks on Namibia "this could be the spark that starts the fire".

At the Brazzaville talks last week South Africa bluntly told the Angolans that an offensive southwards must stop.

According to military sources, between 4 000 and 6 000 Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops could be moving south.

There was no evidence of a huge march southwards but there was a lot of troop activity, the sources said.

It is now believed that Cuba may be trying to shield Swapo insurgents from any possible hot pursuit operations in Southern Angola.

ALL PARTIES

According to one overseas report Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujomo, who has been visiting Cuba, has demanded that Swapo be included in talks about an Angolan and Namibian settlement, but he wants Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement to be excluded.

A Foreign Affairs source pointed out today that South Africa had always maintained that all parties involved in the dispute must be involved in efforts to resolve it.

● The Angolan peace negotiations received a boost at the weekend when Angola's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr Pedro Kivila, said the conflict in Southern Africa could not be settled by military means.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Moscow that Mr Kivila said an agreement on the problems of Southern Africa could be reached soon.

AGREEMENT

Mr Kivila said his government had informed all parties involved that military means could not solve the problems of southern Africa.

"It will be possible to reach agreement shortly, provided South Africa displays goodwill and a serious approach to the matter," said Mr Kivila.

He warned, however, that there could not be negotiations between the Angolan government and the Unita rebel group.

● Cuba has issued a medal for Cuban soldiers who took part in the defence of Cuito-Cuanavale and has disclosed that 39 of its soldiers died in the defence of the strategic town in south-eastern Angola. Three Cuban officers have been awarded the new medal.

● See page 9.

From Brazzaville with love

From PETER FABRICIUS,
of The Argus Political Staff
who travelled
to Brazzaville
to cover the historic
peace talks



PEACE TALKS: South African Ministers Gen Magnus Malan and Mr Pik Botha meet with Angola's Col Jose Maria, presidential secretary for defence, and Justico Minister Fernando van Durem at the peace talks in Brazzaville

MR Pik Botha's fleeting safari to Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, last week was an occasion full of bitter irony.

The Congo oozes the essence of Africa. It lies almost astride the equator, alongside the continent's mightiest river. Most of its surface is covered with tropical forest inhabited by elephants and some of Africa's most indigenous people, the pygmies.

Politically too, the name Congo evokes powerful memories of the turbulent early days of independence and of the mercenaries, many of them South African, who fought in the area.

Although much of that was in the old Belgian Congo, now Zaire, that lies just across the river. In Brazzaville too is a Rue de Nelson Mandela with a signpost portraying the imprisoned black South African leader in colour.

Into this most African of African countries stepped Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, ministers in the hated apartheid Government of South Africa.

But from the way Mr Botha carried it off, you would think he had dropped in for a friendly chat with old pals — he did actually go as far as calling the Angolan delegation "my friends from Luanda" — and not an eyeball to eyeball confrontation with bitter enemies in a bloody war.

Mr Botha was a master of the media — talked the occasion of its full potential. From the moment he stepped onto the tarmac at Waterkloof airport, dressed in an African chief's hat and staff, he lost no opportunity to play the part of an African leader meeting other African leaders.

He told the Congo Minister of External Affairs, Mr Antoine Edinga Oba — as often as he could — that he appreciated him hosting the talks as "African problems should be solved by Africans."

When Mr Botha spoke at the start of the actual talks in the Villa du Mer he went a little further by telling Mr Oba that his decision to host the talks was "in line with my philosophy that African problems must be solved by Africans."

Mr Oba, more bluntly said the Congo had hosted the talks "to save Cuban lives." If

was also possible, as the South Africans believed, that the Congo was flattered by all the publicity.

And Mr Botha also let on that he had had very useful talks with "Congo friends" about the problems of Africa and about trade links.

His people also underlined the point that it was something of a coup for South Africa to have been received in a Marxist African state — while the liberal West was stunning us.

One could just imagine it: The Angola peace talks, soon showing in a cinema near you.

It almost sounded then, as though the whole thing was merely designed to show off South Africa being received by Africa.

There did not seem to be an earnest desire to end a war. Of the actual reason for the meeting very little was said in public.

They also revealed that they had taken the opportunity to castigate the Angolans for harbouring the ANC.

And had demanded that they stop the current Cuban southward advance or risk jeopardising the peace talks and provoking a bloody battle.

Observers had expected that at the heart of the matter was some sort of compromise on the central issue of synchronising Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia under UN 435.

It had seemed that the seven month period for the transition to independence, written into 435 might be extended to give the Cubans more time to pull out — a fairly reasonable-sounding proposition.

But afterwards senior sources said that South Africa had not budged on this point — although South African would be formulating "some proposals" to be put at the next round of talks.

Were the talks just an occasion to show South Africa off in Africa and to halt the current Cuban advance?

From private conversations it seems that the South Africans are hoping that Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev will put pressure on the Cubans to withdraw, as he himself has done from Afghanistan.

A fleecing look at the Congo

Two days accommodation at the Le Meridien Hotel — an establishment with five-star pretensions and slightly less than three star service (still very comfortable compared to what we had expected) — cost thousands of rands, mainly because of the astronomical price of foreign phone calls.

The currency is CFA Francs (called Cefas) which can be used throughout the old French West African colonies.

Fifty Cefas are equal to one French Franc and 2.55 of these in turn equal one rand.

An indifferent steak in the hotel's restaurant Le Flamboyant sets you back 3 900 CFA or R30 and a salad, R21.

The fixed menu of salad, rather dehydrated local sole, pudding and coffee carves the equivalent of R50 out of your foreign currency.

A beer starts at about R9 for the local brew — not too bad — and goes up to R12 or so for imported Heineken.

The next morning a cup of tea will set you back R7.80.

We were advised that we could drink the hotel water but most chose caution and ordered the bottled water.

“Je suis Sud Africain,” one of the journalists covering Mr Pik Botha's visit to the Congo ventured to a curious local. And he braced himself for a tirade about apartheid.

Instead the enthusiastic response was, “Ah, Afrique du Sud, that is a rich country.”

That remark seemed to typify the Republic of Congo today. The fervour of the official policy of Marxist-Leninism (if ever there was much) is giving way to healthy respect for the dollar.

Rather too healthy, we were to discover.

Along the boulevards the Brave New World bravado of Marxist slogans is still visible but the paintwork is peeling.

And the fresher paintwork is to be seen on new signs proclaiming private enterprises popping up on the roadsides. We came expecting doctrinaire disapproval. Instead the Congolese were model capitalists. They disarmed us with smiles — and fleeced us.

If Afrique du Sud was a rich country when it arrived, it was destitute when it left — bereft of wads of French Franc travellers cheques — and desperately hauling out cash cards.

This sort of European prejudice against the local bacteria costs you, of course.

The bottled water is imported from France and costs nearly R4 a litre.

The Congolese haggle for everything. In the local tourist craft market — which sells, ivory, malachite, copper, brass and ebony curios — the price of an ivory trinket starts at say, R100 and may eventually get down to R30 or less depending on your bargaining skills.

One foreign hack said he had knocked them down from 10 000 to 175 Cefas for a malachite egg.

Even the petrol price is negotiable. We travelled around in an air-conditioned bus laid on by the Government.

They kindly took us on a tour — but when it came time to fill up with petrol, they passed the hat around among us and then proceeded to haggle with the pump attendant, knocking him down from 1 500 to 1 000 Cefas.

The marked price was 295 Cefas a litre — more than R2.

It was difficult to say how locals get by as we had little chance to check the price of basic goods in shops, although it was apparent there wasn't much.

Nujoma hopeful about settlement

GENEVA — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said yesterday he was optimistic about prospects for a peaceful end to the Angolan civil war and independence for Namibia.

"We hope that contacts will continue ... and will produce fruitful results."

Mr Nujoma said

He said he planned a meeting in Stockholm next weekend with a group of white Namibians to discuss independence. — Sapa-Reuters.

RECEIVED FOR THE DIRECTOR GENERAL

GRM TALKS 17/6/88

Meeting with Swapo

221

WINDHOEK. — Several white Namibian academics, lawyers and businessmen, part of the Namibia Peace Plan 435 study and contact group, leave from here today for Stockholm to hold talks with Swapo.

No birthday cake for Namibia's beleaguered government

Star 17/6/88

221

As it marks three years in office this week, Windhoek's transitional government will probably be busier trying to snuff out the flames of conflict and protest than trying to blow out the candles on its own birthday cake.

Inside the coalition's spacious headquarters in Windhoek's colonially-bequeathed Tintenpalast government building, the heat of dissent between the six parties of varying skin and ideological hues is causing things to become increasingly uncomfortable.

Teargas in air

Outside — in the rubber bullet-littered streets of the townships, where the memory of teargas hangs in the air — it is beginning to look like Soweto '76 and Soweto '88 rolled into one, as school pupils demonstrate and boycott classes, and a strengthening labour movement calls for a two-day work stayaway next week.

Three years down what they themselves proclaimed would be "the road to independence", the transitional government has little cause for celebration.

Left-Right and black-white strains within the coalition itself have scuttled all attempts to float a constitution for the territory, and Pretoria now looks like stepping in to assume more "hands on" policy in the future. Unrest is now raising its feared head to such an extent that the government's Cabinet chairman, Mr Andrew Matjila, has himself gloomily recast that South Africa may well extend the State of Emergency across the Orange River to try to squash the protest.

Wide control

All somewhat removed from the cosy optimism which pervaded the atmosphere in Windhoek on June 17, 1985, when President P W Botha installed the former Multi-Party Conference alliance as the latest in a line of South African "internal" experiments in Namibia.

The fledgling government was given wide control over the day-to-day running of the affairs of the country, while "big brother" retained charge over the crucial portfolios of defence and foreign affairs.

South Africa's foreign policy experts had probably hoped the "rainbow coalition" in Windhoek could win



This was how they felt eight years ago when the Namibian Council of Ministers was sworn in. With the anniversary approaching, it seems opinion is hardening, if anything, against the administration.

Growing strains within Namibia's governing coalition mean there has been no progress towards a home-grown constitution. Cabinet chairman Mr Andrew Matjila even predicts an extension of South Africa's State of Emergency across the Orange into Namibia, reports BRENDAN SEERY from Windhoek.

support away from Swapo to the extent where it could effectively challenge the liberation organisation in an election under the United Nations Resolution 435 settlement plan. Foreign Affairs Department analysts in Pretoria conceded, however, that the transitional government could, at best, command less than 50 percent support among the people.

If anything, that figure was optimistic.

Most political observers here believe that, apart from the substantial support enjoyed by coalition members the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) and Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party, the administration has little support.

Some analysts go as far as saying the transitional government would be unable (in theory at least) to gain the one-third support necessary to prevent Swapo gaining control in any post-435 national assembly.

Attempts by the Windhoek government to win support away from Swapo have come to nothing because of its failure to tackle the dismantling of entrenched apartheid. This failure is in turn due to dissent within its own ranks regarding a future political dispensation, largely from the separate-development and "group rights" policies of the NP-SWA.

Although millions of rands have been spent on constitutional discussions through various bodies and employing a host of outside experts, agreement between the parties making up the government as to a constitution is no closer than it was in 1985.

Firmer hold

South Africa, perhaps impatient about the rate of progress or about the direction matters were taking, has recently taken a firmer hold on things. Its Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has been given en-

hanced powers which effectively enable him to dictate the direction and speed of constitutional change here.

The transitional government's black, Left-leaning members have on a number of occasions threatened to resign and pull their parties out of the coalition, but have so far done nothing, even in the face of what they themselves term "blatant South African interference". To make the decision even more difficult for them, South Africa upped Ministerial salaries for the transitional government earlier this year to an estimated R120 000 a year (plus perks).

Failure to tackle the pressing problems of social inequality, as manifested in the South African-instituted system of separate ethnic administrations, has played into the hands of the radical opposition.

When the transitional government took office, and for a long time after that, it could quite justifiably say that Namibia was not troubled by the unrest which tore through South Africa's townships. It cannot say that now.

Spur to radicals

If anything, the appointment of the new administration was the spur needed by the largely-moribund and disorganised anti-apartheid movements to "get their act together". Organisations sympathetic or affiliated to Swapo, such as the Namibian National Students' Organisation, the Council of Churches in Namibia and the radical-oriented union movement, are in the forefront of the current protest.

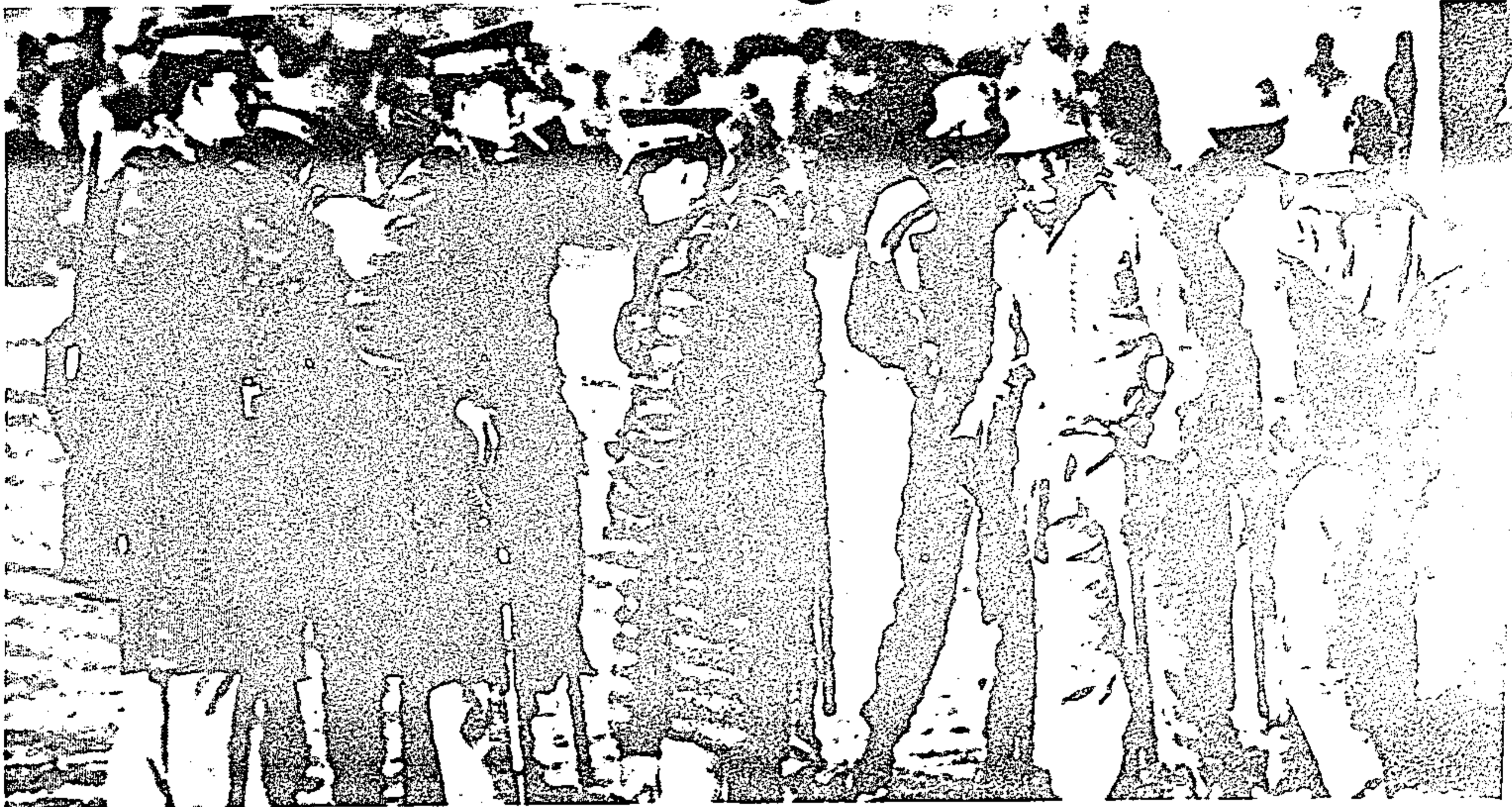
Taking the lead from their comrades in South Africa, these bodies have quietly, yet highly effectively, been mobilising opposition since the transitional government arrived, and the unrest is now breaking into the open. The government itself has not helped its own image by appearing to challenge its own bill of fundamental rights in a number of important human rights cases.

As the transitional government enters its fourth year, therefore, there will be few shouts of "hip-hip, hooray" to encourage it on its way.

Case Twp 21/6/88

221

[Handwritten mark]



Police patrol a hostel at Katutura township near Windhoek. They were part of a massive security deployment on the first day of a two-day general strike called in support of an anti-government school boycott.

Picture: REUTERS

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4-11

Con shot in

Namibian editor is detained

South African
2016/05

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221

A LEADING Namibian journalist highly critical of the South African and Transitional governments, Ms Gwen Lister, has been detained by security police in Windhoek.

A spokesman for the police, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, confirmed that Ms Lister — the Editor of *The Namibian* newspaper — had been picked up under South African Security Proclamation AG9, which provides for detention without trial for up to 30 days.

No reasons were given for the detention.

However, the arrest of Ms Lister came the day after security police raided her paper's offices in Windhoek, looking for a leaked confidential government document. Ms Lister handed over the document last Thursday but refused to say where or how it had come into her possession.

2 union men arrested

Saf 17/6/83 The Star's Africa News Service (221)

WINDHOEK — Police in Namibia have arrested two trade unionists on the eve of a planned nationwide general strike.

Mr Zak Basson, of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN) and Mr Richard Pakleppa, of the umbrella National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) were arrested in Swakopmund late on Wednesday in connections with allegations of possessing dagga.

Both men were involved in distributing pamphlets publicising the two-day stayaway on behalf of the MUN and the NUNW, which are affiliated to Swapo.

If the stayaway, called for Monday and Tuesday goes ahead, it will be the biggest labour action in Namibia since the early 1970s.

Swapo and white Namibians to meet

SWAPO leaders will meet a group of prominent white Namibians in Sweden this weekend to discuss how Namibia might be ruled independently of South Africa, Swapo said on Wednesday.

"The white community wants to know what kind of government Swapo could offer, without the taint of South African propaganda which paints us as terrorists," Swapo's Nordic representative, Niilo Taa-

popi, said in an interview.

"More and more whites are recognising the need to do away with apartheid and start a new way of living in a non-racist society."

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma would head the nationalist delegation, Taa-popi said.

The white Namibian group includes farmers, lawyers, academics and businessmen. It will be led by Brian O'Linn, a lawyer who has

rallied white support for a United Nations peace plan for the region.

The two delegations arrive in Stockholm on Saturday. They will have talks from Sunday to Tuesday.

Nujoma will also have information meetings with Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson and other government members.

Sweden is one of the largest donors to Swapo. - Sapa

(221) C/Pres 19/6/88

Discontent with SA 'growing in SWA'

ARGUS
20/6/80
221

The Argus Foreign Service
STOCKHOLM. — White Namibians holding talks here with Swapo representatives, including Mr Sam Nujoma, say that discontent with the South African Government has now spread to conservative whites in their country.

"There is a growing feeling that South Africa is acting for itself and not in the best interests of Namibia," said Professor Gerard Totemeyer, one of the 20-strong white Namibian group which arrived on Saturday for the three-day meeting.

He added: "The criticism at home about a group of whites sitting down to have talks with Swapo has been much more

subdued this time, as opposed to the previous meetings in Harare and Lusaka. The political situation has obviously changed."

Professor Totemeyer, dean of the political studies faculty at Namibia University, Windhoek, and the other whites are discussing with the Swapo representatives the future of a SWA/Namibia free of South African control. The meeting began yesterday and will end tomorrow. The discussions are expected to be general, with both sides clarifying their positions.

Talking to the Swedish Press on his arrival, Professor Totemeyer agreed that the group

was liberal and not wholly representative of Namibia's 80 000 white population. But he said the three most important groups — the English, German and Afrikaans-speaking populations — were all represented.

He thought there were two reasons for the changing attitudes among whites in Namibia: Pretoria's mention of the possibility of an independent Namibia during the negotiations with Angola, and most important, the thaw between the superpowers.

"The day they agree on the development of Southern Africa, the Government of South Africa won't have a lot of say," he said. "South Africa's strategic position is not that strong."

Swapo hopes the white group will spread the word about what the organisation stands for, and get the message across that there will be room for both black and white in an independent Namibia.

Falling apart

After the first day of the talks, Mr Anton Lubowski, a third-generation, German-speaking Namibian lawyer, said: "The institutions and the interim government in Namibia are falling apart. There are big changes going on..."

Another, Mr Anton von Weiterheim, a farmer, said he belonged to a minority of farmers who supported a majority government for Namibia. But he also understood the worry there was among other farmers about what might happen if a black government took over.

"They feel their existence is threatened," he said. "They fear chaos and nationalisation. But I point them towards Zimbabwe. I'm often there and talk to farmers there. In Zimbabwe, the government has kept its promises to abstain from nationalisation. And today many whites return to Zimbabwe and the farmers there are content with what has happened."

Namibian unions begin 2-day strike

APC-Tuis
20/6/88
221

WINDHOEK. — Tens of thousands of workers in Namibia have been called out for a two-day strike starting today despite warnings by authorities that they will use force to prevent disorder.

The planned general strike has been organized by trade unions in solidarity with a four-month-old mass schools boycott by black students.

It is the first time in recent years that concerted anti-government action by students and trade unions has been planned.

Mr Andrew Matjila, chairman of the interim government, has warned that authorities will not hesitate to deploy security forces.

Mr Ben Ulenga, general secretary of the Mineworkers' Union of Namibia which is helping to organize the strike, denied government charges that labourers were being forced to join the walkout, which he estimated would involve 60 000 workers.

He said workers were angry about police violence against their children in the boycott.

"When workers arrived home they found their children had been tear-gassed, beaten and arrested."

The pupils are demanding that army bases be moved away from schools in northern Namibia where South African-led armed forces operate against Swapo guerillas.

The Swapo news agency (Nampo) said the South African-installed

STOCKHOLM. — Swapo leaders opened talks with influential white Namibians on Saturday in an attempt to allay fears about how the black nationalist guerilla group might rule Namibia independently of South Africa.

"Namibian whites need to understand our fight is not against them personally, but against the racist regime," Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma told a news conference before the meeting.

Mr Nujoma is leading the black delegation in talks with a group of 30 white Namibian liberals from various professions. The talks are scheduled to last until tomorrow.

"The political and military crisis in our country is affecting everyone, including the whites whose economic interests and physical security have begun to be threatened," Mr Nujoma said. — Sapa-Reuter

government was contemplating imposing a state of emergency to deal with the crisis.

The planned emergency powers would prohibit meetings, and allow the authorities to close businesses and restrict people's movements.

● Namibian nationalist leader Mr Sam Nujoma has urged journalists around the world to campaign for the release of Ms Gwen Lister, editor of The Namibian newspaper, who was detained on Friday.

Ms Lister was arrested after publishing a report hinting that the authorities in the territory might adopt emergency powers similar to those imposed in South Africa.

"South Africa is fearful of the voices of truth and justice that Ms Lister's journalistic activity exemplifies," Mr Nujoma said in Stockholm.

Ms Lister was to have been one of the group of white Namibians who met Swapo delegates at the weekend to discuss South Africa's continuing delay in implementing Namibian independence. — Sapa-Reuter

Question hangs over soldiers' presence

Star 20/6/00
221
Elite Soviet or East German Spetznaz troops — the equivalent of South African "Recces" or the British SAS — are said to have been spotted in southwestern Angola. CRAIG KOTZE reports on those soldiers and examines their possible role in the Cuban buildup on the Namibian border.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, its offensive was spearheaded by a Spetznaz attack on the palace of President Amin in Kabul.

Eleven years earlier, Spetznaz troops in civilian dress captured Prague airport and other strategic installations immediately before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

And at the height of the European crisis over the deployment of American medium-range Cruise missiles, women Spetznaz operatives were spotted mingling with women demonstrators calling for peace at the Royal Air Force Greenham Common in Britain.

RAPID ACTIVATION

The presence of Spetznaz troops, so it seemed, heralded the rapid activation of any front — military or propaganda — they were deployed on.

So what are troops specialising in sabotage, intelligence-gathering and assassination of key military and political figures doing in an area regarded by South Africa as strategically vital?

The Ruacana hydro-electric scheme which supplies Owamboland with water and electricity is in the region and would therefore be a prime target for sabotage, without necessarily provoking a full-scale clash between South African troops and Cuban/Swapo forces.

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Strategic Studies faculty, says the Spetznaz presence, which is probably East German, indicated that the Cuban/Swapo buildup of between 8 000 and 12 000 men has not taken place without Soviet consent.

SPECIAL ROLE

"No one really knows why they're deployed in the area. It may be that a special role could have been foreseen for them, but I don't think the buildup is necessarily offensive-minded," he said.

"I don't see any direct role for them inside Namibia, unless as advisers to Swapo or to direct their sabotage, because the Soviets will not take the risks with its attendant publicity during peace talks."

"However, the specialist troops might be used to counter Unita attacks, which have taken place all over Angola and have tied down thousands of Cuban and MPLA troops.

"One aspect might be the psychological and propaganda effect of deploying Spetznaz troops to bolster the image of the Cuban buildup," he said.

Mr Helmoed-Rohmer Heitman, South African correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said Spetznaz forces could be used as instructors or to fight against Unita.

Namibian editor is (221) Star 2/16/82 questioned by police

WINDHOEK — Detained journalist Ms Gwen Lister is being questioned by security police at Windhoek Central police station, where she has been held since Friday.

Colleague Mr Mark

Verbaan said he was allowed to visit Ms Lister on Saturday and again yesterday and she had said she was feeling well, although it was cold in her cell and she was not allowed to smoke or have reading and writing materials.

Mr Verbaan said security police were questioning her about the identity of a source who leaked to her a confidential government document.

Ms Lister, editor of the *Namibian* newspaper, revealed details of the document in Friday's edition of her newspaper. Her story about the document came a day after security police had raided the paper's offices to seize the document.

The *Namibian* said the document contained proposals for harsh security legislation for Namibia, due to be placed before the National Assembly. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Journalist hits out (221)

WINDHOEK — Freed Namibian journalist Ms Gwen Lister says her five-day detention under South African Security Proclamation A G9 of 1977 was a "gross abuse of power" by the police here. *South Africa 23/6/88*

Ms Lister — who is the editor of the *Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek — was detained at her offices last Friday by Security Police. She was released on Tuesday after the intervention of the Cabinet of the Transitional Government in Windhoek.

...Genton, who help run the Operation Snowball collection depot in Kew, sit in an empty room which they hope will soon be filled with blankets and clothes.

Media curbs demo:
STEY 22/6/88
Journalists arrested

Freelances slate new regulations

By Duncan Guy

cans. STEY 22/6/88

CAPE TOWN — Three Cape Town journalists and a graphics artist holding placards to protest against media curbs were arrested outside their offices in St George's Street yesterday and charged.

Freelance journalists have expressed disgust at the Government's latest emergency regulations which includes the registration of freelance journalists and news agencies.

"Once a journalist is struck off the register they may no longer practise."

Another international correspondent, Mr Tony Weaver of Cape Town, said the definition of a "news agency" appeared to be hopelessly vague and that such registration would be "the end for journalism".

A reporter from *The Argus*, Mr Robert Houwing, *Cape Times* reporters Mr Chris Steyn and Mr Peter Dennehy and graphics artist Ms Tina Coombes were warned to appear in court today. — Sapa.

International correspondent Mr Mervyn Rees said yesterday that news of South Africa would be read with little credibility overseas.

"There is already a great deal of wariness about accepting copy from South African journalists or correspondents based here because of the media restrictions."

Sixty freelance journalists who met last week under the auspices of the Anti-Censorship Action Group decided not to register with the Minister of Home Affairs unless all representations in respect of any challenges to this provision have been exhausted.

Mr Franz Kruger of East London said it was a great worry that the new restrictions seemed to have been passed unnoticed by many South Afri-

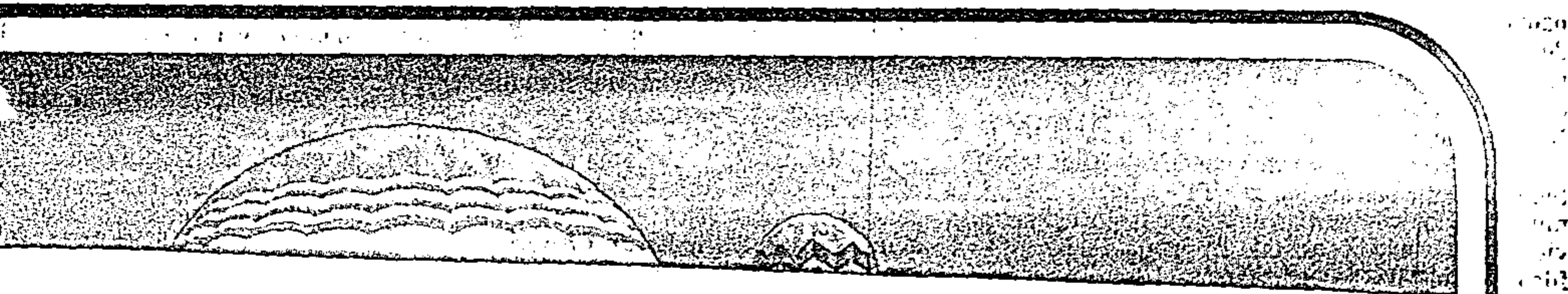
Spokesman Miss Pat Sidley said yesterday that attorneys had been briefed to check whether the registration issue could be declared *ultra vires*.

Police release
STEY 22/6/88
detained editor
after five days 221

WINDHOEK — The police have released Miss Gwen Lister, editor of the *Namibian* newspaper, a staff member said.

Miss Lister was detained last Friday in terms of security Proclamation AG 9, which provides for detention without trial for renewable periods of up to 30 days.

The staff member said Miss Lister was freed at about 3.15 pm yesterday. — Sapa.



'Decide on SA'

WINDHOEK — Namibian political leaders had to decide whether they wanted to work with South Africa or manage without the Republic's financial help, the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said in Windhoek.

A reduction in financial aid would not only affect SA's contribution to the Namibian budget, but also other help such as guarantees given by SA for loans taken by Namibia. — Sapa. *Sanetam* 24/6/84

Freed: Editor who wouldn't name a source

THE editor of *The Namibian* newspaper, Gwen Lister, was released on Tuesday after five days' detention.

Lister's arrest last Friday, in terms of security legislation, concerned a document which came into the newspaper's possession early last week.

The document appeared to be a draft law drawn up by the police which, if implemented, would provide for a virtual State of Emergency in Namibia, with provision made for extensive powers to be granted to the commissioner of police.

In an interview after her release, Lister said she had been taken to Windhoek Central Police Station, placed in isolation in a tiny cell and told she was free to go as soon as she revealed the source of the document. However she refused to do so.

"I was told by the interrogating officer that the police were of the opinion the document had been leaked by an interim government cabinet minister," she said.

She added it was apparent the security police were more concerned about the "leak" than they were with the fact that she had published certain aspects of the document.

She said she found it strange that when the document was confiscated — the day before *The Namibian* went to press — she was not warned by police not to publish.

However after her detention she was warned of possible charges, probably in terms of the Protection of Information Act, concerning the newspaper's publication of the contents of the document.

In an effort to secure Lister's release, her co-director, David Smuts, petitioned the interim government cabinet. Late on Monday afternoon the cabinet ordered Lister's release. No reasons were given.

Lister recently won an international award for "outstanding Third World journalism", presented by the Inter Press Service and sponsored by the International Press Institute. She is scheduled to receive the award at United Nations headquarters in New York on September 14.

Visit ⁽²²¹⁾ Sowetan 24/6/88 by 210

WINDHOEK — The biggest international scientific conference yet held in Namibia is scheduled for August next year and has so far attracted more than 200 scientists from 22 countries.

“Dunes '89” will take place in the Atlantic resort town of Swakopmund from August 14 to 17 next year, and will concern the geomorphology and ecology of desert and coastal sand dunes.

Organised by the Koch Namib Research Foundation, the conference has already attracted positive responses from 210 scientists from Southern Africa, South America, Australia, the United States, Britain, Ireland, Holland, Israel, Kuwait, Canada, West Germany and some Scandinavian countries.

Conference

One of the conference co-ordinators, Dr John Ward of the Namibian Department of Geological Survey, said a number of renowned scientists would be attending the conference as delegates of keynote speakers.

Dr Ward, who has extensive experience of the Namib and of the Kuiseb River which runs through it, will be leading one of the field excursions to show scientists the geology of the desert.

Other excursions are planned to allow the scientists to see the dune systems, dune fauna and flora and the effects of wind in the Namib.

52 SA soldiers killed — Swapo

SWAPO'S military wing, Plan, claims to have killed at least 52 SA troops in Namibia in the second half of May, the Namibian Press Agency, Nampa, reported.

Quoting an official communique from Swapo, Nampa said an SA commander had also been captured in a Swapo ambush on May 15. War ma-

terials, including arms, ammunition, combat radio sets, rockets and night vision equipment was also captured.

Nampa said the latest figures brought to 445 the number of SA soldiers killed in Namibia so far this year. — ANO.

□ An SADF spokesman dismissed the Swapo claims as "ludicrous."

22/1/82
24/5/82

Namibia: freedom moves a step closer

26/6/88 c/res (221)

CP Correspondent

NAMIBIAN independence under United Nations Resolutions 435 this week came a step closer when it was announced that peace talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States would resume in the Egyptian capital of Cairo at the weekend.

But another issue, this time from inside Namibia itself, also focused international attention on the territory administered by South Africa in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

This was the two-day nation-wide strike called by the Swapo-affiliated National Union of Namibian Workers and the massive school boycott which started on March 17 when Ponghosi Secondary School was closed after 600 pupils stayed away to protest against the proximity of a South African military base.

Namibian lawyer and Swapo member, Anton Lubowski, on June 19 told a meeting of Swapo leaders and white Namibian liberals in Stockholm that the interim government in Namibia was falling apart. With the mass school boycott and strike by unionists, "the pressure is really on", he said.

In 1977, the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada united into a Western contact group. The group held talks with the Frontline States, South Africa and Swapo and elaborated a "Plan of Five", which formed the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, passed on September 29, 1978.

The plan suggested a detailed program for granting independence to Namibia. This included:

- Agreement on a ceasefire.
- Removing South African troops from Namibia in stages over three months.
- Deploying UN forces in Namibia.

Tension mounts, inside and outside the territory

- Holding free elections to for a constituent assembly with the participation of all political groups, including Swapo, under United Nations control.
- Drafting and passing a constitution.

The Western contact group co-ordinated this plan with South Africa, making concessions to Pretoria. Prior UN decisions called for an immediate end to the South African occupation of Namibia and complete withdrawal of all South African troops, police, and civil administration from Namibia.

To date, 10 years after the adoption of UN Resolution 435, South Africa is still administering Namibia via the so-called transitional government and its Administrator-General. Thousands of SADF troops are still in Namibia and South African Police patrol the streets of the black townships in the territory.

Said a NUNW spokesman: "The idea of a strike did not come from any organised political or trade union force - it came from the thousands who are directly affected by South Africa's occupation and the presence of the SADF in Namibia."

For Pretoria things did not go as planned. The South African government policy planners had apparently hoped that the transitional government would win away support from Swapo, and to engage the liberation movement, in exile in Angola, effectively in a general election as envisaged by UN Resolution 435.

Some political analysts in Namibia say, however, that the multi-party transitional government was unable to produce an al-

ternative to Swapo in the territory and that it would be almost impossible for the coalition to gain the necessary one-third support needed to prevent Swapo gaining control once the demands of Resolution 435 were introduced.

The transitional government's attempts to win support away from Swapo, according to analysts, have failed mainly because of its failure to tackle the dismantling of apartheid. This failure is in turn responsible for the dissent within its own ranks regarding a future political dispensation for Namibia, and which is currently threatening the continued existence of the coalition government in the Tintenpalast.

At a Press conference in April in Botswana fol-

lowing a meeting on the "Nationhood Program for the United Nations", a confident Swapo administrative secretary, Moses Garoeb, said Swapo enjoyed 99 percent support in Namibia and would have a landslide victory in any free elections held under universal suffrage.

The appointment of the transitional government on June 17, 1985, by South African State President PW Botha, was the spur needed by anti-apartheid organisations to increase opposition to political development in Namibia to a higher level.

Organisations and individuals sympathetic or affiliated to Swapo, such as the trade union movement, the Namibian Council of Churches and various youth bodies, then emerged at the forefront

of national protest against the deadlock on the issue of independence for Namibia under Resolution 435 - regarded as "the only internationally accepted basis for Namibia's peaceful transition to independence".

Over the past three years, these opposition groups have organised an effective campaign of protest and opposition, and the unrest which surfaced in Namibia, particularly since March, has now emerged into the open, claiming the support of the majority of blacks.

September 29 marks the 10th anniversary of the adoption of UN Resolution 435.

And with 1988 marking the 40th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the transitional government three years ago, human rights violations under the "rainbow coalition" have not helped much in enhancing its image in Namibia. - Ano



Defence Minister Magnus Malan ... key figure.

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Beer drought as Namibia strike bites

Koevoet alert — the feared unit leaves the north to patrol through Katutura township, Windhoek during a two-day strike this week

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

By MARK VERBAAN,
Windhoek

HOTELS and restaurants ran out of beer during Namibia's two-day strike this week, and white employers and their families took to doing their own manual work.

The vast majority of businesses and industries in the country were affected by the strike, on Monday and Tuesday, in protest at the presence of South African troops.

Managements of the Rossing uranium mine near Swakopmund and the CDM diamond mine at Oranjemund kept the plants running, but production ground to a standstill. Although no official figures are yet available, it is estimated both mines lost millions of rands as a result of the strike.

The TCL copper mine at Tsumeb was hardly affected; mine management had threatened its work force with dismissal if any stayed away.

The Namibian authorities maintain the strike was a failure, but a spokes-

man for the National Union of Namibian Workers, the umbrella body under which the territory's most powerful unions fall, said this week the call for protest action was heeded by workers "in all the major towns at all main places of employment" throughout the country.

On behalf of their 60 000 members, the unions last week called on the interim government cabinet to meet their demands, including the removal of police and army bases from the vicinity of schools in Namibia's war-torn north, the release of detainees and an end to police violence in the townships. Union officials this week accused the interim government of provoking the stayaway by ignoring the demands.

"Although the issues have not been resolved, it does not mean the demands will fall away," said one union leader this week. "We are already planning a national campaign to get South African troops out of our country."

There were no incidents of violence related to the strike. However, a pamphlet drawn up and distributed widely by the unions showed signs it had been tampered with. A paragraph had been added to the end of the pamphlet claiming that all employees staying away could collect R15 at the union offices, the Council of Churches or *The Namibian* newspaper.

Meanwhile hundreds of workers gathered at union offices in Katutura township, outside Windhoek, on Wednesday, complaining they had been dismissed after joining the stay-away. Union officials confirmed each case would be taken up.

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Jeanne seeks light in the dark

Hungry children study six to a book

By Sue Valentine

When Dr Jeanne Totemeyer campaigns for a cause, she allows little to stand in her way.

But even this articulate, clear-sighted pioneer in the field of research into South African children's literature has been shackled by the socio-economic conditions in the rural areas which make the provision of food — not books — a priority for many children.

Head of the Department of Library Science at the University of Namibia, Dr Totemeyer helped form the Namibian Children's Book Forum which was launched in March and which she chaired.

"The lack of books in Namibia seems worse than in South Africa and one of our first problems was how to raise funds to buy reading material.

"I suggested to teachers at a primary school in Otjimbingwe (Damaraland) they hold a cake sale to raise money, only to be told that the only food these children have is a handful of porridge provided by the Red Cross each morning.

"Over the weekends they don't eat and on Monday morning many of them are near to fainting. The teachers buy biscuits out of their own pockets to sustain them."

Dr Totemeyer said questionnaires distributed to educators to gauge where needs lay showed the overwhelming problems were not educational.

"That there were 70 kids in a classroom was not listed as an issue. More serious was the fact that children have to walk 10 km to school; they have no shoes and there are no hostel facilities.

"In Ovamboland, six children share a textbook. "It is very draining to work in a Third World situation," said Dr Totemeyer who established and headed the Department of Library and Information Science at the University of Transkei from 1979 to 1984 until her husband, who is a lecturer in political science, was deported in 1984.

But, she adds, one also discovers qualities one didn't know were there.

"You do everything yourself, so you learn. I've been involved in launching and writing the constitution of

Jeanne seeks light in the dark



Dr Jeanne Totemeyer ... problems are not educational.

the Namibian Children's Book Forum. I'm also involved in the Windhoek Symphony orchestra.

"There are a handful of professional musicians, but not enough for a whole orchestra and so a bunch of us amateurs are helping out. I play the violin."

Dr Totemeyer's literary roots are deep.

Her mother, grandmother and great-grandmother all published. Her grandmother, Mrs Maria Murray

was the daughter of Andrew Murray and sister to Andrew Murray II. Her grandmother wrote children's poetry and her mother, Mrs Heleen de Klerk, ran the children's radio programme in the early days of the SABC in the 1930s.

As a six-year-old Dr Totemeyer had her first taste of broadcasting as she and her sister, Renee, acted out her mother's Afrikaans stories for children's radio.

"I had to stand on a box to reach the microphone. It was all live, so if you made a mistake you just had to carry on."

After completing her BA in languages at Stellenbosch University, Dr Totemeyer married and lived in Germany where her husband was studying.

First distinction

Three years and two babies later they returned to Stellenbosch where she studied for the postgraduate Higher Diploma of Librarianship, obtaining the first distinction in the department.

When she returned to study for an honours degree, she was advised to focus on children's literature.

A master's degree and PhD followed next — both based largely on research in Germany.

"The International Youth Library in Munich has the best exhibition of South African children's books anywhere, including South Africa," she says.

After completing her doctorate on racist elements in Afrikaans children's literature, Dr Totemeyer is now focusing on contemporary English South African juvenile literature.

"There is a huge gap in reception studies in this country," she says. "We have very little idea of what effect children's literature has on them and how it is received."

"Literature has a large role to play in bridging cultural gaps. In three recent novels, Marguerite Po-land (Shadow of the Wild Hare), Judy Chalmers (The Battle of the Mountain) and Carol Parker (Witchworkman on the Hogsback), black and white children work together with African magical symbols to defeat evil.

"White youths are depicted as being ready to become immersed in African mythology, allowing it to become a dynamic force in their lives. Unlike white adults, children are prepared to undergo an osmosis between Western and African values and beliefs.

"As seismographs of society these authors' warnings to white adults need to be heeded."

There's a long, dusty road ahead between Cairo and the Kremlin

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE September 29 target date set by the superpower leaders at the Moscow summit for the resolution of Angolan war and Namibian independence questions would appear hopelessly optimistic.

The most that can be hoped for by the symbolically important 10th anniversary of the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 435 for Namibian independence is that the ongoing negotiation process produce some "concrete signs of progress".

The one thing that emerged with clarity from the latest round of four-power talks in Egypt is that it may well be the proverbial "long and dusty road" from Cape Town (or Luanda or Havana) to Cairo, but that many difficult steps lie ahead on the path to a final settlement.

The latest round of talks — the third since early May — began on a highly disquieting note and demonstrated just how fragile the process of searching for peace remains.

Fair game

Although many of the delegates had met before and engaged in relatively constructive, focused discussion in London and Brazzaville, the opening two-hour session quickly degenerated into unseemly bickering on peripheral issues.

Once Cuba insisted that apartheid be brought onto the agenda the internal affairs of Cuba and Angola also became fair game and topics during the rest of the session ranged from Aids through international terrorism, to comparative political rights and living standards in various countries.

The participants — in a bid to score petty debating points and bait their ideological opponents — appeared to have lost sight of the central issues on the agenda: Namibian independence and foreign troop withdrawal from Angola.

Questions were immediately raised in the minds of observers about the

seriousness of purpose of the delegations — particularly the Cuban contingent — particularly since journalists were led to believe before the talks began that up to 28 hours of negotiation lay ahead.

There was a marked turnabout in tone and attitude on the second day and the delegates eventually managed to produce a framework for further talks on the technical level.

More talks

As unexciting as this sounds, the opposing delegations ultimately expressed varying degrees of satisfaction with the outcome.

But just what was accomplished in Cairo? What are some of the major remaining obstacles?

Probably the major achievement of the talks was that the warring parties have agreed to have more talks at a time when the military situation is looking particularly menacing.

As the chairman of the talks, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker put it in his closing remarks:

"I think these discussions reveal that the various parties have decided to keep their diplomatic options open and alive and to pursue them further at a time when the military situation on the ground can only be described as containing dangerous risks of military confrontation involving significant forces which are directly facing each other on a large scale."

Tight-lipped

The talks also narrowed the gap between the major adversaries to the extent that the two sets of proposals they produced are seen as being "not necessarily opposing or contradictory".

A procedure has been agreed on whereby experts from the various sides will try to translate broad principles into an amalgamated viewpoint containing a concrete agreement.

While this process sounds awfully technical and boring, it will prove an

important test of the real intentions of the parties and help flush out those who are only paying lip service in their stated commitment to a negotiated settlement.

The parties were tight-lipped about the new sets of proposals on the table but is commonly agreed that the major sticking point still revolves around timetables for a phased withdrawal of foreign troops from the war zone in south-western Africa and the related issue of implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

Although the belligerents have indicated a broad willingness to compromise, conference sources stressed that only the first step had been taken to achieve consensus and that much hard bargaining lay ahead.

Dr Crocker cautioned after the talks: "It is obvious... that there remains a great deal of work that has only been touched on here to be done at meetings that will take place in the near future."

Indeed, more obvious than its successes is what the Cairo talks have failed to accomplish — apart from the obvious central goals of foreign troop withdrawal and Namibian independence.

'No predictions'

First, while the dangerous military build-up on the Namibia-Angola border was raised, no truce was arranged and neither was there any agreement on how to deal with the situation "in an explicit manner".

Asked if the threat of conflict had diminished as a result of the talks, Dr Crocker, admitted quite baldly: "I would not make any predictions on that."

However, it is also possible that an informal understanding was reached that the build-up was part of a game of brinkmanship, albeit an expensive one. Even if this is the case, the South African military brass made it clear after the talks that they have no intention of being caught by a sucker punch.



CHESTER CROCKER... parties keeping their options open.

The thorny issue of possible national reconciliation between Angola's MPLA government and the rebel Unita movement was barely raised in formal the sessions.

Dr Crocker, while acknowledging that the issue was important, glibly labelled it a "domestic concern" that was not appropriate at "international negotiations that go well beyond Angola".

Angolan disquiet, expressed before the conference, over US support for Unita while simultaneously wearing the hat of neutral arbiter and honest broker in the peace negotiations, was also not addressed.

The Angolans, it appears, were persuaded not to introduce the sensitive matter into an already already overcrowded and highly complex peace mosaic.


Apart from these potentially intractable issues, a number of other sticking points could be introduced into the equation at a later point, ranging from ANC bases in Angola to the status of Walvis Bay after Namibian independence.

So while the search for peace received a fillip in Cairo, the road ahead remains long and dusty.

Art Buchwald

... syndrome

Peace talks showed wide gulf

Star 30/6/88 (221) 
By Patrick Laurence

Even if the current talks to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which 212 soldiers, including 12 South Africans, are reported to have been killed — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be reached.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid on the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

Details of the proposals and counter-proposals have been monitored as closely and as accurately as possible by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, who made them available to The Star.

They focus essentially on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and, as importantly, how they should leave.

FOUR-PHASE PLAN

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola.
- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year.
- After three years 5 000 Cuban troops to be restricted to Luanda and 10 000 deployed to protect the oil-rich Cabinda province in the far north.
- After four years total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

But implementation of the Angolan-Cuban withdrawal timetable depends on South Africa fulfilling several conditions.

These include the obvious demand of a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it are further demands — a cessation of South

African support for Unita guerillas or, as Luanda labels them, "bandits"; a firm agreement to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia as outlined in UN resolution 435 of 1978; and conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo guerrillas or, as Pretoria sees them, "terrorists".

South Africa's counter-proposals, Mr du Pisani says, envisage a much speedier exodus of Cubans.

It is a three-phase withdrawal over 12 weeks — all but 12 000 Cuban soldiers to leave within six weeks; another 3 000 to depart within nine weeks of the start of the countdown for their exodus; and, finally, a total withdrawal at the end of three months.

South Africa's 12-week timetable is designed to match the schedule laid down for a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia under Resolution 435, Mr du Pisani explains.

UNITED NATIONS PROPOSALS

The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one stipulates that all but 1 500 SA soldiers should be withdrawn from Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1 500 should be located at pre-arranged bases.
- Phase two provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the SA-appointed Administrator-General and a UN representative with a UN peace force, Untag, deployed during the elections.

After the election of a constituent assembly as the final step to the establishment of an independent Namibia, all South African troops will depart in terms of the UN plan.

It requires no great feat of imagination to see how far the two positions are from one another and how easily the talks can deadlock, even without the additional aggravating factor of the Cuban build-up along the Namibian border in southern Angola — defended by Angola's President dos Santos as a legitimate exercise of its sovereignty over all Angola — and the consequent bloody clash on Monday.

The imponderable question of just how many Cuban and South African soldiers are in Angola, and the demands of the smaller players, Swapo and Unita, and the concerns of their patrons, further compound the complex and fragile process.

Ovamboland facing water shortage

Star 30/6/80
221 The Star's

Africa News Service

All of Ovamboland is threatened with a severe water shortage following the Cuban air strike against the dam and pumping station at Calueque.

In the strike a pipeline supplying water into a canal system that feeds Ovamboland was almost totally destroyed.

The electricity supply from Ruacana to Calueque was also cut, immediately disabling the pump station at Calueque.

But the supply of electricity and water from Ruacana to northern Namibia remain unaffected by the air strike.

SECONDARY

Mr J W F Pretorius, Namibian Minister of Water Affairs, says a secondary supply for Ovamboland still exists at Ruacana, but this can supply only about 20 percent of Ovamboland's needs. It could be months before the next rains in Ovamboland, so water will have to be used sparingly.

The Namibian Department of Water Affairs has decided to withdraw from Calueque. It says the cost of any possible repairs at Calueque will be very high and take a long time to effect. Under these circumstances the department will be withdrawing from the site "for the foreseeable future".

**CUBAN BUILDUP
VIEW FROM ANGOLA**

Victory hopes buried in Cuito

Smith, June 30 To July 6 1988

CUITO CUANAVALE - Somewhere in the smouldering ruins of the key town of Cuito Cuanavale lie buried the hopes of the Pretoria-backed Unita forces for a decisive victory in the long Angolan war.

Since January artillery has hammered the town, but all signs indicate that the fourth big push of the 1980s in Angola has been a failure.

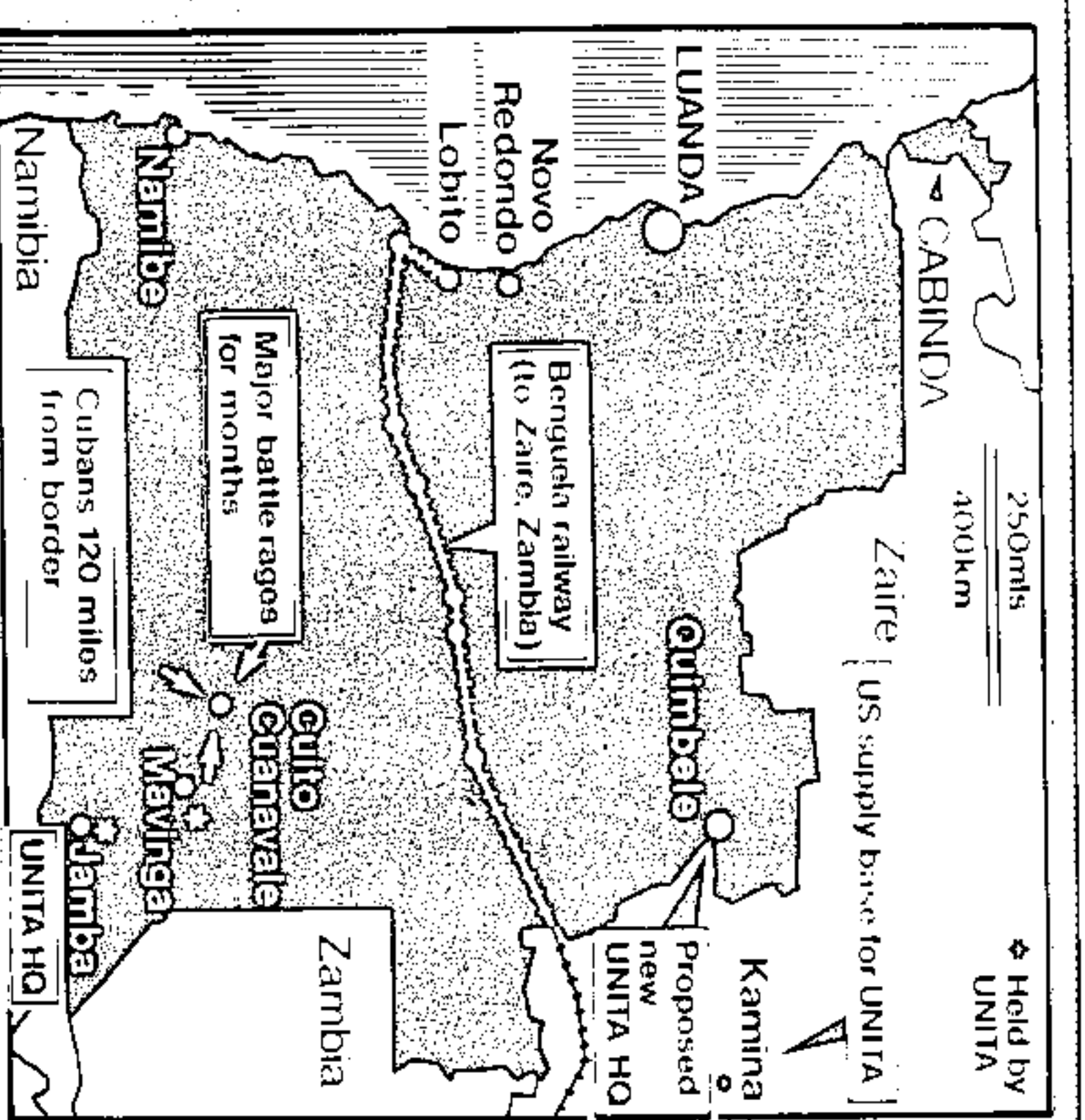
Today in Cuito there are only detachments of Angolan and Cuban troops. Camouflage material line the road between the town and the air base at Menongue, 280 kms to the northwest.

All civilians have been evacuated. Outlying clusters of mud huts have been abandoned. The maize stalks on the small plots beside them are withered and bent. But Cuito Cuanavale has been held.

It is a vital southern garrison town for Angolan government forces (Fapla), backed by an estimated 40 000 Cuban troops and Soviet advisers in their grueling war against Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement and South Africa, who have fought together since 1975.

Dry season offensives

What's happening on the Angolan-Namibian border? Pretoria says it can handle the Cuban troop build-up there. But what if America moves Unita north, as reports suggest, thus removing the buffer? Severe curbs on reporting SA troop movements make the picture less clear. JEREMY HARDING gives a different view.



whose last name is an assumed name meaning "do not want" - do not want colonialism, conflict and illegal invasion, he explained.

With Pretoria designs thwarted at Cuito, new fronts are opening in the north and centre of Angola as the US upgrades its support for Unita in Zaire.

Reports now suggest that Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba, near the Namibian border, are being dismantled and shifted north to the town of Quimbele, a stone's throw from the Zairean border.

If the reports are true, Unita's dependence on South Africa will be reduced and the insurgency will come increasingly under Washington's wing. The repercussions of this are many and complex. Without Unita as a stalking-horse, Pretoria could face huge military problems in the now well-defended south.

A massive build-up of Cuban troops has occurred to the west of Cuito Cuanavale in Cunene and Namibe provinces. Cuban troops, accompanied by guerrilla units of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), are now quite close to the Namibian border.

South African losses

Such circumstances could make the continuing occupation of southern Angola untenable

The airstrip at Cuito is crucial to Fapla's air force, and the town itself has served as a major staging post for dry season offensives against Unita.

The latest confrontation began in 1987 when a Fapla offensive failed to take Mavinga - a Unita stronghold 240 kms east of Cuito - before the rains set in. By October Unita and the South Africans were advancing west of Mavinga in a major counter-offensive aimed at Cuito.

Today the bridge below the town is a good place to gauge the accuracy mobile cannons - and to grasp what the troops defending Cuito have had to endure since the battle began.

Lt-Col Joao Baptista Ngueto, commander of Fapla's 6th Military Region, took us to the bridge. We left the town by a steep dirt road which stopped on the Cuito River. It was mid-afternoon. The sun was still high and a bright glare rose from the plain beyond the bridge.

The wreck of an old iron pontoon lay beached in the water. In its place a wooden bridge has been put up. A detachment of Cuban and Angolan soldiers were crossing from the other side, where positions were established well forward of the town following a clash in March which led to high Unita losses and the capture of five armoured vehicles.

Right on target

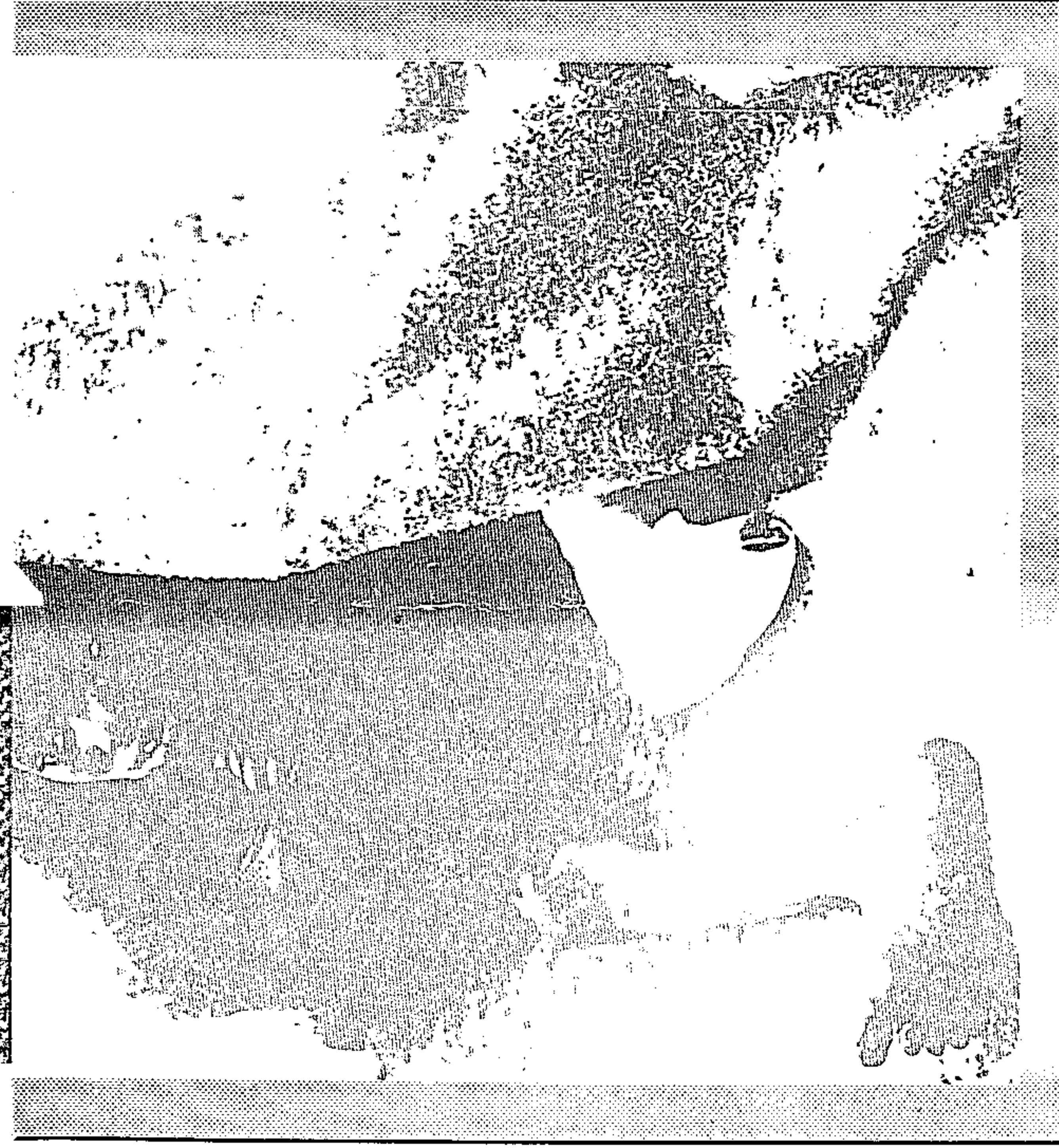
After a few minutes at the bridge, Ngueto ordered us to return to the open truck and the armoured personnel carrier which had brought us down.

The drivers were running their engines when the first 155 mm shell threw up a geyser of grey dirt less than 20 metres from the bridge and 60 metres from the vehicles. Right on target, it must have sunk deep in the mud by the riverbank or there would have been dozens of casualties.

As the vehicles drove at breakneck speed towards the town, another shell exploded behind us and a third fell to our left.

The drivers stopped at the top of the road beyond the stricken town. Two minor casualties and a third appalling injury had been caused by the first blast.

A young Angolan regular had taken a large piece of shrapnel above the hip. Most of the



Orphan of war. This child was picked up in the bush after a Unita attack and taken to Cuito Hospital by Cuban troops.

blood had drained from his body on to the floor of the armoured carrier. He lay slumped on the outside of the vehicle with his body across one of the hatches.

At the crest of the road above Cuito there was a long delay while the wounded received transfusions at a nearby field clinic. Finally we approached the helicopters - a Hind gunship and an armed troop carrier - perched in the road.

The worst casualty was carried on board on a stretcher. As the helicopter grazed the treetops, I watched the saline drip suspended by sticking

tape from the top of the cabin. Slowly the signs of life - and withering pain - began to show in the soldier's inert body.

As the sun set over the bush of Cuando Cubango province, the helicopters juddered down to the airstrip at Menongue and the wounded soldier was rushed off for further treatment. Two days later in the capital, Luanda, I heard he had survived.

Nobody in Angola knows when this ugly war will end. "We have not had a minute of peace since independence in 1975," said Ngueto,

for South Africa. Mounting white South African losses have already made the war unpopular and could be hugely increased without Unita to bear the brunt. This, in turn, would complicate Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia.

But what does Washington have in mind by moving Unita north? The US is keen to see a regional settlement. Its policy of "constructive engagement" has yielded few results and the time is right for a bold gambit before the end of the Reagan administration's term of office. The military isolation of South Africa in southern Angola appears to fit the bill.

At the same time, closer control of Unita in no way jeopardises Washington's primary objective: to get the Soviet Union and Cuba out of Angola.

Indeed, it gives Washington a fallback against the breakdown of the current talks, since a major insurgency funded through Zaire is a dependable long-term counter to the Soviet and Cuban presence.

High-stakes gamble

Even so, the move remains a high-stakes gamble - and the superpowers' poker table in southern Africa is already groaning under a pile of chips representing large sums of money and thousands of lives.

For if Namibian independence fails to materialise and the Angolan government is left defending two broad fronts - one to the north, the other to the south - its only viable options will be to canvass more support from the Cubans or negotiate with Unita.

Talks with Unita, however, are highly unlikely for as long as the slippery Jonas Savimbi remains in charge of the rebel movement and South Africa stays in Namibia.

That leaves the option of more Cubans - a possibility which costs the Soviet Union very little and which Mikhail Gorbachev would probably be obliged to accept.

Despite the manoeuvring, the underlying realities of the war remain unchanged: Those who believe there can be no peace in Angola without Namibian independence remain as correct today as always. And others who argue that the key to lasting peace in the region is the demise of apartheid are on target, as usual.

GEMINI NEWS

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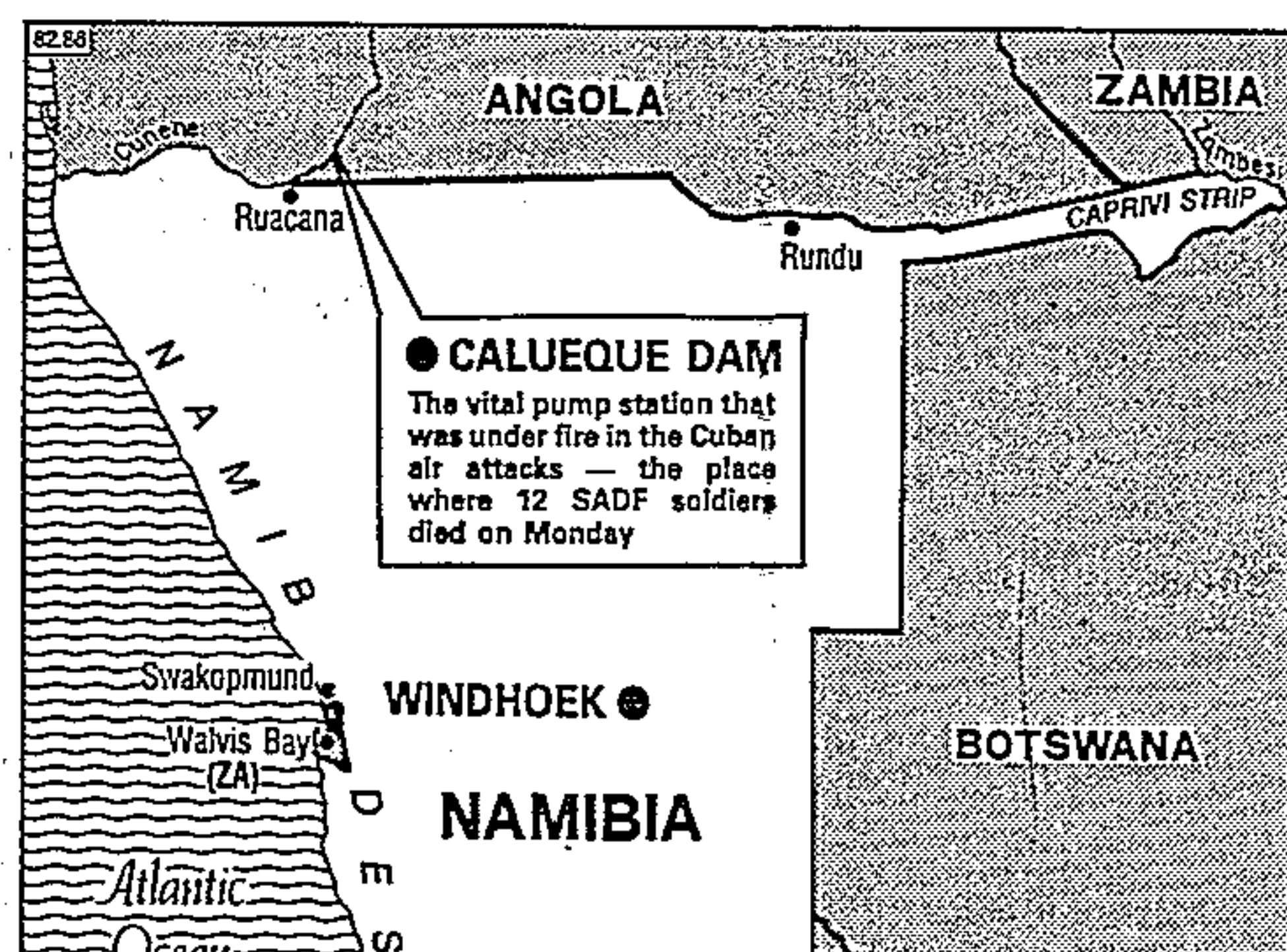
Renewed hostilities on the Angola-Namibia border take place against the background of the resumed peace negotiations which may now be in jeopardy as a result. WILLEM STEENKAMP discusses the situation from a South African vantage point while ANTHONY ROBINSON and ROBERT GRAHAM of the Financial Times, London, give perspectives from outside of what is at stake in this long-running regional conflict.

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What options are left for South Africa?

By ANTHONY ROBINSON
JOHANNESBURG. — The sight of freight trains thundering through the empty miles of Namibia to their destination, the military logistics base at Grootfontein, sows some doubt in the mind about South African intentions.

From Grootfontein a tarred road runs straight to the Angolan border, some 95 miles away. From the other bases such as Ruacana, Oshakati and Ondangwa it is a lot less. From the further-most base of Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi strip the whole of central Africa is within air range.

Does the South African military really intend to give up this string of bases from which it can intimidate half the continent? If so, at what price?

Such are the difficult questions raised by the flurry of negotiations aimed at seeking peace in Angola and independence for Namibia. They are complicated by the military moves accompanying the current diplomatic manoeuvres.

These include recent infiltration of about 11 000 more Cuban troops into southern Angola and fears that experienced Cuban pilots flying MiG-23 jets have reduced, if not eliminated, the air superiority once enjoyed by South African pilots.

Thanks to the UN arms embargo they are reduced to flying Pretoria's ageing fleet of Mirage, Buccaneer and Canberra fighter-bombers and light-weight Impala fighter-trainers. The bush telegraph, fed by the tales of returning national servicemen, reports that South African helicopter medivac and other military operations in Angola now take place mainly by night to prevent being caught in daylight without air cover.

Pretoria, which has just announced partial mobilization of its "citizen force", worries that Moscow and Washington are in cahoots, happy to see Fidel Castro put the wind up a government which has defied United Nations demands that it give independence to the ex-German colony it has ruled since 1915.

In theory Pretoria is in favour of granting independence to the UN trust territory under the terms of UN resolution 435. This calls for elections to a constituent assembly under the watchful eye of a 7 000-strong UN force.

In practice it has been delighted to put off the day when a government

probably dominated by the South West African People's Organization raises the red flag over Windhoek. Up to now it has done so largely thanks to the US government.

Both Washington and Pretoria insists that independence be linked to the removal of 40 000 Cuban and Soviet bloc forces and advisers from Angola.

What remains to be seen is whether South Africa still sees this as a fair trade. Ideally Pretoria would like to see the Cubans out of Angola and a coalition government in Luanda which included Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the South African backed Unita rebels. It would like to add expulsion of Swapo and the African National Congress from Angolan bases and achieve all this while retaining effective control over Namibia.

In practice the economic dependence of Namibia on South Africa for electricity, transport, markets and sources of supply means that any future government over the 1 m inhabitants of this mineral-rich country of scrub, mountain and desert would enjoy no more real independence in its early years than other countries in the region such as Swaziland or Lesotho.

But Pretoria worries about the impact on the white electorate of Namibia and South Africa of "selling out Namibia" and the possible impact of a Marxist-oriented Swapo government led by Mr Sam Nujoma on opinion in the black townships of South Africa.

This, it fears, would raise expectations about the inevitability of black majority rule in South Africa too and bring the border with independent black Africa down to the line of the Orange River.

South Africa's internationalism at stake in Angola

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This presence has been maintained at considerable sacrifice in terms of loss of life, and for Dr Castro to agree to withdraw he would need to be able to provide some tangible gain.

The gain would also have to reflect the fact that African solidarity plays a special role in the official mythology of Cuba, and the Cubans find the State Department less instinctively anti-Cuban.

At a minimum therefore, the Cuban leadership would need to be able to show that Angola sovereignty had been fully respected (i.e. a full withdrawal of all South African and South African backed forces from Angolan territory). It would also require that Namibia is given a prospect of independence

By ROBERT GRAHAM

with international guarantees against South African interventionism.

Neither of these can be easily negotiated. However, the Cubans have been encouraged by what they see as a more "responsible" attitude on the part of the US. While having few illusions about Washington's ultimate ability to twist Pretoria's arm, the Cubans find the State Department less instinctively anti-Cuban.

Professor Wayne Smith, a leading expert on Cuba and a former State Department official, noted the change. "For the past seven years the Reagan Administration has been putting Angolan policy on the wrong foot, seeing the obstacle as the presence of Cuban troops. Now it is prepared to see that the main obstacle is the South Africans' unwill-

ingness to give up Namibia."

Prof Smith also maintains that US pragmatism dealing with Cuba over Angola reflects the compartmentalization of the State Department, African Affairs are under Mr Chester Crocker, far less ideologically identified with the anti-communist right that controls policy towards Latin America. However, in the light of better superpower relations, the State Department overall is adopting a slightly less ideological posture towards Cuba.

As a result the ability to talk with Cuba over Angola has become part of a more general but discreet dialogue. On the assumption that Cuba would now like to break the deadlock of its isolationism with the US, ability to deliver its side of a deal on Angola would clearly help establish good faith.

Both Havana and Moscow may well share the need to achieve the basic minimum results in an agreement over Angola and Namibia. But it would be a mistake to assume that Cuba will act as told by the Soviet leadership, even though Havana is kept afloat on Soviet aid. Cuba has on occasions been more willing to take risks in combat than the Soviet Union would like and there have been reports of disagreement on tactics against South African incursions.

The Cubans are unlikely to accept that all their nationals leave Angola and will want to retain advisers and technicians, both because the Angolans need them and because so much of Cuban foreign policy is geared to an "internationalist role".

Most of these have had military training, and in the case of Grenada the US was more than willing to regard them as military advisors even though they were working in the construction and aid fields.

Attack was for image-building

Defence Correspondent

ALTHOUGH the Calueque fighting is still veiled by bi-lateral official secrecy, it would appear that the attack was mainly a Cuban image-building exercise which did not go off quite as intended.

From Cuba's point of view Calueque was, no doubt, ideal for this purpose.

Firstly, it is situated well inside the Angolan border, so an attack on its garrison could not be construed as aggression against SWA/Namibia but presented as defence of Angolan territorial sovereignty.

Secondly, the South African force was not large: its exact size is not yet known, but logic and a few facts indicate it was about a battalion (nominally 800 men) of infantry reinforced by armoured cars and/or tanks, some anti-tank weapons, perhaps some heavy mortars and just possibly some artillery.

All this would tend to identify Calueque as the chance of snatching a relatively cheap and easy victory — given the local imbalance of forces — which could be convincingly portrayed worldwide not only as a Cuban military victory but also defence of Angolan soil against South African aggression.

In addition, closing down the Calueque barrage could do some mischief to the South Africans, although contingency planning over the past few years has ensured that it is not the Achilles heel it once was.

Closing it down might disrupt the northern SWA/Namibian electrical power supply to northern SWA/Namibia to some extent, and possibly affect the Ovambo-land irrigation system, an integral part of the anti-Swapo "hearts-and-minds" campaign — all this at a time when Ovambo-land is experiencing its driest period in 15 years.

Such considerations might well have outweighed the assurances about the South African presence which were apparently given at the Brazzaville talks.

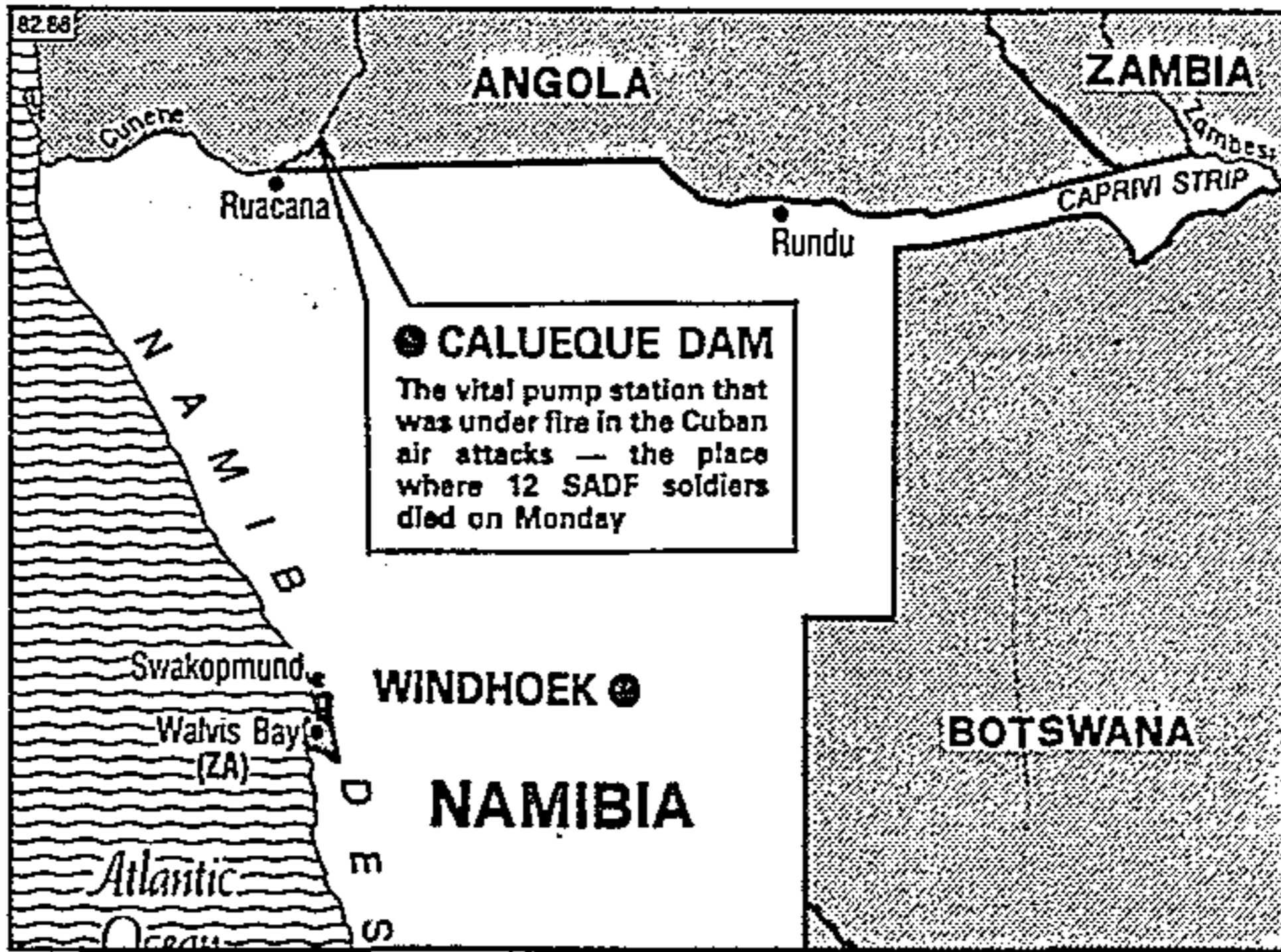
It is possible the Cubans made a miscalculation as regards the size and capability of the South African force and the fire support it could call on; it would appear from the imbalance of casualties that the initial ground attack was resolved mainly by an exchange of fire rather than hand-to-hand fighting.

Having been beaten off, the Cubans apparently resorted to an aerial attack aimed at the barrage wall, knowing the South Africans' relative weakness in anti-aircraft defences and taking advantage of the mountainous terrain, which inhibits defensive radar coverage; one overshooting bomb which missed the wall accounted for all the South African casualties.

The cardinal question now is the likely South African reaction and its effect on the peace pro-

cess. Given that the Calueque barrage is no longer vital to Ruacana and that in any case it seems to have been badly damaged in the fighting, it would seem to have no further military value. The future would appear to depend on face-saving requirements and other such political factors.

Renewed hostilities on the Angola-Namibia border take place against the background of the resumed peace negotiations which may now be in jeopardy as a result. WILLEM STEENKAMP discusses the situation from a South African vantage point while ANTHONY ROBINSON and ROBERT GRAHAM of the Financial Times, London, give perspectives from outside of what is at stake in this long-running regional conflict.



What opt for South

By ANTHONY ROBINSON

JOHANNESBURG. — The sight of freight trains thundering through the empty miles of Namibia to their destination, the military logistics base at Grootfontein, sows some doubt in the mind about South African intentions.

From Grootfontein a tarred road runs straight to the Angolan border, some 95 miles away. From the other bases such as Ruacana, Oshakati and Ondangwa it is a lot less. From the further-most base of Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi strip the whole of central Africa is within air range.

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Cuba's internationalism at stake in Angola

THE Cuban government has always prefaced any remarks about South Africa by referring to the "racist" white minority regime. Yet since the latest series of negotiations began on Cuban troop withdrawals and the future of Namibia, official language has been less aggressive.

This is just one small indication that the Cubans have gone into those negotiations with serious intent. For the Cubans, their presence in Angola is a complex, and emotional issue, and their offer to carry out a phased four-year withdrawal has not been taken lightly, and should not be seen as pure posturing.

President Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, has invested considerable personal prestige in the Angolan venture. With the Cuban military presence approaching 41 000 and a further 5 000 to 6 000 civilian advisers and technicians in Angola, this accounts for over half Cuba's total overseas "internationalist" commitment.

This presence has been maintained at considerable sacrifice in terms of loss of life, and for Dr Castro to agree to withdraw he would need to be able to provide some tangible gain.

The gain would also have to reflect the fact that African solidarity plays a special role in the official mythology of Cuban support against international imperialism. Cuba's population contains a significant proportion of ethnic Africans who dominate particular elements of culture, notably music.

At a minimum therefore, the Cuban leadership would need to be able to show that Angola sovereignty had been fully respected (i.e. a full withdrawal of all South African and South African backed forces from Angolan territory). It would also require that Namibia is given a prospect of independence

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LETTERS

SADE tells
how attack
happened

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force yesterday gave details of how the Cuban attack on Calueque happened.

The SADF's operations director, Brigadier Pieter Gagiano, said the first attack came on Monday at 11am when Angolan-Cuban troops moving in three columns attacked South African forces 36km from Techipa, halfway to Calueque.

The columns comprised 600 infantry, supported by a battalion of 35 T54/55 tanks.

Heavy fire was spread across a 4-5km front in the attack which lasted just under an hour. One South African soldier was killed and two South African armoured personnel carriers were damaged and later destroyed.

South Africa destroyed two Angolan tanks and Angolan casualties, initially said to be 200, were now estimated at

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From page 1

more than 300 (100 Cubans and 200 Angolans).

The Angolan-Cuban forces fell back in the direction of Techipa.

The air attack by the MiG-23s which followed three hours later was a "surprise attack" because of the low altitude at which the aircraft approached Calueque, Brig Gagiano said.

The death of 11 national servicemen was a "coincidence", he said. The fatal explosion was caused by a "stray bomb which fell off target east of the dam wall in an area where South African camouflaged troops were replenishing their supplies".

He said SADF troops had been deployed in the vicinity and north-west of the water works for years.

The aircraft took off from Angola's major airbase at Lubango and reached Calueque from a north-westerly direction via Techipa, Brig Gagiano said.

The aircraft dropped a number of bombs on the dam, three of which damaged the dam wall, cutting off the electricity supply to Calueque as well as water pipelines taking water from the dam to the canal linking Calueque and Ovamboland.

Brig Gagiano said the Angolans' apparent aim was to damage the dam wall. "Because they could not achieve this with their advancing ground forces an air attack was launched."

An aviation expert at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Mr Don Kerr, said that from reports he had seen it appeared the South Africans had been "caught on the hop".

The Angolan air force, he said, had improved tremendously in both quality and size. The operation of their ground air defence system had also markedly improved.

"Without having the specific details, the impression I get is that the attack occurred in a situation where the South Africans were not expecting to be attacked by aircraft.

"However, the people carrying out the attack can limit the effectiveness of radar by carrying out attacks at a low level. They would start high initially and descend to as low as about 16,6m. If the aircraft has sufficient range at that level the radar will not pick them up until it's too late.

To attack at about 16,6m required great skill and if "the people in Angola (whether Angolans or Cubans) have not practised assiduously at this level they would not be able to fly this low".

Mr Kerr said the SAAF's main problem was that it could not afford to lose aircraft.

A researcher with the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mr André du Pisani, said in Johannesburg yesterday that the air attacks demonstrated Angolan air superiority in the escalating battle for military supremacy in southern Angola.

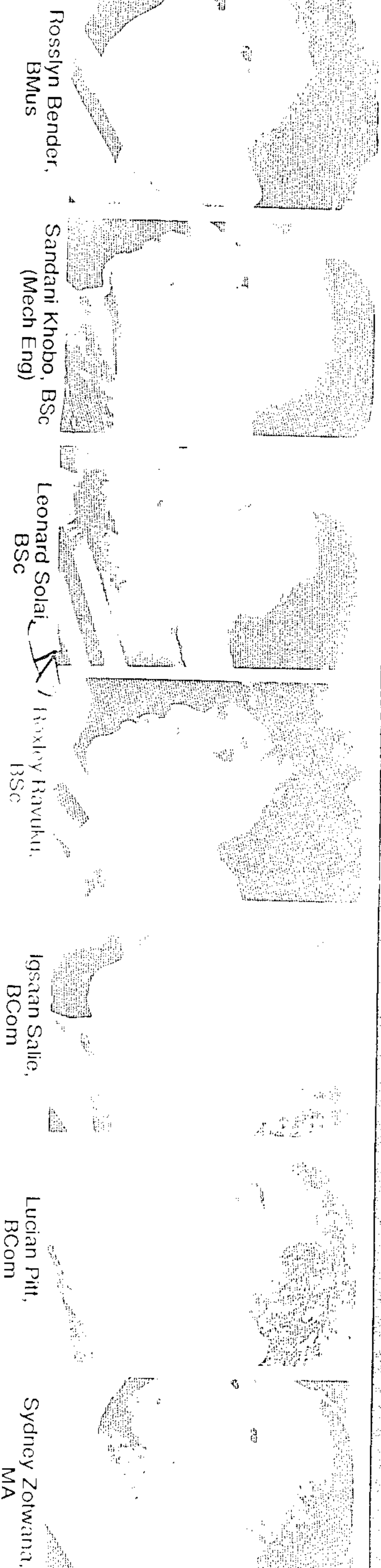
The upgrading and introduction of a higher level of technology in its aircraft, such as the deployment of the sophisticated MiG-23 bomber aircraft, had put the Angolans in a superior position, he said.

In combination with their extensive radar network the Angolans were now in a position to maximize and integrate ground and air support.

While South Africa could claim air superiority until 1986, especially in Angola's southern provinces, South Africa had not been able to match the level of military technology available to the Angolans through its Soviet aid, Mr Du Pisani said. —

Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuter

UCT GRADUATION ... UCT GRADUATION ... UCT GRADUATION ...



62 Masters at UCT graduation

PRIL 21S and ministers should be trained to promote social ethics if the church wanted to combat apartheid effectively, Archbishop Denis Hurley, said at the mid-year graduation ceremony of the University of Cape Town.

Hurley spoke of the successful implementation of social ethics in the Christian-based communities of Latin America, where liberation theology was born.

"There is a tendency in South Africa to look upon liberation theology as a serious departure from Christian orthodoxy," said Hurley.

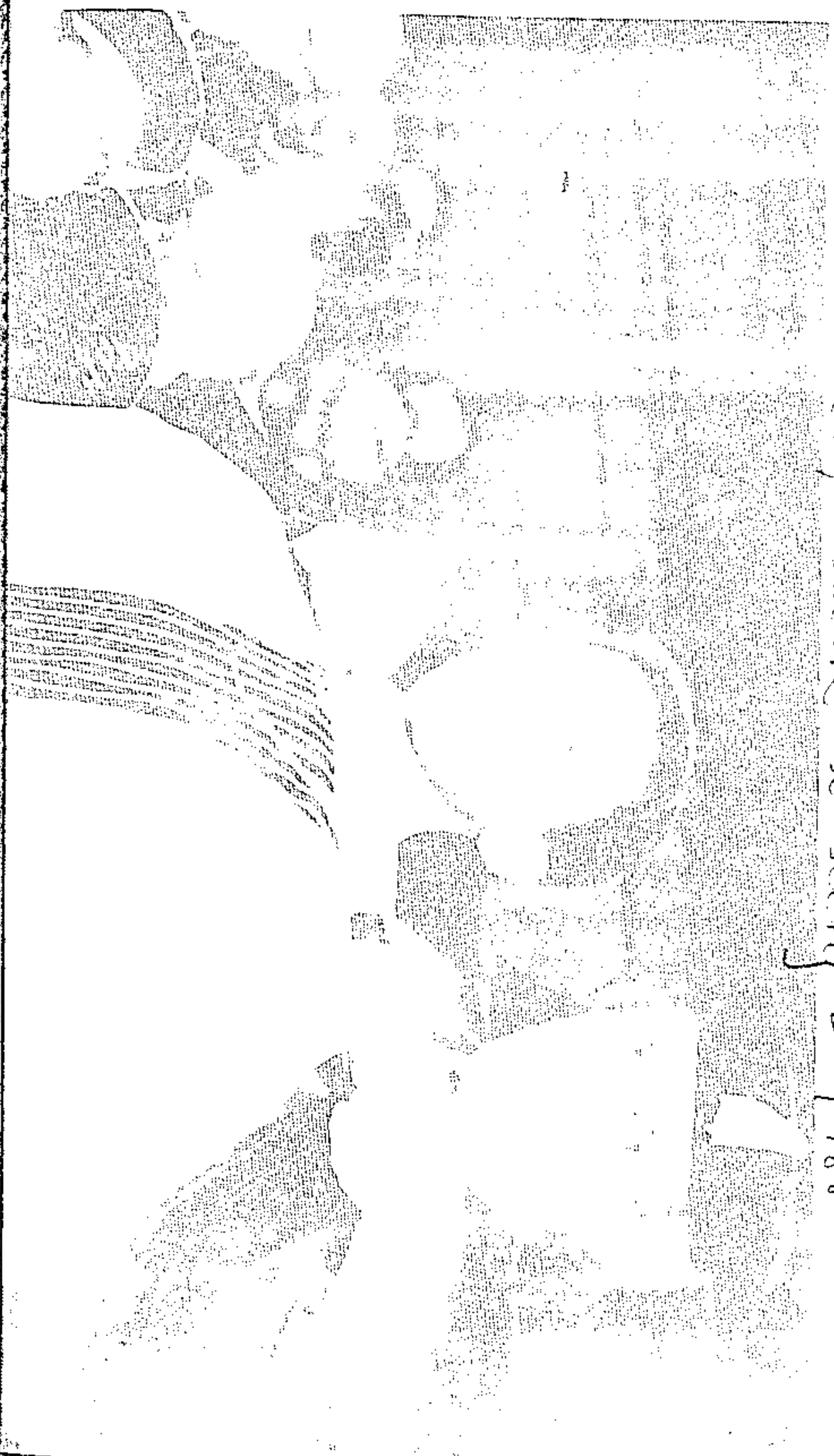
"But in itself liberation theology is the application of the Christian gospel to situations of oppression which in that sense is highly orthodox and praiseworthy."

Hurley was one of four eminent South Africans who received honorary doctorates at the ceremony.

About 550 other degrees, including 62 Masters degrees and 26 PhDs, were conferred by the university's chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

SRC president Mr Cameron Dugmore, received his LLB.

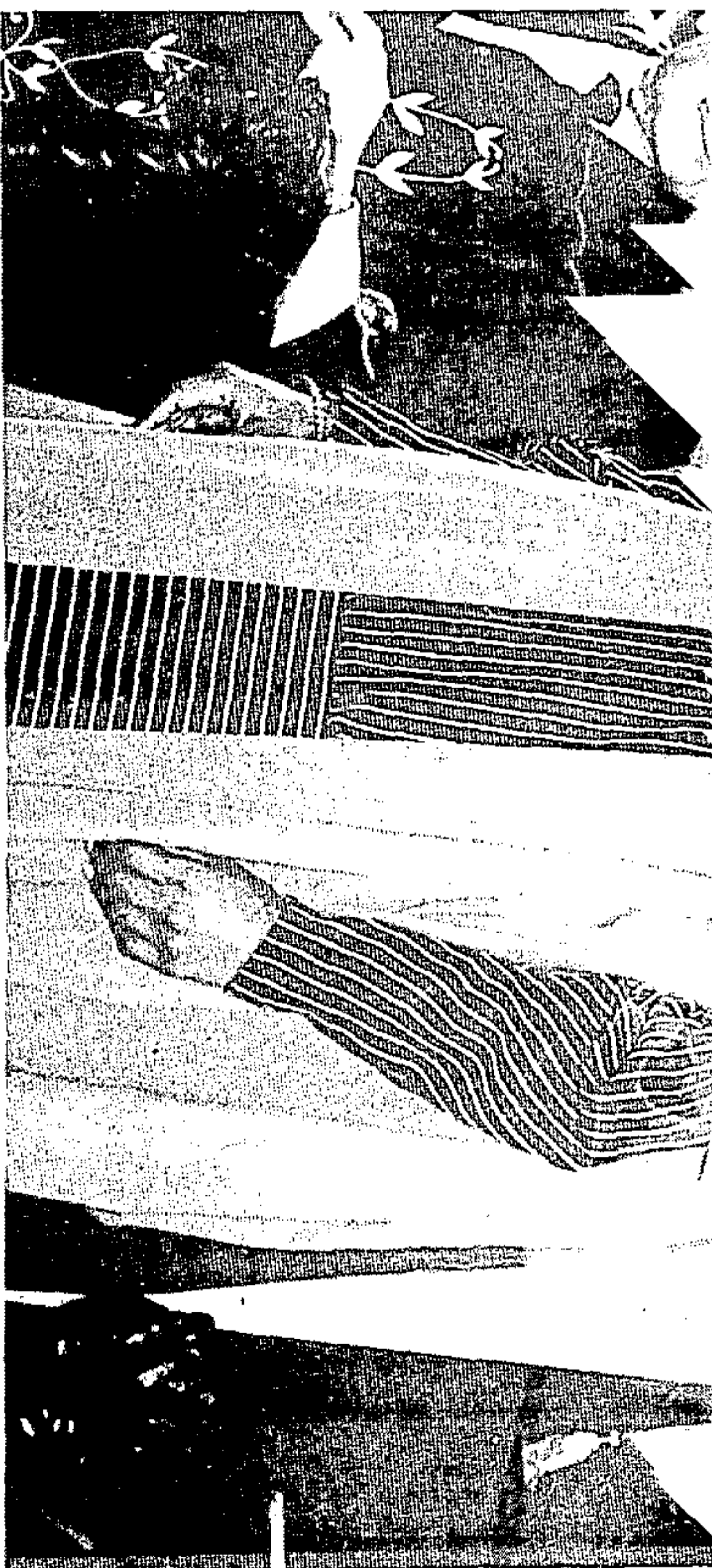
Among the hundreds of proud relatives assembled in Jameson Hall were two women dressed in traditional tribal costume.



UCT, 30 July 1988



Anxious moments ... Graduates awaiting their turn



Vinolia Vuyelwa Kuku Voyi, PhD



Mangaka Clara Matoetoe Mona, BSc (Hon)



Some of the relatives and friends who attended last week's ceremony

UCT GRADUATION ... UCT GRADUATION ... UCT GRADUATION ...

From NEIL LURSEN, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government, clearly dismayed by this week's bloody military clash near Calueque in the midst of the delicate Angolan peace negotiations, has told the parties in the conflict it is up to them to choose between war and peace.

The US reacted swiftly to news of the clash, declaring its determination to continue the peace effort and adapting what appeared to be a markedly even-handed position, perhaps to emphasise its sponsorship role in the negotiations.

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said in a prepared statement here: "It is for the parties to decide whether they want to bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion or whether they wish to pursue illusory military solutions."

Mr Redman said the US still expected to host a round of talks at senior expert level in the week of July 11.

"Concerning the fighting, we have long made clear our view that neither Cuban nor South African troops should be in Angola," he said.

"As the Cuban military build-up has increased in the past several months, we have pointed out to all sides the dangers inherent in maintaining hostile military forces in close proximity to each other.

Aim of efforts

"Our active mediation effort is aimed at achieving a peaceful negotiated resolution to the conflict. Only through success in this endeavour can we avert the unfortunate sort of confrontations that have now occurred.

"In both London and Cairo, all sides expressed their intention to pursue vigorously a diplomatic solution that would result in the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Angola, and independence for Namibia.

"Further military clashes can only exacerbate the situation," he warned.

Sapa reports that in Cape Town the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said that if the Defence Force did not act when provoked, as it did after the Calueque air raid, loss of life would be much higher later.

The general said in an interview on SABC-TV last night that South Africa was the ultimate goal of the Cuban revolutionary onslaught.

Although South Africa was striving for peace for the sub-continent, it could not allow the export of terrorism from Angola to SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

He described the Cubans as a destructive force living off the Angolan people.

General Malan said South Africa had "never had her nose bloodied" in the 21-year revolutionary war.

Referring to further peace talks, the general said South Africa would now have to convert challenges into opportunities and that it would have to do its utmost at the negotiating table.

If this did not succeed, challenges would have to be met in some other way.

Awaits replies

The Argus Political Staff report that in the interview Foreign Minister Pik Botha took a dove-ish approach to the Cuban attack, suggesting that South Africa should not go on the offensive in retaliation.

He indicated that he thought



Lieutenant Noah Tucker, 23, of Germiston — killed in battle near Calueque.



Rifleman Philippus Marx, 19, of Middelburg — killed in the bombing raid.

it was better for South Africa to wait for an attack in positions where it was strong, with assured supply lines "instead of marching into the enemy fire".

Mr Botha said he was still awaiting a response to messages he sent to the American and Angolans governments, telling them that the Calueque attack had destroyed the Cubans' credibility at the peace negotiations.

Mr Botha has also been reported as saying that he did not think the Calueque attack was in retaliation for the diplomatic success which the South Africans achieved at the Cairo peace talks last week.

He said he believed that the Cuban military commander responsible for the attack was uninformed about what had happened in Cairo.

Meanwhile, a more optimistic note from London is that the peace talks are expected to remain on course in spite of this week's clashes.

The Argus Foreign Service

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

P.T.O

General Malan . . .
South Africa the ul-
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Cuban revolution-
ary onslaught.



Angola talks still in balance after Calueque fighting

WAR OR PEACE?

MALAN 30/6/88

(S21)

Angola talks

(Continued from page 1)

reports that strategists in the British capital believe that a relatively firm basis of understanding has developed between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States during the talks so far.

Some diplomatic sources agree — but they warn that military clashes could affect bilateral relations, particularly between Angola and South Africa.

In Cape Town yesterday the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on military matters, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville), told the Assembly the Cuban attack on the Caluque water works in Angola, which supplied desperately needed water to SWA/Namibia, was a callous act.

He expressed his sympathy with the relatives of the dead South African soldiers and wished the injured a speedy recovery.

Also in the Assembly the leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, said it was to be hoped that this week's clash would not spike efforts to bring about peace in the territory.

● See Page 25

US still willing to host peace talks

WASHINGTON. — The next round of Angolan peace talks is still on.

That is according to a US State Department spokesman who said that while the US condemned the upsurge in fighting, it was still prepared to host peace talks next month.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the clash had jeopardized the next round of peace talks.

He said there "could hardly be any semblance of good faith" following the Cuban attack.

South Africa has sent messages of protest to the US and Angolan government.

It is understood that the Cuban government has also made representations to the State Department in Washington presenting its side of the case.

Speaking on TV last night the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said: "We cannot accept the sort of talk-fight

situation that we have at the moment."

There was widespread reaction to the attacks from all the political parties in Parliament yesterday.

The Conservative Party said Mr Pik Botha and General Malan should be replaced by more competent negotiators for whom negotiations were more important than camel rides and sight-seeing tours.

In Parliament yesterday, the Speaker rejected a Conservative Party request that the Angola clashes in which 12 South Africans died be debated as a matter of urgent public interest.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday expressed sympathy to the families of the dead soldiers but demanded to know why South African troops continued to occupy parts of southern Angola. — Political Correspondent, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

MIG attacks

SA troops died in freak hit as Cuban jets came in below radar

SA Trifc 30/6/88

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JOHANNESBURG. — The bomb attack on Calueque came from 12 MiG-23s which flew below radar range in a bid to destroy the dam, the SADF said yesterday.

The 11 South African national servicemen died when one of the bombs missed the dam by 600 metres and landed between two South African armoured vehicles, said SADF operations-director Brigadier Pieter Gagiano yesterday.

The air strike, which occurred about 2pm, was the second contact between South Africa and combined Angolan/Cuban forces on Monday. The earlier attack, involving infantry and armour, claimed the life of a 12th South African soldier.

The attacks highlight the lead Cuba is taking in Angola's 13-year-old bush war. Cuba

has launched an unprecedented drive towards the border of South African-ruled Namibia, which appears to have the support of the Angolan government.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola was quoted by Tass as saying the raid was necessary.

According to UPI, Tass reported that Mr Dos Santos said the movement of Angolan troops backed by Cuban forces "pursues the aim of restoring sovereignty throughout the republic's territory".

Defensive role

Cuba, which so far has played a largely defensive role in Angola, has boosted its presence to the highest level ever — about 50 000 troops.

While neither the Angolans nor Cubans gave detailed accounts of the encounters, the official Angolan news agency Angop yesterday claimed that 26 white SADF soldiers died in Monday's battle and ridiculed South Afri-

ca's claim that more than 300 Cuban and Angolan troops had been killed.

"The (Angolan and Cuban) casualty figure is an exaggeration aimed at justifying such a high South African death toll," the agency said, quoting military sources. Only eight Angolan soldiers were killed in the fighting, according to Angop, which made no mention of Cubans.

In reply, the Defence Force updated their statement on Tuesday saying that "the facts speak for themselves and are at least open to public scrutiny".

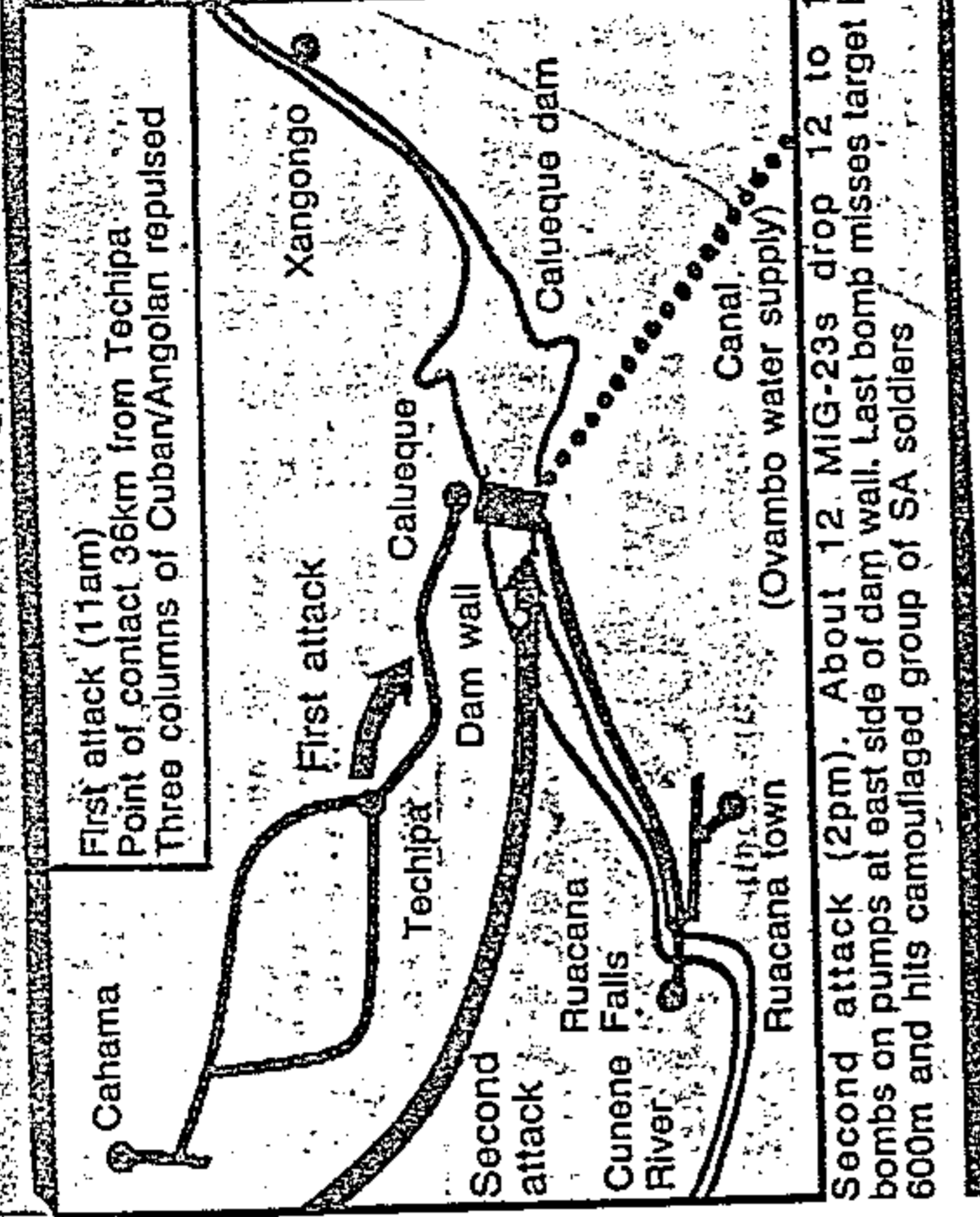
"It will serve no purpose to react to this sort of propaganda," the Defence Force said.

Officials from the United States, which is mediating in peace talks between South Africa and Angola and Cuba, see Cuba playing the biggest role yet since the first Cuban troops went to Angola in 1975 to bolster the government against Unita forces.

"It's obvious to us the Cubans are running the war in the south west of Angola ... They

The Angolan confrontation

How it happened



are making the decisions," a senior US State Department official told reporters after the latest round of four-party peace talks in Cairo on June 24-25.

The US official, who asked not to be named, said the military situation had changed dramatically in the past few months in southwestern Angola, particularly in the war-torn province of Cunene which borders Namibia.

Rolled forward

Cuban troops, who had held a defensive line along the 15th parallel bisecting southern Angola, 300km north of the Namibian frontier, have rolled forward with reinforcements to within a few kilometres of the border.

Angolan officials say government forces have strict orders not to cross the frontier from Cunene into Namibia. But Cuban troops have never before been so close to Namibia and South Africa is worried about Swapo guerrillas using the Cuban advance as a security umbrella under which to step up their attacks.

Cuban officials in Calueque were jubilant about the success of the recent advance which they said had greatly reduced the Angolan territory controlled by South African troops. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuters.

NAMIBIA — GENERAL

1988

JULY, — AUGUST

- inside the YCW. For those who are working, specific issues being looked at are:
1. Health and safety at work;
 2. Hours of work; and
 3. Salaries.
- We are also looking at representation at work. The programme also involves young workers outside the YCW.
- Affiliations:
 Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference;
 The International Young Christian Workers.
- Periodicals
1. 'Young Worker' Newspaper - 4 times a year
 2. Pamphlets on specific things like - workers rights, information on what a trade union is etc.

Calueque 'under guard'

BY WILLEM STEENKAMP
Defence Correspondent

THE Calueque pumping station in Angola — scene of Monday's firefight and bombing raid by Cubans on a South African force — is still under guard, a spokesman for the SADF said last night.

"Elements of the SADF and the SWA Territory Force are still in the area to protect the water supply to drought-stricken Ovamboland," the spokesman said.

It is reliably understood that the SADF presence has not been enlarged since Monday's fighting and that there is no intention of fortifying the area around Calueque, except to the extent necessary for the troops' safety.

Cubans 'destroy four Ratels'

HARARE. — Cuba yesterday claimed it had destroyed four South African Ratel armoured personnel carriers and captured one intact during Monday's fighting near Calueque in Angola.

The South African Defence Force did not directly deny the claim, but said a "factual statement had been issued on Tuesday, June 28, and updated on Wednesday, June 29. The facts speak for themselves and are at least open to public scrutiny".

The Cuban ministry of defence statement, issued by the Ziana news agency here, said the captured Ratel contained "many maps, documents and infantry weapons".

The Cuban statement claimed the MiG-23 air strike on South African troops had been ordered in retaliation for an earlier South African attack.

It also denied South African claims that 200 to 300 Angolan-Cuban soldiers had been killed. It claimed to have lost only 10 men.

The statement said no Cuban-Angolan vehicle was destroyed, but admitted to having a Cuban T-55 tank damaged.

The Cubans claimed long-range South African artillery pounded Cuban-Angolan positions on Sunday, provoking the MiG response.

The statement said a strong South African patrol belonging to the "regular forces' 61st mechanized battalion" was intercepted 17km from the town of Techiva. It claimed the South African patrol was "almost annihilated".

It claimed South African reinforcements were "intercepted, stopped and stricken by our airforce".

Yesterday Angolan state radio claimed

South Africa was massing troops at Calueque in preparation for a push northwards.

The radio, monitored by Reuters in Lusaka, quoted Angolan military sources as saying there was a big concentration of South African forces at Calueque.

● A former chief of the Cuban Air Force in Angola, Major-General Rafael del Pino, said the Cuban troops in southern Angola were not capable of mounting a successful full-scale attack on South African forces.

Speaking in an interview with the Spanish service of Radio RSA, General Del Pino, who defected to the United States last year, said the Cubans did not have the training, the organizational capacity, the communications system or the logistical support to mount such an attack.

He said if the Cubans attacked the South African forces they would be very heavily defeated. — Sapa-Reuter

The gulf between SA and Angolan positions



ANGOLAN foreign minister Alfonso van Dunon arriving at the talks on Angola and Namibia.

EVEN if the current talks to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers, and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which 212 soldiers, including 12 South Africans, died — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be signed.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid before the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

Details of the proposals and counter-proposals have been monitored as closely and as accurately as possible by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the SA Institute on International Affairs, who made them available to the *Sowetan*.

They focus essentially

Peace talks complex and fragile process

on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and, as importantly, how they should leave.

Phases

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola;

FOCUS

Sowetan Correspondent

- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year;
 - After three years 5000 Cuban troops to be restricted to Luanda and 10000 deployed to protect the oil-rich Cabinda Province in the far north; and
 - After four years total withdrawal of Cuban troops.
- Implementation of the Angolan-Cuban withdrawal time table, however, is dependent on South Africa fulfilling several conditions. These include the obvious demand of a

withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it, however, are further demands:

- A cessation of South African support for Unita guerrillas or, as Luanda labels them, "bandits";
- A firm agreement to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia as outlined in UN Resolution 435 of 1978; and
- Conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo guerrillas or, as Pretoria sees them, "terrorists".

South Africa's counter-proposals, Mr du Pisani says, envisage a much speedier exodus of Cubans.

It is a three-phase withdrawal over 12 weeks: all but 12000 Cuban soldiers to leave within six weeks,

Another 3000 to depart within nine weeks of the start of the count-down for their exodus and, finally, a total withdrawal at the end of three months.

South Africa's 12 week timetable is designed to match the schedule laid down for a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia under Resolution 435, Mr du Pisani explains.

The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one, which stipulates that all but 1500 SA soldiers should be withdrawn from Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1500 troops should be located at pre-arranged bases;

Election

- Phase two, which provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the SA-appointed Administrator General and a UN representative, with a UN peace force, Untag, deployed to help hold the ring during the elections.

After the election of a constituent assembly as the final step to establishment of an independent Namibia, all South African troops will depart in terms of the UN plan.

It requires no great exercise of imagination to see how far the two positions are from one another and how easily the talks can deadlock, even without the additional aggravating factor of the Cuban build up along the Namibian border in southern Angola — defended by Angola's President dos Santos as a legitimate exercise of its sovereignty over all Angola — and the consequent bloody clash on Monday.

The imponderable question of just how many Cuban and South African soldiers are in Angola, and the demands of the smaller players, Swapo and Unita, and the concerns of their patrons, further compound the complex and fragile process.

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Still a huge gap between SA and Angola in talks

EVEN if the current talks to end the Angola and SWA/Namibia conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which more than 200 men, including 12 South Africans, died — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be signed.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid on the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

Details of the proposals and counter-proposals have been monitored by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

They focus essentially on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and how they should leave.

Four phases

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola.
- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year.

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vious demand for a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it, however, are further demands: a cessation of South African support for Unita guerrillas, a firm agreement to implement the United Nations peace plan for SWA/Namibia as outlined in resolution 435 of 1978 and conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo.

South Africa's counter-proposal, Mr du Pisani says, envisages a much speedier exodus of Cubans.

It is a three-phase withdrawal over 12 weeks:

- All but 12 000 Cuban soldiers to leave within six weeks.

- Another 3 000 to depart within nine weeks of the start of the countdown for their exodus.

- Finally, a total withdrawal at

the end of three months.

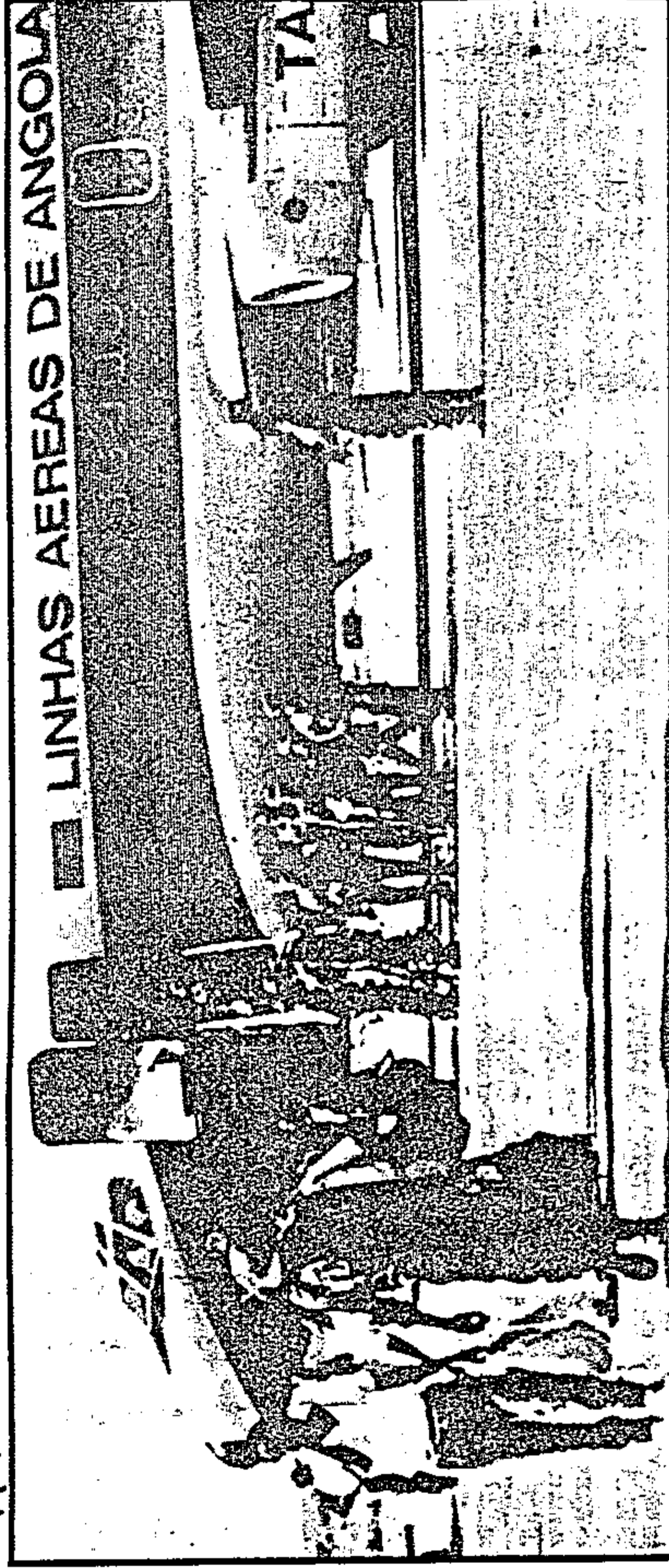
South Africa's 12-week timetable is designed to match the schedule laid down for a South African troop withdrawal from SWA/Namibia under resolution 435, says Mr du Pisani.

The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one, which stipulates that all but 1 500 South African soldiers should be withdrawn from SWA/Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1 500 troops should be located at pre-arranged bases.

- Phase two, which provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the Administrator-General and a United Nations representative, with a UN peace force, UNTAG, deployed to

Cuban troops disembarking from an Angolan airliner in the central city of Cuito recently.



help hold the ring during the elections.

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The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

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THE ANGOLAN EQUATION

JEREMY HARDING, just back from Angola, and MICHAEL HOLMAN, Africa Editor of the Financial Times, consider the likely political and military course of the 13-year, four-sided conflict.

LONDON. — The clashes at Caluque on the Angolan border with Namibia earlier this week between South African troops and a joint Cuban-Angolan force are the inevitable outcome of the military build-up in which the focus of the 13-year war has been shifting south.

On the face of it the fighting, in which South Africa claimed to have killed 300 Cubans and Angolans while losing 12 of its own men, could scuttle the current US initiative to end the Angolan war and implement a UN settlement plan for Namibia.

That may well prove to be the case. But a less pessimistic assessment suggests that the military manoeuvrings by all protagonists — South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the South African-backed Unita rebel movement — are designed to secure advantages at the negotiating table, and to anticipate a regional settlement in which Unita's ties with South Africa are severed.

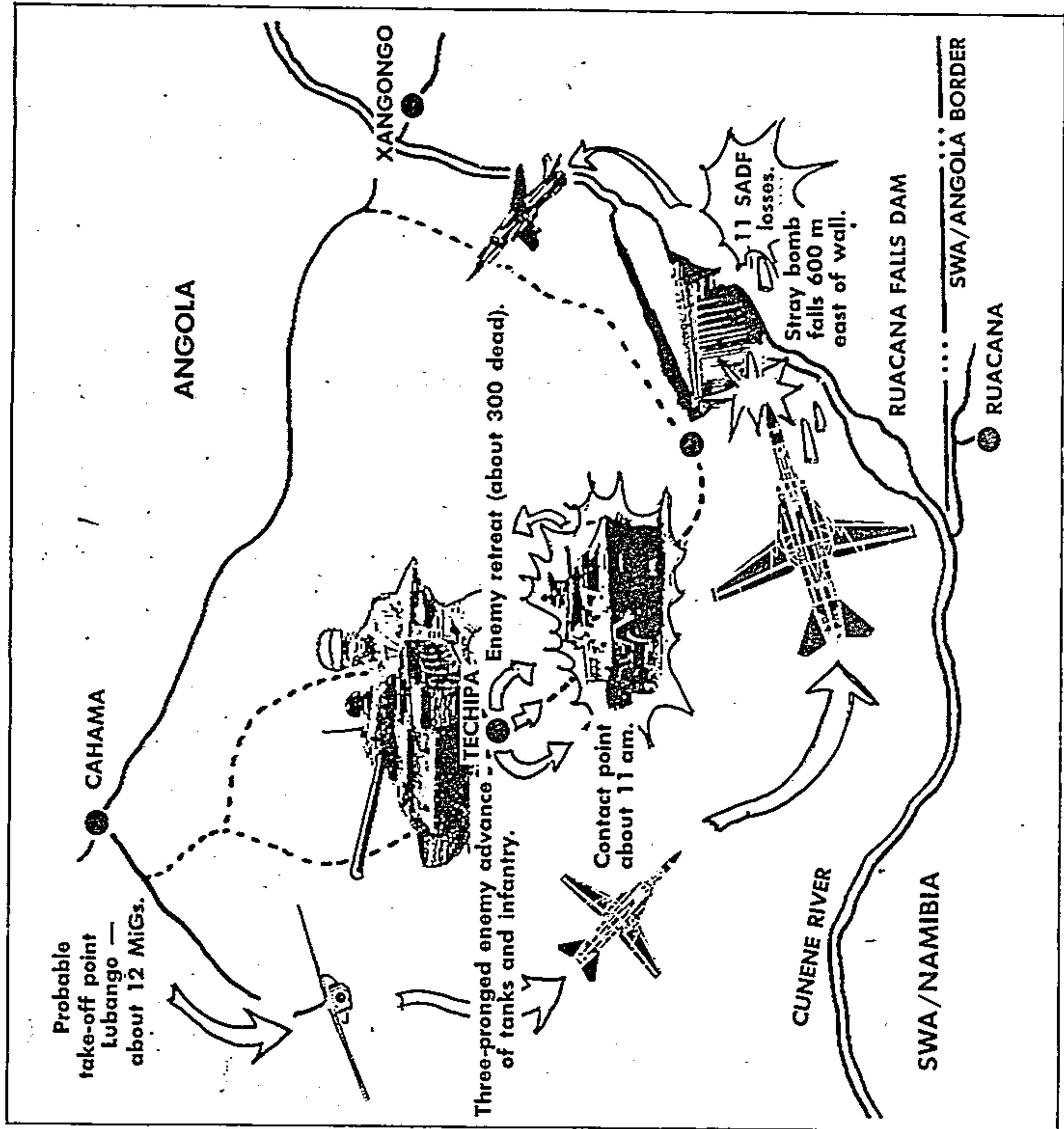
It is a war which ebbs and flows, with several operational areas. However, events over recent months indicate three important developments:

● South Africa's defeat in the battle for the strategic centre of Cuito Cuanavale.

● A Cuban drive south apparently designed to drive a wedge between Unita and South African bases in northern Namibia.

● The possible shift to northern Angola of Unita's main base in a move which would "decouple" the movement from South Africa both militarily and diplomatically.

FOLLOWING the collapse of the Angolan Government's dry season offensive last year against the Unita stronghold of Mavinga in the south-west, all eyes have been on the epic counter-offensive by South African and Unita forces against Cuito Cuanavale.



spokesmen in Britain, there are repeated suggestions that the rebels may be preparing to move from their present southern base at Jamba. Under the new strategy, Unita would open a base at Quimbele, near the northern border

The Red shadow at the talks in Cairo

by JOAO SANTA RITA
Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The Soviet diplomat who flew to Cairo and reportedly saved the Angola peace talks from collapsing will remain a prominent figure in the next round of negotiations, experts on Soviet affairs have said.

Mr Viadilen Mikhailovitch Vasev, 64, who is said to have whipped the Cuban and Angolan delegations into line when the peace talks were about to break, is the Soviet Union's chief Southern Africa official.

A veteran in the Soviet foreign ministry, Mr Vasev has, however, escaped the "winds of change" introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his department of Foreign Affairs which resulted in the retirement of several top officials.

Mrs Susan Roothman, acting director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said Mr Vasev had caught the eye of Soviet watchers as early as 1971 when he was already involved in behind-the-scenes negotiations with other countries.

He is now the head of the Third African Department in the ministry which covers Southern Africa and is a member of the ministry's collegium.

"This is an important position because it is in the foreign affairs collegium that strategies for the Soviet foreign policy are mapped out," she said.

BECAUSE of his positions Mr Vasev is thought to have played an important role in the recent super-power negotiations on Angola and Namibia.

In 1965 Sovietologists gave Mr Vasev, who is not a member of the Communist Party Central Committee, a "C" grading, meaning that his influence in decision-making is regarded as medium.

His experience in present and previous positions with regard to Southern Africa in general is regarded by those experts as "fair".

Diplomatic records show that Mr Vasev was a diplomat in London between 1957 and 1959 and again between 1963 and 1968.

He was deputy chief of the Second European Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1968 and 1975 and was then posted to Washington in 1981.

His European and American experience as a diplomat puts him in a privileged position to negotiate with the Americans on the questions of Southern Africa and he is well known to Dr

...to move from their present southern base at Jamba. Under the new strategy, Unita would open a base at Quimbele, near the northern border with Zaire, which would be supplied via the port of Matadi.

American military supplies to Unita are already being channelled through Kinshasa and the air base at Kamina, in southern Zaire.

If it were true, such a move would have far-reaching implications. It would "decouple" Unita from South Africa — a possibility Dr Jonas Savimbi has to plan for, since a successful outcome to the current Angolan peace talks would end Pretoria's direct support for the rebels.

It also has considerable diplomatic advantages for Dr Savimbi, whose courtship of black Africa has been hampered by his South African connection.

...operations jeopardise the arrival of goods by road and rail from the coastal town of Benguela. At night in Huambo there is small arms fire in the streets and the city, which had one of Unita's biggest car bomb attacks more than a year ago, is burdened with security problems.

Petrol and spare parts are in short supply. Most of the city has no electricity by day, no running water and very little food. Dozens of children maimed by Unita landmines lie in pain in the city hospital because there are not enough drugs.

But reports that the entire rebel operation may now be relocated in the north of the country, with Washington's support, have far greater repercussions in military and diplomatic terms than any developments in the central provinces.

Though denied by Unita's

...the long defence of this key town, which has tied down many of the 40 000 or more Cuban troops based in Angola, appears to have paid off for the Angola Government. Since March, the Angolans and Cubans have occupied a secure forward position about 6.4km beyond the town.

While the important airstrip at Cuito Cuanavale is still reported to be unusable and the town comes under half-hearted bombardment from long-rang South African artillery, many observers believe that this front is no longer decisive.

Far more dramatic developments have occurred to the west, where an estimated 15 000-strong contingent of Cuban troops, backed by Angolan

...to a wider range of Americans to support.

In numerous public speeches in the US in the past fortnight, Dr Savimbi has emphasised his eagerness to stop the conflict and to start talks with the MPLA — even offering to hold talks immediately with an MPLA delegation that is also in Washington this week.

He has also pointedly distanced himself from South Africa's internal policies, declaring that peace in Angola would contribute to a process that would ultimately lead to an end of apartheid.

This week's military clash at Cuito Cuanavale, he said, had nothing to do with Unita but was a matter between South Africa and Cuba involving a water facility built by South African money and enterprise.

At the Press Club, Dr Savimbi said he supported the current four-sided talks aimed at getting the Cubans and South Africa out of Angola and independence for Namibia.

But in the final stages of the talks, he said, Unita and Swapo would have to be involved because Angola's problems would not be solved without direct Unita-MPLA talks, and UN Security Council Resolution 435 could not be implemented without Swapo participation.

At one point during the Press Club address, he was interrupted by a heckler who shouted repeatedly: "Savimbi is a murderer."

The veteran guerrilla leader scored points with his embarrassed audience by saying to laughter that it was good to see the US was a democracy.

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"The US, with the assistance of key African states, should secure the agreement of both Unita and the MPLA on a date for free elections."

The new plan is seen as an attempt to outflank Dr Savimbi's American opponents — mostly liberal Democrats — who reject him because of his ties with South Africa and who are likely to try to force a Democratic Administration to cut off US military support for Unita in 1989.

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Savimbi tells US of his plan for peace

by NEIL LURSEN

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has offered the United States a four-point peace strategy for Angola that emphasises a role for African countries in a reconciliation process.

The rebel leader presented the plan to President Ronald Reagan during a 30-minute meeting in the White House this week and said afterwards he had been assured that the four points would be considered favourably.

Asked to list African countries that supported efforts to bring Unita and the MPLA Government together for talks, Dr Savimbi listed Congo-Brazzaville, Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Togo, Morocco and Cameroon.

The governments of these countries were aware that he would identify them, he said.



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

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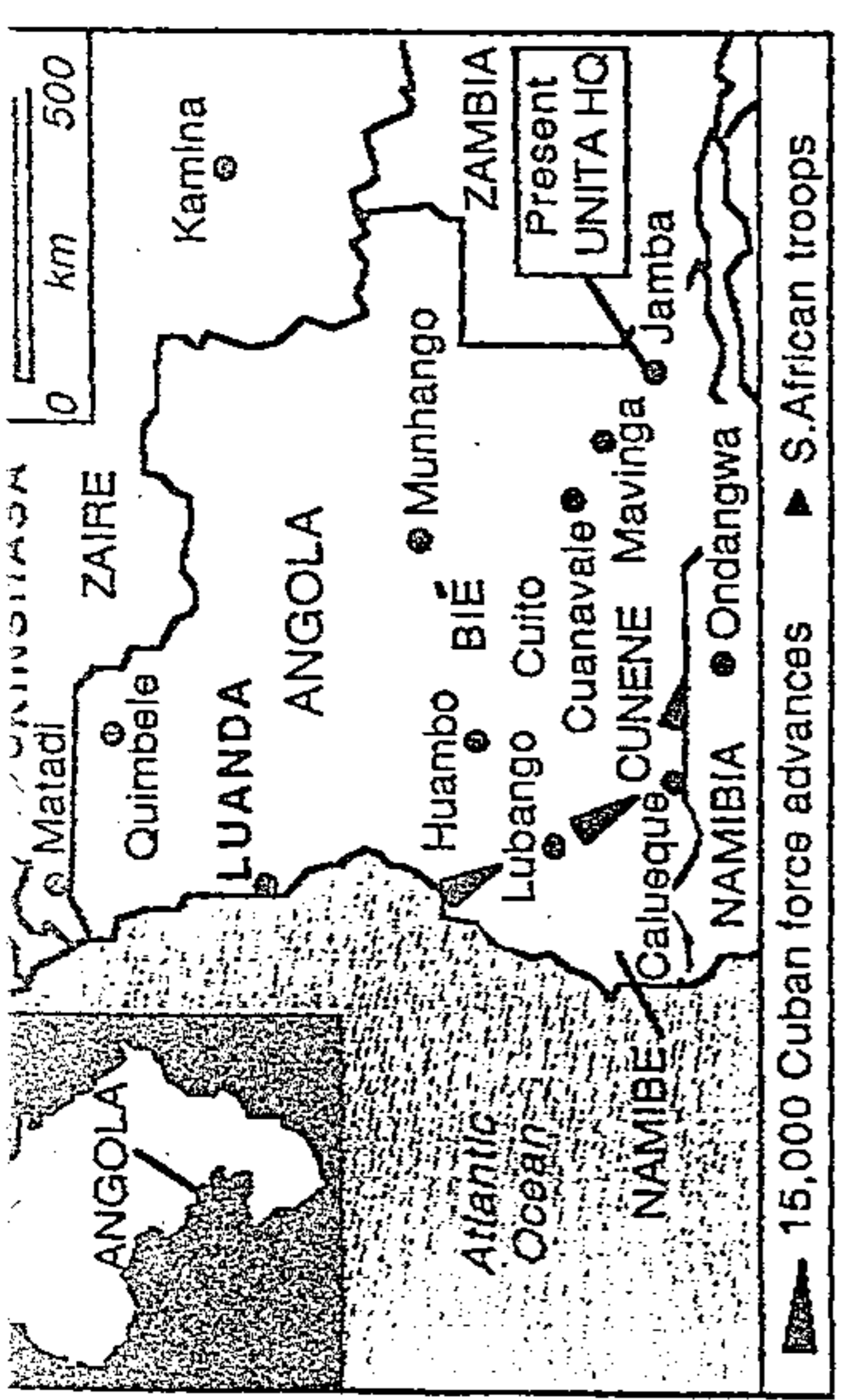
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Opening of the new Kroonvaal Route!

Opening Saturday 2/7/88

The KROONVAAL ROUTE is the first completed section of the proposed N1 Superway and traverses 124 kilometres between Kroonstad and the Vanderbijlpark interchange. This section will save toll road users a distance of 12 kms.

For the convenience of regular Superway users a Prepaid Debit Card facility has been introduced to eliminate the need for drivers to carry cash — These cards are available in denominations of R100, R200 and R500. A cash discount of 2.5% is offered on the face value of the Prepaid Card.

Purchase of the Prepaid Debit Cards can be arranged by telephoning Mrs Mantello Steyn/Mr Graham Tod at Tolcon (011) 53-8820 or alternatively at the Vaal Plaza Mr. Norman Levine or Mrs. Anne du Toit at (01601) 2505/8.

Tolcon is responsible for the development and management of one of the first privatised toll roads in Southern Africa — part of a bold new privatisation venture to expand the National roads network.

then posted to Washington in 1991.

His European and American experience as a diplomat puts him in a privileged position to negotiate with the Americans on the questions of Southern Africa and he is well known to Dr Chester Crocker, the top American negotiator on African affairs.

The Stellenbosch Institute for Soviet Studies says that as early as 1981 Mr Vasev had already been negotiating with Dr Crocker.

IT IS considered likely that South African, Cuban and Angolan diplomats will be hearing more about Mr Vasev as the Angolan negotiations continue.

In terms of South Africa's diplomacy, another Soviet diplomat to watch is the acting ambassador to Lesotho, Dr Boris Asoyan, who is the Deputy Director of the Soviet Africa Institute.

He has been described by the Stellenbosch Institute as "the most insightful Soviet writer on southern Africa and especially South Africa".

In Masera he replaced Mr Vladimir Gavryushkin who recently had emergency heart surgery in Bloemfontein when he became ill in Lesotho, where he had been since 1985, and is now back in the Soviet Union.

Ironically Mr Gavryushkin is said by Soviet experts to be a member of the KGB. He was expelled from London in 1968 and Ottawa in 1980 for alleged spying.

The Stellenbosch Institute has recorded no KGB links for either Mr Vasev or Dr Asoyan.

Water short after attack

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Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — All Owambo, including military bases, is facing a water shortage following the Cuban air strike against the Calueque dam, according to a spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force.

He said that because of the drought the area had to draw water from the Cunene river. This had been done from the Calueque until the Cuban attack on Monday.

The SWATF spokesman said the territory's Department of Water Affairs was arranging alternative supplies.

A spokesman for the water affairs department said water was now being drawn from the Ruacana dam, about one kilometre inside Angola.

Dry season

"However, from Ruacana we can supply only a fifth of the total requirements," the spokesman said.

At the moment there was no reason for alarm because the supplies from Ruacana were enough.

However, he added: "This is the dry season and we are concerned about the future."

Electricity from Ruacana has not been affected.

From Russia with love: peace talks with ANC?

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THE Soviet Union's top South Africa expert, Mr Vladilen Vasev, says the change of attitudes between the two countries is "a sort of small human correction".

And he said he thought peace in Angola would bring in its wake a momentum for other peace talks in the region which could see the South African Government meeting the African National Congress — with help from the Kremlin.

Interviewed in his Moscow office, the avuncular Soviet diplomat conceded some thawing in South African-Soviet relations but discounted ideas of diplomatic contact in the near future.

Mr Vasev, credited by the media and Pretoria's diplomats with getting the peace talks back on line in Cairo (which he denies), says the Kremlin's attitude to Pretoria is now dictated by "what is wise and practical outside of those contacts prohibited by the United Nations boycott of South Africa".

He does not see a softening of the tourist visa policy in spite of South African reports to the contrary. But he admitted there was now a "selective" policy which would allow academics, conference delegates and journalists to visit Moscow.

NOT OPEN STALWARTS

"In a sense we wanted to contact people who are not openly stalwarts of apartheid," said the head of the Third African Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The department divides Africa into three sections, roughly north, middle and south.

"Sometimes our approach to apartheid is ideological," he said, adding that "we have noticed that even the word apartheid is no longer part of the official government language."

He said the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, had proposed "de-ideologisation" in his book *Perestroika*, but added that South Africa was in a unique position.

"It is the only country in the world in which the internal racist set-up is internationally disputed under the charter of the United Nations." Reforms had not yet touched on the real heart of apartheid.

The Government was out of phase with world thinking by half a century.



PETER SULLIVAN of The Argus group reports from Moscow

"They are where the United States was in the '50s or '60s. You may be catching up a bit. Reforms are necessary but it is not for us to judge the solution you must find."

I pointed out that judging South Africa was precisely what he was doing and he said: "Yes, but we must judge only whether racism exists or does not exist. What is to be done to dismantle it is for you to decide."

Mr Vasev was cagey on the subject of the peace talks, but vehemently denied any suggestion that Cuba was reluctant to withdraw its troops or that it was paid for having them in Angola.

Asked how the Soviet Union could put pressure on the Cubans, he said he made a point of "excluding from our lexicon" phrases like "putting pressure, squeezing, twisting the arm of", which were American and used against opponents, not friends.

But Russia's relationship with Cuba and Angola was important and these countries were often asked for advice, which they gave. "We call this a consultative role. And I must disappoint your readers and tell you we have no disagreements with Cuba," he said with a smile.

CLIMATE FOR TALKS

On the talks themselves, he believed any dispute over a venue was not serious and that the next stage would deal with the guarantors of any agreement, of which the Soviet Union would be one. An SWA/Namibia settlement was pivotal to an agreement, he said.

If a peace agreement could be thrashed out it would create a momentum and a climate for talks and dialogue on all levels.

While he foresaw that President Botha would find it difficult to enter into trilateral talks with the Soviet Union and the African National Congress, this did not mean talks could not take place.

Cubans 'show SA should quit Namibia'

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Recent Cuban successes in the Angolan war should convince South Africa it was unable to destabilize its neighbours and should get out of Namibia as it ought to have done years ago, former British prime minister Mr Edward Heath said yesterday.

Speaking in a general foreign-affairs debate in the House of Commons, he said that, like present Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, he believed the Soviet Union wanted to disengage from Angola and that Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro wanted to withdraw his forces.

"It has so worked out that the Cuban forces have achieved considerable success since the negotiations began.

"This may bring home to South Africa that they will not be able to overwhelm Angola and that the best arrangement for them is to get out of Namibia as they ought to have done decades ago."

Earlier in the debate, Labour shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kauffman accused Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey

Howe, of "obstructing, frustrating and sabotaging the efforts of leading nations to obtain a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six".

He said the Prime Minister should "get on the phone to President P W Botha and make clear that she wishes the South African government to abandon this appalling campaign against those innocent people".

From the SLD front bench Mr Alex Carlile criticized the British government for its South African policy.

"The South African government... is stiffening its resolve because it believes the British government supports the way they are governing South Africa."

Mr Robert Rhodes-James, the Conservative MP for Cambridge, who recently visited Namibia, spoke of his horror at what he found there.

"It is not amusing to visit a black hospital in which there are no drugs or even bandages and then go to a white one that is equipped as well as Addenbrooks in Cambridge.

"It is not amusing to see the contrast between white and black education or the deployment of the defence force or the suppression of the people."

Said:

Cuba claims right to send forces into Namibia

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Barrier at Margate is breached a second time

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A ragged-tooth shark broke through the electrical shark barrier being tested at Margate's North Beach yesterday.

It was the second test in 10 days in which a shark has ignored the electrical barrier and swum out to freedom, probably due to a technical fault in the device, according to Professor Waldo Meester, who heads the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) steering committee concerned with

By James Tomlins,
The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Cuba does not exclude the right-of-pursuit by its troops into Namibia, its Foreign Minister, Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet, said here yesterday.

But he added that Cuba did not envisage such a move at this stage.

The Foreign Minister, who headed the Cuban delegation at the four-nation talks in Cairo last month, is in Paris briefing the French government on progress made at the talks.

'SADF presence illegal'

He told presidential aide Mr Jean Audibert that "Cuban troops plan to exert pressure all along the Namibian-Angolan border so that negotiations can be started from a position of force".

Commenting on the recent loss of 12 white SADF troops at Cunene, he told the French: "After all, the presence of these soldiers was illegal both in Angola and Namibia."

He stressed, however, that "Angolan-Cuban troops are not seeking a military victory over South Africa, but a negotiated and peaceful settlement".

Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet would not confirm US Intelligence reports that there were 55 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"All I will say is that since 1976, a total of 300 000 of our soldiers have been sent in rotating contingents to Angola."

25-year armed struggle has failed — Inkatha

ULUNDI — The ANC's armed struggle had not succeeded in over 25 years and had no prospects of succeeding, the annual general conference of Inkatha said.

Re-affirming its support yesterday for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policies of non-violence, the conference said violence could only lead to a no-win situation for all parties.

Where change had occurred, it had been because economic realities had been supported by peaceful tactics, the conference said. It called on all Inkatha members not to get side-tracked from the movement's struggle

to end apartheid by allowing themselves to be drawn into violent confrontations.

Inkatha was committed to the principle of black unity in the face of apartheid, the conference said. Blacks responsible for disunity were "doing the Government's dirty work" and "buying time for apartheid".

It called for recognition that black unity could only be achieved through acceptance of a multi-strategy approach, in which every organisation opposed apartheid as it saw fit under its particular circumstances.



Cuba says hot-pursuit into SWA is possible

ARG 4/7/88 221

From JAMES TOMLINS
The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — Cuba does not exclude the right-of-pursuit by its troops into SWA/Namibia, says Cuban Foreign Minister Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet.

But Cuba does not envisage such a move at this stage, he said.

The Minister, who headed the Cuban delegation at the four-nation talks in Cairo last month, is in Paris briefing the French Government on progress made at the talks.

He said: "For the first time in 13 years, that is to say since Angola became independent, we are militarily superior."

He told presidential aide Mr Jean Audibert: "Cuban troops plan to exert pressure all along the Namibian-Angolan border so that negotiations can be started from a position of force."

Settlement

Commenting on the recent loss of 12 white SADF troops at Cunene, he told the French: "After all, the presence of these soldiers was illegal both in Angola and Namibia."

He emphasised, however, that "Angolan-Cuban troops are not seeking a military victory over South Africa, but a negotiated and peaceful settlement".

Mr Valdes Risquet would not confirm US intelligence reports that there were now 55 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"All I will say is that since 1976 a total of 300 000 of our soldiers have been sent in rotating contingents to Angola."

One dead, 18 hurt by blast in butchery

Argus Africa News Service and Sapa

WINDHOEK. — A bomb exploded in a butcher's shop in Klein Windhoek today, killing one person, injuring 18 and damaging buildings.

Mr Hennie de Vries, who owns a gymnasium across the road, said the explosion took place just after 10am, when the butcher's shop was packed with customers.

A police spokesman, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, said an unidentified man was killed. Two people were critically injured, while four were in a serious condition.

"We fear for the lives of some of the survivors," said Inspector du Rand.

The area has been cordoned off by police and security personnel.

Mr de Vries said a policeman speculated that at least a kilogram of explosives was used in the bomb, which was thought to have been left in a parcel in the butchery.

"It was a horrible sight. I saw bodies on the pavement and I didn't know if they were alive or not," Mr de Vries added.

Angolan talks still to be at expert level

PRETORIA. — The next round of talks to resolve the Angolan issue would still be held at "expert" level in the US next week, and would not be upgraded to ministerial level because of last week's fighting in southern Angola, a Foreign Affairs spokeswoman said here yesterday.

"As far as we are concerned, we are pressing sincerely for the peace talks to go on," the spokeswoman said. "We are not discouraged and we have no intention to break off negotiations."

It appeared that the talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States would be held in New York — and not Washington — from next Monday onwards.

It was decided at the previous meeting in Cairo that the talks would basically be at the same level as they had been in London.

South Africa will be represented by Mr Neil van Heerden, director general of Foreign Affairs, and the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, among others.

One of the matters likely to be discussed is last week's fighting in southern Angola, where a move southwards by a large contingent of the estimated 50 000 Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola culminated in a combined Angolan-Cuban attack on the South African-defended Calueque dam near the Namibian border.

The SADF said 12 South African troops and 200 Cubans were killed. Angola denied these figures.

Eleven of the South Africans died in a MiG 23 air raid at the Calueque water project. — Sapa

Namibian peace hopes look better — expert

WINDHOEK. — Prospects for implementing the UN plan for Namibian independence had improved this year, the chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan Study Group, Mr Bryan O'Linn, said yesterday.

He said the reasons were the link-up between the United States and the Soviet Union for a settlement to the conflicts, and the military checkmate in Angola.

South Africa had apparently lost its vital air superiority, though the Republic still commanded tremendous reserves and military clout.

The costs to South Africa of an escalation in the war, estimated by some analysts at R4bn a year, would become too high, particularly with new sanctions in the pipeline, he said.

The costs of the war were equally crippling to Angola and Cuba, and an escalation of hostilities would be disastrous for Angola. — Sapa

Windhoek bomb, threats linked?

CAPE TOWN

7/7/83

221

By JIM FREEMAN

NAMIBIAN police are investigating a possible link between two bomb threats in a computer shop late on Monday and the blast that killed one man and injured several other people in a nearby butcher's shop in Windhoek yesterday morning.

Windhoek detectives have also confirmed that they do not suspect the dead man, nor any of the injured, of complicity in the explosion that caused extensive damage to the Klein Windhoek Schlachtereij on the corner of Klein Windhoek and Gobabis roads.

Late yesterday, eight people — one of them a white woman — were still being treated in Windhoek's State Hospital for their wounds. Three of the patients were in a critical condition.

The names of the dead man and the injured had not been released by last night.

The director of the computer division of Schoeman's Office

Equipment, Mr Theo Schoeman, said his receptionist had received a phone call just after 4pm on Monday, saying a bomb had been planted on the premises.

"We evacuated the shop and called the police," said Mr Schoeman. "They went through the building with a fine-tooth comb, but found nothing and let us back in about 4.30pm. A few minutes later, the telephone rang again and the same caller repeated his warning, adding that 'if you don't want to listen, you must feel!'"

Stunned

He said he had been "stunned" when the explosion ripped through the butchery, separated from his shop by a gymnasium.

Klein Windhoek Schlachtereij is the most popular in Windhoek and is about 300 metres from Namibia's military intelligence headquarters.

Roadblocks were erected around the Namibian capital after the blast, once police had determined that none of the injured were involved in the blast.

According to a police liaison officer, Chief Inspector Klerie du Rand, the bomb comprised between two and four kilograms of explosives concealed in a plastic carrier bag, believed to have been left standing against the counter by an earlier "customer". The butcher's shop was extensively damaged in the explosion, and flats above the premises had to be evacuated.

The news editor of Windhoek's largest daily newspaper Die Republikein, Mr Andre de Bruyn, was at home on leave two blocks away when the explosion occurred.

He hurried to the scene, arriving two minutes later to find "absolute pandemonium".

"Wounded people were lying around screaming, crying and moaning," said Mr De Bruyn.

Gobabis Road was the scene of another explosion in late 1983, when a limpet mine blast caused extensive damage to a service station about 300 metres away from the Klein Windhoek Schlachtereij.

BEI WINDHOEK
SCHLACHTEREI
TEL. 34509



AFTERMATH... Police bomb-disposal experts (far right) investigate the cause of yesterday's Windhoek butchery bomb blast in which one man died and many people were injured.

APL-7/10/88 7/7/88 221

Second massive Windhoek blast

WINDHOEK. — An explosion, described as "massive", rocked Windhoek about 10.20 last night.

The blast was the second here yesterday.

Police confirmed the explosion, but could give no details. Shock waves were felt several kilometres away. Some said it far surpassed previous blasts in intensity.

Meanwhile, two of the people injured in the bomb explosion in a butchery in Windhoek yesterday morning are still in a critical condition.

A man who was in the building when the bomb exploded in Klein Windhoek Butchery died of his injuries.

Eighteen others were injured. Eight, including five women, have been admitted to hospital with serious head injuries and burns. One of the women lost a leg. — Sapa

● Windhoek bomb, threats linked? — Page 3

YOUNG & RUBICAM RETAIL 4060477G

Opinion

WINDHOEK. — At the last count there were 40 political parties in Namibia: one for every 30 000 inhabitants thinly scattered across the huge desert territory.

Despite this wealth of politicians no solution has been found to a kaleidoscope of problems in the former German colony now run by South Africa in defiance of world opinion.

The territory's appointed government, which includes blacks and whites, recently marked three years in power but found little to celebrate because Namibia, unloved and unrecognized, is showing signs of becoming unstable.

Cubans massing

Tens of thousands of children from Namibia's black majority are boycotting classes and black workers staged a two-day strike, with leaders of the infant but fast-growing union movement openly calling for South Africa to quit the territory.

North of the border in war-torn Angola, Cuban troops are massing in what Pretoria says is a bid to derail the tentative peace talks on the interlocked Angolan and Namibian disputes that resumed in Cairo last week. Despite this gloomy backdrop, Windhoek exudes a bland atmosphere of business-as-usual.

It is hard to detect a

Still no solution in sight for Namibia

CMS 7/1/88
77/88 221

Special Correspondent

sense of crisis among politicians of all political and skin colours who meet at Schneider's, the German restaurant which, like many Windhoek street names — Kaiser, Goering, Krupp — is a legacy of Namibia's colonial past.

Condemned

South Africa's top official in Namibia, Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, said in an interview at his offices in Goering Street: "I don't regard the present position as a crisis

achieved more than many independent governments in Africa."

He said a previous Namibian administration had been responsible for doing away with such bedrocks of apartheid as the Group Areas Act.

"We have a different atmosphere in this country from South Africa. Blacks and whites mix at all levels and get along well," he said.

Increasingly active anti-apartheid groups such as the foreign-

funded Council of Churches in Namibia say the government is not moving nearly fast enough to wipe out glaring social inequality and remaining apartheid measures. Such groups are sympathetic to the one party out of Namibia's 40 that the government fears most — the South West Africa People's Organization (Swapo) — whose military wing has fought a 22-year guerilla campaign which Namibia's South African-led armed

forces say confidently is now on the wane.

Swapo's political arm, which is not banned and operates legally in Namibia, has more support than any other political grouping and Mr Pienaar says Swapo would

probably win an election now because of the threatening presence of thousands of pro-Swapo Cuban troops north of the border.

"It's my estimate that if the Cubans were withdrawn from Angola, Swapo's image



BARCLAYS BANK
P F D C O

Mr Pienaar, Mudge against the background of the "business-as-usual" main street of Windhoek, meeting place of the territory's politicians.

would be seriously tarnished," Mr Pienaar said.

Cuban withdrawal is the price South Africa is asking for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 designed to give Namibia its independence but not even optimists in Namibia believe 435, which will be 10 years old in September, will be put into effect soon.

Enormous obstacles remain to be overcome, Mr Pienaar said. "There are too many ifs and buts." — Sapa-Reuters



CMS Texts 7/7/88

Army lorry bombed in Windhoek township

APR 64 7/7/08 221

WINDHOEK. — An explosive device blew up an army lorry parked in Windhoek's Katatura township late last night.

A police spokesman, Colonel "Jumbo" Smith, said the explosion damaged a house and blew out windows of surrounding properties.

The blast was heard throughout Windhoek and reports indicated that it was a massive explosion.

Police cordoned off the area. It is not yet known what type of explosive was used.

No one was injured.

Meanwhile, two of the people injured in the explosion in a butchery in Windhoek yesterday morning are still in a critical condition.

A black man who was in the building when the bomb exploded in Klein Windhoek butchery died while on the operating table. Eighteen people were injured.

Woman lost leg

Eight people, including five women, have been admitted to hospital with serious head injuries and burns. A woman lost a leg.

The names of the victims have not been released.

The police said it appeared that the explosion was caused by two to four kilograms of explosives in a parcel left in the butchery. Flats and shops in the building were damaged.

The territory's most devastating bomb blast occurred in February at a combank at Oshakati in northern SWA/Namibia in which 27 people died.

● SWAPO has denied it was responsible for the bomb blast in the butcher shop. A report from Lusaka quoted a spokesman for Swapo who blamed the blast on South African agents planted. — Sapa-Reuter.



of the North Sea
explosions.

Swapo blamed for butchery bomb blast

WINDHOEK — Two explosions rocked Windhoek yesterday, killing one person and injuring 18.

The first ripped through a Klein Windhoek butchery and the second, in the black Katatura township, woke much of the town but caused no injuries and only limited damage.

In this blast, an explosive device was thrown under an army truck parked in Katatura.

In the butchery explosion, a man died and 18 people were seriously injured.

Namibian authorities yesterday reacted angrily to the butchery blast.

The shop was destroyed and extensive damage caused to adjacent flats and cars parked outside the butchery.

"What happened today has strengthened our determination that the future of our country will not fall into the hands of those responsible for this cowardly act," the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr Moses Katjuongua, said last night.

The target had not been a security forces installation or a state-owned institution — innocent housewives out shopping became the victims of the blast.

Asked whether he held Swapo responsible, Mr Katjuongua told reporters the responsibility rested with those "who normally take responsibility for these acts".

GARAGE BOMB

He referred to a car bomb that wrecked a parking garage in Windhoek last July, for which Swapo claimed responsibility.

Windhoek Hospital said eight people, five of them women, had been admitted with serious head injuries and burns.

One of the women lost a leg. An unidentified man died minutes after the blast while doctors were performing an emergency operation.

One of the seriously injured was a white woman. The other victims were black and coloured.

Police said initial indications were that the bomb, containing a 2 to 4 kg charge, had been left in a parcel next to a wall on the floor of the butchery.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, said the sole purpose of the "despicable and cowardly deed" was to injure people. — Sapa.

Millions in Saturday's Pick 6 pool

There were no winning tickets on the Pick 6 at Newmarket yesterday and the net pool of R772 186 will be carried forward to the meeting at Turffontein on Saturday when officials estimate the gross pool could reach R3,5 million.

Pick 6 punters got off to a disastrous start when 50-1 chance Fast Power scored a shock win over Natchez in the first leg.

Favourite Barnato finished unplaced in the following leg.

In the fifth leg 70-1 rank outsider In Vogue won the eighth race.

Victory in the final leg went to Secret Dancer, who paid R68,90 for a win on the tote.

● There were also no winning tickets in the Transvaal and Free State on the Pick 6 held on the meeting at Greyville and the double carry-over pool (the Pick 6 was not won on Saturday) of R267 183 will also be carried forward to Saturday's meeting at Turffontein.

● See Page 21.

Pedometer jockey is fined R2 500

DURBAN — Jockey Jeffrey Lloyd was fined R2 500 yesterday for failing to ride joint favourite Pedometer out to the end of Saturday's Rothmans July Handicap.

In the final strides, Lloyd dropped his hands and was beaten for second place by Gitano.

The Stipendiary Board found no sinister intention in the dropping of his hands, which lost him second place.

Lloyd has the right of appeal to the Natal local executive, the Jockey Club of South Africa said yesterday. — Sapa.

Policemen injured in grenade attack

ARGUS 8/7/88 221

WINDHOEK. — Three special constables have been slightly injured by hand-grenade blasts in Katatura township — the third high-explosives attack in Windhoek in 36 hours.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said it appeared that two hand-grenades were lobbed over a wall into the single-quarters hostel last night.

The constables were not seriously injured.

One of the eight Windhoek victims in the Klein Windhoek butchery blast which claimed one life, is still in a critical condition in hospital. She is Mrs Joyce Elias, who lost a leg.

The others are reported to be in a satisfactory condition.

An unidentified man died in the explosion and 19 people were injured.

The remains of a Soviet-made MUV2 time switch were found in the butchery after the blast.

South West Africa radio quoted Inspector du Rand as saying the mechanism was regularly used by Swapo in the Namibian operational area and in sabotage.

In the second blast a Samel troop-carrier was wrecked by a limpet mine in Katatura, but no one was injured. — Sapa.

CAPE TIMES 8/7/88 221

Grenade attack in Windhoek

WINDHOEK. — Three special constables were slightly injured in a grenade attack in Katatura township here last night — the third incident in 36 hours.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said it appeared two hand grenades were lobbed over a wall into the single-quarters hostel in the township a few minutes apart.

The constables were not seriously injured. Police are investigating. — Sapa

APR 7 1978 87/88
221
**Bomb wasn't
ours — Swapo**

LUSAKA. — Swapo has denied it was responsible for a bomb blast which killed one person and injured 18 in Windhoek on Wednesday, and accused South African security agents of carrying out the attack.

Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, the secretary-general of Swapo, said in Luanda this week that South African agents had planted the bomb to antagonize Namibia's white community against Swapo.

"Such an outrageous act, deliberately calculated to kill and maim innocent civilians, is in direct contradiction with Swapo's tactics," Mr Toivo ya Toivo said.

— Sapa-Reuter

African plea⁽²⁾ for Namibian independence.

BLANTYRE (Malawi) — Malawi and Mozambique called yesterday for the independence of Namibia and an end to apartheid in South Africa.

They also condemned, in a joint communique, the rebel Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) group.

During Mozambique President Chissano's July 4-7 visit, Malawi and Mozambique appeared to have patched up their differences.

Mozambique often accused Malawi of aiding the MNR, a charge the government of Life President Kamuzu Banda denied. — Sapa-Reuter.

ARGUS 8/7/88 (122)

Soviet Union may seek direct contact with SA over Angola

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union may seek direct diplomatic contacts with South Africa on the Angolan conflict and wider problems in Southern Africa, according to a senior Soviet official.

Mr Vladilen Vasev, an Africa specialist in the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry, held out the possibility of direct contacts in an interview on the eve of next week's four-party talks in New York on an Angolan settlement.

American analysts say they are not surprised by Mr Vasev's statement. It fits a pattern of which the appointment of Mr Boris Asoyan as Soviet ambassador to Lesotho is a significant element.

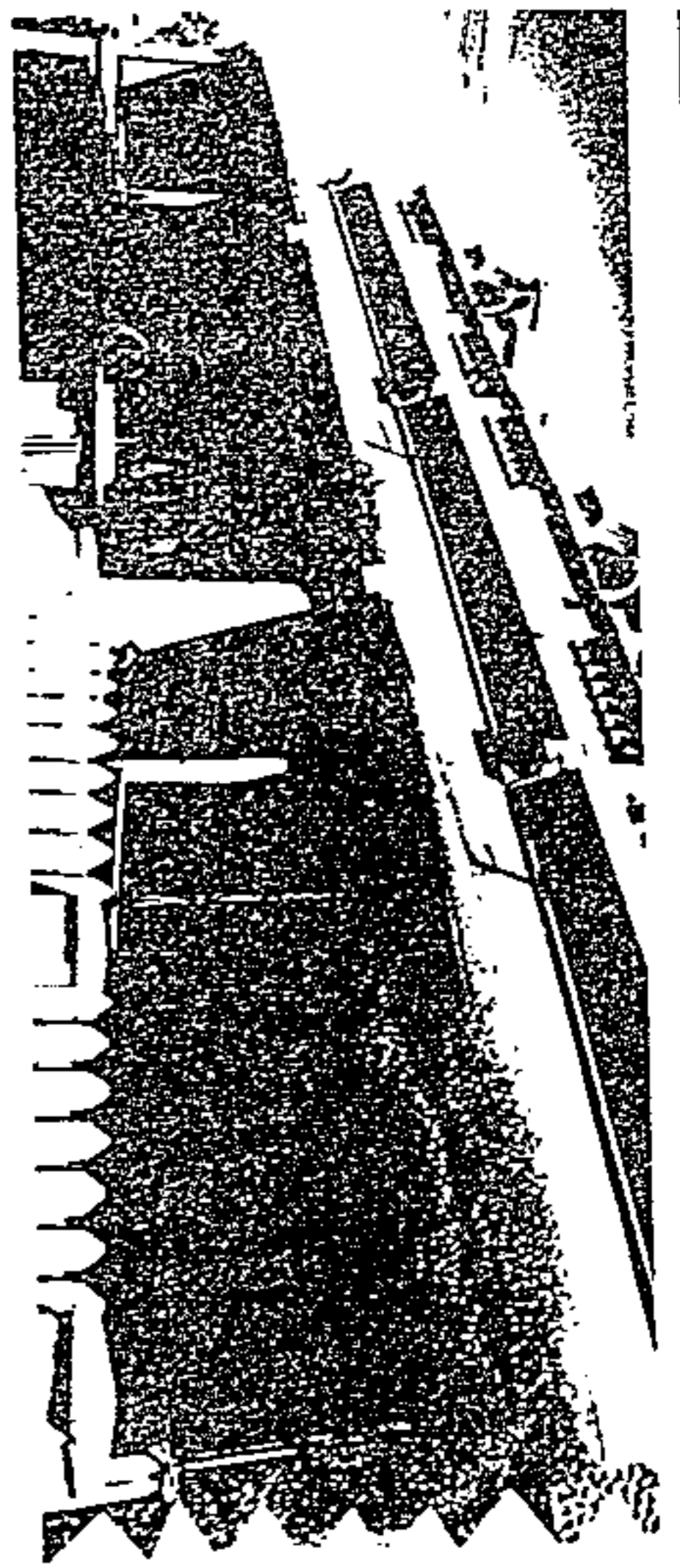
In the interview, Mr Vasev said there did not appear to be "any big need" for direct contacts now.

"But I do not rule out the need for such contacts at some stage," he added, repeating Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's offer to become directly involved in the Angola talks if

asked to do so.

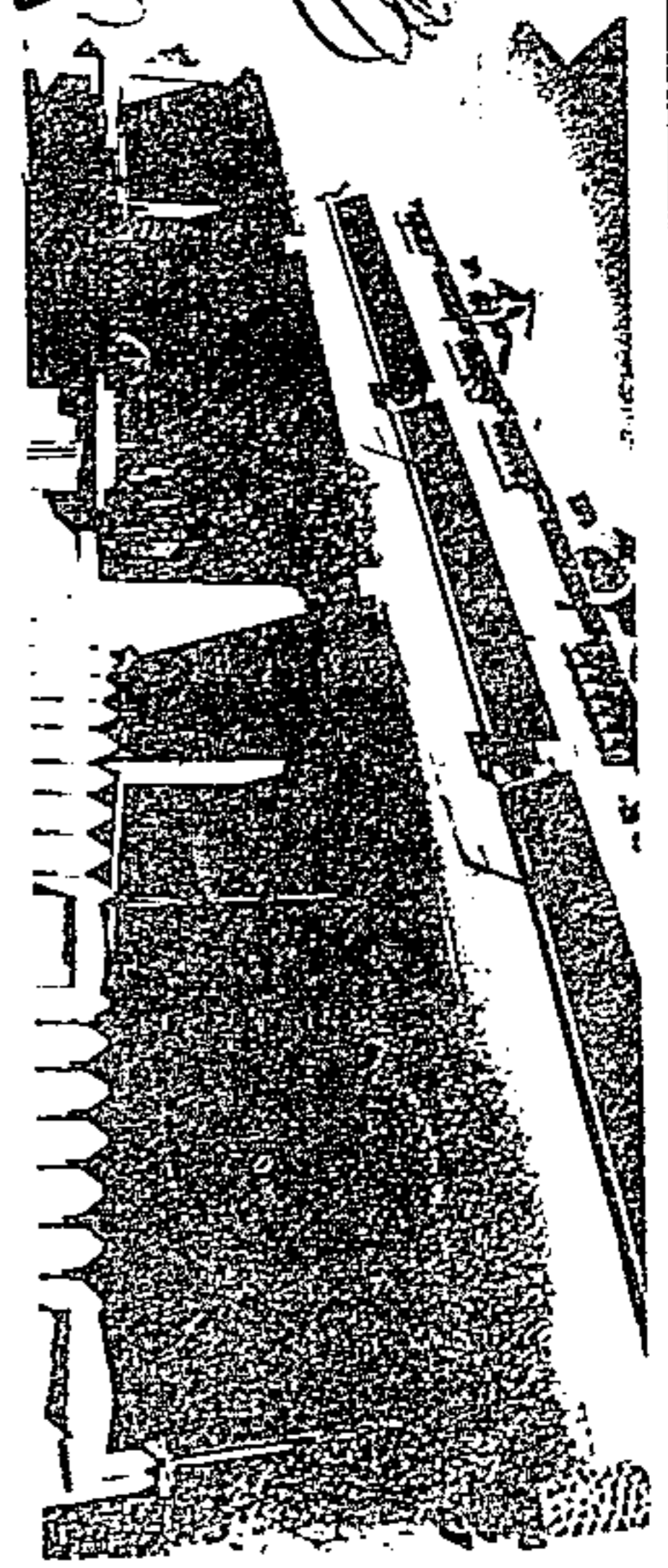
● Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, Angolan Minister of State for the productive sector, said South Africa had begun to mass its troops on the border between Namibia and the Angolan province of Cuenene last month, Argus Africa News Service reports.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said he would be unable to comment without studying an "exact transcript of what Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem actually said".



GROUP AREAS

of the Areas 9/1/88



Selling the Unsellable

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

THE Bureau for Information's attempts to sell government policy have seldom misfired as severely as the latest "live and let live" advertising campaign praising the virtues of tough new Group Areas legislation not yet passed by Parliament.

What the bureau offers as "good neighbourliness", a "safeguard" of existing rights and a promise of new rights for South Africans has been roundly condemned by critics at the receiving end as "disastrous", "reprehensible", "cynical" and "nauseating".

And what the bureau claims will offer people "choices and opportunities" has drawn an outcry from critics saying more than 200 000 black people living in white areas face eviction from their homes into the streets if the proposed legislation becomes law.

A further reaction to the measures claimed by the bureau to protect rights is an announcement by Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director Mr Brian Currin that Group Areas crisis committees are being set up countrywide to provide free legal representation for victims of state action to enforce the Bills if they become law.

ALL this indicates that the credibility gap between government and the governed on the whole concept of civic rights is as wide as ever when it comes to Group Areas legislation. Among foremost critics this week was Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse — for years at loggerheads with the Government

"absolutely immoral, inexcusable and condemned by me in the strongest terms."

One of his objections is that the Bureau for Information went ahead with a propaganda campaign even before the proposed legislation had been before the parliamentary standing committee on constitutional affairs and before it had been considered by Parliament.

"To try to sell that which is unsaleable in the view of the majority of the people of South Africa must certainly be condemned," Mr Hendrickse said.

His views were echoed by other Labour Party spokesmen, including his son Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, who described the Government's new trio of Bills dealing with group areas as "nauseating". The Group Areas Act, he said, was "an evil which cannot be amended — it must be scrapped."

THE Bureau's advertising campaign was launched last weekend with full-page newspaper advertisements to promote the draft legislation allowing for a crackdown on Group Areas Act offenders.

The proposed measures make provision, among other things, for fines to be increased from a maximum of R400 to R10 000, imprisonment for up to five years, confiscation of property, compulsory eviction and tougher policing measures to crack down on violators.

However, provision is also made for "open areas" where people of all races will be allowed to live.

Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North and Progressive Federal Party spokesman on

use of taxpayers' money to promote the policy of the National Party was "corrupt".

"The overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are opposed to the Group Areas Act. It is only the National Party and the Conservative Party who want to put people into kraals," Mr Soal said.

In a point-by-point reply to claims in the bureau's full-page advertisement, Mr Soal made these comments:

● *Live and let live* — "The way to 'live and let live' is to scrap the Group Areas Act and not to hound people out of their homes. It has been estimated that more than 200 000 people could be thrown out of their homes. Apart from the inhuman aspect of such action, it will raise the anger of the international community. And the Government is coming with this measure to circumvent a court ruling which provided that people could not be kicked out of their homes unless there was alternative accommodation for them."

● *Good neighbourliness* — "This means not interfering in other people's lives, but words lose their meaning with the National Party. The most cynical aspect is that provision is made for taking away the roof over the heads of people."

● *The Government has undertaken to ensure opportunities for forming an own community, an own community life and land ownership and to safeguard the existing rights of both individuals and communities* — "This is gobbledygook for apartheid. You have to scrap the Group Areas Act to allow

● *The Government has undertaken to provide for open residential areas in members of all population groups in*

"What they will create is pressurised like Hillbrow and Woodstock where accommodation is limited and where you will see enormous influx of people. The land for mixed areas will be inadequate. The truth is that the whites comprise a fraction of the population of South Africa and can't own more than 80 percent of it."

● *The Government has undertaken the desirability of opening up individual areas will be thoroughly investigated* "More red tape and more bureaucracy"

● *The Government has undertaken to safeguard the existing rights of tenants and owners* — "This is to appease fears which are unnecessary, as Deputy Roelf Meyer admitted in Mayfair (Johannesburg) on Tuesday night. He said prices in Mayfair (a mixed area) had risen substantially, and there is a shortage of accommodation. But the advertisement does not give the whole story and does not mention the posse of Group Areas snoots who will hound out people contravening Group Areas legislation."

● *The Government has stated a requisite that the political rights of people in own and open areas must be ensured* — "The Government has a paranoia for people's lives. It should rather let the people live their own lives."



CASTRO: MY plan for Southern Africa TARGET NAMBIA

Weekend Angus
July 9 1988

Weekend
FOCUS
1

CUBA is actively preparing for the possibility of a major escalation in southern Angola which might see Cuban forces crossing the border into Namibia.

Such a move could not have taken place but under the personal command, direction and supervision of Fidel Castro. The developing military activities in Southern Africa clearly indicate that the USSR, Cuba and their allies consider the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic objective, the significance of which goes beyond defeating Unita.

The current Cuban policy was defined by Fidel Castro in his closing speech to the third congress of the Cuban Communist Party (CPC) in Havana on February 8 1986.

With the growing significance of Africa to the USSR, Castro anticipated that the Cuban direct military involvement in the region was bound to increase substantially. In a major deviation from established policies, Castro stated that the Cuban forces will be withdrawn from Angola only after "UN resolution 435 is applied and if apartheid is suspended."

In essence, Castro has committed Cuba to assisting Angola and the other Frontline states and revolutionary movements in their campaign for the total destruction of South Africa. This commitment remains the stated policy of the CPC, and hence, the objective of the Cuban internationalist troops in Southern Africa.

STAGE 1

CUBA considers the fighting in south-east Angola and especially near Cuito-Cuanavale to be a major milestone in the liberation war for entire Southern Africa.

The defenders of Cuito-Cuanavale "have left a lasting historical mark in the struggle against racism and apartheid" stated the Cuban Ambassador to Angola. Both Cuba and Angola issued new campaign orders — the Medal for the Defence of Cuito-Cuanavale — to be awarded to all the participants in the "glorious armed struggle against the racist South African invaders."

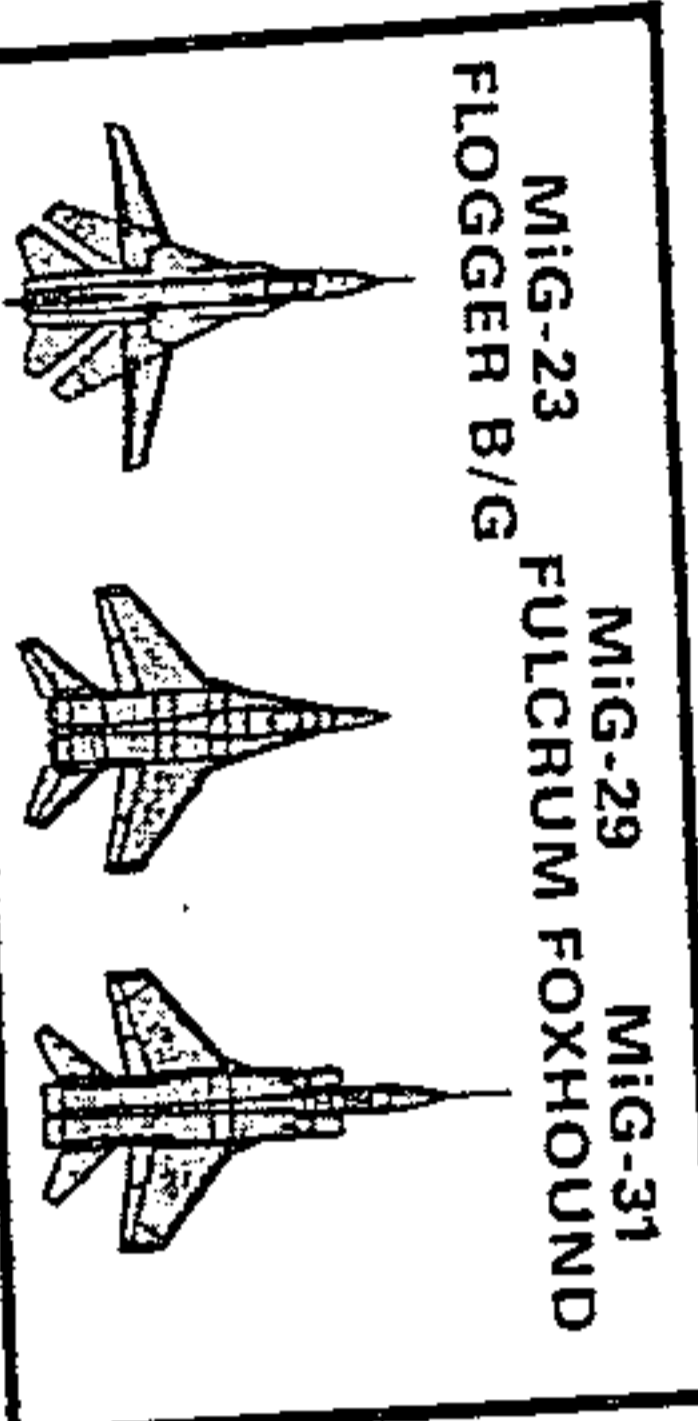
Although the Cubans emphasise the military aspects of the recent fighting, their main impact is on the regional grand strategy. Cuba interpreted South Africa's decision not to besiege or occupy Cuito-Cuanavale to be a reflection of Pretoria's tacit recognition of the legitimacy of the MPLA regime in Luanda and of the Cuban presence and activism in Southern Africa.

Indeed, South Africa's willingness to negotiate with a single "Cuban-Angolan delegation" in London seems to confirm Havana's assessment.

The mere fact that the SADF did not attempt to capture Cuito-Cuanavale is considered by the Cubans to be a victory.

IN SPITE of the political manoeuvres, Cuba anticipates a continuation and even escalation of the fighting.

Some 6 000 additional Cuban troops arrived in Luanda in late-April 1988. The weapon supplies continue to increase. "Bastion," the official organ of the Cuban Ministry of Defence, emphasised that the Cuito-Cuanavale fighting was a turning point in on-going struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa.



MIG-23 FLOGGER B/G
MIG-29 FULCRUM
MIG-31 FOXHOUD

It wrote: "The new military situation means that the racist troops will no longer be able to act with impunity in Southern Angola as they had been doing in recent years with an absolute disregard for international law. At the same time, this situation confirms that the Cuban soldiers, together with their African brothers, will fulfill the internationalist mission entrusted to them by the party and the revolution to the end."

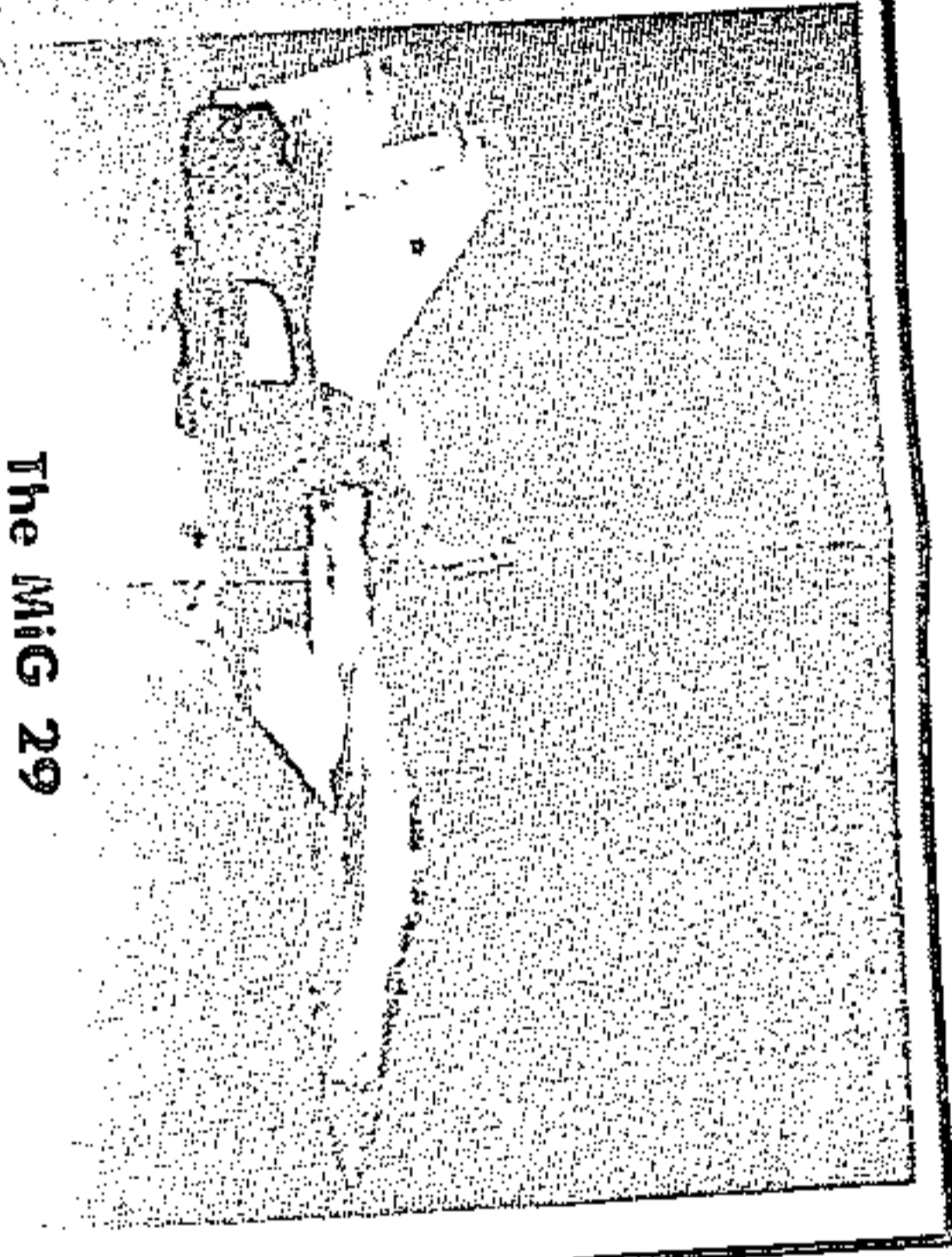
STAGE 2

SINCE early May 1988, Cuban-Angolan forces further escalated the war in Angola, leaving in no doubt their regional objectives (anti-South Africa rather than anti-Unita).

In a major shift from the on-going campaign to crush Unita and repel the South Africans, the Cuban-Angolan forces opened a second strategic thrust in south-western Angola intended to recapture the Swapo infrastructure and revive the Marxist campaign against Namibia and South Africa. The organisation and conduct of the current escalation involved the highest levels of government in both the USSR and Cuba.

The Cuban-Angolan build-up started in early May under the direct orders of Fidel Castro.

Cuba announced that special reinforcements, totalling 8 000, had been sent to Angola in view of the escalation. These troops brought the Cuban deployment in Angola to 48 000. A new strategic headquarters was established in Lobango under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa, who was transferred from Cuito-Cuanavale. Brigadier-General Patricio De-Laguardia Font, who had organised the defences of the Dembo region, where the South African thrust had been stopped, was named



The MIG 29

THIS report is published with permission from the Washington-based Maldon Institute which will shortly be releasing in the United States a detailed synopsis of Cuba's role in Angola.

The Maldon Institute, formed in 1984, is a non-profit organisation which initiates and conducts research and provides educational services relating to issues of United States foreign policy, national security and the defence institutions.

protection of diplomatic dynamics and international negotiations.

Operating in close co-ordination with the USSR, and pursuing to a great extent the objectives of the Soviet grand strategy, Fidel Castro is clearly in charge of the activities in Southern Africa, including such major developments as the escalation of the war onto and beyond the South West African (Namibian) border.

The objective of the Cuban-Angolan thrust in Southern Angola is to acquire strategic grubs and consolidate their presence along the Namibian border before the southern winter stops the major fighting. Cuba and its allies are determined to be in a position to escalate the fighting in the southern "spring" (September-October) should the need arise.

HAVANA leaves no doubt that Fidel Castro has the initiative in and is in command of the escalation in southern Angola.

degree of independence within which the Cubans are operating in the country."

The Cubans openly contradicted assurances by Dos Santos that Cuban forces would not cross the border into Namibia. Cuban officials stated that Cuban Air Force MIG-23s and Su-22s already fly reconnaissance missions into Namibia.

About May 28, official Cuban sources in Washington said that "Cuba does not rule out the possibility" of Cuban forces operating inside Namibia. They explained that "the (Cuban) soldiers are prepared psychologically to cross into Namibia in pursuit of the South Africans." Such intervention can take place both in support of Swapo and in order to block South African support for Unita or any other form of intervention in Angola, pointed out these Cuban sources.

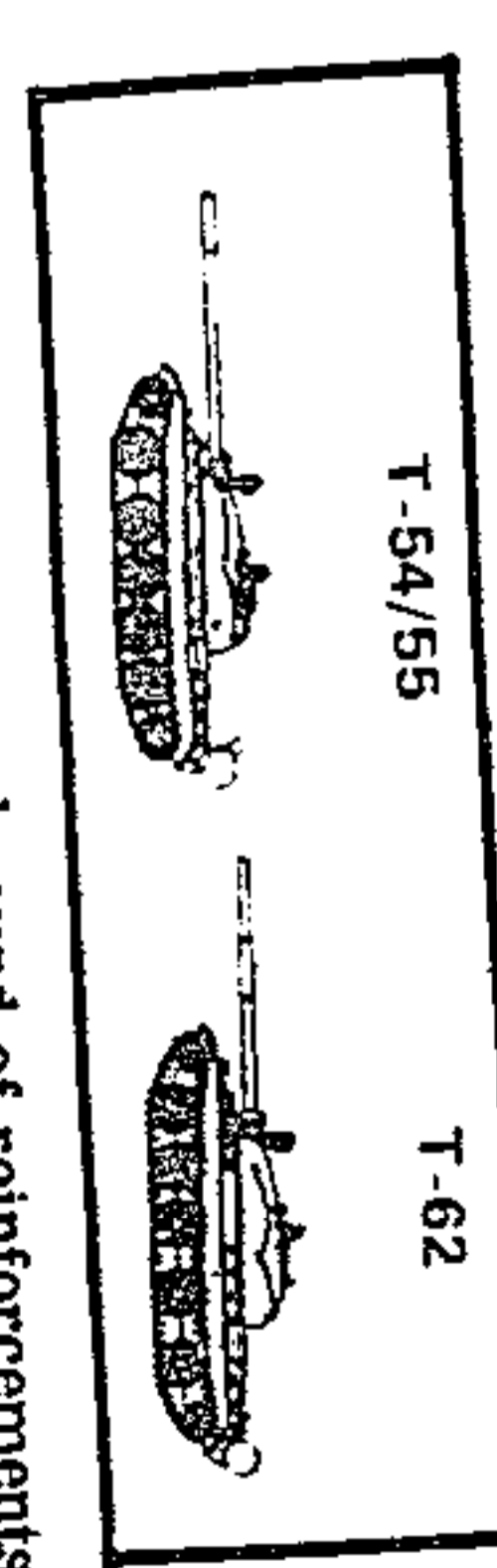
In order to facilitate the anticipated strategic escalation, a new Southern Front with its own High Command was established under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa with the central strategic headquarters in Cuito-Cuanavale.

Forward strategic headquarters (command posts) were established in Lobango and near Kaula. The main Cuban-Angolan forces are now deployed some 100km north of the Namibian border (Divisional HQ in Kango) with advance units and patrols deployed in Ngiva, the Kaula Dam and up to some five km from the border. There are no senior Soviet personnel south of the 16th Parallel and General Ochoa is clearly the senior commander in charge of the southern front.

The military build-up continues in Cuban's southern front.

The first round of fresh reinforcements, totalling 8 600 troops, arrived from Cuba between April 17 and May 7 1988. These reinforcements included some 2 000 Cuban "special purpose troops" (Cuban Spetsnaz) and 200 helicopter and fixed-wing pilots organised in a "pilot brigade."

These reinforcements, together with their integral weapons and equipment arrived by sea and air through Luanda, Lobito, Namibe and Saurimo. From there they were deployed to the south.



T-54/55

T-62

New units — a second round of reinforcements — have been arriving since May 10-12. A few thousand (estimates range between 2 000 and 3 000) troops arrived in the first week through Luanda and Lobito. They brought the southern Cuban forces to over a division level. The Cubans describe this force as an infantry unit supported by "heavy artillery," "anti-aircraft complexes" and

that time, clashes between SADF forces and Cuban raiding patrols were reported very near the Namibian border. Swapo also claimed that it conducted several deep raids inside Namibia but there was no independent confirmation of the claims.

CASTRO'S DECISION AND THREE

THE military option and its implications for South Africa was highlighted by Fidel Castro in a secret briefing on May 30 in which he stated Cuba was actively preparing for the possibility of a major escalation in southern Angola which might see Cuban forces crossing the border into Namibia.

The rate and qualities of the military support reaching southern Angola clearly indicate that USSR supports the Cuban activities and considers the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic objective.

In the May 30 briefing, Castro provided a detailed survey of the situation in southern Africa and outlined the Cuban plans for the future.

He used maps and charts to survey the development of the military situation since late-1987 emphasised that Cuban-Frapla forces advance some 200km from Cuito-Cuanavale towards Namibian border, and that combined Cuban-Frapla and Cuban-Swapo forces advanced 250km southwards, establishing positions some 50km from the Namibian border. Castro emphasised that "the enemy was defeated by the Angolan and Cuban forces." He compared the current situation in Angola to that of 1975, adding that a major and a severe confrontation with South Africa might be evitable.

In his briefing, Castro boasted that in case renewed fighting, the South Africans would be confronted by "a military force like never before. He said that although Cuba would prefer a lomatic solution, "we are in a position to more (military) risks because if a serious confrontation he can suffer a serious defeat. He told of a South African request for a guarantee of non-intervention in Namibia. He replied it because Pretoria is no longer "in a position to request anything south of Angola."

One of the African diplomats attending the briefing concluded that "Castro, convinced that had changed the balance of military forces in the region, in effect maintained the threat of intervention."

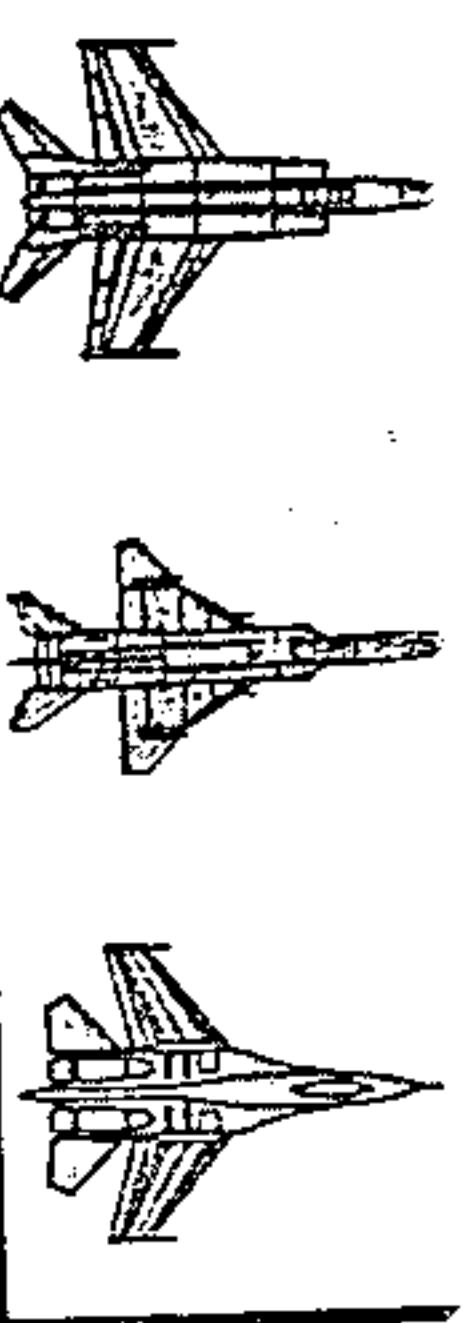
Fidel Castro paid special attention to, articulated in great length, the build-up of Cuban and air-defence capabilities in southern Angola. He explained that Cuba had used "the best 23 Cuban pilots we have until we achieved victory over the enemy."

A new squadron with the latest model T-72

MIG-25
FOXBAT E

Su-15
FLAGON E/F

Su-27
FLANKER



Originally, the USSR and Cuba aimed the 1987-88 offensive campaign to be a major defeat to Sabin's UNITA. There was a marked increase in the Soviet military supplies to Angola, including an intensified airlift on the eve of the offensive.

New weapon systems, including the latest models of the Mi-17 HTP and the Mi-18 upgraded Hind D (Mi-18 is the designation used by the Cubans in their description of the recent deployment of Hinds to Mavinga in south-east Angola), as well as diversified air defence systems, including the first export of the SA-16, were supplied to the Cuban forces since November 1987, totalling 40 000 at the height of the current campaign.

As the Cuban-Angolan offensive was developing successfully, the South African Defence Force intensified their direct involvement, saved the forces of UNITA and stalled the Cuban-Angolan advance.

The SADF's intervention was interpreted as a reflection of Pretoria's determination not to permit the collapse of UNITA and the consolidation of Cuban deployment along the Namibian border.

Consequently, the USSR and Cuba decided to turn an impending military defeat into a political victory. The Soviets believe that the US is eager and willing to compromise on regional issues, even at the expense of allied and vital strategic interest of the West. Therefore, the pressure on, and intimidation of Pretoria can be mounted without fear of US political opposition, let alone a counter-escalation or even increased support for UNITA.

THE Soviet-Cuban objective became to compel South Africa to acknowledge the legitimacy of the MPLA regime and acquiesce to the presence of Cuban forces in Angola and Southern Africa as a whole.

A clear indication of the sudden increase in the strategic significance of the fighting in Angola was the dispatch of General Arnaldo T. Ochoa to Cuito-Chuanavale to become the senior commander in charge of the regional fighting.

General Ochoa is one of the most senior Cuban officers who built the Cuban presence in Angola in 1976, led the Cuban-FAPLA in the decisive fighting of the late 1970s and subsequently held senior command positions during the 1978 Ogaden War in Ethiopia. He was also present during the building of the Nicaraguan Sandinista forces in 1982-83. Elite reinforcements were rushed to Angola, including several hundreds of Cuban Spetsnaz, Soviet pilots and East German communication and air defence expert-technicians. The Cubans emphasise the anti-South Africa nature (rather than anti-UNITA) of the fighting, pointing to the integral participation of "the combative Swapo fighters" in the offensive.

The Angolan war escalated into a major re-channelled clash. The Cubans claim that the Cuban-Angolan forces advanced "more than 200km south of their previous position." The Angolans highlighted the contribution of "Fapla's intense artillery and tank fire" to the stalling of the SADF advance.

In an interview on Havana television, Lieutenant Carlos A Gutierrez Carmona, the Cuban political adviser of the Fapla 25th Brigade, emphasised the intensity of the fighting and their impact on the participating troops.

Lieutenant Gutierrez characterised the fighting on April 23 1988 as the heaviest he had seen in Angola. The Cubans were subjected to protracted snelling by artillery and missiles, as well as assaults by tanks and combat vehicles. The pressure by the SADF was immense and all the Cubans, including non-combatants like doctors and cameramen, had to take up arms and defend their posi-

nated the commander of the new offensive formation.

THE Cuban-Angolan forces operating on the main axis are 21 000 strong, including 16 000 Cuban troops. Sub-units of the Cuban 50th Division constitute the quality core of the offensive. The 50th Division is considered Castro's personal division. It is the best combined-arms division of the Cuban Armed Forces, and is manned by loyal regular army personnel and not conscripts.

In the past, sub-units of the 50th Division (formerly known as Military Unit No. 1973) were used in critical stages of Cuba's overseas intervention, from the Golan Heights (Israel) in 1973-74 to the main offensives in Angola. An indication of the significance of the division's current operations was Raul (youngest brother of Fidel, and Cuba's Minister of Defence) Castro's visit to its headquarters in Oriente, Cuba. Raul Castro praised the combat readiness and "recent history" of the division.

THE main Cuban-Angolan thrust is toward Ruacana.

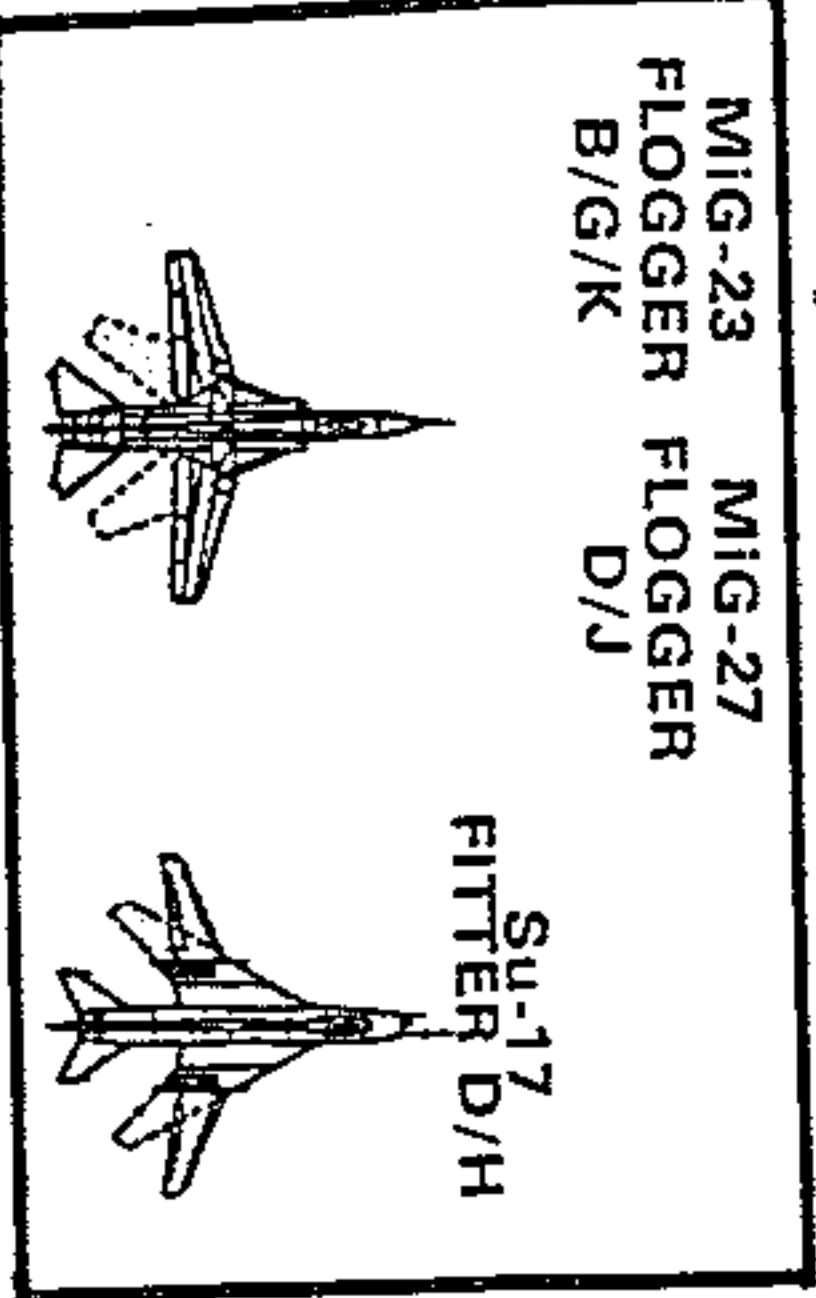
Cuba portrays the offensive as proof of its ability to successfully confront and clash with the South African armed forces. The main Cuban-Angolan task force under the command of Brigadier General Font included an armoured mechanised column spearheaded by a reinforced regiment.

It is described by observers on the scene as the heaviest force used to date. The task force moved from Lobango and advanced in the south-east direction through Changeo to Xangongo (95-100km from the Namibian border) and on the Ngiva (20-25km from the border).

Defensive positions are being consolidated right on the Namibian border. The Cubans emphasise the participation of "the combative Swapo fighters" in the offensive.

The Cuban advance constitutes a breaking of the tacit status quo in Angola. Following the 1985 escalation of the fighting in Southern Angola, most of the Cuban forces, together with Swapo and Fapla forces, withdrew to the Mocomedes-Menongue rail line.

By that time, Swapo was on the verge of collapse. From a maximum of 16 000 troops in 1978, Swapo forces shrank to 6 700-6 200 in 1984-85. The flow of refugees from Namibia, and thus the pool for recruits, almost stopped in the early 1980s. Crossborder operations all but ceased.



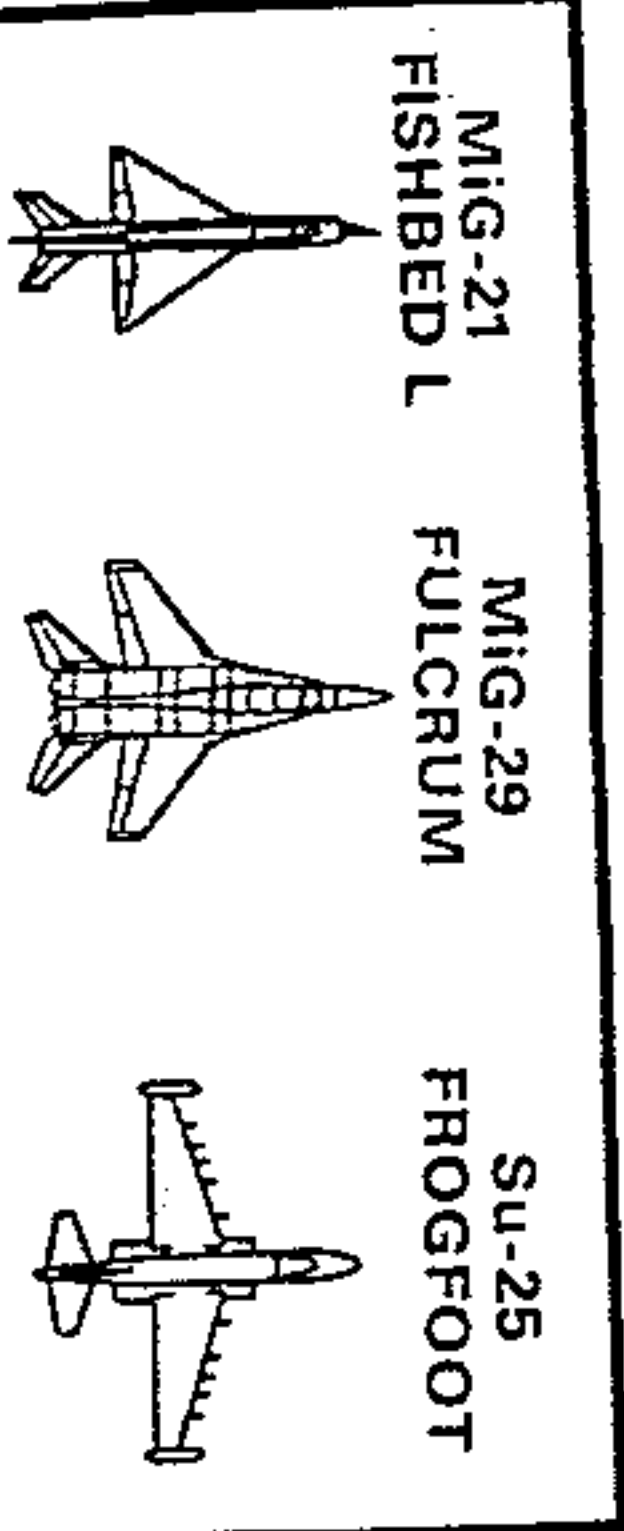
Therefore, in this offensive the Cubans have already succeeded in establishing a bridgehead near the Namibian border which can be used by Swapo to renew its crossborder attacks. Special attention is paid to over-the-border shelling by MBRLs (rocket launchers), anti-aircraft fire and sporadic raids.

STAGE 3

In early May, Cuba intensified its active preparations for the possibility of a major escalation in Southern Angola and the chance of Cuban forces crossing the border into Namibia. Such a move could not have taken place other than under the personal command, direction and supervision of Fidel Castro. A UNITA spokesman warned that "the situation is tense in the south (of Angola) and any move might provoke a clash."

Official Cuban sources claim that Cuba has seized the initiative in Southern Africa and is moving to consolidate strategic gains under the

leadership, including Raul Castro, the Cuban Chief of Staff and most of the Cuban High Command, visited southern Angola in recent months.



In mid-May, the Swapo leader Sam Nujoma visited Havana and was received as a head of state. He held major consultations with the Cuban leadership on the possibilities of escalating the Swapo operations into Namibia.

In his discussions with Nujoma, Fidel Castro emphasised his commitment to a unified regional solution. According to Radio Havana, "Fidel reiterated Cuba's solidarity with the Namibian cause, Angolan territorial integrity, and peace in the Atlantic strip of the African southern cone."

Special discussions were held with key military leaders in anticipation of the escalation. General-Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha and General-Major Roberto Leal Ramos Montero, the chief of main operations directorate, arrived in Havana on May 22 for week-long major consultations.

They met "Commander in Chief Fidel Castro," Raul Castro, General Rosales del Toro and Leopoldo Cintra Frias, the commander of the Cuban forces in Southern Angola.

At the same time, Salim Ahmad Salim, the Minister of Defence of Tanzania, also visited Cuba. He, too, conducted extensive military consultations on the expected role of Tanzania in the anticipated escalation in Southern Africa. He saw Tanzania assuming a more active role among the Frontline states. Salim also discussed Cuban military and training assistance for the Tanzanian Armed Forces.

The diplomatic activities corresponding to the sudden escalation reflect the strategic significance of the Cuban move.

Discussing its offensive, Havana reiterated and emphasised its commitment to the revolutionary causes of the ANC and Swapo, namely, the destruction of South Africa.

The recent joint Angolan peace negotiations in London are considered an integral component of this move. Indeed, the Cuban Chief of Staff, General del Toro, is a senior member of the Cuban-Angolan delegation. Once it became clear that the military offensive was successful, Horhe Risquet, a member of Cuba's Politburo and Fidel Castro's own man in charge of operations in Africa and the Middle East, left London for urgent consultations in Moscow with A Dohrynin, the head of the International Department.

On May 10, Castro sent a personal letter to President Enguesso, of Congo Brazzaville, in which he challenged the validity of the African initiative to solve the Angola-Namibia-South Africa issue as an African problem within the context of the OAU. Castro emphasised that nothing can take place in Southern Africa without taking the legitimate interests of Cuba into consideration.

In pursuit of the Soviet-Cuban strategic objectives in Southern Africa, Cuba continued to take unilateral steps without consulting with, or even notifying, Angola's president Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

In mid-May, MPLA sources in Lisbon complained that "the recent Cuban reinforcements in Angola were carried out without the knowledge of ruling MPLA government in Luanda."

They described Dos Santos as being "upset" over "the manner in which Cuba reinforced its troops in Angola" because it clearly demonstrated "the

plot brigades.

At the same time a Cuban tank brigade, with some 100 new tanks, was transferred from northern Angola to the south. This brigade received its new upgraded T-62 tanks and combat equipment in January-February, and was dispatched to a quiet area in northern Angola for advance training.

Once declared operational, the brigade was assigned to the Southern Front. The best and most loyal units of Fapla are also being moved from northern and central Angola to augment the Cuban deployment south of the 16th Parallel.

There are indications that large portions of the Soviet-supplied equipment in Angola is being diverted to the southern parts of the country.

And Luanda seems to be seeking additional sources of weapon supply to satisfy its internal needs. Angolan officials are trying to buy weapons from Brazil, including tanks, armoured vehicles, communication systems and other military supplies.

The deployment of the Cuban-controlled forces of the Southern Front stabilised in early-June. Significant reinforcements continue to arrive from Cuba, bringing the total of Cuban forces in Angola to 54 000.

Large quantities of weapons and equipment, including modern types new in Angola, are delivered directly from the USSR by air and sea. The main Cuban-Angolan forces occupy a 450 km-long line stretching some 20-30km north of the Namibian border.

The major units on the Southern Front include:

- 3 battalions of Cuban Spetsnaz,
- 1 Cuban tank regiment with 105-110 tanks,
- 1 Cuban artillery brigade/regiment with heavy artillery and rocket launchers,
- 6 Cuban-Angolan combined-arms (mechanised infantry) regiments of 1 500-2 500 troops each,
- 3 Cuban-Swapo raiding battalions each with 200 Cuban and 250 Swapo elite soldiers.

Each of these units includes a supervisory detachment of the DGI (Cuban Intelligence Service) intended to handle contingency plans, ensure the reliability of the personnel, as well as handle and process captured POWs and documents in enemy territory. Additional Mi-17s (HTP) and Mi-18s (HIND) are being deployed from northern Angola and delivered directly from the USSR to the forward bases and command centers of the Southern Front.

SPECIAL attention is being paid to the build-up of air and air defence assets. Most of the Cuban and Angolan squadrons are currently deployed in the southern part of Angola.

A squadron of the latest model of MiG-23 fighters (Flogger K) with significantly improved performance, was deployed to southern Angola and has already been used in combat.

Up-graded Su-22s have also been introduced to Angola. The deployment of Flogger Ks is usually followed by the supply of MiG-29 Fulcrum.

Indeed, there are indications that the Cuban Air Force is about to be supplied with MiG-29 Fulcrums and Su-25 Frogfoot and that some of these aircraft will be deployed in Angola.

Several airbases, including Xegongo, are being upgraded and prepared for the absorption of modern fighters and attack aircraft.

The Cuban GCI-CPs (radar systems), and especially these in Mavinga and Cerca de Namib, are being upgraded so they can control-manage air operations to greater ranges well into South Africa. The air defence deployment along the Namibian border is being upgraded and saturated with the deployment of later models of Flakface, Spoonrest and Barlock radar systems and SA-2c, SA-3 (late-model), SA-6, SA-8b and SA-13 batteries.

On June 9, Swapo announced that it "has launched a military offensive inside Namibia." Swapo explained that some of these attacks were carried out in close co-operation with the joint Cuban-Angolan forces in southern Angola. About

sent from Cuba and was deployed in the south.

According to African diplomats who attended the briefing, Castro was referring to the airbase in Xagongo, some 60km north of the Namibian border.

ADVOCATING a political solution and threatening a military escalation, Castro discussed the London negotiations briefly.

He attacked Pretoria's position, but pointed to improvement in the behaviour of the South African representatives.

While in Brazzaville they behaved "arrogantly and in London they were "courteous and decent." Castro attributed this change to the US pressure on South Africa.

The May 30 briefing was one of the very rare cases when Castro did not criticise Washington in any way. On the contrary, he hailed the US position in the London negotiations as demonstrative that Washington is "motivated to seek a solution."

But African diplomats who attended the briefing concluded that Fidel Castro, who personally leads the Cuban effort, is clearly in favour of the military option. They believe that he is serious when he threatens South Africa with a "serious defeat" if it does not capitulate.

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APP 7016 9/7/88

School repairs: Parents to pay

WINDHOEK — The Namibian transitional cabinet has decided to pass on to parents part of the cost of repairs to damaged facilities at schools, the Minister of National Education, Mr Andrew Matjila, said yesterday.

"The cabinet has taken this decision in view of the cumulative damage to buildings and equipment at state schools and hostels, and against the background of limited funds," he said.

Two school hostels at Augustineum College in Khomasdal had been so badly damaged they were no longer fit for habitation and will remain closed until next year.

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by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

CUBA is gearing itself for a major escalation in southern Angola which could see Cuban forces crossing the border into SWA/Namibia, according to analysts in the United States.

They say the rate and nature of the new military build-up clearly indicate that Russia supports the Cuban activities and considers the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic-objective.

This conclusion is reached in a report from the Washington-based Maldon Institute, a "think tank" of experts with access to intelligence sources.

The report gives details of large-scale preparations for an anticipated "strategic escalation" and the establishment of Cuba's new "southern front" under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa.

Air build-up

As part of a significant air force build-up in the region, the analysts report that the Cuban Air Force is about to be supplied with MiG-29s (Fulcrum) and Su-25s (Frog-foot) and that some of these

SEE: Target Namibia: Castro's plans for Southern Africa, page 15.

aircraft will be deployed in Angola.

A squadron of the latest model MiG-23 fighters with "significantly improved" performance was sent to southern Angola and has already been used in combat, according to the report.

Meanwhile, Cuban radar systems in southern Angola are being upgraded so they can control/manage air operations to greater ranges well into South Africa".

A Cuban tank brigade with about 100 new tanks has been assigned to the southern front and the best Angolan units are being moved from northern and central Angola to

augment the Cuban deployment south of the 16th parallel.

Although deployment of the Cuban-controlled forces of the southern front was stabilised in early June, reinforcements are continuing to arrive from Cuba, bringing the total Cuban forces in Angola to 54 000.

Large quantities of weapons and equipment, including modern types new in Angola, are being delivered directly from Russia by air and sea.

However, the report says there are no senior Soviet personnel south of the 16th parallel and General Ochoa is clearly the senior commander in charge of the southern front, with central strategic headquarters in Cuito-Cuanavale.

The main Cuban-Angolan forces are deployed about 100km north of the SWA/Namibian border with advance units and patrols up to 5km from the border.

Cuba's pledge

M645 11/7/88 221

Hands-off policy towards Unita after SA pulls out



BRUCE CAMERON
of The Argus
Political Staff
reports from HAVANA

CUBA has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of South-West Africa/Namibia.

The undertaking was given by Cuban politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, chief Cuban negotiator, in an exclusive interview here on the eve of the fourth round of peace talks beginning in New York today.



Mr Jorge Risquet

The qualifications were that Cuba would respond to attacks on her positions or convoys.

He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola - not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of foreign affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban revolution 39 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

- Rejected linkage with the implementation of 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal saying that linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when 435 was already three years old.

- Cuba was not seeking a military victory but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independence in Namibia and the halting of foreign intervention in Angola."

- The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Calueque was in direct response to South Africa's "illegal aggressive support of Unita"

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting with Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-east Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by State President P W Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Mr Risquet put the current Cuban troop level at only "35 000 plus X". He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

- Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

Cuba had already reduced her troop levels once before in Angola, by one third after the initial conflict in 1975.

In 1978 South Africa had attacked Casinga, which he claimed was a refugee camp.

This had put an end to a withdrawal plan and South Africa had then escalated the conflict with new aggression last year by entering the war on the side of Unita.

Angola had asked for Cuban assistance after being defeated at Mavinga.

Because of this, Cuba would not withdraw her troops back across the Atlantic Ocean immediately resolution 435 was implemented because South Africa would rapidly re-invade.

- Claimed South Africa with Unita had launched four major attempts on Cuito Cuanavale without success.

● See Pages 3 and 10



Frosty fella: A Boland iceman resists the heart-melting smile of Mrs Lorraine Quinton of Cape Town.



An icy gleam shimmers across the Boland after weekend temperatures fell below zero, carpeting the mountains in snow. More pictures page 5.

Snow W Cap Natal

SOUTH Africa has had its heaviest snow in the Western Cape.

Weather forecasters at D F M near Springbok, Sutherland, Friday weekend.

The lowest temperature recorded on Friday night where the thermometer fell to minus 7 deg C. Calvinia and Springbok had snow.

Heavy snow was reported on the mountains near George and the Theronberg and as far as Namaqualand, the Swartberge in the mountains near George.

SAAF ON S

A weather office spokesman said "at this stage" as the front weekend's snow had moved east.

Natal has borne the brunt of the snow, particularly in the Underberg. Drakensberg, have been cut off and have been cut in many places. The army is on standby for rescues.

The main Durban-Johannesburg road at Swinburne early today and motorist reported black ice - invisible on the road.

At least two people were killed near Melmoth in Natal. Eight passengers were taken to hospital at Empangeni.

The Weather Bureau in Pretoria reported snow in Drakensburg.

A number of hikers is believed to be stranded in the area of the Drakensberg near Himeville.

From Royal Natal National Park, the weather had cleared and people who had been stranded over the weekend were able to return.

It was not known how many were stranded but the count was 24.

Ceres was today recovering from the snow. Visitors who flocked to see the snow were disappointed.

Adults and children frolicked in the snow on their way to the Western Cape when returning to the Western Cape with their bonnets.

For much of the day traffic on the Ceres was reported to have been stopped. A Cape Town motorist describing it as being "like peak-hour traffic on Rhodes Drive".

In the Malmesbury area a woman was washed away and drowned on Saturday afternoon while trying to cross a farm stream swelled by melting snow.

Police named her as Mrs Rebecca Olifant, 35, of Amoskuil Farm.

Reports of bitter weather continued to pour in from the rest of the country.

A Sats spokesman said the railway between Maritzburg and Kokstad had been closed, but machinery to clear the lines had been sent.

In the Underberg area, where 1 1/2 metres of snow fell yesterday, power and telephone lines were down.

The towns most affected were Underberg, Himeville, Franklin and to a lesser extent Matatiele.

Snowfalls were lighter in the Natal Midlands, where snow fell in the area stretching from just outside Maritzburg all the way to Harrismith. About 20cm fell in Moot River, 20cm in Ladysmith and only light snow in Bergville.

EASTERN CAPE

Snow fell on most of the mountain ranges in the eastern and north-eastern Cape and several peaks were still snow-covered today. Heavy falls are

Cuba gives pledge not to fight Unita

HAVANA — Cuba has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of South-West Africa/Namibia.

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He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola - not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of foreign affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban revolution 30 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

● United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia was the key to the current peace talks because South Africa was "illegally in Namibia and Angola".

Apart from being in conflict with Resolution 435, South Africa was also in conflict with a UN resolution approved last year, by, among others, the United States, demanding her withdrawal from Angola.

● Rejected linkage of the implementation of Resolution 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal, saying linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when Resolution 435 was already three years old.

● Cuba was not seeking military victory, but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independence in Namibia and the halting of foreign intervention in Angola."

He referred particularly to the assistance given to Unita by South Africa and the United States, while he indirectly criticised Zaire for providing bases for Unita.

● The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Caluque in direct response to South Africa's "illegal and support of Unita"

BY BRUCE CAMERON

Star man in Havana interviews Mr Jorge Risquet the chief Cuban negotiator in the current Angola talks

He claimed South Africa was still firing 30-40 154 mm shells into Cuito Cuanevale every day.

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-east Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by President Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Cuba had responded to South African aggression only later at Angola's request.

Mr Risquet put the current Cuban troop level at 35 000. He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

● Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

The lengthy withdrawal was required to allow for Fapla forces to be handed over to Fapla and for the forces to be properly trained to enable them to maintain control.

Cuba was prepared to make concessions in timing, but not to the principle of the deadlines set by the

joint Angolan-Cuban delegation were not arbitrary, but had been calculated to meet in the requirement of moving back from the 17th to the 13th parallel.

Cuba had already reduced her troop levels once before in Angola, by one third after the initial conflict in 1975.

In 1978 South Africa had attacked Casinga, which he claimed was a refugee camp.

This had put an end to a withdrawal plan and South Africa had then escalated the conflict with new aggression last year by entering the war on the side of Unita.

Angola had asked for Cuban assistance after being defeated at Mavinga.

Because of this, Cuba would not withdraw her troops back across the Atlantic Ocean immediately resolution 435 would be implemented, because South Africa would rapidly re-invade.

● Claimed South Africa with Unita had launched four major attempts on Cuito Cuanevale without success.

● Rejected what he said where South Africa's demands to re-negotiate aspects of resolution 435 on the grounds that the agreement needed to be updated.

● It was up to Angola to resolve the problem of Unita. The MPLA already offered Unita members clemency. This had already happened with the defunct FNLA of Holden Roberto.



Cuba's negotiator Mr Jorge Risquet is seen (left) with Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunem, Dr Chester Crocker and SA delegation leader Mr Neil van Heerden at the opening talks in London.

Namibia suffers its biggest bomb blast

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The largest terror bomb in the history of the Namibian conflict exploded in the small town of Okahandja, 68 km north of Windhoek, on Saturday. No-one was injured.

The blast was caused by a car-bomb using an estimated 50 kg of explosives.

It badly damaged a police station and demolished a guard cubicle which a man had just left.

The biggest previous blast occurred last July when an estimated 30 to 40 kg of explosives damaged the Kalahari Sands Hotel, but caused no deaths.

A police spokesman said Saturday's bomb had been planted in a stolen 1976 Volkswagen parked outside the police station.

This was the fourth explosion in Namibia in the past four days.

On Wednesday a bomb exploded in a Windhoek butchery killing one person and injuring 18. The following day a military vehicle was damaged, and on Friday three policemen were slightly injured in Windhoek's Katatura township.

'Cuba will hit back'

By BRUCE CAMERON
THE SOWETAN man
Havana

HAVANA — Cuba has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

The undertaking was given by Cuban Politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, chief Cuban negotiator, in an exclusive interview here on the eve of the fourth round of peace talks in New York.

The qualifications were that Cuba would respond to attacks on her positions or convoys.

He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola — not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the Politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of Foreign Affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban Revolution 30 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

- United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia was the key to the current peace talks because South Africa was "illegally in Namibia and Angola".

Apart from being in conflict with Resolution 435, South Africa was also in conflict with a UN resolution approved last year, including by the United States, demanding her withdrawal from Angola.

- Rejected linkage with the implementation of 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal saying that linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when 435 was already three years old.

- Cuba was not seeking a military victory, but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independence in Namibia and the halting of foreign intervention in Angola".

He referred particularly to the assistance given to Unita by South Africa

and the United States while he indirectly criticised Zaire for providing bases for Unita.

- The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Caluque was in direct response to South Africa's "illegal aggressive support of Unita".

He claimed South Africa was still firing 30-40 154mm shells into Cuito Cunevale every day.

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-East Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by State President PW Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Cuba had responded to South African aggression only later at Angola's request.

Mr Risquet only put the current Cuban troop level at 35 000 plus. He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

- Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

The lengthy withdrawal was required to allow fortification to be handed over to Fapla and for the Fapla forces to be properly trained to enable them to maintain control.

Cuba was prepared to make concessions in timing, but not to the principle to the deadlines set by the joint Angolan-Cuban delegation were not arbitrary, but had been calculated to meet in the requirement of moving back from the 17th to the 13th parallel.

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LEADER Fidel Castro.

agreement needed to be updated.

- It was up to Angola to resolve the problem of Unita. The MPLA already offered Unita members clemency. This had already happened with the defunct FNLA of Holden Roberto.

He was sure a solution would be found if foreign intervention stopped. He referred to United States support of Unita and the recent visits of Unita Jonas Savimbi to the White House.

- Denied that there was any conflict of interest between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

"It is a totally false rumour."

'Blueprint' for peace at talks

CAC mks
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From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — South African and Angolan-Cuban negotiators were yesterday said to be closing in on a "blueprint" for Cuban and SA troop withdrawals in the context of UN resolution 435.

The plan, co-ordinated by the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Mr James Woods, was understood to "marry" the pull-back of Cuban forces and the military aspects of resolution 435.

These would include the movement of SA forces into bases inside Namibia and their subsequent departure from the territory.

Mr Woods arrived at the UN Plaza Hotel early yesterday morning for last-minute consultations with the parties before they headed for the second day of talks on Governors' Island.

Under a pre-agreed news blackout, the negotiators have declined comment on the substance of their discussions and the existence of the "blueprint" could not be officially confirmed.

The SA team returned from the first day's talks, which ran well over schedule to close to eight hours, sounding quietly elated.

One member said "It was like a beehive in there" as negotiators hammered out issues in intense working groups, established on an often ad hoc basis around the Coast Guard officers' club where the talks are sited.

Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, leading the SA delegation, called the opening round "very substantive ... we are rapidly meeting the objectives we set ourselves in Cairo".

State of emergency, censorship, restrictions

Kinnock slams West for stand on Namibia

GABORONE — British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock has accused the West of not doing enough to ensure independence for Namibia. (221)

Speaking at a meeting of the Botswana Society last night, Mr Kinnock said Namibian independence was a prerequisite for peace in southern Africa.

Mr Kinnock, who described South African control of Namibia as "an international disgrace", said he supported mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

He also accused South Africa of "state terrorism" and urged Western nations to provide additional security assistance to the Frontline states.

Angola: Why did it start?

ANGOLA has been with us for so long I am sure the question "Why did it all start in the first place?" would set the average man to scratching his head.

Depending on one's politics, one could go back to the 1948 election, the RSA's "illegal occupation" of Namibia and the 1975/6 Angolan incursion.

But the flip-side argument is that the incursions which have led to the present situation resulted directly from the 1978 border military situation, which in turn resulted from Angolan interference in Namibian affairs.

ON PARADE

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

This argument turns on counter-insurgency doctrine, namely that although an insurgency often ends by negotiation, the matter of which side wins (or at least is not defeated) in the military stage is of crucial importance.

Up to 1976 the Namibian insurgency was a sputtering, low-level affair.

Then the MPLA regime seized power. At this stage it had two choices. It could adopt what might be called the Botswana option and give its resident Swapo insurgents moral and non-military aid, or it could involve itself in the "armed struggle" by aiding Mr Sam Nujoma.

It opted for the latter. There was some justification — it was morally committed to the "liberation struggle" — and no doubt South Africa's recent support of its enemy, Dr Jonas Savimbi, still rankled.

The immediate result was an artificially inflated Swapo war effort and a deteriorating security situation in Ovamboland during 1977.

That left just three alternatives: Capitulation; a drawn-out defensive attrition struggle, with the insurgents protected by a safe border; and pre-emptive "external" attacks.

The South African military, having analysed the lessons of the Vietnam War, concluded that pre-emptive attacks were the only feasible alternative. The then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, agreed.

That was it. Angola and South Africa became locked into a classic escalation which has cost them much blood and treasure, wrecked Angola's economy, left great areas of once-fertile land lying fallow and let Unita become the major thorn in Luanda's flesh.

And if Angola had chosen the Botswana option? The thesis goes like this:

It is fairly certain that border violations would probably have been simple hot-pursuit actions, while Unita would have been holed up in the south-east, constituting little more than a nuisance and being held in check with the help of, say, 20 000 instead of 57 000 hired Cubans.

Progress towards a Namibian solution would probably have continued, since the dynamics of hearts-and-minds processes such as political development and desegregation operate regardless of the "armed struggle's" intensity.

There might not even have been a border war as such. Makes you think ...

□ □ □ □

THIS Sunday it will be the 72nd anniversary of the Battle of Delville Wood, and as usual the Moths (Cape Western Region) will hold its commemorative service.

Falling-in time is 10.30 for 11 at the Gun Memorial in the Gardens (or the Civic Centre concourse if it rains). Various ex-service organizations will attend, and all veterans are welcome. Usual dress is suit or blazer and gongs.

(Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.)

Cuba and SA agree on pull-out

NEW YORK. — Angola, Cuba and South Africa have agreed that Cuban troops will withdraw from Angola, and that South Africa will end its 73-year rule over Namibia, the Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday.

The parties did not, however, agree on a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal at this week's meeting, Dr Crocker said at a news conference at the US mission to the United Nations.

But a top Angolan official said yesterday that the date for an accord was "very close".

He was speaking after three days of talks between South Africa, the United States, Cuba and Angola that reached an agreement on the framework for a "peaceful settlement" to the 13-year guerilla war in Southern Africa.

The delegations issued a statement describing the three-day US-sponsored discussions that began on Monday as "constructive in spirit, positive and productive".

Peace principles

The statement said the delegations reached agreement on the "principles for a peaceful settlement in South-Western Africa".

The response of the four governments to the draft document is expected before early August, when another meeting is scheduled.

Lt-Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca, the Fapla chief of staff who led the Angolan delegation, appeared remarkably optimistic after the talks.

The talks had reduced the possibility of new fighting between Angolan and Cuban troops and SA soldiers, he said.

The South Africans were also optimistic about a settlement. Mr Neil van Heerden, the head of South Africa's delegation, said the negotiators were talking seriously and that the peace process was "on track". — UPI and Sapa-AP

Peace, very close,

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CHG Times
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76 SA troops died — Swapo

LUSAKA. — Swapo claimed yesterday that it had killed 76 South African soldiers in June, bringing to 521 the total number killed this year in Namibia.

It claimed that it attacked seven military bases in Namibia in June, destroying five combat vehicles.

On Tuesday, the SADF claimed that four Swapo members were shot dead last week, bringing Swapo's fatalities this year to 242.

An SADF spokesman said the SADF and the SWA Territory Force made known their own losses in the operational area. — Sapa

Pact closer as Angola peace talks end

From NEIL LURRSSEN
and BRUCE CAMERON

NEW YORK. — As the Angola peace talks ended, the sides appear to have edged closer to an agreement on a schedule for Cuban troop withdrawal and the linked issue of Namibian independence.

But there is still a long way to go in the US-sponsored negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The delegations have left America with a secret document entitled *Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in South-Western Africa*.

They agreed that if their governments approved the principles spelt out in the document, the sides would meet again in the first week of August to hammer out firm agreements based on the principles.

It is expected that the document will be made public once the three governments have conveyed their approval to Washington. A venue for the next round of talks has not yet been chosen.

It is understood that the Cubans offered to host the meeting — the fourth round of talks — in Havana but South Africa

is unlikely to accept. Similarly, the Cubans are not likely to accept an invitation to meet in Cape Town.

Shortly after the talks ended yesterday afternoon, the leader of the American team, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, said Cuban withdrawal and implementation of Namibian independence under UN resolution 435 remained crucial to the peace initiative. He said there appeared to have been progress.

At a news conference Dr Crocker suggested there may have been a narrowing of the gap between the opposing sides

on linking Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

South Africa has insisted that the Cubans be withdrawn first but according to Dr Crocker the two actions could now be simultaneous.

He said the clock would start ticking for the implementation of resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal if the talks moved toward a settlement that entailed the movement of South African troops south of the border and the arrival in Namibia of civil and military officials of the United Nations.

The South African and Ango-

lan delegations said the spirit of the New York talks had been "good" and "constructive".

South Africa's delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, said: "I go away from New York with one main impression: that the negotiations have stayed on track through London, Cairo and now here, and we have been able to overcome a number of important problems on the way."

"The road is far we have to travel but, as of now, a momentum has been established and a confidence created which enables us to continue."

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Angola: SA to decide next week

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE South African government is expected to decide next week on whether to accept the statement of principles tentatively agreed to by the warring parties at the latest round of four-power talks on Angola/Namibia in New York.

President P W Botha is expected to chair a top-level meeting, probably in Cape Town, to assess developments at the latest round of talks.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has cautioned that it is too early to make a judgment on what has been achieved.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola are expected to inform the United States government of their respective decisions on the programme of principles within a week.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that in terms of the accord all South African troops will have to leave southern Angola before Cuban withdrawal can begin.

This was confirmed by Dr Chester Crocker, the chief US mediator.

Dr Crocker said that as SA forces moved out of Angola the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) would deploy in Namibia to oversee the independence process.

The key remaining disagreement is over how to marry the seven-month timetable for implementation of the UN plan with the three to four years Cuba has insisted it must have to bring its forces home.

● A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that reports on US Democratic Party presidential candidate Mr Michael Dukakis's implied threat to use military force against South Africa had given a misleading impression.

An examination of Mr Dukakis's statement, in which he alluded to the possible use of military force against "terrorist base camps" in South Africa, showed that he was referring to Renamo camps in South Africa.

Since there were no Renamo camps in the country, the implied threat effectively fell away.

landed in plane

THE New York talks, in producing a draft agreement on the principles of a settlement in Angola-Namibia, have presented the South African government with a choice it can no longer avoid.

Are we going to get out of Namibia? Are we going to get out of Angola?

President Botha and his advisers will have to decide within the next week or so whether they are seriously interested in a regional settlement which will allow Namibia to move ahead to independence, an event they have delayed for a decade.

The draft agreement by officials, which is awaiting approval by political leaders, links the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola with the simultaneous implementation of Resolution 435 of the Security Council, which provides for UN-supervised elections and independence for Namibia.

Invaluable

Although South Africa accepted Resolution 435 in principle when it was adopted in 1978, Pretoria's subsequent strategy has been to spin out the negotiations and hold on in Namibia, more in the interests of South Africa's strategic objectives in the sub-continent than for the sake of Namibia.

For the SADF, the territory has been an excellent proving ground for new weaponry and training in counter-insurgency. In the Caprivi strip, it has included an advance base which has been invaluable in the SADF's military domination of the sub-continent.

Counter-productive

But the situation is changing rapidly. The more thoughtful elements in the SADF are aware that this country cannot win a proxy fight against two superpowers. Both Moscow and Washington are intent on a settlement in the region. Whatever the signal achievements of Armscor, the SADF will rapidly be out-gunned in high-tech weaponry, as is already beginning to happen.

Now is the time to quit Angola and settle in Namibia

GM Time
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Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

Whatever the SADF may have achieved by its aggressive pre-emptive strategy in the region in the last decade, which history will have to judge, the military balance has now changed in dramatic fashion with the sudden Cuban dash into south-west Angola, a war-devastated wasteland which was long under Unita and SADF control.

The situation is becoming counter-productive, with the danger of the SADF getting stuck in the mud of central Angola, risking heavy casualties.

Against this background, and an undertow of public opinion in favour of disen-

agement, the probabilities are that the draft agreement will be accepted in principle by Pretoria. Then the haggling over timing and detail will begin, which will again provide opportunities for delay if any of the parties are so minded.

From Angola's point of view, it now makes sense to play the game of delay because bargaining terms will improve considerably for Luanda if Mr Michael Dukakis wins the US presidential election later this year. Mr Dukakis has already undertaken to recognize the MPLA regime and withdraw US support from Unita.

Blockade

From South Africa's point of view, on the other hand, it makes sense to conclude the deal NOW while the well-disposed Reagan administration and Mr Chester Crocker are still in place.

If this is not done, the consequences could be pretty dreadful. The end of the line could even be an internationally enforced blockade to force a defiant South Africa to its knees. No rational government would deliberately invite such consequences upon itself.

If there is a quick settlement, on the other hand, the gains for South Africa would be substantial. The massive military expenditures in Angola-Namibia would cease. Scarce skills and manpower could be re-directed into productive economic activity — and the SADF could revert to a rather more modest role in defending South Africa's borders.

South Africa has many strong bargaining cards to play. There is Pretoria's ownership of Walvis Bay, for example. In the last stages of the negotiation South Africa could swap its title to Walvis Bay for a mutual security treaty with a newly independent Namibia, securing the use of the harbour for the SA Navy and the exclusion of other navies — and excluding the ANC from operating guerilla bases in the territory. Namibia's position of economic dependence will doubly ensure that South Africa's security interests are protected in watertight fashion.

Guarantees

What happens to achieve peace between Unita and the MPLA government in Angola is something for those parties themselves to resolve. But South Africa will be wanting guarantees that the new Angola will not allow ANC bases on its soil.

The benefits of a settlement would be incalculable. The consequences of failure do not bear thinking about.

Peace talks: So far, so good, but . . .

ARGUS 15/7/88
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From NEIL LURSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Senior American officials are cautious about the prospects for peace in Angola and independence for Namibia following this week's intensive US-sponsored negotiations in New York.

"We are still months away from buttoning up all the details," Mr John Whitehead, the deputy US Secretary of State, said here.

While they are clearly elated at the agreement in principle reached by delegates from South Africa, Cuba and Angola and are emphasising the absence of rancour at the talks, the Americans warn that there are many obstacles to be overcome before a settlement can become a reality.

The first obstacle, they say, is to win approval by the three governments of the principles established in New York — principles described by the leader of the American team, Dr Chester Crocker, as ... "the core of the

settlement, guideposts for negotiators to produce detailed agreements which will be needed to bring a settlement into effect."

After approval in Pretoria, Havana and Luanda, the negotiators will have to reach agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban and SA troops, and on implementation of UN Resolution 435 which sets out an independence plan for Namibia.

Milder climate

"As with so many potential agreements, the devil is often in the details, and the details have not yet been achieved," Mr Whitehead said.

The Americans are hoping to create a milder climate for the negotiations by emphasising that there must be no losers when the final settlement package is signed.

"There is going to have to be a compromise ... to the satisfaction of everybody," Dr Crocker said.

The US ambassador to the United Nations, Admiral Vernon

Walters, said that the hostility built up in 15 years of conflict was yet another obstacle to be overcome but he noted that the talks in New York had gone further than previous meetings.

Withdrawal

Asked why so much attention had been given to the agreement on principles when so much had yet to be achieved, Admiral Walters said: "I think one of the principal reasons is that hope springs eternal in the human breast."

He said he was not surprised by indications that South Africa would be willing to pull out of Namibia in terms of Resolution 435. He believed that South Africa would withdraw.

"Most of all," he said, "it will bring to an end the war in Angola which has been going on for more than 15 years with tremendous casualties."

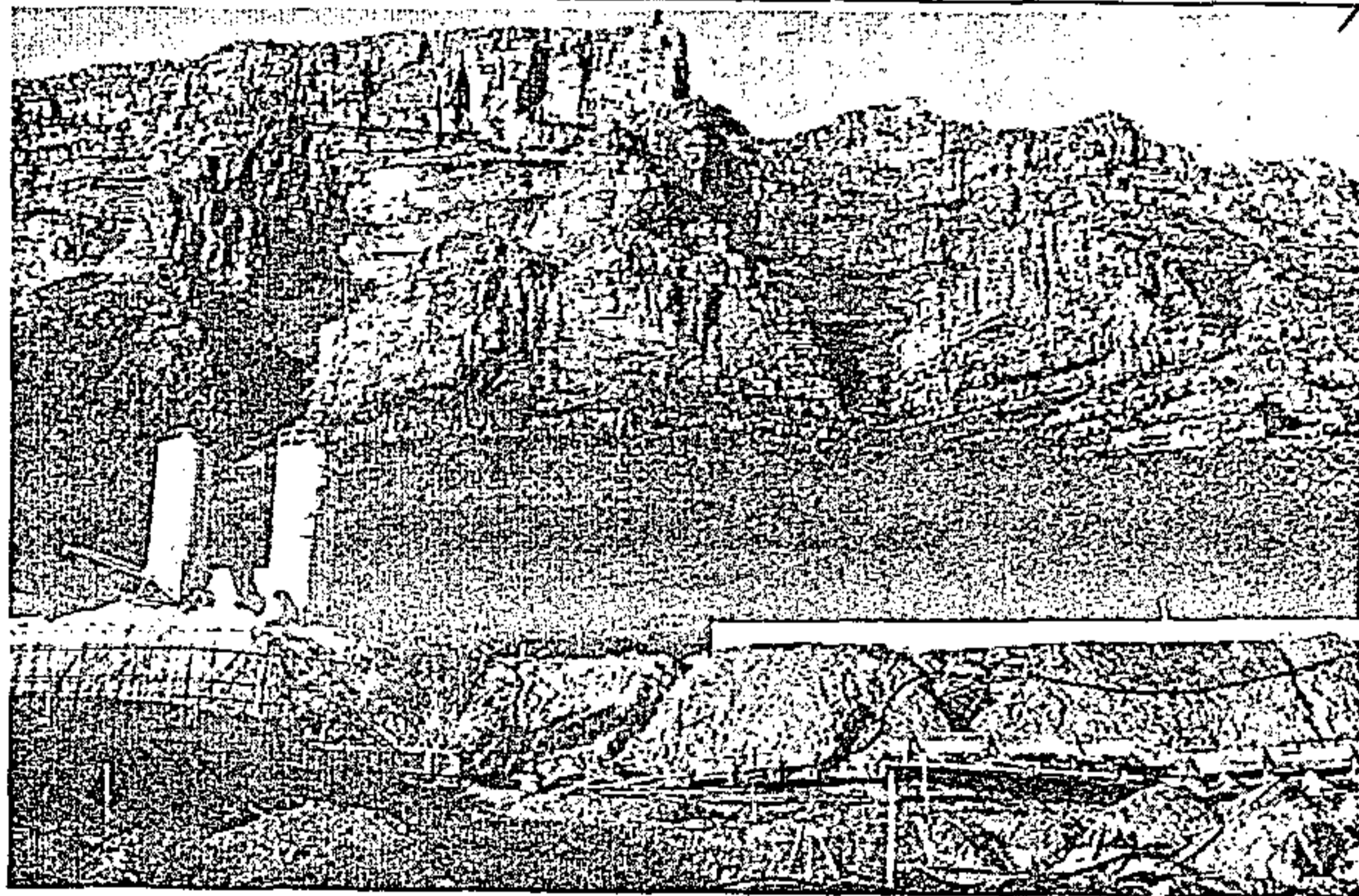
And the independence of Namibia would take away the possibility of clashes between South Africa and Angola by forming a buffer between the military forces of the two countries.



Angolan peace: Will SA bring the boys home?

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Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

DAM WALL: Residents of Glencoe Road, Oranjezicht, yesterday had to contend with a flood of muddy water from this reservoir dam which is still under construction.

Oranjezicht homes flooded: Councillors call for report

By ANTHONY DOMAN and ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporters

THE city engineer has been asked to submit a full report on the Oranjezicht flooding which damaged houses and gardens.

In a cloudburst yesterday, houses in Glencoe Road were hit by muddy floodwater from a reservoir being built on Table Mountain.

City councillor Mr Louis Kreiner said he asked for the report.

Mr Kreiner said he contacted people affected by the flooding immediately he heard of it.

Council staff cleared up the mess and sandbags were used to contain the water.

"My fellow-ward councillor, Mr Llewellyn van Wyk, and I will be visiting the area later today to see if there is anything we can do to help," Mr Kreiner said.

Asked if there had been problems in the past, Mr Kreiner said: "There have been people who have complained."

However, he understood their complaints had been dealt with.

Contractors Murray and Roberts were obliged to protect properties as part of their contract conditions, he said.

But it was possible their precautions had not taken into account unforeseen heavy rain.

"The way it rained yesterday there was a large amount of run-off from the mountain, but I'm not using that as an excuse," Mr Kreiner said.

ANKLE-DEEP MUD

Mrs T Heyer, owner of property at 33 Glencoe Road, is away in Germany but the tenant of the downstairs flat, Mrs Jenny Francis, was home when ankle-deep mud and water poured through her home shortly before noon yesterday.

"The water poured in the back windows. I managed to stop it going into the kitchen, bathroom and my bedroom," Mrs Francis said. Three rooms in her flat were flooded.

Dr Frits Gaum of 31 Glencoe Road said it was the second time the area had been flooded. Last week one of his downstairs rooms was flooded.

"Yesterday it was a curtain of water pouring down the paths. Fortunately the rain stopped, but if something is not done there could be an even greater problem," he added.

Tiger grabs boy's head in its jaws

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A tiger cub grabbed a boy's head in its jaws as it was being led through crowds at a British wildlife park.

People at Sparkwell Wildlife Park near Plymouth were horrified as the tiger leapt at seven-year-old Robert Gardner and pulled him screaming to the ground.

They tried to pull him free of the Labrador-sized cub, a six-month-old Siberian tiger called Zircon, but it held him firmly in its mouth.

A keeper forced his hand into the tiger's jaws and eased Robert's head out. Robert had 30 stitches to his wounds.

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA faces a tough decision today on whether to pull troops out of Angola as a first step towards the independence of SWA/Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The State Security Council meets today to consider the latest proposals for a peace settlement in Angola and Namibia.

A two-page document, spelling out the basic grounds for peace, has to be ratified this week.

A final decision is likely to be taken today by the Government and its response relayed to the United States.

The Security Council is expected to be given a full briefing by the delegation to the meeting in New York last week which negotiated the agreement over three days.

Senior level

The delegation was led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden, accompanied by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service director Mr Neil Barnard.

The close co-operation and agreement between these three wings of the South African administration at such a senior level was seen in New York as an indication that South African approval was likely to be a formality.

But a South African source at the talks warned: "You can never be sure what the politicians will do."

If all parties agree on the document it is likely to be published before the next round of talks, scheduled for the first week of August.

Progress

Although it appears that South Africa is prepared to accept withdrawal from Angola to start the process, the parties are still a considerable way from reaching agreement on the timed implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

But in Maputo, Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said a peace agreement on Angola could be signed before the end of the

year, Argus Africa News Service reports.

Mr de Moura, who arrived in Maputo at the weekend to brief President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on the peace talks with South Africa, said progress now depended on South Africa keeping up the preliminary agreement reached in New York.

Mr de Moura was cautious about the possibility of future progress in the negotiations.

"In negotiations there are always differences. It is not easy to harmonise the different points of view," he said.

But, he added: "Since there is a political will in both countries (for an agreement) everything will be done in order that an honourable peace can be achieved."

"It is necessary that Pretoria conforms with United Nations Resolution 602/87 which calls for an immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola," he said.

"I think this will happen so that the number of principles agreed upon in New York can be implemented," he said.

Elections in SWA unlikely — Mudge

WINDHOEK. — United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia were unlikely to materialise in the near future, said Mr Dirk Mudge, the Minister of Finance and Governmental Affairs.

Addressing a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance political rally at Waterberg at the weekend, Mr Mudge said he did not foresee an early breakthrough in negotiations to resolve the Angolan conflict and bring recognised independence to SWA/Namibia.

The four negotiating parties — Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States — had such wide-ranging and conflicting interests in the issue that agreement did not seem a realistic prospect at this stage.

"The transitional period will therefore still last a considerable time."

Mr Mudge said a more feasible proposition was non-racial municipal elections in the near future. — Sapa.

Education: Cuba to the rescue

Sowetan 18/7/88

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HAVANA — Cuba has established two schools for Namibian children and has 56 South African pupils in schools on its second largest island — The Isle of Youth.

The Cubans have a total of 16031 foreign children at school on the island — formerly known as The Isle of Pines.

The two Namibian schools have 931 pupils sent by Swapo. The South African students are sent by the ANC.

Other pupils come mainly from African countries such as Angola, Congo, Zimbabwe and Burkino Faso with others coming from as far as North Korea and from Nicaragua.

The two Namibian schools are known as Hendrik Witbooi, for secondary pupils, and Hosea Kutaco, for primary pupils.

The South Africans are included in schools with pupils from a variety of countries. Most lessons are in Spanish with pupils receiving a crash six-month course in the language on their arrival.

The Dean of Education for Cuba, Dr Evelio Campos, said in an interview the schools were what were known as "schools-in-the-country" with pupils doing normal schoolwork as well as working on farms attached to the schools.

The children received

special lessons in the language, history and geography of their home countries. Apart from this they did normal school subjects taken by Cuban children including lessons in Marxist ideology.

Examples of essays in Spanish were shown to the *Daily News*. One of the pupils Desiderius Nohape (no age given) from Namibia said when she completed her schooling she wanted to be an industrial engineer.

"I am very concerned about the very important development of our country. Our country is under the apartheid regime. The resources are controlled and stolen for foreign countries. When

Namibia is free it will be a major country."

Dr Campos said most of the children were interested in agronomy or medicine. — *Sowetan* Political Correspondent.

SA children study Marx in Cuba

STW
15/1/84
By Bruce Cameron
Political Staff

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HAVANA — Cuba has established two schools for Namibian children and has 56 South African pupils in schools on its second largest island — the Isle of Youth.

The Cubans have a total of 16 031 foreign children at school on the island which was formerly known as the Isle of Pines.

The two Namibian schools have 931 pupils sent by Swapo. The South African students are sent by the ANC.

The two Namibian schools are known as Hendrik Witbooi, for secondary pupils, and Hosea Kutaco, for primary pupils.

The South Africans are included in schools with pupils from a variety of countries.

Most lessons are in Spanish with pupils receiving a six-month crash course in the language on their arrival.

The Dean of Education for Cuba, Dr

Evelio Campos, said in an interview that pupils worked on farms attached to the schools in addition to their normal schoolwork.

The children received special lessons in the language, history and geography of their home countries.

Apart from this they did normal school subjects taken by Cuban children, including lessons in Marxist ideology.

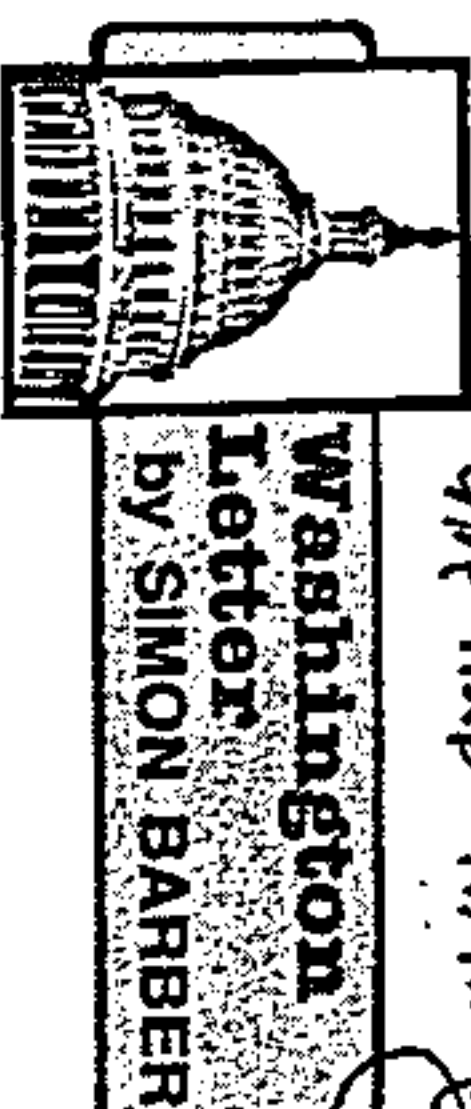
Examples of essays in Spanish were shown to *The Daily News*. One of the pupils Desiderius Nolhape (no age given) from Namibia said when she completed her schooling she wanted to be an industrial engineer.

"I am very concerned about the very important development of our country. Our country is under the apartheid regime. The resources are controlled and stolen for foreign countries. When Namibia is free it will be a major country."

Dr Campos said most of the children were interested in agronomy or medicine.

Act now, before Nov 8 elections

ART TIPS 1978



LAST Tuesday night, after the second day of the Governor's Island talks, Neil van Heerden, the leader of the SA negotiating team, received a telephone call from Pk Botha. "Tell the SABC man to tone down the optimism," said the foreign minister.

This was one of several signs that the two-page "statement of principles" initiated at the talks faces tough sledding when it goes before P. W. Botha and his security advisers for political approval.

Even during the talks, there were hints of division within the delegation itself. It was said Van Heerden, a man of whom all SA should be inordinately proud, had had to crack the whip to keep parts of the military component in line. When it was over, he felt obliged to say for the record that it had been a "good team effort" suggesting that at some points rather the opposite might have been true.

Some outside the SA delegation pointed a finger at General C. J. van Ronder, an aide to army chief General Janille Goldenhuys, whose commitment to Unlita is known to be unusually strong.

At the close of day two, the elation of the first session seemed to be cooling and Van Heerden scooped reporters from the words "break-through" and "progress".

Safe from the baneful interventions of their country's politics, the professionals were laying the foundation for a settlement that might save hundreds — if not thousands — of lives, with honour evenly distributed.

The South Africans had agreed, as Van Heerden had long wanted them to, that the SADF should pull unilaterally from southern

Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

Angola, preliminary to the related process of implementing UN Resolution 435 and bringing home the Cubans. In the view of Dr Chester Crocker, the chief US mediator, they had also agreed that Unlita's fate was now an "internal" matter to be resolved by the Angolans themselves, and was no longer to be part of the central negotiation which henceforth would concentrate on the "international" questions of 435 and Cuban departure. Though with considerably less precision, it had further been decided that the SADF, Fapla and the Cubans should seek to maintain a de facto ceasefire along the border.

Perhaps most importantly of all, the parties accepted that they were not embarked on a zero sum game of losers and winners. Each would have to find the means and the courage to allow their historic enemies an equally graceful exit. What remained unresolved was the question of timing.

Cuba's position, which appears to have changed little since the London talks in early May, is that while it is prepared to withdraw north of the 13th parallel once 435 is in motion — 15 days after Unlita arrives in Namibia by one account — repatriating its soldiers is a different matter, and could take as long as four years, with less than half to leave within two. The only apparent concession that has been

publicly reported — it was attributed to Pollitzer, who was not in New York — is that Cuban forces would be confined to defensive positions and would not be deployed against Unlita. However, this has long been standard Cuban practice.

The South African position, which seems altogether more equitable, even to some Angolans, is that the Cubans should all be out by the time 435 has run its seven-month course and the Vierkleur comes down in Windhoek.

The Angolans insist that they can deal with Unlita once everybody else is out of the picture, but clearly not everyone in the MPLA is equally convinced, and since Unlita now has in its possession billions of dollars worth of captured Soviet weaponry, you would have to say they have a point.

This, plus Fidel Castro's own reasons for staying put — which range from vainglory to an understandable desire not to see an ally imperilled — lie behind the timing problem as does the question of continued US aid to the rebels, another critical issue that has been hived off from the central package.

The negotiators attempted to address the dilemma tangentially, dealing with questions of verification, how to

ensure that South Africa and Cuba, even after their forces had moved, were really gone in all the ways that count. But clearly this alone will not do the trick.

Some Angolans, particularly the "dovish" ones who hold that Unlita really can be handled on a purely internal basis, tend to believe that once the "family" of agreements on "international" matters is on the table waiting to be signed, Crocker and the Reagan administration will feel disinclined to ruin things by being adamant on aid to Unlita.

The trouble with this is that the US Congress, in its utterly quixotic way, may not permit Dr

Jonas Savimbi to be so abruptly abandoned. Congress does not, on the whole, understand the complexities of the negotiations. A bi-partisan coalition, the Angola task force (which incidentally includes Senator Lloyd Benetton, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee), has formed around the principle of "democratic" reconciliation and has publicly demanded of President Reagan that he continue arming Unlita up to the point that the sides have come to terms.

One reason for this is that the Democrats, purely political purposes, need a solid anti-

communist they can support in order to conceal all their other betrayals. Now that the Afghan mujahedeen are out of the picture and the Nicaraguan contras have been dumped, Savimbi is their boy.

Thus while Crocker might dearly love to live up to the expectations of the MPLA's doves, the politicians may prevent him — just as SA's politicians may unravel Van Heerden's efforts.

Hence Crocker's statement after the talks that "now is the time for creative thinking on the part of the Angolan government, of Unlita, of African states and others to think through how the internal civil

conflict in Angola can be brought to an end in a timely manner".

In a rare jab at one of the parties, Crocker noted in a nice understatement that the MPLA was "not necessarily being very realistic" in demanding that Unlita "first get rid of its current leader".

All of which should put in perspective Van Heerden's warning that "it is a far road that we have to go". An omnibus array of political decisions has yet to be made by all sides, many of them within the next 48 hours, which is when the parties are due to signal Crocker that the "statement of principles" has been accepted.

Even bigger decisions will have to be made, if not before the September 29 deadline provisionally agreed by the US, the Soviet Union and Cuba, then soon thereafter.

Should Michael Dukakis win the presidency on November 8, the negotiation will be off in definitely. It will be years and thousands of dead before the current window of opportunity opens again.

The time to act is now. The "senior experts" who gathered in the off-island seemed, with a few military exceptions, to recognize this. Will their politicians?

Angola

DAY

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS should know tomorrow if SADF troops are to be pulled out of Angola.

President P W Botha said after a State Security Council meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday that a "joint announcement" by the governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba on their responses to the New York proposals for a peace settlement in Angola and Namibia could be expected on Wednesday.

In terms of the tentative agreement reached at the four-power talks in New York, all South African troops will have to leave southern Angola before a Cuban withdrawal can begin.

Optimistic

Mr Botha indicated that South Africa had reached a decision on the report presented to yesterday's meeting by the South African delegation to the New York talks — but he did not say what the decision was.

However, government sources yesterday appeared optimistic that South Africa — through the State Security Council — had endorsed the document of principles tentatively agreed to by all parties in New York.

And political observers argued that the prospects of a positive response from the State Security Council was strengthened by the fact that two of its leading members — Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard — agreed to the two-page document spelling out the ground rules for a settlement in New York.

SIMON BARBER reports that United States mediators had been nervous about how the State Security Council would respond to the statement, which, they said, was less enthusiastically endorsed by members of the military contingent at the talks than by the Foreign Affairs team.

The principles, as outlined by US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker last Wednesday, also included an agreement that Unita and the Angolan civil war should not be an issue in the negotiations.

The major difference still to be resolved is on the timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans were still insisting that they will not take all their soldiers home until more than three years after the UN process in Namibia is complete.

conscious and stole the bakkie.

Owambo pipeline sabotaged

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The SWA Territory Force has confirmed reports that the water pipeline to Ovamboland from the Ruacana hydro-electric project on the Angolan border was sabotaged in six places at the weekend.

A spokesman for the force said yesterday that the sabotage of the pipeline occurred on Sunday over the first eight kilometres of the pipeline's length south of Ruacana. He said the water supply to the drought-stricken area could be severely disrupted.

But, a spokesman for the Department of Water Affairs, Mr Andre Genis, said he believed the disruption would be minimal as there was sufficient stored reservoir water to tide Ovamboland over until the pipeline was repaired. The repair work is expected to be completed by this weekend and will cost R25 000.

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and residents are being

According to a police statement

CAPE TIMES 19/7/88

Pipe damage not severe 221

WINDHOEK. — Namibian waterworks officials yesterday contradicted military reports that water supplies to Ovamboland had been "severely hampered" by a weekend sabotage attack on the region's main water pipeline. Namibia's acting director of water provision, Mr Dudley Biggs, said the damage would be repaired by Thursday at a cost of about R25 000.

buffers=20
files=20
break=on

SOUTH Africa is to announce today whether it has accepted in principle a total troop withdrawal from Angola and the early implementation of independence for SWA/Namibia.

Although Government spokesmen were today keeping quiet on the Government's decision taken at yesterday's State Security Council meeting, it is expected that South Africa will endorse the principles of agreement thrashed out in New York last week.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is to spell out South Africa's reaction to the principles for peace in South West Africa at a Press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

The details of the principles are also expected to be announced.

It is understood that the United States has already been told of South Africa's response.

If all the negotiating countries agree to the principles a start is likely to be made on setting dates for their implementation at the next round of talks, due for the first week in August.

Non-aggression pact

However, a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal remains the stumbling block for implementation of the principles.

It is understood the principles are based on a non-aggression pact between the warring parties and non-intervention in neighbouring territories.

Apart from withdrawal from Angola it appears the principles could result in a halt in aid from South Africa to Unita with Angola and Cuba stopping aid to Swapo.

It is also apparently accepted in the principles that the United Nations Security Council will be the guarantors.

With the withdrawal from Angola, the United Nations will also be asked to start implementing its resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

However Mr Botha is likely to emphasise that South Africa will not agree to this before a vastly speeded up programme of Cuban withdrawal from Angola is agreed.

All agreed?

But it is virtually certain that South Africa will withdraw from Angola before a start is made on Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans are still attempting to justify a long-term withdrawal over three years.

South Africa is looking for a period in line with that required for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 — about seven months.

The deadline for response to the principles was tomorrow and the early announcement of South Africa's response appears to indicate that all parties have already signified their agreement.

The Americans have been especially anxious about the South African Government's reaction to the New York agreement on principles.

They were concerned that internal political pressures on President Botha might make it difficult for him to accept the principles.

If it is true that South Africa has already notified its approval, it means that President Botha will score important points as the first political leader to signal his intention to proceed with the peace effort.

Analysts here believe that the significance of South Africa's acceptance will not be lost on the US Congress, which is being asked to impose tougher sanctions that would reduce US influence with the South African Government.

Dilemma

Nor will it be lost on the more thoughtful advisers to the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, who is being pressured by the Rev Jesse Jackson and the black congressional caucus to declare South Africa a terrorist state — a move that would almost certainly cut the US out of all diplomatic initiatives involving South Africa.

The Americans are intrigued, and delighted, by the praise for their chief negotiator, Dr Chester Crocker, that came from Cuba's Mr Jorge Risquet during a news conference in Harare last week.

Mr Risquet appeared optimistic about the negotiations and said the US had played a "positive role". Nobody here can recall a previous occasion when the Cubans have said anything like that about the Americans.

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

AND SO JOIN PEACE!
IT'S YES OR NO TODAY

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Peace plan: SA replies today

Political Correspondent

THE governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba are expected to announce their acceptance in principle of an Angola-Namibia peace plan today

The broad principles of the agreement, thrashed out by the warring parties last week in New York, make provision for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and the implementation of the UN plan for Namibian independence.

In terms of the "core of a settlement" reached in New York, all SA troops will have to leave Angola before a Cuban withdrawal can begin — but uncertainty still remains about when the SADF pull-out will begin.

The major stumbling block in

getting the settlement activated, is the wide-gap that still exists between the parties over the timing of a Cuban troop withdrawal and the implementation of Namibian independence.

Unless the Cubans are prepared to telescope their proposed three-year withdrawal period into a time span closer to the seven months set aside for the UN independence plan for Namibia, the South Africans are certain to dig in their heels.

Arrangements for the "joint statement" by the four countries involved in the negotiations went awry yesterday, after what was variously described as "a technical hitch" and "communications problems".

The joint announcement, originally scheduled for today, was hastily brought forward to yesterday afternoon, in a bid to preempt the tide of press leaks and speculation surrounding details of the peace plan.

But when problems were encountered with co-ordinating the simultaneous release of the various governments' responses, the announcement time reverted back to this afternoon.

Mr Pik Botha, will spell out the government's reaction at the Union Buildings at 5pm.

Indications are that the programme of principles will include a non-aggression pact between the belligerents and make reference to the "recognition of borders" by the warring parties.

Angola/Namibia talks on track

Cubans endorse principles of the peace agreement

Star 20/7/88

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By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Cuban government has endorsed the principles of the Angola/Namibia peace pact worked out in New York last week and is preparing for a new round of talks with South Africa under United States sponsorship.

With South Africa and Angola also expected to give the green light, it means the delicate peace initiative is still on track — and on the point of entering its toughest stage.

The New York agreement on principles, including foreign troop withdrawals from Angola and independence for Namibia under a United Nations plan, is contained in a confidential document expected to be released in Washington today.

While Havana has not yet officially announced its approval, a senior Cuban

government official said: "We are very pleased with this document and we support everything in it."

"We expect that it will be an instrument of peace that can, of course, be improved in the next talks with regard to the dates and so forth."

The official was referring to differences between the South African and combined Cuban/Angolan positions on a timetable for the withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces.

Agreement on a mutually acceptable timetable is certain to be one of the toughest problems to solve in the coming talks.

The Americans are hoping to negotiate a schedule of simultaneous withdrawal from Angola over a relatively short time period, but the Cubans want the South Africans to pull out before they send their own forces home in

concert with implementation of Namibian independence under UN Resolution 435.

These differences and others relating to US and South African support for Unita will result in hard bargaining when the delegates meet early next month.

The Americans are pleased with the progress of their efforts so far.

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Hard work ahead Crocker

ACCEPTANCE of the 14 principles for a peaceful settlement of the Angola and SWA/Namibia conflict has cleared the way for hard bargaining and hard work, says the chief American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker.

"The job ahead is a very major one," Dr Crocker said yesterday shortly after South Africa, Cuba and Angola had announced their approval of the principles worked out in New York a week ago.

Representatives of the three countries are to meet again in Geneva on August 2 to continue their search for compromise and agreement under American sponsorship.

Their goal is to find a formula that

From NEIL LURSEN

will lead to the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola and implementation of independence for SWA/Namibia under a 10-year-old United Nations plan.

At a meeting with reporters, Dr Crocker made it clear that he had no illusions about the difficulties that lay ahead. But he appeared pleased with the progress that led to the mutual acceptance of the principles that would underlie future agreements.

"The significance of the statement of principles is that it represents the possibility of a catalyst for accelerated negotiation," he said.

"It represents the first common or

joint document which these parties have produced, the first they have signed as a joint text." It was an important step — but no more than that.

"What it does is to clear the way for the hard bargaining that lies ahead and a number of very specific issues that are going to require hard work."

Dr Crocker said the negotiators in Geneva would have to:

- Draft treaties that would reflect the principles they had agreed on;

- Agree on the timing of withdrawal schedules for Cuban and South African forces;

- Define a "regime" for the verification of their commitments; and

- Decide on a process of disengagement for the forces at present in southern Angola.

The 14 principles accepted by three states

THE governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa have reached agreement on a set of essential principles to establish the basis for peace in the south-western region of Africa.

They recognise that each of these principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

- Implementation of resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations. The parties shall agree upon and recommend to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a date for the commencement of the implementation of the UN resolution 435/78.

- The governments of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of South Africa shall, in conformity with the dispositions of resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations, co-operate with the Secretary-General with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections, abstaining from any action that could prevent the execution of the said resolution.

Political Staff

- Redeployment toward the north and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola on the basis of an agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit the on-site verification of that withdrawal by the Security Council of the United Nations.

- Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

- Non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

- Abstention from the threat and utilisation of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states.

- The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states.

- Reaffirmation of the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence and equality of rights.

- Verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligations resulting from the agreements that may be established.

- Commitment to comply in good faith with the obligations undertaken in the agreements that may be established and to resolve the differences via negotiations.

- Recognition of the role of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations as guarantors for the implementation of agreements that may be established.

- The right of each state to peace, development and social progress.

- African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the south-western region of Africa.

- Recognition of the mediating role of the government of the United States of America.

Swapo responsible for grenade attack

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Star 21/7/88
LUANDA — Swapo has claimed responsibility for a grenade attack on an army truck that killed one soldier and wounded 20 others near Windhoek yesterday. The attack was carried out in the black township of Katutura.

A report in Harare said the attack had been made by "urban combatants" of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, Swapo's military wing.

Windhoek's police liaison officer, Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand, said the blasts occurred shortly before 7 am as a SWA Territory Force Samil 50 truck was picking up soldiers from their homes to take them to the Lupaardsvallei base outside Windhoek.

The grenades, believed to have been Soviet-made F-1 fragmentation grenades, were lobbed into the back of the truck as it was pulling away.

The soldier killed in the attack has been identified as Rifleman Hikuepi Ndjiharine (25) of Olondje Ozondje in the Omaruru district.

Swapo also claimed that it carried out grenade attacks on an army vehicle and a police station on July 6, killing a policeman and wounding three others. — The Star's Africa News Service, Sapa-Reuter.

Namibia military smash kills 18

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Seventeen people, including women and children, were killed in a collision between two military vehicles near the Omega military base in northern Namibia.

The toll rose to 18 yes-

Star 2/17/88
terday when a young baby died in the Rundu hospital from injuries in the crash, believed the worst accident in Namibia in recent years.

The dead are all believed to have lived in the Omega base, which is home to the SWA Territory Force's 201 Bush-

man Battalion.

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An official spokesman said the accident happened on Monday as a lorry was bringing back Omega residents from a visit to Rundu.

A number of people were injured in the smash.

Will it really be peace in our time?

Star 21/7/88

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South Africa, remarked Professor Gerhard Totemeyer of the University of Namibia, is a "past master at delaying tactics".

His statement on eve of Pretoria's acceptance of the peace principles hammered out in four rounds of US-sponsored talks on the Angola and Namibian conflicts, reflects the residual scepticism felt by many observers that South Africa has at last reconciled itself to implementation of the UN's peace plan for Namibia.

Professor John Barratt, of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was similarly doubtful about whether implementation of the peace plan - as detailed in UN resolution 435 of 1978 - was really imminent.

Few political analysts doubt that the plan, with its provision for UN-supervised elections, will bring a Swapo government under Sam Nujoma to power in Windhoek.

It is prospect which South Africa does not relish.

Implementation of 435 is one pillar in the latest peace talks involving South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US, with the Soviet Union as a sympathetic observer.

CUBAN FORCES

The second pillar is the withdrawal Cuban and South African forces from Angola.

South Africa's acceptance of Dr Crocker's "set of principles" means that Pretoria has agreed to a disengagement of military forces in Angola - which effectively means the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola - and to implementation of resolution 435.

Apart from providing for a UN-supervised elections in Namibia, 435 stipulates that all but 1 500 South African troops must be withdrawn from Namibia within 12 weeks and that all SA soldiers must leave within a year.

But, well-placed government sources in Pretoria insist, there is an important corollary to South Africa's acceptance of 435 - the withdrawal

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Despite Pretoria's announced acceptance of the peace principles agreed at the multi-lateral talks sponsored by the United States, some usually well-informed sources have expressed doubts that implementation of the peace plan is really imminent.

of South African troops from Namibia must be matched by a withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola.

The Cuba-Angola axis has a different time scale, according to Pretoria. They are thinking of a phased withdrawal of their 40 000 to 50 000 troops over four years. That would leave thousands of Cuban troops in Angola without any counter-balancing presence of South African military forces in neighbouring Namibia.

"There is no way South Africa will accept that", an official close to the South African negotiating team said. "The next round of talks will focus on the timing of the withdrawals."

On that would depend the outcome of the latest bid to resolve the inter-related Namibian and Angola conflicts, he forecast.

Professor Barratt thought South Africa was anxious for an Angolan settlement. One factor prompting South Africa's wish for resolution of the conflict was a shift in the military balance, he reckoned.

Cuba has sent troop reinforcements to Angola in recent months while Angola's MiG-23 fighters and sophisticated radar defence are said to have ended South Africa's air supremacy. It meant that South Africa's generals could no longer intervene in Angola without risking heavy casualties among their white conscripts, Professor Barratt said.

But the professor was less sure about the desire for a settlement in Namibia. He expected South Africa might try to secure a settlement in Angola without surrendering control of Namibia.

Final pact 'still a long way off'

Angola-Namibia first steps hailed

Star 21/7/88

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The acceptance of a 14-point set of principles on peace in south-western Africa was today welcomed worldwide, although it was cautioned that a final agreement was still a long way off.

Analysts regarded the first joint document on a peace plan as a major step towards the withdrawal of Cuban and South African soldiers from Angola and independence for Namibia.

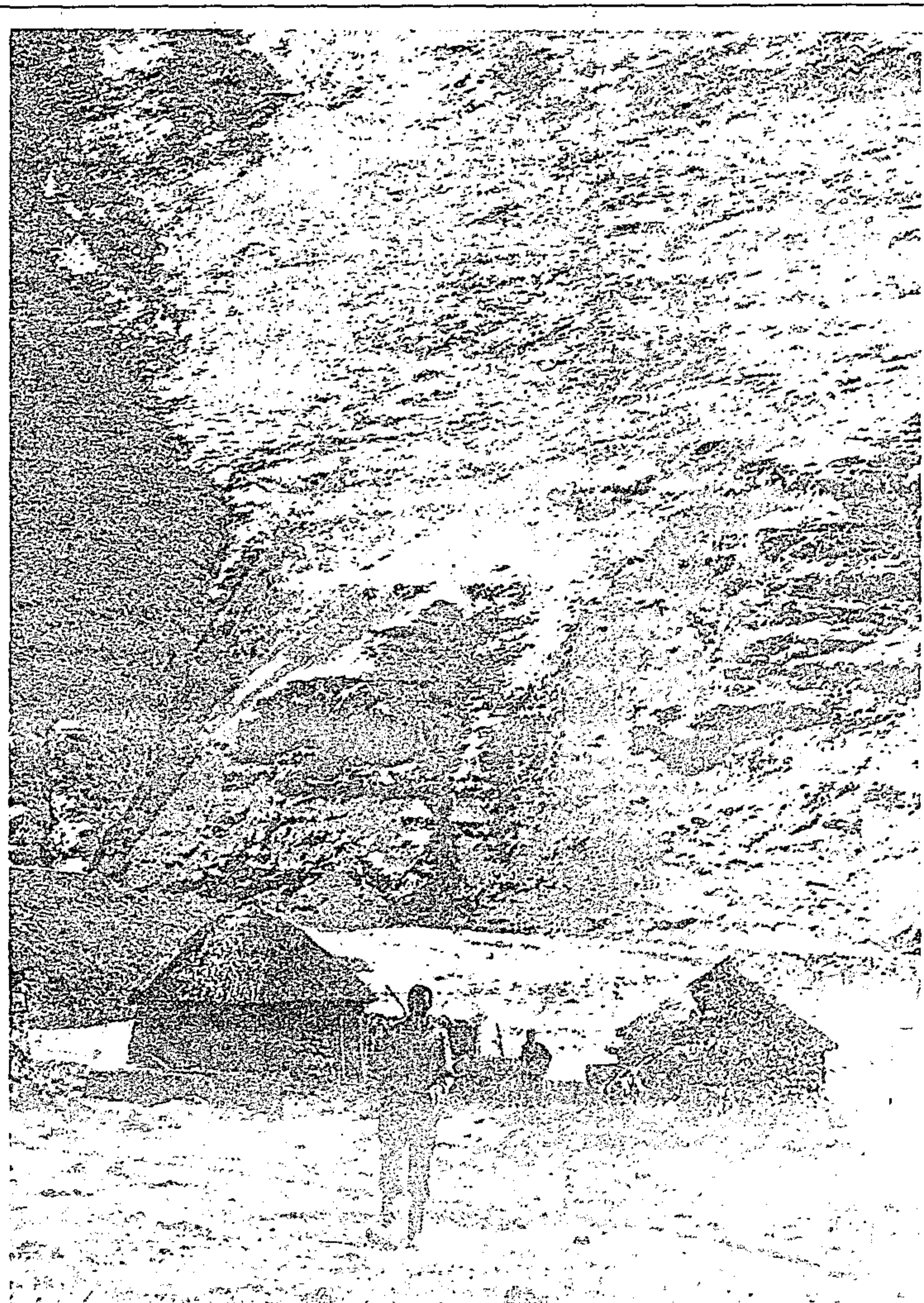
However, they warned that the principles still allowed much room for manoeuvring by South Africa, Cuba and Angola and details would be thrashed out through tough negotiations starting in Geneva on August 2.

Hard bargaining and hard work would follow the mutual acceptance of the principles. Dr Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator at various rounds of peace talks, said.

The significance of the statement of principles is that it represents the possibility of a catalyst for accelerated negotiation. "It was an important step, but no more than that."

The South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) — not mentioned in the published details — had welcomed the agreement as a sign that the negotiating process was "on the right course". The prospects for peace were now "reasonably brighter".

Information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya confirmed Swapo's readiness to enter into direct talks with Pretoria after the next round of talks, during which it was hoped a comprehensive settlement agreement would have been reached.



Much of the snow in Lesotho has melted and, if good weather prevails, life in the mountains will be back to normal by the end of the month. © Pictures by Dawn Barkhuizen.

'A big nothing'

In South Africa, the peace agreement met mixed reaction.

Conservative Party chief spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, dismissed the agreement as "a big nothing".

Housing
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'gimmick'
alleged

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By Kaizer Nyatumba

Media ruling: 'Never intended to register mainstream press'

Star 21/7/88

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The Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said today he had never intended mainstream newspapers to be registered as news

Newspaper Division, Mr P the NPU had been asked to ing with Mr Botha.

It was suggested by th

acceptance of the principles, Dr Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator at various rounds of peace talks, said.

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'A big nothing'

In South Africa, the peace agreement met mixed reaction.

Conservative Party chief spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, dismissed the agreement as "a big nothing".

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said the set of principles provided "a sound, sensible and practical basis for bringing peace to the war-torn south-western region and for achieving an internationally recognised independence for Namibia".

Focusing on the implications of the agreement for the ANC, experts said the banned organisation would lose its bases in Angola if the set of principles announced yesterday was translated into practical agreements.

At the same time, if the set of principles was implemented, South Africa would have to stop supporting Unita.

Professor John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs said there could be no doubt that the wording of some articles in the agreement was remarkably similar to that of the Nkomati Accord.

Under the Nkomati Accord Mozambique expelled ANC members and closed their bases in Mozambique in exchange for an end to South African support to the MNR rebels.

"That principle has very wide implications," said Professor Barratt. "If applied it means an end to South African support for Unita and an end to the ANC bases in Angola," he added.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies, regarded the negotiated principles as "significant".

However, the principles were very broad and allowed the various parties "much room for manoeuvre". — Political Reporter, The Star's Foreign and Africa News Services.

Namibia a 'lab for SA strategies'

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South
21-27/7/88

By CHIARA CARTER
THE Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) has been warned of increased controls on education in this country.

Addressing Wectu's annual general meeting last week, Paul Khalenga of the National Namibian Students Organisation outlined the increasing militarisation of education in Namibia.

And educationist Sue Philcox said the "white" Education Act was a blueprint for similar measures in other education departments.

Khalenga described Namibia as a country being used by the South African government as a "laboratory for strategies".

Militarisation of South African schools, he warned, was also likely to increase.

The tricameral parliamentary system was first tested in Namibia before being implemented in South Africa, he said.

Deepening

Namibia now faced a "dramatic but deepening school crisis".

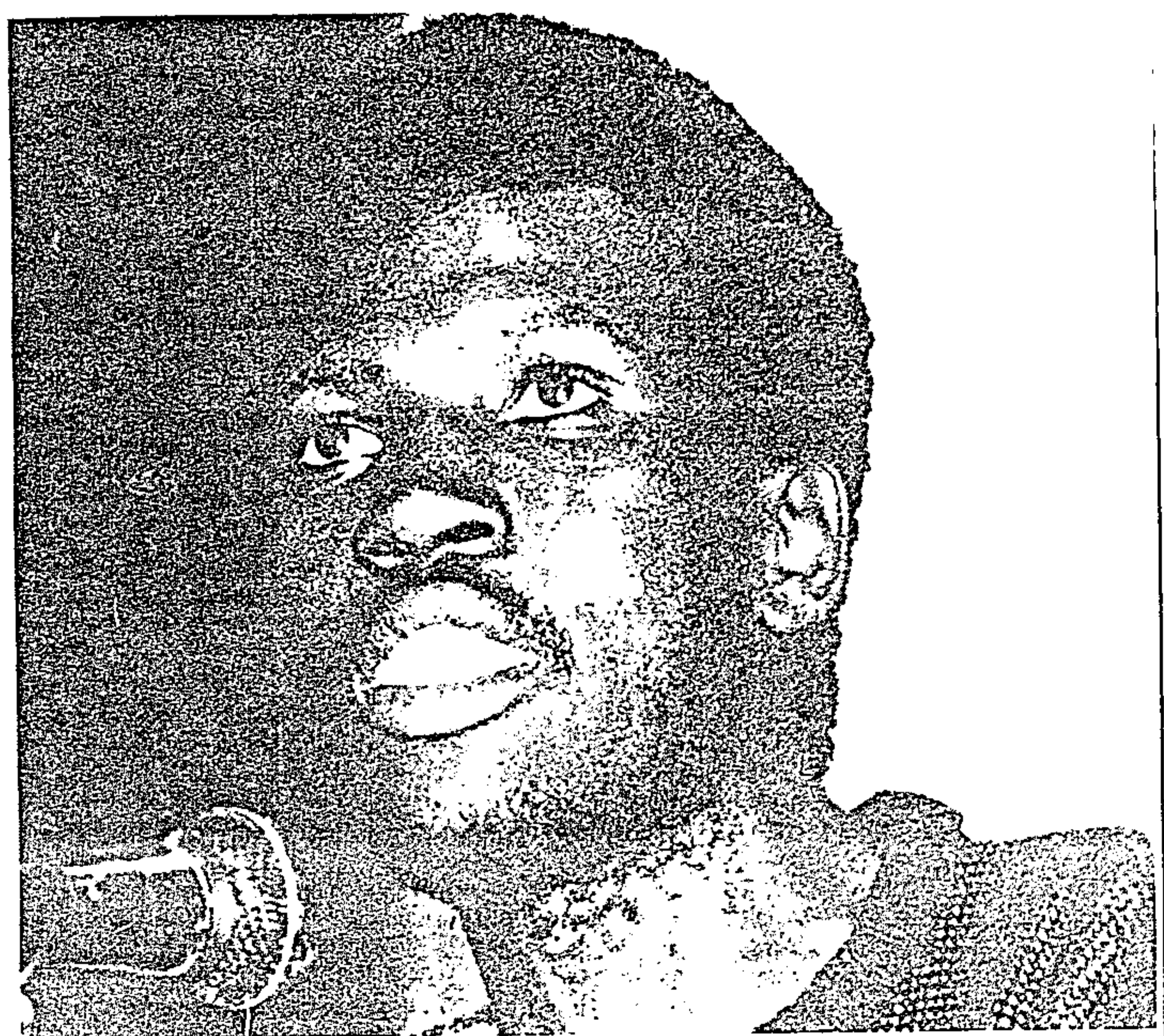
Students had opposed the presence of the South African Defence Force in schools.

This included the cadet system, the use of soldiers as teachers and the siting of military bases near schools.

Sue Philcox of Education for an Aware South Africa (EDASA) also warned of increasing state control of education.

She said the Education Act recently passed in the House of Assembly consolidated racial separation and provided for stringent control of teachers.

It was a blueprint for similar measures being applied in other education departments, she said.



Namibian student leader Paul Khalenga addressing the Wectu AGM

Delays as Sebe bloc

From FRANZ KRUGER

EAST LONDON. — Workers are being subjected to massive delays as Ciskei roadblocks continue to stop all traffic entering Mdantsane to search for Transkelans.

Roadblocks have sealed off all three entrances to the sprawling township of 500 000 people for two weeks now, as President Lennox Sebe seeks to prevent Transkelans or Transkel-registered cars from entering the township.

The clamp was imposed in an attempt to pressure Transkel to hand over Charles Sebe and two other Ciskei dissidents who have been given asylum there.

Workers report delays of up to half an hour at roadblocks as Ciskei security forces search vehicles and check identification. People found with Transkel documents are turned back, as are Transkel-registered cars, regardless of how long they have lived in Mdantsane.

Residents said there was mounting irritation with the roadblocks and delays in the evenings when workers wanted to return home.

One Mdantsane resident told how he was driving a

friend's Umtata-registered car, and was refused entry to the township although he himself is Ciskeian.

Reports say that roadblocks have been set up throughout the homeland to stop Transkelans entering.

According to the East London branch of the SA Black Taxi Association (SABTA), taxis were being stopped at another roadblock at Peulton, on the road towards the Transkel.

At issue is the continued presence in the Transkel of Charles Sebe, the former commander general of Ciskei State Security who was jailed for plotting against his brother, President Lennox Sebe, and then dramatically freed from a Ciskei jail.

Ciskei has demanded his return, as well as that of another brother, Namba, former minister of transport in Ciskei, and Chief Lent Maqoma, the leader of the Ciskei Rights Protection Party.

The current crisis was sparked when Transkel refused to respond to calls in the Ciskei National Assembly for the return of the three men.

The Transkel Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brigadier Rodney Keswa, said his government would not respond because the calls were not made through diplomatic channels.

South

21-2

SWA police hunt grenade attackers

CPT T.M.S 21/7/88 (221)

WINDHOEK. — Police have begun a full-scale search for two men who threw handgrenades into the back of a military vehicle, killing one soldier and seriously injuring 12 others.

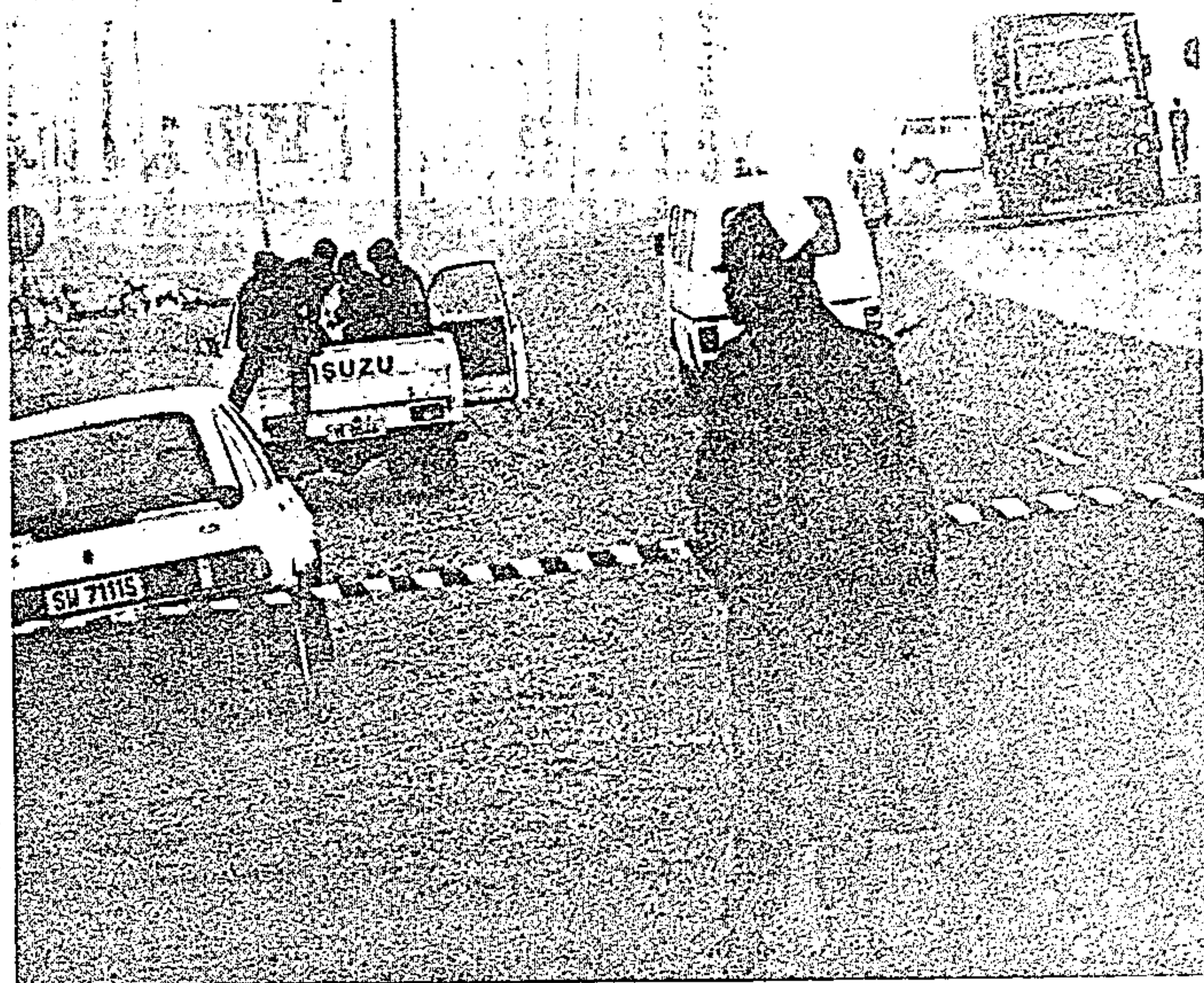
A police spokesman, Chief-Inspector Kierie du Rand, said two unidentified men apparently ran past the SAMIL 50 and threw two Soviet-made F1 grenades into the back of the vehicle shortly after 6.45am yesterday.

The men were members of a special unit who had been picked up for work in Katutura township outside Wind-

hoek. The vehicle was carrying 25 black troops at the time of the blast. Eight soldiers received less serious injuries.

Eyewitnesses said the military immediately threw a cordon around the scene. Police and explosives experts arrived minutes later to investigate.

The attack came as South Africa, Angola and Cuba prepared to reply to a set of broad guidelines aimed at resolving the Angolan-SWA/Namibian dispute. Representatives of the countries met in New York last week.



ON GUARD . . . A soldier guards the cordoned-off spot in Katutura where handgrenades were thrown into the truck, seen on the right.

Picture: JOHN LIEBENBERG

AMINGO

CAR - TAMES
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa, Angola and Cuba last night announced agreement on a set of principles aimed at bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told a press conference the agreement was a breakthrough, but warned that the road ahead was full of obstacles and that future problems "could not be underestimated".

With all three parties accepting the statement of principles formulated in New York last week, "confusion had been reached for the first time in the decade-old dispute of armed conflict in the region", Mr Botha said.

The 14-point agreement provides for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence through "free and fair elections".

A timetable for implementing the agreements is to be discussed at the next round of peace talks. The Swiss government announced last night that the talks would be held in Geneva from August 2 to 4.

The agreements would "contribute to the lessening of tension in the region", Mr Botha said. He described the acceptance by Cuba and Angola of a link between Cuban troop withdrawal and implementation of Resolution 435 as a major step forward for SA.

He emphasized, however, that a date for the implementation of Resolution 435 was conditional on agreement being reached on Cuban troop withdrawal.

"The principles are absolutely interdependent," Mr Botha said he would not comment on US claims that SA had agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola — a subject not mentioned in the 14 principles.

Questioned about SA military intervention in Angola, Mr Botha said that SA military action in Angola was "always executed in the belief that SA security was at stake".

Mr Botha would not expand on specific pledges to guarantee SA regional security and said there were

no agreements between the parties on the ANC, Swapo or Unita.

However, the principles state the parties' commitment not to allow their territories to be "used for acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states".

The principles of the Angola-Namibia peace plan agreed on by South Africa, Angola and Cuba are as follows:

● The three governments recognize that each of the principles, which include implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia, are indispensable to a comprehensive settlement;

● The governments of Angola and SA will, in terms of Resolution 435, co-operate with the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, "with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections" and abstaining from any action that could prevent the implementation of Resolution 435;

● The redeployment toward the north and the staged total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between Angola and Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit verification of the withdrawal by the UN Security Council;

● Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders;

● Non-interference in the internal affairs of states;

● Abstention from the threat and utilization of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states; and

● The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states.

RD

Other principles reaffirm the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence and equality of rights; verification and monitoring of compliance with any peace agreement reached; a commitment to comply in good faith with obligations undertaken in such an agreement and the resolution of differences through negotiations.

The principles also entrenched the permanent members of the UN Security Council as guarantors.



Mr Pik Botha, with General Magnus Malan, at yesterday's press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

End to conflict in Namibia is in sight

Star 21/7/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola, and the independence of Namibia, are now in sight.

This was in essence the message of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

He announced the South African Government's acceptance of the principles for a peace settlement in southern Africa which were drawn up by United States, Angolan, Cuban and South African delegations last week in New York.

OBSTACLES AHEAD

Mr Botha said agreement on a 14-point set of principles by the four countries signified a breakthrough of major importance — but the difficulties and obstacles ahead should not be underestimated.

He said consensus among the warring parties had been reached for the first time in the decade-old dispute.

Asked if the agreement meant an immediate ceasefire in Angola or a non-aggression pact, Mr Botha said he would not speculate on issues which could jeopardise future negotiations, and so he could not speculate on time-tables for the withdrawal from Angola

of Cuban and South African troops.

INTER-RELATION

Mr Botha warned that the principles, including the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for South African withdrawal from Namibia, withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and abstention of the threat and use of force against independent states, were inter-related.

He said that if Cuba and Angola could not agree on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, they could not expect an agreement on an implementation date for Resolution 435.

Mr Botha said details about a peace settlement would have to be thrashed out at future meetings.

The Swiss Foreign Ministry announced that the next round of talks would be held in Geneva from August 2 to 4.

PROSPECTS BRIGHT

Reacting to the proposals, Swapo's secretary of information, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, told the Mozambican news agency AIM that prospects for a comprehensive settlement in Namibia looked "bright".

But South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, made it clear that the status quo would remain unchanged in Namibia for the time being.

Forces may pull back soon

ARGUS
2/17/88

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By PETER FABRICIUS and BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — A ceasefire with a partial Cuban pull-back and total South Africa withdrawal from Angola could be declared within weeks.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, hinted at this at a Press conference in the Union Buildings last night when he announced South Africa's acceptance of the negotiated principles for a peaceful settlement of the Angolan and SWA/Namibian conflicts.

He repeatedly declined to commit himself on a ceasefire or troop withdrawals but said the agreement could lead to "a tangible lessening of tensions" in the war zone within weeks.

Although the withdrawal of South African troops was not written into the 14-point agreement, diplomatic sources said it was implicit in the acceptance of the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

First time

For South Africa the major breakthrough in the agreement is the first formal acceptance by Cuba and Angola of the linkage between Cuban withdrawal from Angola and United Nations supervised independence for SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha was loath to claim the breakthrough as a victory, saying the spirit of agreement was that there should be no winners or losers.

The agreement, released simultaneously in Luanda, Havana, Washington and Pretoria, will set the basis for the next rounds of talks, scheduled for the first week of August, possibly in Geneva.

Neither Unita nor Swapo are mentioned in the agreed principles, but it is inferred that an agreement would be negotiated

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

Old story with a new look

Star 22/7/81

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South Africans can be forgiven for stifling a yawn or raising a sceptical eyebrow at the news of an agreement on a "set of essential principles" to end the protracted Namibian and Angolan conflicts.

As Foreign Minister Pik Botha remarked at the press conference called to announce South Africa's acceptance of the principles, the history of the agreement goes back a long way.

But impressions can be misleading. There are new and, arguably, significant elements in the latest agreement.

One new point is that Cuba is now a signatory to the agreement. The tripartite agreement is between, in alphabetical order, Angola, Cuba and South Africa. The supposedly anarchistic and unpredictable Communist state is now committed to the search for peace on the basis of the 14 principles.

Linkage recognised

Another new dimension is that linkage between the Namibian and Angolan problems is now firmly established and recognised. It was first insisted on by South Africa but resisted by most of the rest of the world, including Angola and Cuba.

Now, as Mr Botha pointed out, Angola and Cuba have not only accepted linkage: they have committed themselves to it in writing.



The Ruacana Falls in north-west Namibia, site of a R115 million hydro-electric project which, until peace comes, has to be guarded constantly for fear of sabotage or attack.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The announcement that Angola, Cuba and South Africa have accepted a set of principles to end the protracted conflicts in Angola and Namibia may cause some scepticism among hardened negotiation watchers. But the agreed principles contain some new and significant elements, not least the fact that, for the first time, the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — are acting in concert in the matter.

The first of the 14 principles recognises that implementation the UN peace plan, contained in resolution 435 of 1978, is indispensable to peace although the date at which implementation will start is a matter for negotiation between the three contracting parties.

The third of the 14 principles provides for a redeployment of Angolan-based Cuban forces towards the north of the country and then for a "staged and total withdrawal" from Angola.

The interdependence of these principles is explicitly stated in the preamble. "They (the three parties) recognise that each of these principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement."

But linkage may turn out to be South Africa's disadvantage. If South Africa wants an Angolan settlement but is reluctant to surrender control of Namibia — as some observers believe — that is no longer possible.

The price of an Angolan settlement is Namibian independence under 435.

But Namibian independence under 435 would almost certainly see the installation of a Swapo government under Mr Sam Nujoma in Windhoek, a prospect which sets teeth on edge in Pretoria.

All the parties, however, can veto or, more crassly, sabotage the peace process.

South Africa can hold it up by simply refusing to agree to a date for the implementation of 435. The relevant principle states explicitly that the parties have to agree on a date. South African diplomats have acquired the reputation of filibusters par excellence in negotiations on Namibia.

Angola and Cuba can likewise delay the process by failing to agree on the mode and speed of Cuban troop withdrawal.

Any of the parties can, of course, play the rogue elephant by simply reneging on the agreement and going their own way. But the price of doing that may be high. For the first time in the long history of the Namibian and Angolan disputes the United States and the Soviet Union are acting in concert.

That, too, is a new and highly important element in the latest agreement.

THE WAR MOVES INTO WINDHOEK .. (221)

THE Namibian war moved 700km south this week when Swapo launched a hand grenade attack on a Samil troop carrier packed with soldiers in Katutura, outside Windhoek.

The grenades, of the Soviet-made F-1 type, were thrown by two unidentified men as the truck pulled away from a stop street at 6.45am.

Both grenades detonated inside the vehicle, killing one soldier and injuring 24 others, eight

By MARK VERBAAN, Windhoek

seriously. The soldiers were members of the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) and were being taken to work.

Eight hours after the attack, a Swapo representative in Luanda claimed responsibility on behalf of his organisation. The official

said it was "carried out by the urban combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia".

Earlier this month, Swapo's

secretary for publicity and information, Hidipo Hamutenya, said that since the "occupation regime began increasing its campaign of urban repression, Swapo gave orders to its urban fighters to strike at the enemy there".

The soldier who was killed in the grenade attack was Rifleman Hikuepi Ndjiharine, 25.

Police said after the incident they were investigating murder and attempted murder charges and were working on leads.

This contents of this newspaper have been restricted in term

W/Moul 22-28/7/88



The famous sand dunes of Namibia, a country run by South Africa for 70 years and which, if the United Nations peace plan contained in resolution 435 of 1978 is implemented, could well see a Swapo government led by Mr Sam Nujoma in Windhoek. It is a prospect that causes no little unease in Pretoria's corridors of power.

Editor examines Resolution 435

LONDON — Resolution 435 of the United Nations was passed on September 29 1978 to establish a Transition Assistance Group (Utag) for up to 12 months to assist the secretary-general's Special Representative for Namibia to "ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations".

It was adopted by the Security Council by 12 votes to none, with the Soviet Union

and Czechoslovakia abstaining.

The plan was to be carried out in accordance with a report drawn up by Dr Kurt Waldheim, then secretary-general.

The package provides for:

The African Editor of The Independent details the points in the United Nations' Resolution 435 drawn up in 1978, which was to be carried out in accordance with a report by Dr Kurt Waldheim, the secretary-general.

By RICHARD DOWDEN

- A cessation of hostile acts by all parties and the withdrawal, restriction or demobilisation of all armed forces.
- Repeal of all discriminatory laws or measures, release of political prisoners,

return of exiles and an adequate period for campaigning.

- Free and fair elections to a constituent assembly and the formulation and adoption of a constitution for Namibia by the constituent assembly.

- The implementation of that constitution and the formal independence of Namibia.
- A 7 500-strong UN military force to be set up to monitor the withdrawal of SA and Swapo forces to bases.
- A demilitarised zone including the Caprivi Strip and a 50 km strip each side of the Namibia-Angola border.
- A 300-strong police force and more than 1 000 professional election organisers to arrange the election.

Solution for Namibia not expected soon

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Independence no closer — Mudge

IMPLEMENTATION of UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia was no nearer now than in 1978, DTA chairman and Namibian Finance Minister Dirk Mudge said yesterday.

Reacting to acceptance by SA, Angola and Cuba of a draft peace agreement that includes implementation of resolution 435, Mudge said he did not expect a solution in the near future.

The vagueness of the agreement was a major disappointment to people hoping for a speedy implementation of resolution 435. "Especially radicals expected something to happen in the near future," Mudge said.

"We have so often been optimistic. In this country, we are sceptical about these talks. The principles are fine, but they remain only an agenda for further talks."

A number of hurdles would have

ELSABÉ WESSELS

to be cleared before an implementation date would be reached.

"After studying the document, I came to the conclusion that we are no nearer to 435's implementation than we were in '78," Mudge said.

"At that stage 435 was accepted in principle and a date had been set for its implementation."

He added, however, the DTA still favoured the adoption of a constitution before an election.

Mudge regarded the linkage of resolution 435 to Cuban withdrawal as the most important achievement of the recent round of talks.

The massing of Cuban troops and Swapo commandos on the border held a serious threat to Namibian security, Mudge said.

He predicted Swapo could easily ruin the talks and the possibility of a final agreement if it exploited the situation to cross into the country.

He said the same applied to SA, which now had a tremendous responsibility to refrain from cross-border raids.

As well, internal political differences in Namibia had eased since 1978 and reconciliation could be more easily achieved now.

Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact Group chairman Bryan O'Linn, SC, yesterday congratulated the US, SA, Cuba and Angola on the mutually agreed statement of principles.

"The new realities and the momentum which brought the parties to this point still exist and should propel the parties towards a speedy agreement on details and implementation."

O'Linn said he was convinced the negotiating parties were unequivocally committed to the implementation of resolution 435, adding the time was long overdue.

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By SHAUN JOHNSON and MARK VERBAAN

IF South Africa is indeed committed to the current peace talks with Angola and Cuba, President PW Botha must be thinking seriously about the possibility of a President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek.

That possibility seemed so startling yesterday that pro-independence Namibians were not yet paying the 10 am morning news after the news of an agreed "set of principles" for a sub-continental settlement.

If Botha has accepted the possibility of a President Nujoma, one can begin to think the unthinkable: a majority government in an independent Namibia. If not, there are many ways in which the peace process can be scuppered.

Many of these pitfalls are of a practical, even technocratic nature. But whether they prove a nuisance — or fatal — depends entirely on the political will of the participants.

As far as Namibians are concerned, all this requires is a straight answer to a single question: Is Pretoria seriously countenancing the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, and with it the probable presidency of Nujoma?

If the answer is no, some permutation of the following imponderables can be expected to trouble the peace process:

- The intricacies of withdrawal and arrival. Withdrawal by the South Africans from Angola and Namibia, and by the Cubans from Angola. Arrival by Untag, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group;

- The status of the 24 000-strong South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) during the withdrawals;

- The demobilisation of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo);

- The future of African National Congress bases in Angola;

- The actions of Unita's claimed 65 000 troops.

None of these is insurmountable but all are substantial. The current peace process very nearly collapsed because of disputes over *where* talks should be held. It would take only the most spurious of quibbles over any of these issues to prompt cries of "foul".

History suggests Namibians are wise to be hesitant. They have been on the brink of independence before, especially from 1978 to 1981, when Windhoek was filled with journalists and diplomats waiting to witness the

The toughest question which Pretoria must still answer

And now, SA ... President NUJOMA?



transfer of power. For the past two years, Namibia has suffered as never before as the war between nationalist guerrillas and South African-led forces shifted increasingly from the bush to the cities; creating a sullen, inward-looking stalemate punctuated only by the sound of bombs.

Now, suddenly, Namibia is back on the front pages it vacated in favour of the internal South African struggle. It will not stay there if the obstacles standing between this week's

three-nation agreement and the installation of a majority government in Windhoek prove as formidable as before.

The principles which the South Africans, Angolans and Cubans agreed were "indispensable to a comprehensive settlement" were that:

- They agree upon and recommend to the United Nations secretary general a date for commencement of Resolution 435;

- The government of Angola and South Africa, in terms of Resolution

435, co-operate with the secretary general "with a view to ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections";

- Cuban troops be redeployed towards the north of Angola and totally withdrawn in stages.

They also agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and borders of states; not to interfere in the internal affairs of states; to abstain from the threat and use of force against states; and not to allow their territories to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against others.

However, the remaining problems are significant.

The timing is fraught. Already there is disagreement about how long withdrawals should take, and where they should end. Cuba wants four years for the complete repatriation of its troops. The UN suggests seven months.

South Africa doesn't seem to have much problem with vacating southern

Cont.

President Nujoma? The questions which must be answered

Angola, but pulling back as far as the Orange River is another question. Will Untag be a fully-fledged military force, capable of dealing with military transgressions from all sides, or a symbolic presence reminiscent of the British Monitoring Force during the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe transition?

And what happens to the SWATF, even if this to-ing and fro-ing goes off without incident? Members of the Namibian interim government have referred to it as "our own national army", and SWATF representatives claim "60 percent of (our) troops in the north are Namibians".

By contrast, the Cuban negotiators insist it would "have to be dissolved". SWATF is reputed to be a larger standing force than those boasted by 39 independent countries. In military terms it is no trifle — where will it be "parked" after the cessation of hostilities?

Similar questions can be asked about Swapo, ANC and Unita guerrillas. Can Swapo's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) be disarmed, and corralled into assembly

●From PAGE 1

points? Will Pretoria allow the ANC to maintain its presence in Angola? Will Jonas Savimbi act uncharacteristically by keeping himself, and his troops, out of the way?

These are all only challenges if the political will *vis à vis* a fully independent Namibia is there. If not, they are death knells, and the war may change its shape, but it will continue.

Militating against a South African acceptance of an imposition to-the-letter of 435 are major internal concerns. A right-wing backlash against a perceived "sell-out" of white Namibians is no chimera.

A second, obvious concern is that a free Namibia could bring the ANC's armed struggle much closer to home.

But these well-entrenched reservations now have to be weighed against a markedly changed military balance, United States pressure for a deal, and the imminent possibility of a less cosy relationship with the White House.

With all these considerations, it

should hardly be surprising that Namibians are reacting circumspectly to the prospect of an end to 22 years of war.

Swapo's external wing is cautiously optimistic. Publicity and Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya said in Luanda that "it stands to reason that progress is being made and the prospects for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict ... are reasonably brighter."

However, this was not a sudden burst of altruism from Pretoria, he said.

Swapo's internal representatives express even clearer doubts.

If pro-independence Namibians are looking for more upbeat prognoses, they will have to turn to the unlikely pairing of Havana and Washington.

But war-weary Namibians may be more inclined to go along with a much-told — though probably apocryphal — story about Nujoma.

Asked, a few years back, when he thought he would get independence, he is said to have replied: "When President Mandela gives it to me."

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W/Mail



SWAPO's leader Sam Nujoma.

SWAPO: People's movement

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Section 22/7/84

LONDON—Founded in the early 1960s, Swapo is the Namibian liberation movement. Designated by the United Nations as "the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people," most observers agree that it would win any free and fair elections held there.

Although its army, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), has for 22 years fought a guerilla war within the country from bases in Angola, Swapo is not actually banned in Namibia. However, restrictions and police action prevent it functioning as a normal political party.

Most of its popular support derives from the Ovambo people in the north who make up about half the nation's population. Pretoria maintains that Swapo is at once a terrorist and an Ovambo tribal organisation, and has tried to create a split between its internal and external wings.

Swapo's political programme commits it to "scientific socialism"

and to uniting "all Namibian people, particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals." However, this standard liberation Marxism was not much in evidence at a recent meeting in Sweden, where Swapo representatives tried to reassure whites that a free Namibia ruled by Swapo would not be a one-party state, would have a mixed economy modelled on Zimbabwe and would not take measures which would cause whites to flee.

Swapo does not reveal its guerilla strength. The South Africans recently suggested a figure of 9 000 guerillas. Many have been killed in cross-country raids into Angola, and although Pretoria frequently claims to have destroyed Swapo, it still forces South Africa to keep thousands of troops in northern Namibia and to retain a strict curfew in the area. However, Swapo is not able to penetrate further south in any strength and it poses an economic strain rather than a military threat to South Africa's continued occupation.—
The Independent.

UK welcomes Angola-SA peace plan

CAPE Times

22/7/88

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government yesterday welcomed the announcement of the agreement in principle for settlement in the south-western region of Africa between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The Foreign Office said: "We have consistently called for the parties to follow the path of negotiation, not conflict. This announcement represents an important step in that direction. It has our full support."

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was said to be delighted and would continue to offer all help Britain could give toward a settlement.

The European Commission was equally pleased.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos welcomed the draft agreement, saying Unita rebels were a stain on the country that had to be wiped clean.

"For the Angolan people Unita stands for division, terrorism, suffering, sorrow, pain and treason... It is a stain that must be wiped clean from the history of Angola," he said.

Mr Dos Santos said he hoped a timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, and independence for Namibia, could be settled this year.

"Never before have we been so close to a negotiated solution," the Angolan leader said in Luanda.

Unita has not been involved in peace talks though many believe its popular support, particularly in the south-east of the country, is such that its participation is necessary for a solution.

In Lisbon, Unita officials praised the accord but said attention would eventually have to turn to Angola's internal problems.

The Japanese government also welcomed the agreement.

"The present agreement marks an important step toward the stabilization of the region," a Japanese statement said.

The Namibia Peace Plan Study and Control Group, NPP 435, has also congratulated the governments of the US, Angola and SA on the agreement.

Mr Brian O'Linn SC, chairman of NPP 435, said in Cape Town that all the principles agreed upon were important and positive.

He said: "It is absolutely clear the parties agree that Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 will be implemented."

"There is no scope whatsoever for renegotiation of an alternative or amendment."

Meanwhile, Angola has condemned three unnamed African governments for affording official status to Unita while maintaining diplomatic links with the country.

It is believed the countries are Zaire, Morocco and the Ivory Coast. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

Principles for SWA peace may be applied soon - Pik

THE set of principles agreed on for peace in Namibia by South Africa, Angola and Cuba were released at a news conference called by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria this week.

The 14 principles which would lead to black rule in the country were formally unveiled in Washington, Pretoria, Havana and Luanda on Wednesday.

A memorandum released at the Pretoria news conference said the governments recognised that each of the principles was indispensable to a comprehensive settlement. This includes the implementation of Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council which provides for unsupervised independence for Namibia.

The principles state: "The parties shall agree upon and recommend to the Secretary General of the United Nations a date for commencement of implementation of Resolution 435."

The governments of Angola and South Africa would co-operate with independence procedures for Namibia through free and fair elections and abstain from action that could prevent the execution of Resolution 435.

Botha suggested that chances of troop withdrawals were brightened by Angolan-Cuban flexibility on the issue and by growing similarity in US and Soviet views on the subject.

The United States and the Soviet Union have set September 29 as a target date for agreement on a settlement plan.

Botha said it was significant that consensus had been reached for the first time between the adversaries.

He cautioned that the principles were interrelated and if Cuba and Angola could not agree on the withdrawal of Cuban troops, they could not expect agreement to be reached on an implemen-

tation date for Resolution 435.

A link between Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal was firmly acknowledged in the talks, he added.

Asked whether the principles meant an end to South Africa's military aid to Unita, Botha said: "Just as this is not the stage to approach Angola on the issue of their support to the ANC, this is also not the stage to address the question of our aid to Unita."

Due to the "delicate nature" of the peace talks he was not able to comment on whether the agreement would constitute an immediate ceasefire or non-aggression pact, he said.

The next phase of talks involved coming to agreement on the implementation of the principles and could be started "within days, not months" somewhere in Southern Africa. - Sapa

Swapo government up to Namibians

THE possibility of Swapo winning an election under UN supervision was more a question for the people of Namibia than for the South African government, according to Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan.

He was speaking at a news conference in Pretoria where the South African government announced its approval of a set of principles for peace in Namibia and Angola.

Asked about Swapo winning an election, Malan said: "Are you forecasting now that the future elections will be won by Swapo?"

"I believe a lot of water is still to flow before you can express that type of view."

Told it was a possibility, Malan said: "I think it is really a question that the South West African people should take into consideration, more than the South African government." - Sapa

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SA in
ONE TALKS 25/7/88
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talks 221

DELEGATIONS from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States have met at Cape Verde off the West African coast for further talks about Namibia and Angola.

The secret talks began a day after the four countries had announced an agreement in principle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and for UN-sponsored independence for Namibia.

The holding of the talks was confirmed last night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

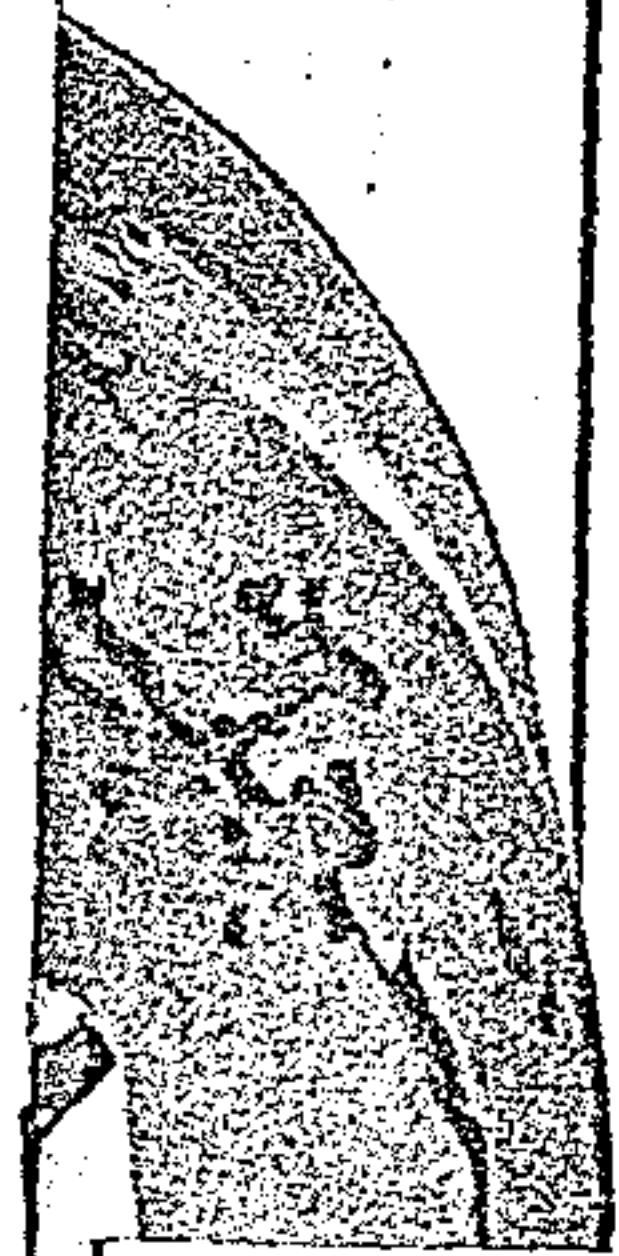
Mr Botha said the military situation in Angola had been discussed by representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba in the Cape Verde islands on Friday and Saturday. Representatives of the US government were also present at the meeting in the role of mediators, he said in a statement.

"During the meeting there was an exchange

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From page 1

of views on the military situation, which will continue to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting to be held in Geneva from August 2."

It is reported from Lisbon that a Cape Verde spokesman said last night that Angola was represented by General Antonio Franca, the South Africans by General Jannie Geldenhuys and Cuba by General Ulysses Rosala Deltoro.

In Harare, an Angolan deputy minister of foreign affairs said South Africa's sincerity in agreeing to the 14 principles as a basis for peace in Namibia would have to be judged by its future actions.

Namibia schools close in face of arson, unrest

26/1/88 The Star's Africa News Service (22)

WINDHOEK — Unrest and school boycotts have forced the closure of a number of schools in Namibia and the widespread pupil protest looks set to disrupt the third school term which began last week.

The Damara administration announced yesterday that two of its schools had been closed because of the danger to pupils and property following incidents of unrest and alleged arson attacks on classrooms.

A third school run by the Administration in Katutura township was closed on Friday.

The Tswana Administration said yesterday it had decided to close its school at Drimiopsis in the east of the country after pupils boycotted classes demanding reinstatement of students expelled last term.

The boycott began earlier this year in the Owambo war zone as a protest by pupils against the siting of security force bases close to their schools.

When the boycott spread to schools outside the war zone towards the end of last term, it quickly took on the dimensions of a protest against apartheid and the continuing presence of South Africa in Namibia.

The government is planning legislation to provide for the arrest of people inciting school boycotts or unrest in what is seen as a campaign by Swapo and others to portray Namibia as ungovernable.

APC 7-16-78

'Unrest' in Namibia 22

WINDHOEK. — Namibian authorities have closed three black secondary schools because of unrest, and police are investigating arson at three other schools, SWABC radio news reports.

The chairman of the Damara Administration, Mr Justus Garoeb, said two schools in his administration had been closed yesterday because the safety of the pupils and property had been endangered.

Two classrooms in one of the schools were burned down in two separate fires last week, while four classrooms at another school were damaged by fire.

The Tswana executive authority closed a high school in its area following a boycott by pupils which began on Friday.

— Sapa

By STEPHEN ROBINSON
Daily Telegraph

THE South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was given an equal billing alongside Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at last week's press conference when Pretoria announced its formal acceptance of the 14 principles of Namibian independence.

But it was Mr Botha, the very model of a modern reconstructed Afrikaner, who inevitably stole the show. He is a polished performer in front of the television cameras. With his rather sharp moustache and natty suits he resembles more a character from a PG Wodehouse story who pops up in New York to sell dubious Bertie Wooster ponent of separate development.

More traditional

He is all impish bonhomie: "Thank you very much, a very good question, but I'm sure not one you would expect me to answer at this delicate stage." Gen Malan is a more traditional type of Afrikaner. Cautious, defensive, unyielding, he usually expects the worst of the outside world.

The general was asked to comment on the likeliest scenario flowing from the peace principles outlined so enthusiastically by the talkative Foreign Minister. Could the South African military live with a Marxist-oriented Swapo government in Windhoek?

Gen Malan looked particularly miserable at this stage of the proceedings. "I believe there is a lot of water still to be counted, er, or timed, before you can express that view."

But the question hit at the very heart of the issue, and explains much

SWA: Don't unfurl the bunting yet

CHRIS TAYLOR

26/7/88

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of the scepticism here about the deal. Those people who have been through previous independence false alarms cannot seriously believe Pretoria will allow free elections which will — with standing Gen Malan's unconvincing optimism — almost certainly bring Swapo into power. Transforming the territory into independent Namibia will not merely deprive Pretoria of control of the territory's vast uranium and diamond wealth.

At a stroke it will destroy Gen Malan's regional defence strategy. A hostile government in Windhoek will push the frontline down from the Cune to the Orange River.

Moreover, it opens up the vast eastern border with Botswana to ANC infiltration.

The Caprivi Strip, which juts out of Namibia like a threatening finger

eastwards towards Zambia and Zimbabwe, will also be lost.

Part of Gen Malan's gloom was no doubt caused by the realization that low-risk commando raids into Zambia to keep Kenneth Kaunda in his place would be the first thing to go with the Caprivi Strip.

But whatever Pretoria's ultimate commitment to Resolution 435 may be, the very fact that the cabinet is prepared to set the process in motion reflects a victory for Mr Pik Botha's school of genial realism.

His position within the cabinet has been strengthened by two main developments.

South Africa's ill-fated invasion of Angola early this year is now considered to be Gen Malan's disaster. The South African Defence Force failed to take the strategic MPLA-held town of

Cuito Cuanavale as had been widely expected.

The secret was out: The SADF was not invincible, and Gen Malan could not hold the line against the Cubans without risking the lives of hundreds of white troops.

Mr Pik Botha rubbed his colleague's nose in this failure two weeks ago, when he told an Afrikaans newspaper that "we must think twice before letting hundreds of our sons be killed" in Angola. It was a telling pre-emptive strike.

US elections

Mr Botha's other strong card is the spectre of a Democratic victory in the November presidential elections. Michael Dukakis is on record as describing Pretoria as a "terrorist state".

In the longer term, comprehensive sanctions could make the costs of occupying Namibia unsustainable.

South African government sources stressed ad nauseam last week that all the 14 principles for agreement are entirely "interdependent". Gen Malan appeared to mellow a little when he heard his Foreign Minister repeat this important word.

For it provides ample scope for withdrawal from the deal should the Cuban troops not withdraw, and should Pretoria not receive guarantees of no ANC military bases in an independent Namibia.

Gen Malan might appear a little overwhelmed at Pik Botha's small victory. But there's no need for Namibians — even those who relish the prospect of a Swapo government — to unpack their independence bunting yet.

30 meetings

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Some 30 high-level meetings in 14 countries over the past 10 months preceded the final acceptance of the Angolan peace draft document, accepted by SA, Angola and Cuba last week.

The chronology of talks was released by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) yesterday.

Several of the meetings listed by SAIIA research director Mr André du Pisani were referred to by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last week when he announced SA's acceptance of the 14-point draft agreement.

Mr Botha emphasized that the agreements did "not come along overnight" and said the present initia-

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Cape Times, Tuesday, July 26, 1988 7

led to peace draft

tive started in February 1983 when SA and Angolan representatives met in Il de Sol.

Although talks continued throughout 1984 and early 1985, momentum picked up in September 1987 when US Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker met the Angolan government in Luanda.

A month later a Moscow meeting followed between Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and Cuban and Angolan presidents Mr Fidel Castro and Mr José Eduardo dos Santos.

The mediating position of the superpowers became evident when Angola featured prominently in talks between Mr Ronald Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington in December 1987.

According to the SAIIA report Defence Minister

General Magnus Malan offered in March this year to have direct talks with the Soviet Union on Angola. "General Malan's offer was rejected by Soviet spokesman Mr Gennady Gerasimov who said the Soviet did not see a direct parallel between Afghanistan and Angola."

The first meeting between SA, Angola and Cuba took place in London in May this year when Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden met senior Cuban and Angolan officials.

Talks continued throughout May between various security, military and diplomatic delegations representing the main negotiators as well as the US and the Soviet Union.

The next round of talks, once again on "expert level", starts in Geneva on August 2.

LISBON. — Military leaders from Angola, Cuba and South Africa made significant progress toward a peace settlement in south-western Africa at US-mediated talks in Cape Verde last week, according to a report reaching Lisbon yesterday.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted diplomatic sources close to the negotiations as saying the meeting between the armed forces commanders was "the most technical and concrete" of four rounds of four-nation peace talks held so far.

"If everything that was agreed in Cape Verde is ratified at the next round of negotiations in Geneva, peace in Angola and the region (of south-western Africa) will be a lot closer," Lusa quoted the sources as saying.

The military commanders met on Friday and Saturday on the island of Sal in the Cape Verde archipelago off West Africa for talks mediated by a US delegation.

A statement released after the apparently secret talks were disclosed by journalists in Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, said only that the session had focused on the military situation and would be continued at talks that begin in Geneva next Tuesday. — Sapa-AP

Cape Verde 27/7/88
Meeting
22/
was 'most concrete'

THE possibility of a lasting peace in Angola/Namibia hangs on a slender strand. The problems on what Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, calls the "Steep Hill" ahead are numerous, varied and extremely complicated.

Time and again over the past 20-odd years newspaper headlines have predicted peace only for hopes to be dashed on what had appeared to be unbridgeable differences.

And although it appears that a resolution to the problems of South West Africa are now more of a reality than ever before, the truth is that it is still a far way off.

The principles for peace thrashed out in New York two weeks ago and endorsed by the warring parties last week are more mother-love and apple-pie than firm agreement.

If the principles are finally spelt out in their broadest sense they would result in total peace in the sub-region — a very unlikely situation.

They had hardly been endorsed before there was a difference of opinion on their meaning, with Angola saying that the ANC was excluded from the parameters, and Pretoria seeing it differently.

A Russian official summed up the position when he told the Americans at the recent Moscow Summit that it was one thing to agree on principles but "the devil lies in the detail." It is that detail that now has to be thrashed out.

The biggest threat to the entire process still remains the potential for a major battle between South Africa and Cuba in southern Angola.



EDUARDO dos Santos
... Angola president



FOREIGN
Minister



... Cuban
official

STEEP HILL AHEAD

Lasting peace in Angola/Namibia hangs in a slender strand

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

is that Namibia is so dependent on South Africa a Swapo government would have to toe the line or as Mr Colin Egin, leader of the PFP, interpreted the apparent Government view: "They will be able to stand on the airline supply to the oxygen tent."

The Cuban withdrawal overlaps United Nations Resolution 435.

Chicken

South Africa will not agree to the implementation of 435 until the Cuban withdrawal dates are settled.

In other words the three to four years the Cubans want for withdrawal has to be reduced to meet the seven-month period for the realisation of an

independent Namibia.

Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs (Namibia and Angola), Mr Andre Jacquet, says it is "one of those chicken and egg situations. We can only hope we have a chicken omelette in the end."

Resolution 435 provides problems of its own.

With the Resolution there is a complex implementation plan which was negotiated 10 years ago. Not only were a number of questions, such as the United Nations military protection, left open but since then conditions have changed.

For example there is the newly-created South West African Territorial Force with which Swapo, through the Angolan/Cuban delegation would have problems.

Then there is the cost

financially and in terms of manpower.

The Budget in current day terms for the plan as it was proposed 10 years ago would be R2000-million — substantially more than the annual Budget of the United Nations.

Most of the costs can only be increased by other guarantees now being sought by South Africa on the Cuban presence and vice versa.

The Cuban attitude on this at the recent talks was:

A man, sleepless about his debt, went and told his creditor that he could not pay the full amount and left him to have the sleepless nights about how he would get his money back.

It is accepted that the negotiating parties will be faced with coming up with reasonable proposals to the United Nations for the implementation of any agreements.

Then there is the matter of trust. South Africa does not in particular trust Cuban motives and would rather deal with Angola alone.

South Africa's negotiators have consistently complained about the negotiating tactics of the Cubans and doubt their honesty.

The same distrust about South Africa has been firmly stated by the Cubans.

South African negotiators believe that Cuba is tempting to carve out a place in Africa and does not want to be seen as a loser.

As one of the South African team said recently: "With the Cubans it is a macho thing." This has been exacerbated by Fidel Castro taking a direct hand in the order of battle.

Troop

Again: this, however, it appears that all parties now want a peace and the major reason is economics with the looming possibility of high casualties close behind.

Cuba desperately needs money for development at home. Already she spends an admitted 20 percent of her budget on defence.

The way is estimated to be costing South Africa R3-million a day and this cost has spiralled since the Cuban move south. It is possible that the SADF will be asking for a substantial additional appropriation to pay for a troop build-up to meet the Cuban threat.

South Africa also needs the money for urgently required development in black areas. Angola's economy is a total mess.

On top of this none of the sides want to be held responsible for breaking off the talks. This time out, however, South African spokesmen have been at great pains not to over-estimate the position, warning time and again that there is still much ground to be covered.

Sowetan 27/6/88

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CP sharpens knives over

CAP TIMES 27/7/88

THE Conservative Party appears set to make a major election issue out of the spectre of a communist take-over in Windhoek if the UN plan for Namibian independence is implemented.

It is not clear yet how this might affect South African government negotiators currently working on a plan for regional peace with their Angolan and Cuban counterparts.

When the warring parties announced last week that an agreement had been reached on broad principles of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the south-western African region and Namibian independence, the Conservative Party launched a scath-

ing attack against the initiative.

Yesterday, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht returned to the fray, saying that once the "so-called peace plan (UN Resolution 435) is introduced South Africa's line of defence would move from the Kunene River to the Orange River within months".

He warned in a statement released in Pretoria that if the plan was carried out communists could control Namibia.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP would support whites in the territory and called on whites in South Africa to register their disapproval.

Observers interpreted Dr Treur-

communist Namibia' issue

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nicht's return to the issue just days after Mr Koos van der Merwe (the party's defence spokesman and chief information officer) issued a detailed statement on the subject, as an attempt to "milk" the sensitive topic for political gain.

The line of attack to be used by the CP was clearly spelt out by Mr Van Merwe when he argued that "peace which leads to the implementation of UN Resolution 435 means the total victory for Swapo and the humiliation of South Africa".

"What will then have become of the blood, sweat and money used up by 20 years of fighting?"

The CP's second objection to the agreement is its conviction that "nothing will stop Swapo and the ANC from continuing its deeds of terrorism and that South Africa will be compelled to launch hot pursuit operations again".

"This draws a line through this peace," Mr Van der Merwe argues.

In the third instance, the CP was concerned that Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi may be left in the lurch after years of receiving logistical support and supplies from South Africa, as well as the direct backing from SADF troops.

"Has Jonas Savimbi even been consulted?" Mr Van der Merwe asks.



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Attack can sink peace talks

SKV 28/11/84

Political Staff and The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa has told the United States that attacks such as that by men in Fapla uniforms near a Namibian border post on Tuesday could set back the peace process.

A strongly worded protest has been sent to the United States following the attack by men, presumed to be Swapo in Fapla uniforms, on a water tower at Oshikango border post.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed the communique in which it was pointed out that this type of attack was creating a dangerous situation which could set back the current peace talks.

In Windhoek, too, there was speculation that the attack could lead to a breakdown in the talks.

Sources in the Namibian capital have pointed to the extensive coverage of the incident on South African television last night as an indication that it could be used by South Africa to scuttle the talks if it so wished or to use the threat to do so

as an additional bargaining lever to strengthen its position in the talks.

It has not yet been ascertained if the six were members of the Angolan army, Fapla, or merely Swapo insurgents wearing Fapla uniforms as has happened often in the past.

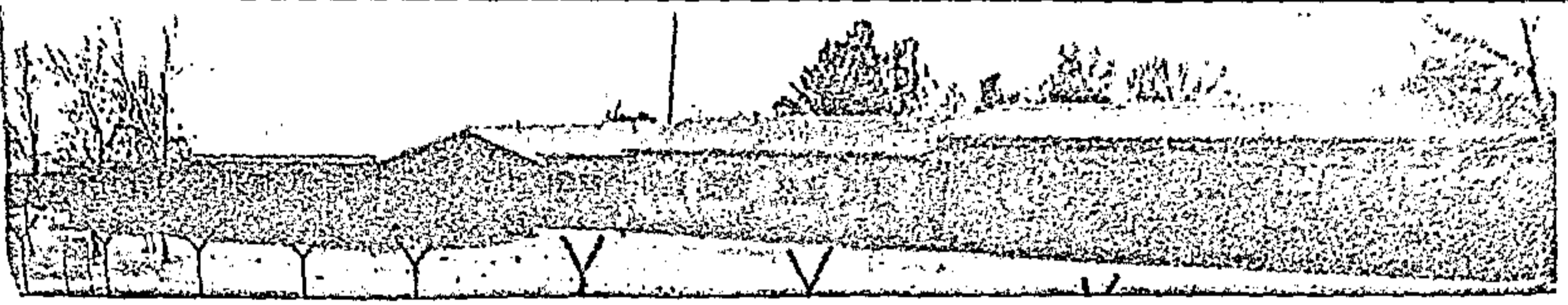
In fact, the sources say, the only remarkable thing about the incident was the way it has been treated by the South African authorities.

But, according to a senior military officer at the scene of the latest attack, hot pursuit operations were called off in the early hours of Wednesday when it became clear that the attacking group, thought to number about 40 and to have several wounded among them, had retreated back across the border into Angola.

The officer said the follow-up operation had been terminated because of the sensitive situation regarding the peace process.

The attack on the water tower also came only a week after insurgents sabotaged the main water pipeline to drought-stricken Ovambo from the Ruacana hydro-electric project on the Cunene river bordering Angola.

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Right wing to form party in Namibia (221)

STW 28/7/84
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South African right-wing political groups — the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) — are to establish a new political party in Namibia.

The *Windhoek Advertiser* reported yesterday that the new party will embrace all rightist groups in Namibia and will be called the Conservative Party. It will have strong links with Dr Andries Treurnicht's CP.

The latest development follows a visit to Windhoek earlier this month by Dr Treurnicht and the AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche. The two leaders held talks with the head of the Rehoboth "Baster" administration, Kaptein Hans Diergaardt, whose Free Democratic Party is one of the six members of the transitional government in Windhoek.

Arson at schools increases

WINDHOEK — The fourth incident of arson at schools in Namibia since the weekend occurred at an Otjiwarongo primary school yesterday causing damage of about R30 000. (221)

At the same time a school boycott protesting against the proximity of security force bases to schools in northern Namibia has spread to Kavango.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, has said security force bases would not be removed from the vicinity of schools. — Sapa

28/1/82

Independence not a 'fait accompli'

South, July 28 to August 4 1988

**Ceasefire
first step
towards
'435'**

WINDHOEK. — South Africa's acceptance last week of a set of principles drafted at the last round of four-nation peace talks in New York has been met in Namibia with reactions ranging from cautious optimism to abject cynicism.

While many progressive groupings and individuals inside this disputed territory are hesitant to speculate on the final outcome of the quadripartite talks, their anti-independence counterparts are being equally cautious.

But while each side has this common reluctance, their reasons differ vastly.

The last time that Namibians dared to believe they were about to be rid of South Africa's colonial yoke was on September 29, 1978, when the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 435 — signed by the Western Five (including South Africa) and providing for free and fair elections in the country under UN supervision.

It soon became clear that South Africa had no intention of allowing the implementation of the UN peace plan, especially when in 1981 Pretoria adopted the delaying tactic of linking Namibian independence to a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

State of war

Since then the vast majority of Namibians, especially those hundreds of thousands who have lived in a perpetual state of war for the past 22 years, have remained sceptical of any talks which have not included Swapo.

Their suspicion of South Africa's involvement in any negotiations is compounded by the fact that Pretoria has time and again ignored UN resolutions and, most importantly, reneged on its agreement to implement a settlement plan which could have brought the war to an end a decade ago.

Their cynicism concerning the latest developments, therefore, is firmly grounded in years of bitterness caused by broken promises and empty assurances.

Members of the South African-appointed interim government have also expressed a certain degree of doubt over the proximity of Namibia's independence.

Current chairman of the Cabinet Dirk Mudge said it was his assumption that "we are no nearer to the implementation of Resolution 435 than we were 10 or 11 years ago."

"In 1978 and 1979 we had already agreed on a preliminary date. Now it seems that a date is going to be a major stumbling block," said Mudge.

He also expressed his concern that the political parties in Namibia would be excluded from an election.

What is probably the main fear among politicians inside the country is that they will no longer have a role to play after independence.

In terms of Resolution 435, however, an election will be conducted on a free and fair basis — and under UN supervision, through the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to ensure there is no intimidation or rigging.

And even though South Africa has for so long branded Swapo a "terrorist organisation" the fact remains that it has the largest



Swapo's Sam Nujoma at a recent press conference

popular support of any party within the country's borders.

The organisation is bound to win a free election, and this is the main reason why South Africa has delayed the territory's independence for so long.

Describing the ratification of principles by South Africa, Angola and Cuba as "a small step on a long road ahead", the SA Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, also appeared to warn people about prospects for a quick and easy settlement.

He said the document laying out the guidelines was merely an agreed agenda for further negotiations on peace in the region and "did not impose elements of compulsion on any of the negotiating sides".

Pienaar said the target date of September 29 set by the United States and the Soviet Union for peace in the region was an unrealistic date, as there was still "a long, long road" ahead in the negotiating process.

And while Swapo's external wing has welcomed the ratification of the principles, officials of the organisation within Namibia have not shown this optimism.

Swapo's secretary for publicity and information, Mr Hidipo

Hamutenya, said in Luanda that with the formal agreement to the principles, "it stands to reason that progress is being made and the prospects for a comprehensive settlement of the conflict ... are reasonably brighter."

"But the politico-military and diplomatic pressure that is being exerted, calls for political courage on the part of the Pretoria regime to let go of Namibia," he said.

Whether or not South Africa has this courage should emerge by the end of the next round of talks in Geneva next month.

A Swapo spokesman in Windhoek said this week that it would be "cruel" to raise the hopes of the Namibian people that independence is finally on its way.

"This signing of a so-called set of principles comes at a time when the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435 is less than three months away. He added that even if the Cubans withdrew from Angola, there was no guarantee that South Africa would stick to its side of the bargain and pull out of Namibia — "both militarily and politically."

With reports this week of a South African troop build-up in northern Namibia, observers are speculating that Pretoria may be planning

something which could provide it with an excuse to pull out of negotiations.

One political analyst expressed his fears that the SA Defence Force might provoke Cuban and Angolan forces into launching attacks on South African troops either inside Angola or on Namibian soil.

"If this happened, it might just provide sufficient reason for Pretoria to claim that the other two governments have been negotiating in bad faith, and pull out of further talks," he said.

He added that most Namibians should realise by now that "South Africa has never wanted to see Resolution 435 implemented here".

Condemnation

"With the eyes of the world on SA, it would not be expedient for that government to draw international condemnation by pulling out of the talks without an extremely substantial reason."

He said: "However, if the opportunity arises that another government can be blamed for initiating a breakdown in negotiations, South Africa may very well jump at it."

Another observer said: "The hundreds of thousands of Namibians, who for the past 22 years have had their lives torn apart by the war in the north, are the ones who should know most of all that South Africa had the power to end the death and destruction 10 years ago — and failed to do so."

She emphasised that South Africa was once again being handed the chance to give peace to the region.

"If it fails to do so, if it reneges on yet another agreement, there can be no guarantee that the Namibian people will wait patiently for another decade for this opportunity to arise again," she said.

Being the key player in the Namibian conflict, it would indeed be a tragic setback to the independence process if South Africa did pull out now.

SWAPO wants a ceasefire agreement with South Africa once a comprehensive settlement over the Angolan-Namibian question has been reached.

Speaking from Luanda, the organisation's publicity and information secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said that when all the elements were in place "we expect South Africa and Swapo to hold direct talks and reach a ceasefire agreement as a first step towards the implementation of UN Security Resolution 435."

He said that during the recent Stockholm meeting between Swapo leaders and white Namibians, the two sides "agreed on the urgency of South Africa and Swapo signing a ceasefire agreement" which would lead to the implementation of the UN plan.

"The Swapo official said that central to the meeting was "the need for national reconciliation between black and white Namibians".

Hamutenya said that economic policy in a Swapo-ruled independent Namibia would give priority to "the revival and reconstruction of the presently depressed Namibian economy", implying new investments, the reactivation of new industries not operating at full capacity and the establishment of new industries.

He also mentioned agricultural expansion and new mines as important aspects of Swapo's economic policy.

The state would have a "key role" to play in revival and reconstruction, but said "there will be room for joint and private ventures".

"Land reform will be a central element of the national reconstruction programme — the primary objective of which will be to increase productivity and bring about social economic justice for all."

With regard to Namibia remaining a multi-party state under a Swapo government, Hamutenya said: "The Namibian electorate will decide the political party system in the country."

Tower attackers 'were Swapo men'

Defence Correspondent

THE men who attacked Alpha Tower at the Oshikango border post on Tuesday are thought to have retreated northwards after the fight — but South African troops did not attempt a hot pursuit on to Angolan soil, sources in Windhoek said yesterday.

They were probably members of Swapo even though they were wearing Angolan military uniform, military spokesmen said.

By late yesterday afternoon the identity of the men who attacked the tower — Namibia's northernmost border stronghold — was still in doubt, but circumstantial evidence indicated it was not a formal Angolan foray.

The attack, launched from the Namibian side, started at about 9pm on Tuesday night when a group of about 15 attackers bom-

barded Alpha Tower with 82mm mortar bombs, rifle-grenades and small-arms fire.

SA troops stationed on and around the tower returned the fire, and when it died away after about 30 minutes — an unusually long time for a stand-off action — they investigated and claimed to have found found six dead men wearing Angolan uniforms, as well as bloody drag-marks indicating that others had been wounded but removed.

Weapons and equipment left behind included 48 82mm mortar bombs, 10 hand-grenades, three RPG-7 rocket launchers with six missiles, rifle grenades, and one old SKS automatic rifle.

The stand-off bombardment, although it had been proven to be almost totally ineffectual, was a favourite Swapo tactic, whereas Fapla had never been known to use such strategies.

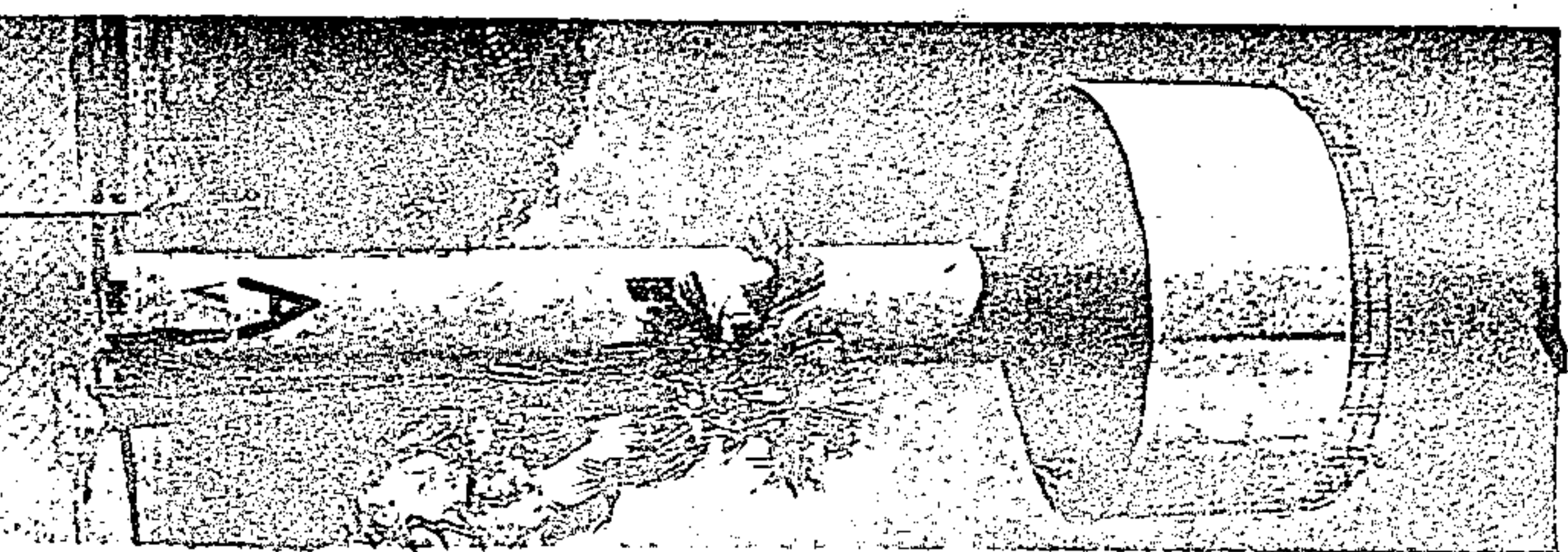
Secondly, SKS rifles, an obsolete Russian service weapon superseded by the AK-47 in the mid-1950s, were unknown in front-line Fapla forces.

Alpha Tower — so called because like all water towers it has a large letter painted on it as a navigation aid — is a familiar landmark to thousands of South Africans who have served on the border since 1973.

It hulks over the ruins of the tiny former settlement of Oshikango and its equivalent on the other side of the border, Santa Clara.

Until 1975 almost all traffic taking the main tared road from Namibia to Luanda passed through the Oshikango/Santa Clara border post, and a small settlement sprang up.

The border was effectively closed in 1976. Santa Clara is now a permanent armed camp and Oshikango is in ruins.



TOWER... Alpha Tower at Oshikango.

Picture: H. H. HERTMAN

Cape Times 28/7/88 221

Right-wing party for SWA

WINDHOEK — A new political party encompassing right-wing groups in Namibia would be formed in due course, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said in a statement yesterday.

The party, to be named the Conservative Party, would have strong ties with South Africa's CP led by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the formation of the new party was the result of pressure and represen-

tations from right-wing groups in Namibia.

"The representations are of such magnitude that it is now only logical that a new party be established," he said.

The planned party would oppose the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, concerning Namibian independence.

"Too many of our young boys from South Africa have died up north for the freedom of all minority groups in SWA," Mr Terre'Blanche said. "Our boys have died solely to prevent Swapo

from gaining control of the country.

"These deaths and the reasons for them cannot be nullified now by implementing something like Resolution 435."

A CP delegation headed by Dr Treurnicht and an AWB group led by Mr Terre'Blanche held talks earlier this month with Rehoboth Baster, Mr Hans Diergaardt.

Mr Terre'Blanche said it was the purpose of the new party to help other leaders in Namibia to retain their land. — Sapa

'He talks of peace while protegés attack'

ARGUS 28/7/88 (221)

SWA raid: Magnus Malan slams Castro

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan today slammed Cuban President Fidel Castro for talking about peace while allowing his "protegés" in Angola to attack SWA/Namibia.

And South Africa has warned the United States that attacks such as that by men in Fapla uniforms near a Namibian border post on Tuesday could set back the peace process.

A strongly worded protest has been sent to the United States following the attack by men, presumed to be Swapo, in Fapla uniforms on a water tower at Oshikango border post.

In a statement today General Malan said it was alarming that Fapla or Swapo forces could be involved "in such a provocative attack while talks are underway.

Realistic

"I have said before that there is no room in these negotiations for a fight and talk posture."

But he appealed to South Africans to be realistic about the situation and to "retain cool heads".

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that a communique had been sent to the United States, in which it was pointed out that this type of attack was creating a dangerous situation in the area which could set back the current peace talks.

Unita takes city, kills 52 government soldiers

LISBON. — Unita has captured a major city in central Angola during a fierce battle in which 52 government troops were killed, a Unita spokesman claimed here.

He said yesterday Bailundo, an important centre in Huambo province, was captured on Monday. Five Unita soldiers died.

"The three Fapla battalions defending the city were routed after a six-hour battle."

There was no independent confirmation.

The spokesman said Unita blew up a key bridge over the Queve River, which links Bailundo to Huambo, the provincial capital at Huambo.

He said a huge quantity of arms was captured, including 40 Soviet-made AK-47 rifles and ammunition, a B-10 anti-tank cannon, an 82mm mortar launcher with 52 bombs and 70 RPG-7 rocket launchers. — Sapa-Reuter.

The attack also indicated how Swapo forces could not be separated from the Fapla forces.

Misled

Referring directly to the speech made by President Castro on Cuba's national day, General Malan said under "no circumstances should South Africans be misled by statements which do not correspond with reality".

In the speech, President Castro said Cuba must prepare itself for the return of an estimated 50 000 troops from Angola.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, who is currently leading the South African negotiating

team, cautiously described the speech as "of interest.

"We will be looking carefully at what President Castro and other Cubans and Angolans have been saying in the run-up to the talks in Geneva next week."

General Malan said it was incomprehensible that President Castro could make statements about peace "while his protegés commit deeds of aggression and violate borders."

● A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence today declined to reject or confirm claims that South Africa had 100 000 troops massed on the Namibian border following the Cuban build-up of 50 000 troops in Southern Angola.

Looking for the 'no loser' solution

■ It may be peace — but the process will be a drawn-out one

After a bitter war and one failed diplomatic initiative after another, peace finally came to Rhodesia and Zimbabwe was born in 1980. It took a combination of factors — war-weariness, the toll of sanctions, tireless mediation — to trigger the change. Is a similar combination of factors at work in south-western Africa?

In September, the 10th anniversary of the birth of UN Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia will be very much in the minds of the regional participants in the struggle for control of that land and its northern neighbour.

While the issue is immeasurably more complex than that of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe — as US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker has pointed out, five armies are locked into the fate of south-western Africa — there is a general feeling that the impasse has been dragged out too long; that it has become too costly in terms of men and money; and that the time is propitious for a settlement which includes Angola as well as Africa's last colony to the south.

For the Angolans, the civil war which has racked the country since 1975 is no nearer resolution — despite the presence of up to 50 000 Cubans and a sprinkling of Soviet advisers. Those troops are paid in hard currency by Luanda — seriously depleting its foreign reserves and weakening the prospects for post-war reconstruction. And it must also contend with the serious damage capable of being inflicted by Jonas Savimbi's Unita, which in turn will seize the opportunity of peace as it sees its US and SA backers waver, with the serious prospect of a Democrat in

the White House committed to cutting off aid to the movement.

Unita, of course, wants a "government of national reconciliation" and, as part of that process, wishes to be dealt with by Luanda as an equal partner in all negotiations. The José Eduardo dos Santos government sees matters differently — and so Unita's fate is very much in the balance.

The Americans cannot offer aid beyond the currency of the Reagan administration — it is merely an outside chance that Republican George Bush, if elected, will retain Crocker as his Africa supremo. And, most important of all, the peace talks involve the sovereign states of SA, Angola and Cuba (who operate in concert) — not the US or Soviets and not Unita, which may be relocated to Zaire, or simply thrown to the wolves, as it is well aware. Proximity talks on the fate of Unita have taken place — but it remains a marginal issue.

For Pretoria, the war is proving a huge financial burden — in addition to budgetary subventions to Namibia — and further casualties (particularly whites) could trigger serious reverses at the October local-level polls. Leftwing opposition to conscription and an unpopular war is one thing; rightwing criticism stings far more.

For the US — the main mediator at the current round of talks — a settlement, or the prospect of one, would give Reagan a fine note on which to exit and, coming after Afghanistan and the intermediate-range nuclear missile treaty, might even assure the election of Bush. For their part, the Soviets are afraid of further involvement in Africa,

which has proved a bottomless pit for their military and financial assistance.

The key to a complete resolution of the conflict — as a senior US administration official has noted, "everything is contingent on everything else" — is independence for Namibia in terms of R 435. However, SA attaches two major preconditions for its implementation: staged withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the scrapping of the UN recognition of Swapo as "the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people." There is also, of course, the question of ANC bases in Angola — which may have to go once there is no common border with an SA satellite.

R 435 forms the absolute basis of the agreements framed around the "Principles For a Peaceful Settlement in South-western Africa" agreed to in New York on July 13. It is worth recalling that it calls for a four-month election process to get underway in Namibia within 13 weeks of a formal agreement by all parties to submit to its conditions (so far we have an agreement in principle). But the problems begin even earlier.

A withdrawal of SA troops from Angola is contingent upon a retreat by Cuban-Swapo forces from the Namibian border at a rate acceptable to SA; and this involves enormous logistical problems. The process must be verified by impartial observers, for a start. The Americans and Soviets could doubtless continue to play a facilitating role, but SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has said the matter demands "an African solution for an African problem."

SA, it is speculated, and quite possibly the



Swapo's Nujoma, Cuba's Castro, SA's Pik Botha ... delicate as dancing on eggs

P.T.O.

In Namibia, ²²¹ Resolution 435 is a lineout call

By **BRENDAN SEERY,**
Argus Africa News Service

As the world gets feverish about prospects of independence in Namibia, back in Windhoek most whites get feverish about their rugby XV.

WINDHOEK — When the world caught "Namibian independence fever" last week, most of the people in this vast, arid territory remained immune or caught only a mild dose.

For conservative whites, the talks in popular watering holes around Windhoek this week was more "SWA XV" than "UN 435", following Northern Transvaal's narrow 18-16 escape from a total rugby onslaught by the "Biltongboere" at Loftus Versveld.

Radical blacks, for whom 435 has become an anti-apartheid mantra over the last decade, did not rush into the streets and ululate with joy for impending uhuru.

To be sure, the agreement on "principles for a peaceful settlement in southwestern Africa" — signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba — came like a late-winter wind to Windhoek, stirring up the dust of uncertainty for a brief spell.

A question on many lips was: "Do you really think it will happen this time?"

SAME OLD STORY

Few believed it would. After all, they have seen this all before, and it will take more than the publication of details of the New York agreement to launch them into rarified heights of expectation.

The hoopla of 1978 — Ahtisaari, UNTAG, ceasefire — has seemingly been followed by an endless cycle of talks, stalemate, more talks and further stalemate.

Flotsam in the water under the 435 bridge since 1978 has included the questions of UN impartiality, Bills of Fundamental Rights, the conduct of the envisaged Constituent Assembly, methods of voting, the demobilisation and withdrawal of South African forces and, of course, Cuban "linkage".

Conservative whites (that is the bulk of the white community in Namibia) have yet to be panicked into headlong flight over the imminent hoisting of the Swapo flag over government buildings.

Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar may have reassured many whites in his remarks after the publication of details of the triangular agreement when he said the road to independence would be a "very, very long" one.

Nervous whites also paid attention to Mr Pik Botha's comment that the summit of the 435 mountain was still some way off.

Mr Dirk Mudge, who is too liberal by far for many whites, yet is respected as a man who "knows what is happening", made further soothing noises when he stated baldly that Resolution 435 and independence would not come in the "foreseeable future".

The small group of liberal whites believes, though, that things are looking better now for 435 than they have at any time since 1978. Veteran liberal politician Bryan O'Linn, who is chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan 435 study and contact group, told supporters this week that he believed South Africa had no option but to keep moving in the current process, and that there was no way out for Pretoria which would not cost dearly.

Blacks, many of whom would vote for Swapo in the elections envisaged by Resolution 435, are by and large as cautious as most whites about the outcome of the latest initiative.

A suggestion doing the rounds in the townships is that the implementation of the peace plan could come on September 29, the 10th anniversary of the passing of the resolution by the UN Security Council. Few believe this, though.

Swapo has officially welcomed the latest agreement and pledged its cooperation, but officials and members inside the country have few illusions.

SA SINCERITY IN DOUBT

The anti-apartheid forces here appear united in their scepticism about South Africa's sincerity and motives in the latest initiative.

Mr Pienaar's and Mr Mudge's remarks, and the fact the South African-appointed Transitional Government in Windhoek plans to go ahead with its own constitution, have only strengthened the opinions of the leftist "doubting Thomases".

With unemployment running at an estimated 40 percent and probably higher in the densely-populated urban townships, black Namibians generally face an uphill struggle for their daily bread, and few would be moved by the less than even chance of their being delivered by resolution 435.

So, on the frontier, life goes on.

For some, matters have to be put into their correct perspective.

"435, what is that, man?" asked one rigger-bugger. "Ja, that must be what they shout to the South West hooker when they want the ball to go to the back of the lineout."

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US, Soviets to meet before Angola talks

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The principal mover behind negotiations for peace in south-western Africa, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, will meet his Soviet counterpart in Geneva on Sunday and Monday.

Dr Crocker's talks with Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin will precede a fifth round of four-way meetings between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

The object of the Geneva talks would be "to build on the statement of principles agreed to in New York and to begin a process of translating these principles into actual agreements".

The talks follow sessions in London, Cairo, New York and Cape Verde, where military experts met this week.

● In an unprecedented attack Cuba's President Fidel Castro has blamed Soviet military tactics for causing "a near disaster" to Angolan

troops in fierce fighting around Cuito Cuanavale late last year.

He claimed they were saved only by an infusion of Cuban troops.

Although the main thrust of President Castro's comments on Angola were that the 13-year civil war appeared to be nearing its end, the Cuban leader focused on the siege of Cuito Cuanavale.

The Soviets poured weapons and ammunition into Angola to back a powerful frontal assault last July from Cuito Cuanavale in south-eastern Angola towards a Unita stronghold in the town of Mavinga.

Reports yesterday indicated that Western diplomats were aware that President Castro at that time warned the Russians that such an approach would provoke a strong reaction from South African forces supporting Unita.

The South Africans intervened with 3 000 troops and the Angolans were defeated in September and fell back to Cuito Cuanavale.

Peace not possible without our consent, Unita warns

The Argus Foreign Staff

LONDON. — Unita has welcomed the recent Angolan peace talks, but warned that a settlement in the area would not go smoothly without the rebel movement's consent.

It also claimed it had carried out a successful multi-target attack against the highland capital of Huambo this week and killed 86 soldiers in seizing the village of Chicala in Moxico province.

In the first of two communiqués issued yesterday, Unita's general-secretary Mr Miguel N'Zau Puna said Unita "continues to support the negotiations between Cuba, the MPLA and South Africa as a means of finding political solutions to the civil war in Angola".

"However, Unita exhorts African countries to urgently take a firm and clear position regarding national reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA, without which peace will be impossible."

During the Huambo raid Mr Puna said Unita's "special commando units" destroyed Shell fuel depots and four military vehicles and bombarded the military air base with 122mm rockets.

Unita acknowledged it had casualties of nine dead and 22 wounded in Moxico and Huambo.

● Argus Africa News Service reports from Luanda that the Angolan army has claimed that it killed 72 Unita rebels between July 18 and 24 for the loss of 11 Fapla soldiers killed, two missing and 33 wounded.

(22) Star 29/1/87

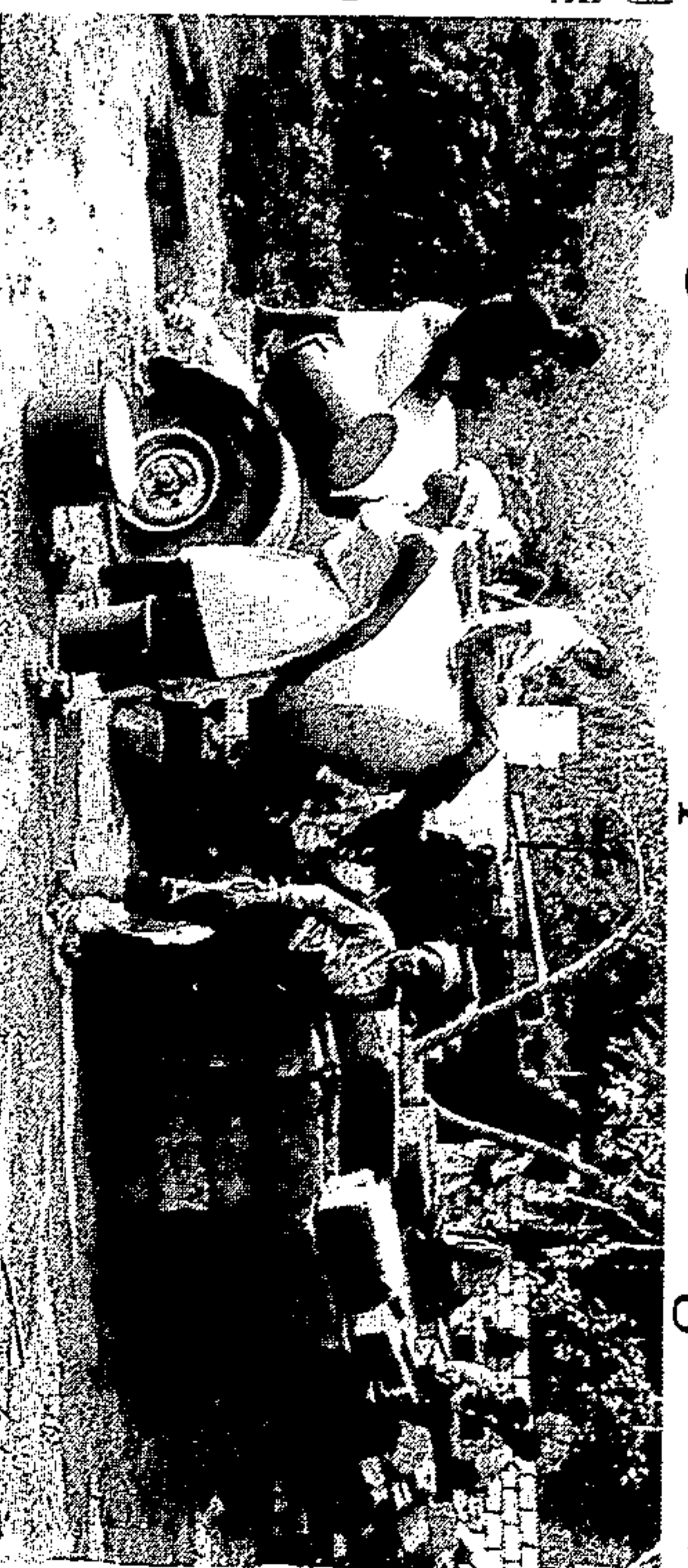
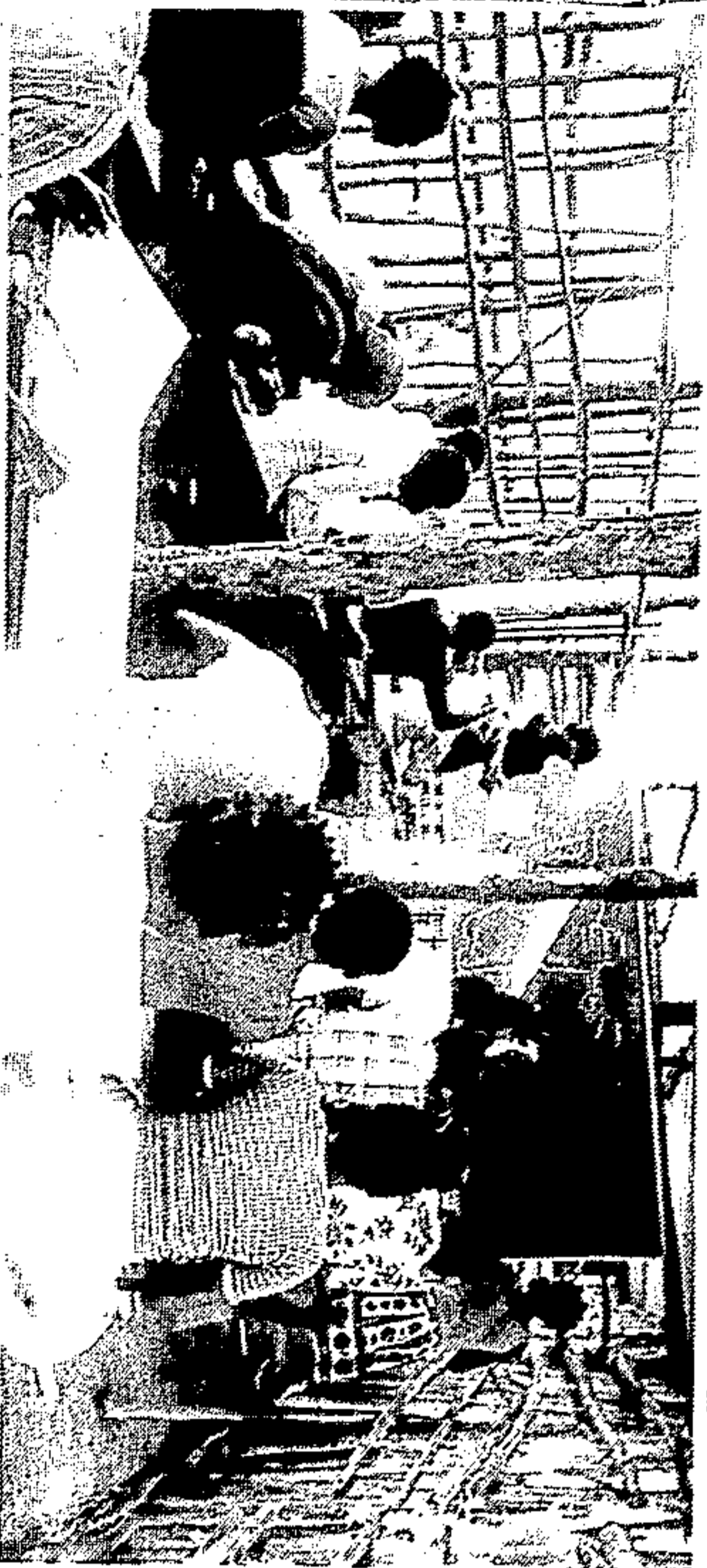
Windhoek pushes own plan for constitution

WINDHOEK — The political parties in Windhoek's transitional government are to go ahead with plans for their own constitution, despite the recent agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba pledging independence for Namibia through UN Resolution 435.

Four of the six parties in the coalition, with two groups outside the government, announced their intentions in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Eben van Zijl, head of the Action National Settlement group, said the draft constitution was presented last week to the Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, who indicated that South Africa would approve the proposals. — The Star's Africa News Service.

First report from within a Swapo training centre, deep inside Angola ...



English classes in a makeshift hut, and building brick houses: Namibian refugees in Swapo's Kabuta Camp, Angola. Pictures: M VANAPPELGHEM, UNHCR

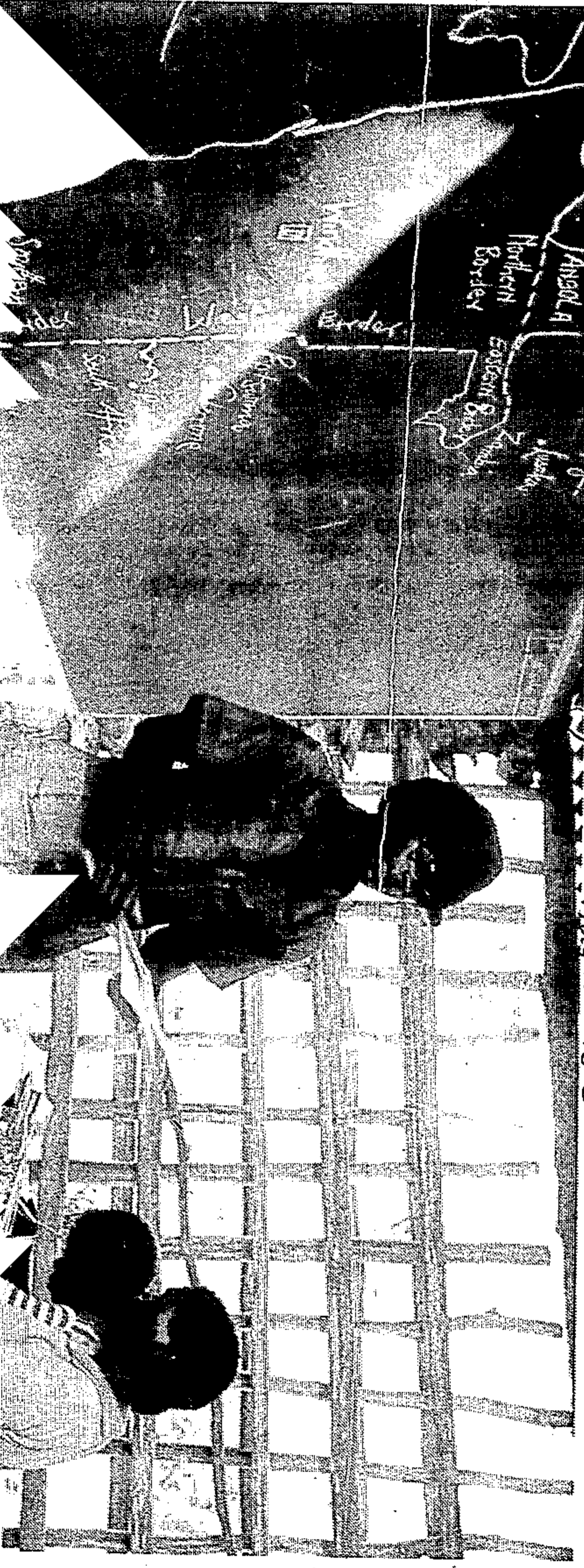
A glimpse inside a Swapo camp

Weekly Mail July 29 to August 1988

If there is such a thing as a well-off refugee, then Namibians are among the best provided for. The Nordic countries alone provide \$150 per refugee, building supplies and education facilities. The aid is widely spread, but it does not make for independence.

JACKSON PHILLIPS, a member of the first party of journalists to visit a Swapo camp, reports from Angola

WHITE-BEARDED Simon Kungwa, secretary of the Swapo Elders Council, casts his eye over the Namibian Health and Education Centre's administration prefabs. Roofs of the Swedish-built struc-



... have been painted in green camouflage paint. "There are no weapons in this camp. America could bomb us." He shrugs. "We are Christians, God will protect us."

The centre, 350km east of Luanda, is home to 40 000 of the 69 000 Namibian refugees officially receiving United Nations assistance in Angola.

With plantations fallen into disuse as a result of repeated guerrilla attacks, the economy in the surrounding villages is barely existent. The Namibian camp, by contrast, is relatively well provided for — and in an inversion of the usual roles, locals make use of the camp's hospital and child-care centres.

Forced to remain overnight at the camp waiting for a helicopter, we foreign visitors who were accommodated in the Swedish construction cabins benefited from hot showers and air-conditioning, luxuries unavailable at the \$130-a-night (R312) Meridien in Luanda.

If there is such a thing as a well-off refugee, Namibians are among the best provided for in the world. Swapo is bankrolled by the Nordic countries and this camp is no exception. Sweden alone provides \$150 per refugee. Swedes and Danes supervise construction and carpentry. The Finns run a brick-making project where each refugee family comes to make its quota for its own houses as well as for community projects. Only women were in view during our visit, operating the mud-pressers and running the kiln.

As in all refugee camps, adult men are scarce — except for the leadership who turned out in force at the lunch offered to us. Children make up 57 percent of the camp residents, and women comprise 29 percent.

At the Namibian Education Centre, the principal called for aid to provide more science equipment and end problems of "overcrowding" — presently 40 children per class — and to buy another school bus so the kids wouldn't have to walk to classes. Nearly 3 500 children are enrolled in two teaching sessions and in the evenings there are adult classes. Teaching is in English, even though

Well-off refugees: facilities are basic but Namibian refugees in Angola are among the best provided for in the world

the children have a much easier time understanding Afrikaans.

Education is obviously a major pull for young Namibians. Many come to Angola as much for educational reasons as out of political conviction. Since 50 000 Namibian schoolchildren went on strike in March demanding the removal of military bases from sites close to schools, the exodus of young Namibians has increased, according to Swapo officials. Swapo guerrillas on both sides of the border have picked up 5 000 Namibian youths between the ages of 10 and 25, a senior Swapo military officer said.

Before being given the choice to fight, these youngsters will receive an education. One refugee, educated at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, while claiming that "even

Swapo blames the lack of available land for the absence of any attempt at self-sufficiency after six years of the camp's existence

those not born will pick up arms and fight", stressed that the bright ones will have a chance to continue with studies at Swapo-run colleges in Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Nigeria and Ghana.

The one advantage of being, according to a UN declaration, the "sole and legitimate representative" of a relatively under-populated country is that aid spreads rather well. But this does not make for independence.

No attempt has even been made to grow maize because, according to Kaukungwa, "we have no machine for making it into meal". Food arrives from Luanda, some of it donated by the US government.

Swapo blames the lack of available land for the total absence of any at-

tempt at self-sufficiency even after six years of the camp's existence.

While 400-hectares is obviously not enough to provide food for 40 000 people, aid workers at the camp admitted they had to deal with a serious assistance-mentality problem.

Most of the refugees arrived at the end of the 1970s expecting that their Angola sojourn would be short and they would soon be returning to an independent Namibia. Men like Kaukungwa represent the old but ruling guard of Swapo, those who left in the 1960s. One Angolan official describes Swapo as an "organisation of village chiefs", a perjorative indicative of recent tensions between the Angolan government and the Swapo leadership.

Swapo certainly sometimes acts with little regard for Angolan sensibilities. When stopped at the numerous military roadblocks officials invariably refuse to exchange even pleasantries in Portuguese — despite the fact that many have been in the country for more than 10 years. Thanks to massive aid, they have access to facilities unheard of for the average Angolan — unless he happens to live nearby. The best hospital in Angola is Swapo's 800-bed military facility near the southern town of Lubango, staffed by East German and Cuban doctors.

On the other hand, Swapo provides the Angolan authorities with some military assistance. The official line is that Swapo units are not integrated into Fapla units but are fighting the South Africans in Namibia. However, south of Luanda at a camp for Angolan displaced persons, I saw dozens of troops filling a truck with buckets of water hauled up from the river. The shirtless soldiers, some of whom sported cheap but trendy sunglasses, couldn't speak a word of Portuguese.

While Angolan security tried to hustle us away, other officials admitted the troops were Swapo and that because of their greater discipline and better weapons they were regularly employed to guard roads and bridges.

In areas where Namibians are present, Swapo provides security not only for refugees but for everyone else. In the south, Swapo fought long months at Cuito Cuanavale, has advanced with the Cubans and now occupies joint positions just north of the Namibian border.

Sure of Cuban support and closer than ever to the Namibian border, Swapo is still anxious about what the future holds. Despite the fact that it will be radically affected by any deci-

Despite the fact that it will be radically affected by any decisions taken at the Angola peace talks, Swapo is not party to any accord

sions taken in peace talks, it is not party to any accord.

At the end of June, Swapo officials held meetings with an important delegation of Namibian business and political leaders, led by Sabine Kowitzki of the Transitional Government of National Unity; also present were a small contingent of black businessmen and representatives of the Ovambo, Kavanga and Caprivi tribal groups. In the event of moves to implement UN Resolution 435, the two sides agreed to respect the 1984 Fundamental Bill of Rights and to enlarge the interim government at Windhoek for a period of six to eight months, pending democratic elections. Swapo agreed to end its military activities once the South African administration was dissolved, the SA Defence Force withdrawn and the second-tier ethnic

assembly scrapped.

Swapo Secretary General Andimba Toivo ya Toivo has hedged on independent Namibia providing any support other than moral to the African National Congress, saying "our economy is tied into that of South Africa".

Swapo leaders in Angola emphasise that an independent Namibia would run a mixed economy. There is, however, some concern over Swapo's record on human rights. In Geneva, UN officials admit privately that the question "is about to blow up in our faces".

The most celebrated case is that of the Swapo 100, a group of prisoners the organisation admits it is holding but refuses to present either to the press or to the International Red Cross. Accused of being "spies" and of "attempting to poison" Swapo leaders, the 100 have been held for nearly three years. Swedish diplomats, approached by European Community colleagues, were unable to obtain a promise from Swapo that the prisoners would be brought to trial. Questions tend to be met with the disclaimer: "What are you doing about detainees in South Africa?"

UN officials have in their files numerous tales from mothers who claim their children have been taken from them by Swapo. Says one Nordic solidarity group aid worker: "Half our time is spent helping Swapo, half helping people escape from Swapo."

Swapo leaders, many trained in Eastern Europe during a very un-glasnost period, bear the traits of people who have lived for years in exile and seen the repression on their own people increase. But the international community's uncritical embrace of Swapo as the sole representative of the Namibian people has also not encouraged self-doubt.

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Blair
2/7/89

Border raid: provocation theory

WINDHOEK — Six infiltrators killed at Oshikango in northern Namibia on Tuesday night may have been members of the Angolan army trying to provoke an international incident, military sources said yesterday.

The SWATF said on Wednesday it had killed six men of a group of about 40 who had been carrying out a stand-off bombardment on a water tower 500m from the Angolan border. The dead had been wearing Fapla uniforms.

The sources said there were indications a massive ambush had been prepared on Tuesday night on the Angolan side of the border should SWATF pursue the attackers.

They said: "The intention was to

create an incident on the Angolan side of the border."

It was also reported yesterday that one of the attackers was identified as a "colleague" by a former Fapla member.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports that a SWATF spokesman said he could not comment on reports of a planned ambush. He said the incident took place on the Namibian side of the border.

Earlier, a SWATF spokesman said his forces had decided against pursuit in view of the peace initiative and the acceptance of the 14-point guidance plan which prohibited border violations.

□ In Pretoria, it was reported that

SA had told the US incidents such as the Oshikango attack could retard the Angolan peace talks.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said his department had asked the US to use its influence to prevent a recurrence of such incidents.

Observers said the amount of publicity pro-SA government media had given the incident indicated that SA might want to use it for extra leverage in next week's round of peace talks in Geneva.

As well, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said South Africans should be realistic and not be taken in by Cuban President Fidel Castro's statements of imminent peace in Angola and Namibia. — Sapa.

SADF plans amphibious exercise

CHIEF TIMES
29/7/88
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Defence Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers, airmen, sailors and marines are to be involved in the largest combined amphibious exercise since 1983 when Exercise Magersfontein starts near Walvis Bay soon.

Local observers says it will hone skills usually practised on a small scale and serve to advertise that the South African Defence Force's offensive capability is not confined only to land and air action.

Walvis Bay, which is a part of South Africa, is the only major port on the Namibian coast. The next sizeable port is Namibe, about 900km to the north, through which runs the main Cuban and Angolan supply line for their forces in southern Angola.

Exercise Magersfontein would run from the next month to the end of September, the Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Glen Syndercombe, announced in Pretoria yesterday. It

would be more extensive than its 1983 predecessor, Exercise Ricksha.

It would include surface and air tactical and gunnery exercises, landing and withdrawal exercises and mine counter-measure exercises.

He said large logistics support teams would leave for Walvis Bay on August 4 by road, air and sea. The navy's replenishment vessels, SAS Drakensberg and SAS Tafelberg, would be part of this.

The naval vessels taking part in the exercise would be from Simon's Town and Durban and be representative of all the flotillas.

"The ships will only sail for Walvis Bay at a later date and the exercise itself will last until near the end of September 1988," he said.

The exercises would test the navy's weapon systems and its capacity to deploy its ships and submarines for long periods away from their home bases, without logistic support.

"The Walvis Bay area is therefore ideally suited for this purpose."

Call Times 24/7/84
Malan warns

on Cuba's aims

PRETORIA — South Africans should be realistic and not be taken in by Cuban President Fidel Castro's statements of imminent peace in Angola and Namibia, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Reacting to President Castro's statement that "we are really on the threshold of a political solution", General Malan said here that this "does not rhyme with reality".

Referring to the attack by either Swapo or the Angolan army's Fapla forces on a water tower in the Namibia border town of Oshikango on Tuesday, he said "there is no place for a fighting/talking approach to the Angolan and SWA-Namibian situation". — Sapa

THE PRICE OF PEACE

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE price of the Angolan war has been high in terms of lives lost, devastation and human misery. But the hidden cost of a peace settlement and independence for SWA/Namibia could be astronomical.

If peace should be restored, a multi-billion-rand additional payout would be needed to bring life back to normal in the region, according to analysts.

This is one of the hard realities facing the peace negotiators when they resume their talks in Geneva next week.

Among immediate advantages for South Africa will be the prospect of an improved economy through scaling down State spending — now estimated to run at R10-million a day for the SADF and the war effort.

There is also the prospect of relaxing military service requirements if lasting peace can be achieved, and making more manpower available for the country's internal needs.

□□□

HOWEVER, opposition spokesmen have warned that a Swapo takeover in SWA/Namibia could mean South Africans might, in future, find themselves fighting on the Orange River border. In that event, defence expenditure may have to continue at a high level.

Another advantage for South Africa in a peace settlement is a possible phasing out of the country's R1-billion-a-year expenditure to keep SWA/Namibia going.

On the other hand, however, peace would bring in its wake huge costs for restoring the disruption caused by the war.

Even before this expense, there will be the cost of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 435 for SWA/Namibian independence.

Some of the latest estimates put the cost of the plan at R1,6-billion — more than the entire annual budget of the UN. And there are indications that the total cost could rise even higher.

The eventual cost, which has already trebled since the peace plan was first accepted by all parties in 1978, could be as high as R2-billion, according to South Africa's administrator-general in SWA, Mr Louis Pienaar.

□□□

AT this stage, there is uncertainty over who will foot this astronomical bill when the plan is implemented.

The bill will include the cost of maintaining a UN peace-keeping and monitoring force of about 7 500 in the northern reaches of SWA and in southern Angola.

Their main task will be to maintain a 50km demilitarised zone on either side of the border, and to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops.

In addition, the plan calls for 300 UN policemen and a civilian staff of about 1000 election organisers and support personnel.

The main objective of Resolution 435 is the withdrawal of South Africa's "illegal" administration of SWA/Namibia and the transference of power to the people of the country.

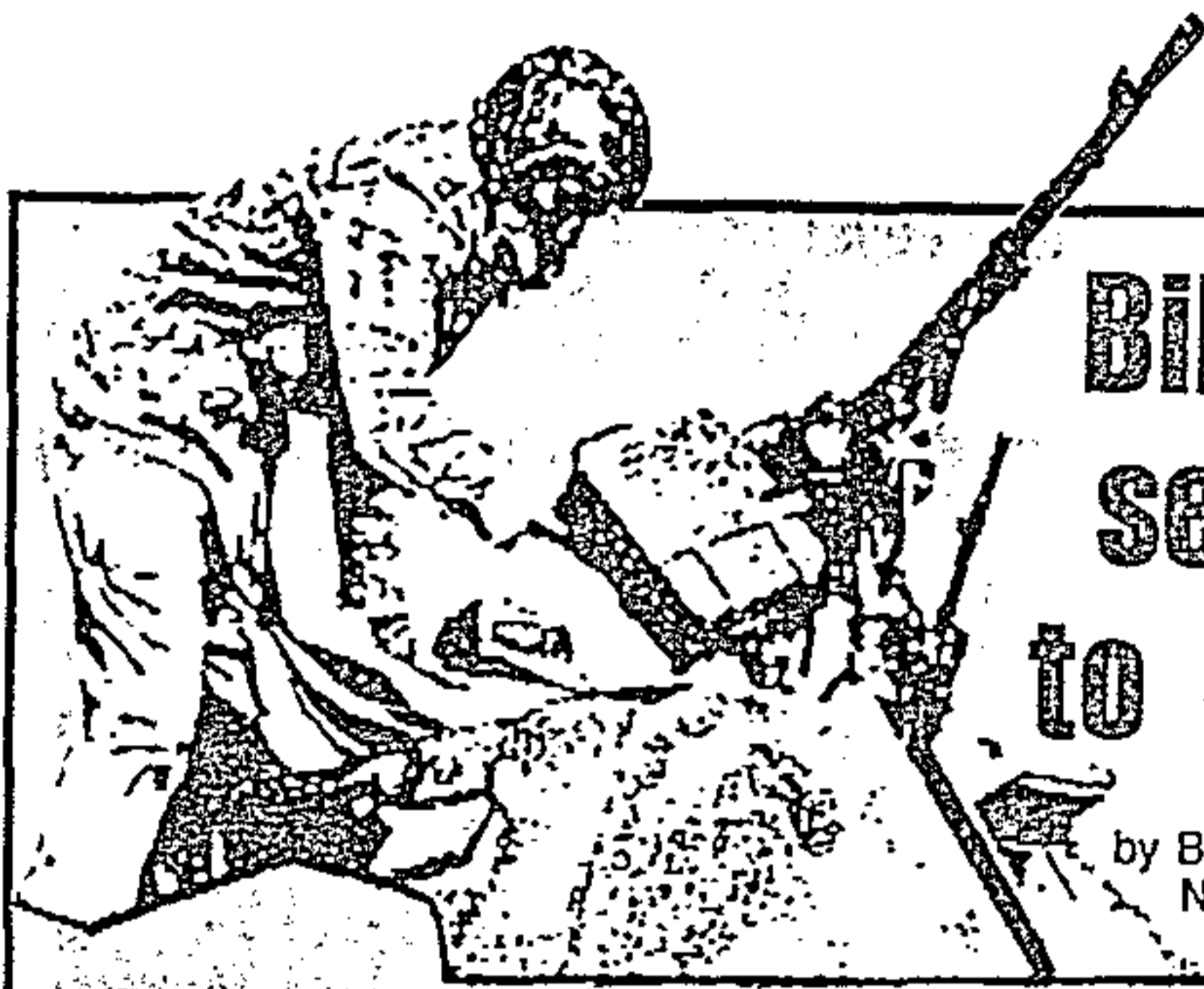
This goal is to be achieved through:

- THE establishment of a UN transitional assistance group (Untag) to assist the UN secretary-general's special representative in Namibia in ensuring the early independence of the territory;

- THE cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and the withdrawal, restriction or demobilisation of all armed forces;

- THE conduct of free and fair elections to the constituent assembly, under the supervision and control of the UN; and

- THE formulation and adoption of a constitu-



Biltongboere settle down to Uhuru wait

by BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa
News Service in WINDHOEK

WHEN the world caught "Namibian independence fever" last week, most of the people in this vast, arid Territory remained immune or caught only a mild dose.

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visaged Constituent Assembly, methods of voting, the demobilisation and withdrawal of South African forces and, of course, Cuban "linkage".

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Dirk Mudge — who is too liberal by far for a good percentage of whites — yet is respected as a man who "knows what is happening" — made further soothing noises when he stated baldly that Resolution 435 and independence would not come in the "forseeable future".

The small group of liberal whites believes, though, that things are looking better now for 435 than they have at any time since 1978. Veteran liberal politician Bryan O'Linn, who is chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan 435 study and contact group, told some of his organisation's supporters this week that he believed South Africa had no option but to keep moving in the current process, and that there was no way out for Pretoria which would not cost dearly.

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South Africa was subsidising the territory's budget, contributing to its security and economy. To the best of his knowledge the people of SWA/Namibia were "the most subsidised community in Africa and perhaps in the world."

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He had told African leaders who consulted him that "the moment the Cubans go it will be a new ball game in Southern Africa." The whole situation would then take a turn for the better, he said.

"The moment the Cubans leave and SWA is out of danger, South African forces will return to their

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MR Andre du Pisani, a researcher of the SA Institute of International Affairs, told me this week that in addition to the cost of implementing Resolution 435, there would be a huge cost in terms of social reconstruction after the withdrawal of troops.

For this task, foreign aid would be needed on a large scale to restore services and to relocate population, especially in the northern region of SWA/Namibia.

This would be urgently needed as an estimated 400 000 people in the northern area were now dependent on the military forces for jobs, income, social services, medical care and other needs.

As a result of war conditions in the northern region, where 60 percent of the population lived, the

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RICE OF PEACE



Biltongboere settle down to Uhuru wait

by BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa News Service in WINDHOEK

WHEN the world caught "Namibian independence fever" last week, most of the people in this vast, arid Territory remained immune or caught only a mild dose.

For conservative whites, the talks in popular watering holes around Windhoek this week was more "SWA15" than "UN 435", following Northern Transvaal's narrow 18-16 escape from a total rugby onslaught by the "Biltongboere" at Loftus Versveld.

Radical blacks, for whom 435 has become an anti-apartheid mantra over the last decade, did not rush into the streets and cry with joy for impending "Uhuru".

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people were almost totally dependent on a cash economy, propped up by second-tier bureaucracies, the military establishment and a small informal business sector.

An added burden was a large population of war refugees, many from Angola.

Population groups like the Bushmen were totally dependent on the military for their existence.

SWA/Namibia, with its limited revenue base, would not be able to afford the cost of social and economic reconstruction. The territory's annual budget already had a shortfall of something like R700-million a year.

Once the military forces withdrew, the only way in which the vacuum could be filled would be by means of significant foreign aid.

In a recent study on the role of the SADF and the SWA territorial forces in the region, Mr Du Pisani warned that the socio-economic and political implications, in the event of withdrawal by the SADF, would be far-reaching in a post-independent Namibia.

Even bigger problems of re-construction face Angola in a post-war situation.

An EEC mission to Angola estimated war damage caused by the SADF and Unita to exceed R20-billion, but Mr Du Pisani says the actual cost to the Angolan economy is considerably higher.

To rebuild the Benguela railway line alone is conservatively estimated at more than R600-million.

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THE Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, Professor Nic Olivier, said this week that withdrawal of South Africa from the region could mean that fewer men would in future need to be called up for military service and that there could be a considerable reduction in South Africa's financial support for SWA/Namibia.

But he did not foresee any large saving on expenditure for arms.

Some economists have estimated that the Angolan war has been costing South Africa a crippling R4-billion a year. And the nation's economy would have to bear an intolerable additional burden should the war escalate.

Dr Azar Jammime, director of Econometrix, predicts that if the Government were to continue spending billions a year fighting in Angola, the spectre of increasing taxation, higher interest rates, hyper-inflation and an ever-weakening economy will loom large.

The warnings from economists contradicted claims by SADF Chief of Staff (Finance) Vice-Admiral Bert Bekker that defence expenditure was not causing an increase in inflation. He also claimed that South Africa's military involvement in Angola was "absolutely not" placing any extra burden on the taxpayer.

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ANALYSTS believe an Angolan peace settlement and SWA independence will considerably reduce tensions in Southern Africa and cut the enormous cost of South African attacks and "destabilisation" of neighbour states.

It has been estimated by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) that South African "aggression and destabilisation" has cost its neighbours more than R20-billion in five years.

A major portion of this cost is related to direct war damage such as that in Angola, extra defence expenditure, and lost economic growth.

The SADCC reported that much of the damage was caused not by single large explosions, but by the destruction of hundreds of houses, schools, lorries, transport systems and other infra-structure.

Fears of South African attacks made the SADCC states spend more and more on defence, and the armies have to be fed, clothed, housed and transported.

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As a result of war conditions in the northern region, where 60 percent of the population lived, the

Star 1/8/88

Police suspect arson in Namibia school blaze

WINDHOEK — One of the largest primary schools in Namibia — in the copper mining town of Tsumeb — has been badly damaged by fire in what police believe is a case of arson linked to the continuing schools unrest.

which caters for 900 pupils, were gutted in the fire, which appeared to start simultaneously at a number of points yesterday.

Last week Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Cabinet in the transitional government, claimed Swapo was training children to commit acts of sabotage.

A police spokesman said the hall and a number of classrooms at the school,

— The Star's Africa News Service.

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Cape Times, Monday, August 1, 1988 7

SA, Cuba set to drive some hard bargains

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola are scheduled to arrive in Geneva today and tomorrow for talks expected to be marked by hard bargaining as they attempt to add detail to the agreed set of principles aimed at bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

The 13-member South African delegation will be led by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden. Other senior members of the delegation will be the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys and Dr Neil Barnard, director-general of the National Intelligence Service.

The Cuban delegation will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party. He will be accompanied by General Ulises Rosales del Toro, the chief of staff of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Mr Alarcon de Questada, the deputy minister of the Department of Foreign Relations as well as a large back-up team.

Withdrawal timetables

As usual the meeting will be chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who held talks with his Soviet counterpart Mr Anatoly Adamishin at the weekend.

No details of the agenda have been released, but Dr Crocker has said the four issues on which tough negotiations can be expected are:

- The drafting of treaties to reflect the 14 principles which the parties agreed to last week;
- The agreement on the timetables for the withdrawal schedules of Cuban and SA forces. This is expected to be the main focus of the discussions;
- The definition of a verification mechanism for the withdrawals;
- And, agreement on a disengagement process for the five armies in contact with each other — the SADF, the Cubans, Fapla, Unita and Swapo.

Officials who have attended previous meetings say they expect this round to be dominated by the South Africans and Cubans. The Cubans, they say, have in past meetings tended to dominate and take a much stronger line than the Angolans.

Briefing

WINDHOEK — The National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA) begins one of its most crucial congresses of recent years in Windhoek today just as it has become clear the bitter struggle for the hearts and minds of the white Afrikaner has spilt across the Orange River from South Africa.

Party leader Mr Kosie Pretorius will open proceedings in the NGK church hall with the knowledge that his followers are probably more divided now than at any other time since the *broedertwis* with Mr Dirk Mudge's verligte rebels in 1977.

He will also have the uneasy feeling that the right-wing parties and groups from South Africa — the Conservative Party, the Herstigste Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — will be only too ready to swoop and pick up the pieces from any Nat fallout.

In tow this week are AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and HNP chief Mr Jaap Marais. Mr

Battle for hearts, minds goes West

By **BRENDAN SEERY**
The Star's Africa News Service

The CP, HNP and AWB are waiting in the wings in Namibia to pick up what support they can from dissatisfied NP members.

TerreBlanche held talks over the weekend with NP-SWA deputy chairman Mr Jan de Wet — a meeting reportedly not sanctioned by Mr Pretorius.

Mr Marais is due to speak to public meetings on the subject: "Angola/SWA: Oorlog of Vrede?"

The CP, HNP and AWB have been paying serious attention to Namibian white politics for about the last year only, either because they have been pre-occupied with their own organising inside South Africa or because they believed the NP-SWA was not the enemy of the *volk* in the way they perceived Mr P W Botha's NP to be.

The NP-SWA has been threatened by verligte-verkrampte splits over the past three years, culminating last year when former NP-SWA Cabinet Minis-

ter Mr Eben van Zijl formed his own group, Action National Settlement with local businessmen and like-minded Nat members.

Also worrying for the NP-SWA is the growth of AWB support across the territory since the beginning of this year, when the movement formally established itself in Namibia.

The white community in Namibia must be a tempting and fairly easy target for the AWB and other right-wing groups. The majority of whites can be classified as right-wing, running the gamut of ideological feelings from conservatism to outright fascism and Nazism. Apartheid still dominates life, racism abounds and few would countenance living under a black government.

Although Mr TerreBlanche has drawn fairly small groups to his addresses during visits here, the AWB nevertheless claims it has many covert supporters.

Last month a Windhoek newspaper reported that the CP and AWB had jointly proposed a *volksvergadering* for Windhoek at which a new umbrella, right-wing party, the Conservative Party of SWA,

would be formed. Mr TerreBlanche and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht were in Windhoek in mid-July to discuss details of the planned founding congress.

The new right-wing moves into Namibia have undoubtedly been given impetus by the continuing South African involvement in Angola and by the recently signed agreement on "principles for a peaceful settlement in south-western Africa".

The AWB's local representative told a Windhoek newspaper some months ago that the South African presence in Angola was tantamount to an invasion and that white South African soldiers were being killed in a foreign war. The agreement signed between South Africa, Angola and Cuba is regarded by some rightists as a sellout of Namibia's whites as it provides for implementation of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan and the ultimate scene of "the Swapo flag flying over Windhoek".

Namibian Nat sees A WB chief

Star The Star's Africa News Service (221)

WINDHOEK — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, talked on Saturday with the deputy leader of the National Party of South West Africa (NP-SWA), Mr Jan de Wet.

Mr de Wet confirmed that the meeting had taken place at the request of Mr TerreBlanche and told the *Die Republikein* newspaper that he had not "cleared" the meeting beforehand with the leader of the NP-SWA, Mr Kosie Pretorius.

Mr de Wet would not divulge details of what was discussed, but said it was his belief that national unity could come in Namibia only if there were first unity within the various population groups.

The annual congress of the NP-SWA starts here today.

The party is expected to have to deal with the problem of both left-wing and right-wing "dissidents".

It has been reported in Windhoek that Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and the AWB are to unite to organise a "volksvergadering" in Windhoek shortly at which a new umbrella, right-wing body, the Conservative Party of SWA, will be formed.

The HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, is due in Windhoek later this week to address a number of public meetings about the current situation in Namibia and Angola.

● See Page 13.

Angola peace plan could be ready soon, say Soviets

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2/18/88
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From SUE LEEMAN
and TOS WENTZEL

The Argus Correspondents

GENEVA. — The fifth round of the Angola/Namibia peace talks, the “nuts and bolts” phase, gets under way here this afternoon in the wake of strong Soviet optimism that a peace plan could be on the table soon.

The South Africans are also optimistic that concrete agreements can be made during the talks with delegations from Angola, Cuba and the United States.

A tacit agreement on a ceasefire in Angola, considered at earlier talks in Cape Verde, may be taken further.

All the parties are keen to exploit the current break in hostilities.

Other issues on the table here today will be ANC bases in southern Angola, the position of Unita, the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola and mutual respect for borders.

A flurry of preliminary talks preceded today's gathering, which will try to “flesh out” the 14-point peace principles endorsed recently by South Africa, Cuba and Angola, and which make provision for a Cuban withdrawal linked to independence for Namibia.

On Sunday and yesterday Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister

Anatoly Adamishin met his American counterpart, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker.

Afterwards, Mr Adamishin said he believed a settlement could be achieved “in the near future”.

Dr Crocker, who as the US's chief representative has been the leading peace broker throughout various stages of the talks, also met members of the South African delegation, headed by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

Dr Crocker held similar meetings with the Angolan and Cuban delegations yesterday.

Momentum

Heading the Angolan delegation is Lieutenant-General Antonio de Santos Franca, First Deputy Minister of Defence. The 11-man Cuban contingent is led by Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr Adamishin stressed that the momentum gained by the earlier talks must be maintained. If the opportunity was now lost, it would be a long time before it came again, he said.

He made it clear that the Soviet Union was happy to underwrite any peace plan agreed to by the Cubans and Angola.

GENEVA PRESS RELEASE

Forces avoid contact, but it's not formal — SA

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — South Africa, Cuba and Angola have agreed to ceasefire terms, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, said here yesterday.

He was addressing a press conference after two days of talks with the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker.

South African officials in Geneva for the next round of talks, which start today, said Mr Adamishin's statement was not strictly true.

Ground forces were refraining from contact, but whether this agreement was made formal, depended on this week's talks.

The Soviet minister was asked if Dr Crocker had asked him to put pressure on Angola to agree to a ceasefire.

He replied: "If I am not mistaken there is agreement between Cuba and Angola on the one side and South Africa on the other for a ceasefire."

The South African delegation was tied up in meetings late last night and not available to confirm or deny Mr Adamishin's statement.

Mr Adamishin said South Africa posed the main obstacle to peace in Angola and to independence for Namibia, but there were now grounds to believe it (South Africa) was prepared to be reasonable and sensible.

While the Soviet Union is not represented at the talks, the head of the Southern African section of its Foreign Ministry, Mr Vasilien Vasev, will be present in Geneva for the duration.

Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union was prepared to use its prestige and influence to keep the momentum for peace going.

The Soviet Union would be satisfied with any outcome of the talks that was acceptable to Angola, Cuba and Swapo.

He added: "I think there are chances of success for these negotiations. It appears that all the sides

are very serious about securing a political settlement.

"We can be quite sure about the intentions of Cuba and Angola because we are in constant contact with them and they are genuine in their search.

"The position of South Africa on the main points is unknown, but we have grounds to believe they may be prepared to be reasonable and sensible."

Pressed on whether it was important that negotiations be concluded before President Reagan's term of office expired, Mr Adamishin said he did not wish to interfere in internal US affairs but hoped peace could be achieved as soon as possible.

"Tell that to the South Africans," he said. "It is they who may delay. Not the Cubans or Angolans."



Mr Anatoly Adamishin

CAT 7/15 2/8/88 (221)

Asked if the principles agreed to in New York would mean the ANC having to withdraw its bases from Angola, Mr Adamishin said that as far as he understood the ANC had no objections to the talks and the agreements so far.

On some issues, in particular Cuban troop withdrawal, Mr Adamishin adopted a particularly hard stance.

"If South Africa pulls out of Namibia and gives Namibia independence, if South Africa stops interfering in Angola and helping Unita guerrillas then Angola and Cuba will settle it between themselves and fix a timetable.

"It is a matter for negotiation when they will be withdrawn to northern Angola and when pulled out altogether. This issue will be dealt with in strict conjunction with the others."

On many issues regarding Angola, he said, the Soviet Union and the USA had reached agreement. But US aid to Unita was unlawful, illegitimate and had to be stopped.

This, however, was a bilateral matter to be settled between the US and Angola. He denied Portuguese reports that the Soviet Union had had contacts with Unita.

From page 1

Ceasefire

CAT 7/15 2/8/88



**Top Namibian Nat
turns down CP
offer on new party**

WINDHOEK — Senior deputy leader of all-white SWA National Party Jannie de Wet turned down an offer at the weekend by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht to lead a planned new party, the Conservative Party of SWA.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche acted as mediator between Treurnicht and De Wet in talks which lasted several hours on Saturday.

De Wet gave no reasons for declining the offer, which came virtually on the eve of the SWA-NP's annual congress, which begins in Windhoek today.

Some political observers believed De Wet, 60, would challenge the leadership of Kosie Pretorius, who has been heading the party since 1981. — Sapa.

AKG-1 3/8/88

SWA stunned by target date

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The Argus Foreign Service

WINDHOEK. — There was an air of stunned confusion here when it was learnt that South Africa had announced November 1 as the target date for the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace plan.

A stunned-looking SWABC-TV political reporter Deon van der Merwe closed off the service's 8pm news bulletin last night by relaying a report of Mr Pik Botha's announcement in Pretoria.

Van der Merwe said the Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, had confirmed the South African proposal just before the news team went on the air.

As he passed on the unexpected news, Van der Merwe advised viewers to stay tuned for the full SABC-TV news version of the Press conference given by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, which was

broadcast soon after 10pm here.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said the "two different, and opposing" standpoints adopted by South Africa in the latest developments on SWA/Namibia "left a person feeling as though he is living in two different worlds".

Mr Mudge, the chairman of the Cabinet in Windhoek's Transitional Government, said Mr Botha's announcement clashed with earlier remarks by Mr Pienaar about the possibility of internal elections leading to the implementation of a locally-drafted "interim" constitution.

Mr Pienaar was reported as referring to a draft constitution presented to him last month as a "considerable" advance, particularly in the area of protection of minority and group rights, and that they were close to implementation.

Pik's proposals stun Windhoek

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — There was an air of stunned confusion in Windhoek last night when people heard South Africa's announcement of November 1 as the target date for the implementation of Resolution 435.

The Cabinet chairman in Windhoek's transitional government, Mr Dirk Mudge, said the two different, and opposing, standpoints adopted by South Africa in the latest developments on Namibia left a person feeling as though he was living in "two different worlds".

Mr Mudge said the announcement by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, clashed with the remarks by South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, who earlier yesterday spoke about the possibility of internal elections leading to the implementation of a locally drafted "interim" constitution.

Mr Mudge remarked that, in any event, he did not believe the "other parties" would accept South Africa's latest proposals.

Mr Mudge said that although South Africa had set conditions, such as Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, for the implementation of the peace plan, the important question of rights guarantees had not been tackled.

The UN plan made no provision for the protection of minority and groups rights, he said.

It was time, he said, the people of Namibia were allowed to decide for themselves their political and constitutional future.

Move 'designed to silence critics'

Key timetable dates

SA peace plan

causes stir, raises doubts

The Star's Foreign News Service
and Political Staff

South Africa's bold move to call the bluff of international critics who doubt its sincerity about a peace plan for Angola/Namibia is being considered today at the resumption of peace talks in Geneva.

The Americans appeared to be taken aback by the peace package laid on the table by the South Africans as the latest round of peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba got under way yesterday.

It is reported from London that Whitehall has interpreted South Africa's willingness to leave Namibia as a move to seize the initiative in the Geneva talks. The peace offer was given wide media coverage in Britain, but some doubts were expressed about South Africa's sincerity in making them.

The Times of London described Mr Botha's offer as "by far the most convincing evidence to date that Pretoria is serious about wanting a settlement in Namibia".

At a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria last night, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said although he did not want to comment on the possibility of an acceptance of the proposals by Angola and Cuba, the talks were taking place in "the same style of moderation and reasonableness" that had prevailed in New York.

Mr Botha said the South African delegation in Geneva yesterday requested the other parties to ask the secretary-general of the UN to indicate how the cost of implementing Resolution 435 — estimated at R1,5 billion — would be met.

The UN should also indicate whether South Africa's contribution to the budget of Namibia would be taken over by, for example, the UN's Security Council.

Impartial elections

It should indicate who would take over bank guarantees for loans, totalling R750 million, taken up by the Namibian government.

Mr Botha said that if the UN-supervised elections were not objective, strict and impartial, "everything will come to a standstill and we will be back to square one".

In Geneva, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, leading the South African delegation, said the announcement of the plan must be seen against the background of international doubts about the sincerity of the Government and its political will to advance Namibia to independence.

"(The critics) said the proof of those doubts lay in the fact that we were not prepared to propose a fixed date (for Namibian independence). Now it has been confirmed in public by a member of the South African Cabinet."

One of the main problems is expected to be the June 1 1989 deadline set by the South Africans for a total Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans are believed to be willing to reduce their four-year withdrawal plan to two years, but neither they nor the Angolans seem likely to accept the South African deadline.

Officially, the American response has been muted. A brief statement from the US mission in Geneva on Tuesday night said the South African proposals were subject to agreement on the remaining outstanding issues.

A Swapo spokesman said: "We are ready for elections any time."

The timetable for South Africa's peace proposals, as put to the four-nation talks yesterday, is:

- The reaffirmation of the commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10.

- An immediate start to the process for the withdrawal and redeployment of South African and Cuban troops from Angola, and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents jeopardising the cessation of hostilities.

- The establishment of a liaison committee to decide on mechanisms to effect the withdrawal to be set up and functioning not later than August 9.
- The commencement of an effective, verification and monitoring

procedure, to be reached by August 20.

- The completion of a South African withdrawal from Angola by September 1 this year.

- Further details of withdrawal schedules determined in accordance with the principles accepted in New York. No deadline was mentioned for this proposal.

- Implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia to begin on November 1.

- Free and fair elections to be held in Namibia on June 1 1989.

- The gradual and complete withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola on an agreed basis between Angola and Cuba by June 1 1989.

COUNTDOWN

SA wants Namibian election in 10 months

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — South Africa last night brought Namibian independence dramatically closer with a set of proposals which includes a ceasefire from August 10 and an election within 10 months.

In a surprise development the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in the presence of the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, revealed the comprehensive proposals in Pretoria, as these were presented to Angola and Cuba by the SA delegation in Geneva yesterday.

The proposals also include the implementation — which will cost an estimated R1.5 billion — of UN resolution 435 from November 1.

Asked about the date, Mr Botha said it was a month later than the date proposed by Mr Reagan and Soviet president Mr Gorbachev. "Who am I to quarrel with these two world leaders?" he added.

The countdown towards peace as given by Mr Botha was as follows:

- 10 August 1988: Effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities.
- 1 September 1988: Completion of SA troop withdrawal from Angola.
- 1 November 1988: Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.
- 1 June 1989: Completion of phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.
- 1 June 1989: Elections in Namibia.

Precede the withdrawal

The timetable would allow for a period of three months for the UN Security Council to prepare for implementation of Resolution 435 in accordance with the New York Statement of Principles, Mr Botha said.

The implementation of 435 would therefore precede the phased and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola which should be completed by 1 June 1989, in accordance with the New York principles.

He said the practical implications of SA's proposal was a reaffirmation of commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities from August 10 this year.

He said that on that date the process of withdrawal and redeployment of SA and Cuban troops from Angola and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents of hostilities would commence.

This would result in the completion of SA troop withdrawal from Angola by 1 September 1988.

Mr Botha said a UN liaison and monitoring committee, which should be finalized in Geneva this week, had to be established not later than next Tuesday. This would lead to the commencement of effective monitoring procedures by August 20, 1988.

Further details of the withdrawal procedures were to be determined in accordance with principles A and C of the New York agreement, Mr Botha said.

Principle A, concerning the implementation of Resolution 435, determines that the three parties would agree upon and recommend a date for the commencement of implementation of Resolution 435.

Principle C determines "the redeployment to-



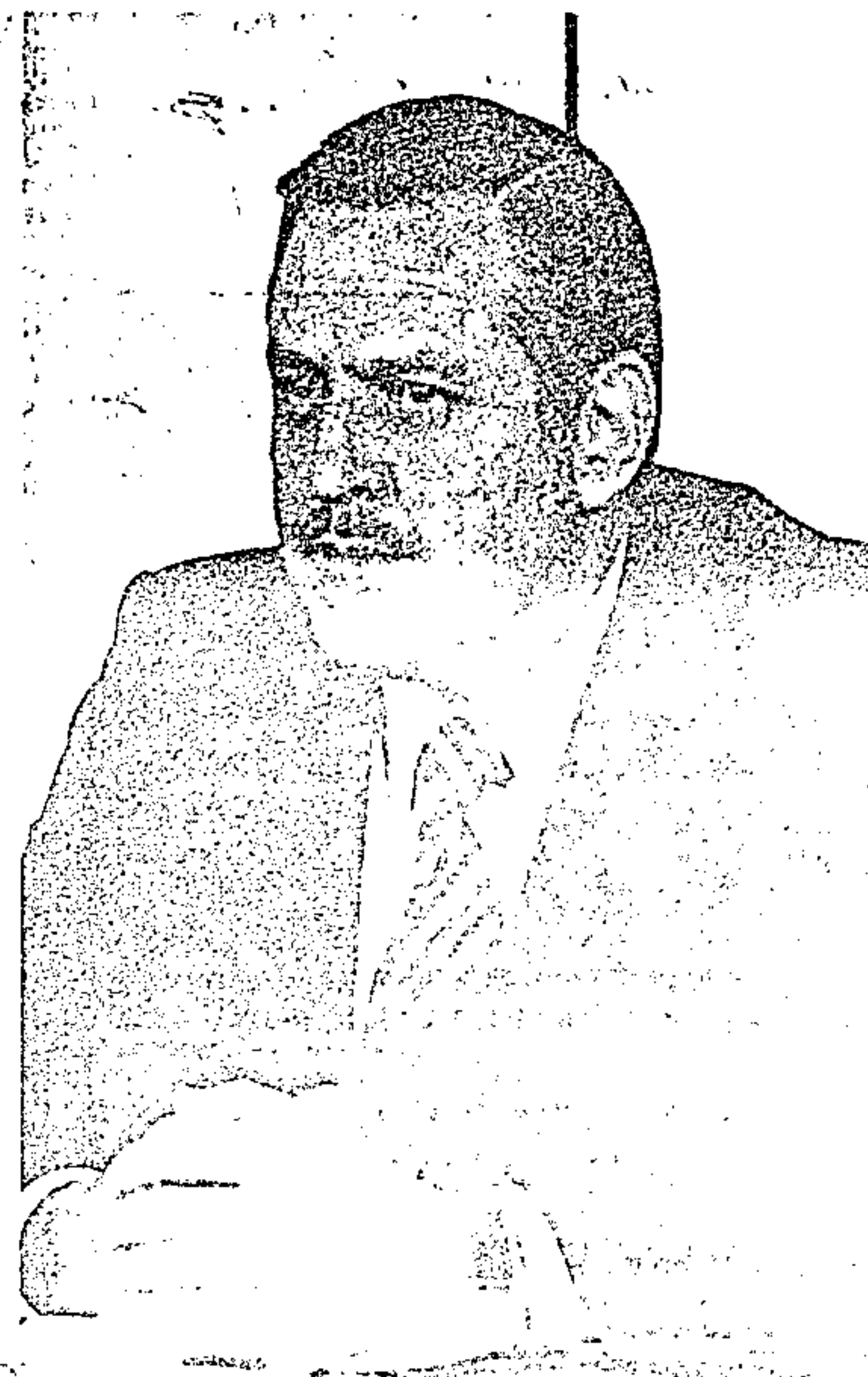
NAMIBIA TALKS ... The United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins, arrives yesterday at the crucial round of peace talks in Geneva.

ward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between the Angola and Cuba and their decision to solicit on-site verification of that withdrawal by the UN Security Council".

Mr Botha said the SA delegation, however, yesterday raised the question about how the cost of 435's implementation would be met. He estimated the cost at R1.5 billion. "We want to know who will pay," he said.

SA had indicated it wished to know whether its contribution to the Namibian budget would be taken over by the five permanent members of the Security Council and whether they would be prepared to take over from SA the guarantee of Namibian bank loans amounting to R750m, Mr Botha said.

He said SA's contribution towards administration costs in Namibia, excluding security, from 1969 to the present, amounted to R4.5 billion.



SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT ... The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who last night disclosed South Africa's dramatic proposals for peace in Namibia.

He said the delegation strongly objected to the presence of seven ANC camps and bases in Angola. "Our delegation indicated that in terms of New York principles it was unacceptable that ANC camps and bases be allowed in Angola from where terrorists are trained to commit violence in SA."

Mr Botha reiterated that the acceptance of SA's proposals would be to the benefit of all the parties involved.

In conclusion, he said the proposals were a major and decisive

step forward. The SA government believed that it had taken an important initiative with the proposals and trusted that it would lead to a speedy resolve of the conflict situation and to peaceful independence in Namibia.

"The time has come for the world to accept SA's stabilizing role in Southern Africa," Mr Botha said, and added that the picture of SA seeking conflict was wrong.

He said he could not comment on Angola and Cuba's reaction on the proposals but said that a "moderate" style and tone prevailed.

Picture: REUTER

SA's bottom line for peace

AKGus 3/8/88
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Pik names 7 'unacceptable' ANC camps

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA has named seven African National Congress camps in Angola which it says are "unacceptable" under the peace proposals agreed in New York last month.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa's delegation to the latest peace talks in Geneva had been told to object strongly to the bases.

He said the camps violated one of the principle agreed in New York: that states should not "allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states".

Mr Botha said it was unacceptable that Angola should allow the ANC to maintain bases "where terrorists are trained to commit violence and murder within South Africa".

He said the signatories to the New York proposals had accepted that the principles were inter-dependent and that one could not be implemented unless all were.

Mr Botha said the seven camps were Viana, about 11km from Luanda, Caculama, about 50km north of Caculama town, Quibaxe, Pango, Malanje, Quatro and Quela Farm in north-east Angola.

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has virtually reached a bottom line with its bombshell unilateral announcement of an immediate start to a 10-month peace package for SWA/Namibia.

This was inferred in an interview today with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

"This is the closest to an agreement we can get," he said, adding: "If this doesn't work, what will work?"

However, the major outstanding difference remains the Cuban troop withdrawal, with South Africa demanding a 10-month period for total withdrawal, while the Cubans and Angolans have demanding four years, although it appears they are prepared to narrow the gap to two years. It is clear the fate of Unita is the overriding factor in the time scales presented by both sides.

The South African package also calls for an August 10 ceasefire, implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence from November 1 this year, free elections on June 1 1989 and the closure of seven ANC camps in Angola on that day.

Mr Botha said today that Unita was not mentioned in the principles for peace already agreed to, and repeated that the answer lay in Angolan national reconciliation.

Stop support

But he said "there would be no need for Unita to be mentioned if the Cubans were withdrawn".

The principles for peace could be interpreted as meaning that South Africa would stop supporting Unita.

The details of the South African proposals had been given to all the parties, sources said.

And though no firm reaction was expected immediately, the initial response was seen as "favourable".

Mr Botha said the plan he had spelt out for the implementation of a peace plan over the next 10 months had shown South Africa was "prepared to bite the bullet".

Although he avoided using the term "bottom line" and he indicated last night that the negotiations on details could still take place, Mr Botha said: "It is a line followed completely

(Turn to page 3, col 1)



Mr Pik Botha

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SA's bottom line for peace
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(Continued from page 1.)
over the years."

He rejected reports that the United States had been caught unawares by the South African initiative, saying United States chairman of the talks, Dr Chester Crocker, was told beforehand.

He also rejected accusations that South Africa had compromised the agreement that details of the talks should be kept a secret.

From Geneva, Tos Wentzel and Sue Leeman report that South Africa's bold move to call the bluff of international critics who doubt its sincerity is being considered today at the resumption of peace talks.

Nobody here doubts that a lot of hard bargaining lies ahead, but chief US mediator Dr Chester Crocker is known to consider the South African move a major step. Officially, however, the American response has been muted. A brief statement from the US mission said the South African proposals were subject to agreement on the remaining outstanding issues.

South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is leading the South African delegation, stressed, however, that the cost of implementing Resolution 435, estimated at \$600-million some years ago, as well as the huge South African subsidies granted to Namibia, would have to be addressed.

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Troops out of Angola in Nov

Peace talks



PIK BOTHA

SA Press Association

THE delegation representing South Africa in the Angola peace talks in Geneva yesterday proposed November 1 this year as the date for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

In terms of this proposal the elections in South West Africa would take place on June 1 next year.

Mr Botha said this would allow for a period of three months for the secretary-general of the United Nations to prepare for the implementation of Resolution 435 in the spirit of the principles agreed on by all parties in New York.

"It follows that the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will be completed by June 1, 1989".

Mr Botha said the full implications of the proposal would be: "Reaffirmation of the commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10 this year.

"Commencement of the process of withdrawal and redeployment of South African and Cuban troops from Angola and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents jeopardising the cessation of hostilities.

Withdrawal

"Thirdly, completion of the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola by September this year.

"The establishment of liaison and monitor committees, already to be finalised in Geneva, if possible, to decide, not later than August 9 on mechanisms to effect this (the withdrawal).

"Commencement of effective verification and monitoring procedures by August 10 this year.

"Further details of withdrawal schedules in accordance with Principles A and C agreed to in New York".

Principle A concerns the recommendation by all parties concerned to the UN secretary-general for a commencement date of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and Principle C demands the redeployment to the north and the staged total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The ANC

Mr Botha said he could not comment on the reaction to the proposals by the Cuban and Angolan delegations, but hinted that the "tentative" reaction had been "in character" and of the same style of moderation of the New York talks.

The South African delegation yesterday also objected to the presence of African National Congress camps and bases in Angola, Mr Botha said.

"We indicated that, in terms of the principles for peace in the region (agreed on in New York), the continued existence of ANC bases was unacceptable to the South African Government".

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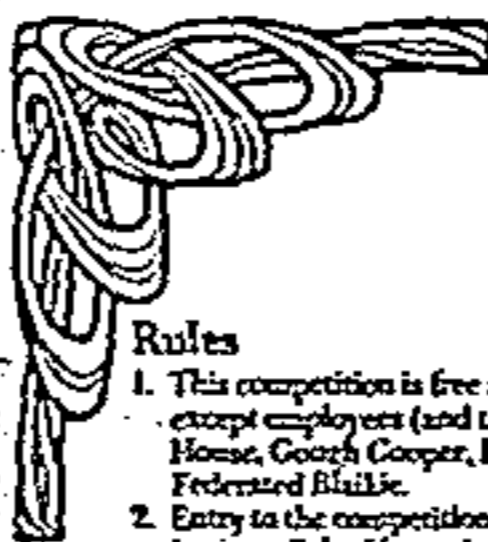


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WHERE QUALITY IS ALWAYS IN FASHION

5 000 go thirsty after sabotage

CHE. Times 3/8/88 221

By CHRIS BATEMAN

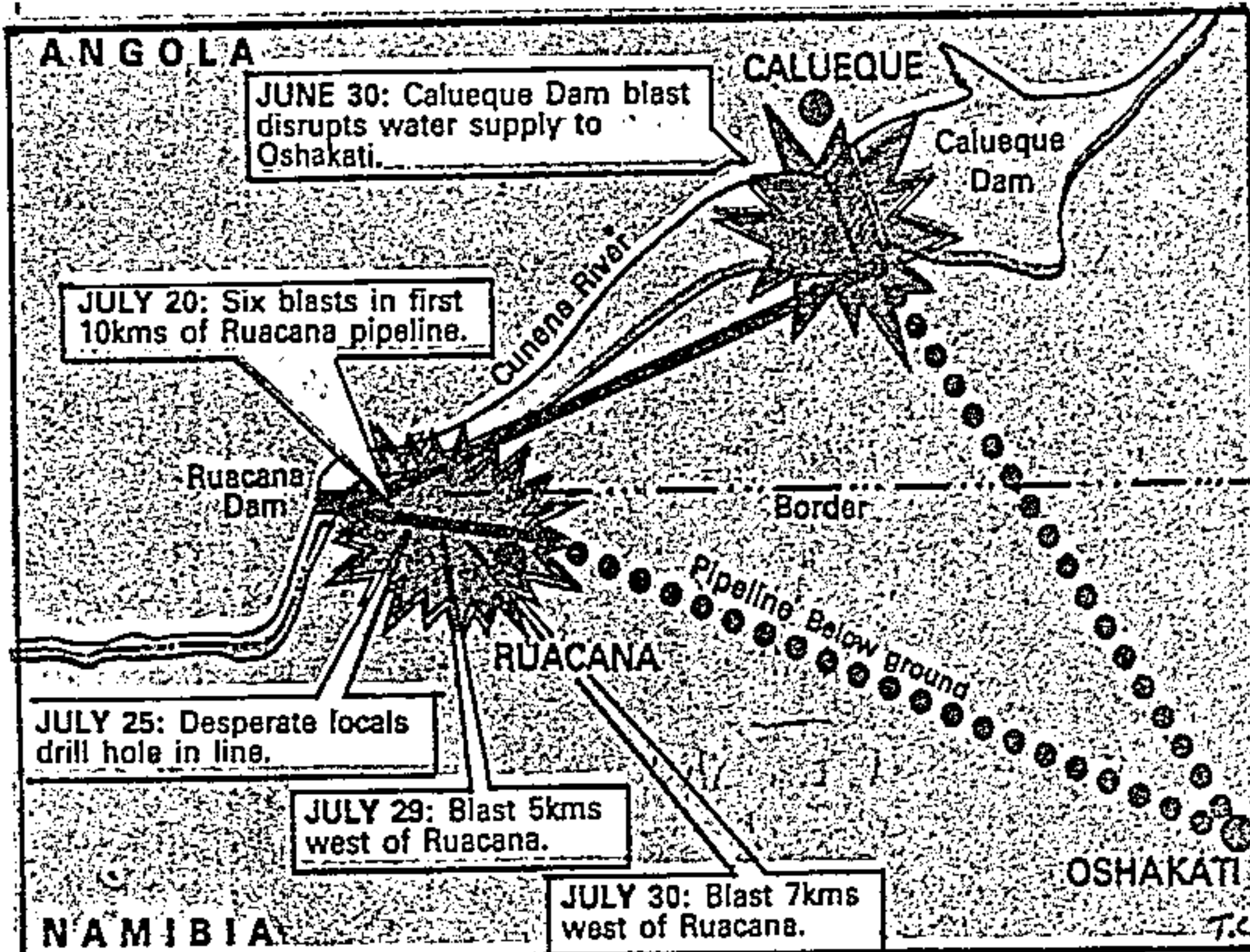
AN estimated 5 000 rural Ovambo people will be without water until at best Friday night because of two sabotage attacks on the Ruacana water scheme's main pipeline to Ovambo last week, the region's top water official said yesterday.

Repair teams are working furiously to replace some 90m of pipeline sabotaged at points 5km and 7km west of Ruacana on Friday and Saturday night, Mr Dudley Biggs, acting director of water supply for northern Namibia, said yesterday.

All main towns and villages in Ovambo would have to rely on their reservoir supplies which usually lasted "between two and three days", he added.

Worst-affected would be Ovambo tribesmen, many of whom would have to resort to polluted wells or other sources, Mr Biggs said.

Original estimates that repairs would take a fortnight had been revised after spare parts arrived ahead of sched-



ule on Monday, he added.

The explosions, which severely damaged an air pressure relief pipe, are the second incident of pipeline damage in a fortnight.

Tribesmen punctured the line in an attempt to get water on July 25, a spokesman for the South West African Territorial Forces, SWATF, confirmed.

Mr Biggs expressed concern at the spate of

attacks within a small area and said there were plans to deal with further sabotage.

The pipeline ran within 100m of the border, he said.

"It appears this particular section has become a target and we must now ensure we have enough spare parts if necessary."

Mr Biggs said severe damage on the Angolan pipeline near Calueque Dam in June this year

had not been repaired because "we don't work across the border".

The SWATF spokesman said no cross-border raids would take place in accordance with the four-nations accord reached in New York recently.

The mountainous terrain was difficult to patrol effectively, he added.

Mr Biggs said water restrictions would be applied if necessary.

UK defied ban on SWA uranium

LONDON. — The British government has finally admitted receiving a shipment of 1 100 tons of uranium from SWA-Namibia in defiance of a United Nations ban — although it claimed the ore was not for military use, the London Guardian reported yesterday.

The newspaper said the statement came after months of denial in the House of Lords where Labour peer Lord Hatch had been pressing the Ministry of Defence since a Guardian article in December disclosed that the shipment was discussed at a cabinet meeting in 1976 and agreed to by the then Labour government.

First Lord Glenarthur, the Foreign Office Minister, and Lord Trefgarne, the Minister for Defence Procurement, twice denied any knowledge of the contract, said the Guardian.

"But at a meeting with Lord Hatch last week, Lord Trefgarne, flanked by 11 civil servants, conceded that the shipment had been received.

"Although Britain refuses to accept the ban, it is embarrassing to the government to be accused of breaking internationally-accepted sanctions."

Lord Hatch said: "I was convinced that the government was not telling the whole truth when successive ministers said they knew nothing about the contract.

"Now they are saying the uranium was delivered between 1977 and 1984 but not for military purposes.

"The wording of their answers makes me doubt whether we still have the whole truth."

The Guardian said the government had told Lord Hatch the uranium was imported under Euratom safeguards designed to prevent nuclear materials imported for civil use being diverted to the military programme. — Sapa

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

UNITA is one of the oldest political groups in Angola and to a certain extent represents the Ovimbundu who form a large part of the country, a top Soviet Africanist, Dr Boris Asojan, has acknowledged.

He also said the Angolan government was, in terms of international law, entitled to ask for weapons from the Soviet Union and had the right to request Cuban troops to be in the country.

Dr Asojan, a former assistant director of the Africa Institute in Moscow and current Soviet ambassador in Lesotho, added that South Africa had been the aggressor in Angola for the past 13 years by supporting a movement which was waging war against a government which was recognized by about 168 states.

He said in an interview in Insig, the monthly magazine, that "to a certain extent" Unita represented the Ovimbundu, which is the predominantly Ovambo-speaking community of Angola.

The MPLA had never said that Unita was not a factor but that over the past 15 years it had played the role of a rebel movement which had been armed by foreign groups.

"At present, according to international law, any movement which is armed by foreign groups and wages war against the legal and internationally-recognized government is a rebel movement."

According to the UN Charter, any country could ask another state to send in aid against a threat. "By supplying weapons, we have merely complied with a request by the Angolan government for military support."

Angola allowed to ask USSR for guns

Call for 435 in November

SA offers immediate ceasefire

Blauy
221 3/8/88

A SET of proposals to bring about an immediate ceasefire in Angola and speed up Namibian independence was issued by SA yesterday.

An effective ceasefire from August 10 and the implementation of UN resolution 435 from November 1 were among a set of proposals presented to Angola and Cuba by the SA delegation in Geneva yesterday.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, in the presence of Defence Minister Magnus Malan, gave the content of the proposals in Pretoria last night.



● BOTHA

These include:

- August 10, 1988: effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities;
- September 1, 1988: completion of SA troop withdrawal from Angola;
- November 1, 1988: implementation of UN security council resolution 435;
- June 1, 1989: completion of phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola;
- June 1, 1989: elections in Namibia.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

Botha said the timetable would allow for a period of three months for the UN secretary-general to prepare for implementation of 435 in accordance with the New York statement of principles.

Implementation of 435 would, therefore, precede the phased and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which should be completed by June 1, 1989, in accordance with the New York principles.

Botha said the practical implications of SA's proposal was a reaffirmation of a commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10 this year.

The date would see the beginning of the process of withdrawal and redeployment of SA and Cuban troops from Angola and restrictions on Swapo to prevent more hostile incidents.

That would result in the completion of an SA troop withdrawal from Angola by September 1, 1988.

Botha said a UN liaison and monitor committee, which should be finalised in Geneva this week, had to be established not later than August 9, 1988. That would

● To Page 2

SA proposes an immediate ceasefire

lead to the start of effective monitoring procedures by August 20, 1988.

More details of the withdrawal procedures were to be determined in accordance with principles A and C of the New York agreement.

Principle A — concerning the implementation of 435 — determines that the three parties will agree upon and recommend a date for the start of implementation of 435.

Principle C determines "the redeployment towards the north and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between Angola and Cuba and their decision to solicit on-site verifica-

tion of that withdrawal by the UN Security Council".

Botha said the SA delegation yesterday raised the question about how the cost of 435's implementation would be met. He estimated the cost at R1,5bn.

SA had indicated it wished to know whether SA's contribution towards the Namibian budget would be taken over by the five permanent Security Council members and whether they would be prepared to take over from SA the guarantee of Namibian bank loans amounting to R750m.

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● From Page 1

Peace plan for Namibia

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has dropped a bombshell in the Angolan peace talks by proposing November 1 as the start of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

A ceasefire in Angola would start on August 10 and UN-supervised elections and the complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would take place by June 1 next year.

The surprise South African peace plan for Angola and Namibia was put to the Geneva summit yesterday. Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha announced the details of the South African plan in Pretoria.

He said he had decided to announce the plan as parts of it had already begun leaking to the Press.

The South African timetable for peace in the region starts almost immediately with a ceasefire by August 10 and complete withdrawal of South African troops from Angola by September 1 this year.

● United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia should start on November 1 this year and lead up to elections on June 1, 1989.

● Committees to monitor the withdrawal of troops would if possible be set up at the Geneva talks and by August 20 this year would begin monitoring the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola.

● Swapo would have to be restricted from further incidents which could jeopardise the cessation of hostilities.

Mr Botha said the South African proposal was "decisive, comprehensive and all-encompassing". The South African Government had conducted a comprehensive review of the situation and had decided that the stage had been reached where the core issues had to be addressed.

If the proposals were accepted, the SA Government firmly believed there would be no losers. The sovereignty of Angola would be achieved without question, Namibia would have attained independence "and the missions of all parties would have been accomplished."

Asked what had prompted South Africa to propose the plan, Mr Botha said the time had come for the world to accept the stabilising role of South Africa in Africa.

He said he could not say if Cuba — which until now has insisted on a four-year withdrawal from Cuba — would accept a deadline of June 1 next year for a complete pull-out.

But he said Cuba and Angola had formally accepted the linkage of Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of UN 435. The presidents of America and Russia had also agreed on September as a date for the start of implementing UN 435.

"We reckoned a month later would be more reasonable."

However it was clear from Mr Botha's statement that many obstacles remained to be overcome.

Among the crucial questions which the South African delegation at Geneva has

been authorised to seek answers for are:

● Who will foot the estimated R1,5 billion bill for implementing UN 435?

● Will South Africa's contribution to the budget for Namibia be taken over by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council?

● Will they also take over South Africa's guarantees of the loans taken up by Namibia which amount to R750 million?

The South African delegation had also been authorised to object strongly to the presence of ANC bases in Angola and had presented the other delegations with a list of seven specified ANC bases or training camps.

Mr Botha said that under the 14-point peace principles agreed to by the four parties to the talks in New York last month the ANC bases were unacceptable.

Initiative seized

From London the Argus Foreign reports that South Africa's willingness to leave Namibia has been interpreted in Whitehall as a move to seize the initiative in the Geneva talks.

The scepticism stemmed from the conditions which Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, attached when announcing his offer.

He said the timetable depended on the African National Congress dismantling its seven camps in Angola and on the complete withdrawal of an estimated 45 000 Cuban troops from Angola by June 1 next year.

The peace offer has been

given wide media coverage here, some also sceptical.

The Independent's Richard Dowden said that "many observers still doubt South Africa's sincerity in saying that it will withdraw from Namibia. Several hundred white soldiers have died in the war against the guerrillas of Swapo ... and the Government has made no serious attempt to prepare its supporters for such a pullout".

He said that if the talks broke down "South Africa will be able to say it was not to blame".

The Financial Times reported that it was unlikely Cuba and Angola would accept the offer. But it did describe the offer as the "clearest and most categorical assertion of South Africa's willingness to end its control of Namibia".

The Times described Mr Botha's offer as "by far the most convincing evidence to date that Pretoria is serious about wanting a settlement in Namibia".

In Washington American officials appear to be puzzled by the timing of Mr Botha's disclosure of a ceasefire on the Angola-Namibia border.

Details of the Government's proposals and the counter proposals of the Angolan-Cuban delegation at this week's peace talks in Geneva were supposed to be kept secret — as they were during previous negotiations in London, Cairo and New York.

"We do not intend to comment publicly on each side's proposals in the continuing negotiations," a senior US official said here.

Resolution 435 ^{ARGUS 3/88} the ₂₂₁ enduring basis of peace

By BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff

RESOLUTION 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia is a straightforward document of seven points but behind it lie reams of documentation to put it into effect.

The resolution, which is one of the focal points in the current peace negotiations, will not have to be re-negotiated but changes probably will have to be made to the implementation plan.

The resolution, which was proposed by the five-nation "contact group" — the United States, Britain, West Germany, Canada and France — was adopted by the United Nations Security Council in September, 1978.

Election

It reaffirmed the UN's legal responsibility over the territory and provided for the gradual withdrawal of South African troops, the establishment of a UN Transition Force (Untag) and an internationally supervised election, followed by independence over a period of seven months.

Much of the detail that was negotiated by the Big Five with South Africa and the Frontline States was contained in an earlier document submitted by the "contact group" to the Security Council in April, 1978.

The proposals included the release of political prisoners held by both sides, the return of refugees, including Swapo members, a total ceasefire, the restriction of Swapo and South African

forces to specified base, the demobilisation of citizen forces, commandos and ethnic forces, the retention of the existing police force which would work with UN officials to maintain order, a UN civilian section to effect the elections, and the scrapping of all discriminatory legislation.

A carefully timed programme of events, including all these measures, was submitted to the Security Council with the resolution in terms of which South African forces were to be reduced to 1500 men, restricted to base, 12 weeks after implementation. A four-month election campaign was scheduled to begin after the thirteenth week.

One week after the certification of the election all bases would be closed with a complete withdrawal of South African troops and the constituent assembly would meet to instal a new government.

Withdrawal

Although the initial plan called for full implementation by the end of 1978 the first step was only taken in January 1979 when General Jannie Geldenhuys, now chief of the SADF, and first Untag military commander, General Hannes Phillip of Austria, negotiated an operational plan for implementation of troop withdrawal and the monitoring of the border area.

Then came the first major snag — the special UN representative appointed in terms of the resolution, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, rejected the military implementation plan and was supported by the then UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

On the heels of this came talks between Mr Ahtisaari,

the "contact group" and the frontline states in which new elements unacceptable to South Africa were introduced for the first time.

South Africa was put out at not having been included in the talks as well as by the mooting of Swapo bases in Namibia and the introduction of a UN police force.

This led to proximity talks with the "contact group" in an attempt to resolve the crisis.

Infiltration

South Africa's concern about armed infiltration by Swapo was raised.

Most of 1980 was devoted to meeting these concerns by establishing a cordon sanitaire, which became known as the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ) on the Angolan/Namibian border.

At this stage South Africa also firmly raised the question of the impartiality of the UN, which had recognised Swapo as the "sole and authentic representative" of the people of Namibia.

South Africa insisted on equal recognition of the internal parties. This resulted in talks in Geneva in 1981, which included the US, Angola, Swapo, South Africa and the internal parties as part of the South African delegation.

The talks broke down primarily because of what South Africa saw as the second class treatment of the internal parties.

By this stage the Reagan Administration had come to power and the linkage of a settlement to a Cuban withdrawal was introduced.

However real progress was made on the negotiating front with South Africa first ac-

cepting, and a few months later Swapo and the Frontline states accepting, a two-phase agreement for independence.

The agreement included assurances on UN impartiality and the composition and duties of the UN forces.

Everything appeared set to go with a new UN military commander, General Prem Chand of India, being appointed and the UN recruiting members of the force for Namibia.

But it fell apart on the Cuban linkage issue with the US being unable to deliver a Cuban withdrawal.

Through this fighting had continued to escalate with Swapo incursions and with South Africa launching raids into Angola against Swapo and giving more and more aid, at first covertly, to Unita.

Pullout

By 1983 South African troops were virtually permanently entrenched in southern Angola.

Meetings continued throughout this time and by February, 1984, the Lusaka agreement between South Africa and Angola was signed resulting in a staged pullout of the SADF troops under the observance of a South African/Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC).

Although all sides agree that there is no necessity to re-negotiate the basic resolution new plans for implementation will now have to be concluded.

There have been major changes in military structures and deployment and both sides need greater assurances on monitoring.

Talks go on despite row over SA plan

By Sue Leeman and Tos Wentzel

GENEVA — The latest round of Angola/Namibia peace talks entered its third and possibly final day today with both the latest South African offer and a new set of Angolan/Cuban counter-proposals on the table.

The talks were expected to forge ahead in spite of strong criticism from the Cubans and Angolans that the South African proposal was not only "unacceptable" but "preposterous and unrealistic".

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden said a "long, complicated road" lay ahead. In negotiations one side was not expected to accept proposals from the other side "as is".

However, he said the fact that the negotiating teams were still in Geneva "shows that we are still in business".

Nevertheless, at one stage yesterday it looked as if the talks could falter over South Africa's decision to go public with its plan.

While the understanding up to now has been that details would be thrashed out in confidence behind closed doors, South Africa's move led to Angola and Cuba also making statements.

So when the parties finally drifted back to the conference table late yesterday afternoon, there were a lot of new issues to be raised.

The Cubans and Angolans were clear in their denunciation of the South African plan.

For one thing, they said, the South Africans had no right to stipulate a date for a Cuban withdrawal. The South Africans want the Cubans out of Angola by June 1 next year, the date South Africa has proposed for Namibian elections.

The Cubans and Angolans also made it clear that they rejected any attempt to link Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

And Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Silva Moura indicated the Angolans were set to oppose South Africa's demand for the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola. Angola, he said, "will not betray liberation movements recognised by the international community".

Swapo representatives in Geneva to monitor the talks said they were still optimistic that new understanding could be reached in Geneva.

● See Page 10.

Cuba and Angola pour scorn on the peace plan

From RICHARD DOWDEN
in Geneva

THE US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Chester Crocker, who is chairing the peace talks here, now has the task of stretching and squeezing the two sets of proposals until there is agreement.

He had hoped that the current round of talks would achieve enough to make the next meeting a ministerial one at which documents could be signed, but it now seems unlikely that agreement can be reached before the talks end today.

Mr Crocker had no warning of South Africa's public announcement and is understood to have expressed his irritation when he met the South African delegation alone yesterday morning. "We are going to stick to the ground rules of talking at the table rather than in public and would urge others to do the same," he said.

The is follows the Cuban and Angolan statements yesterday which were dripping with rage over South Africa's proposed 10-month timetable for withdrawal from Namibia and denounced Pretoria for announcing the plan publicly.

The announcement of the South African initiative by Mr Pik Botha, on Tuesday evening as talks were ending for the day, was likened to someone at the back of the

crowd stealing the story teller's punchline.

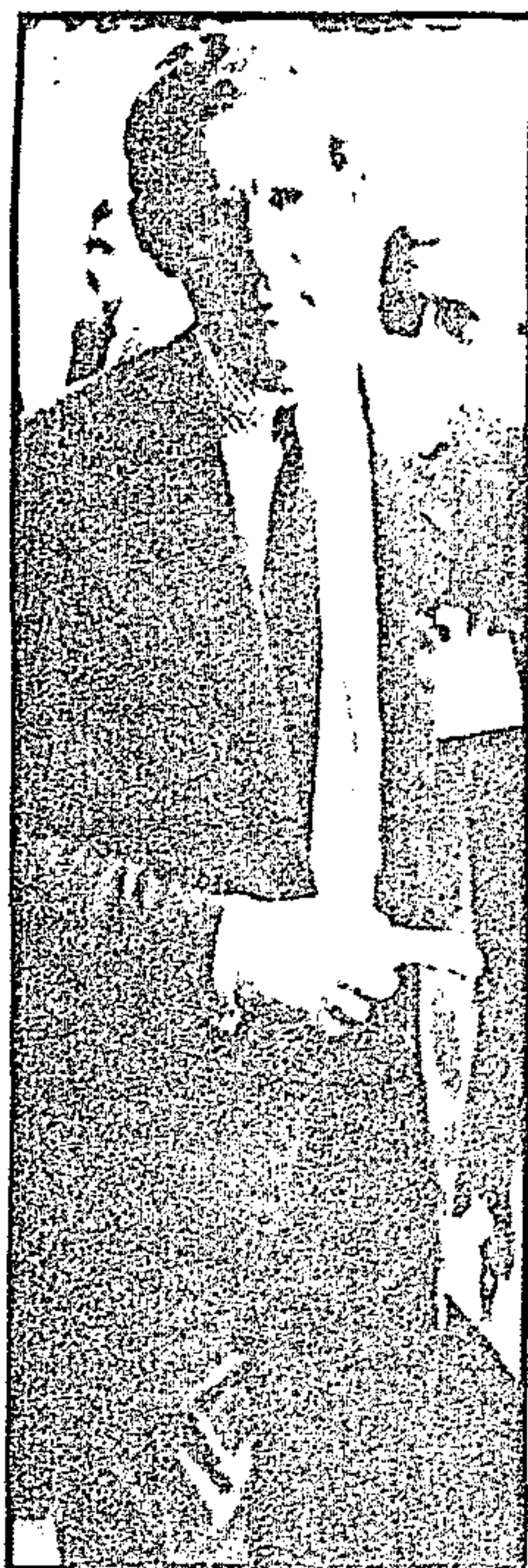
This session was supposed to put flesh on the bones on the 14 Principles for Peace which Angola, Cuba and South Africa agreed in New York and announced on 20 July. In particular, the Cubans and Angolans were expected to reduce their offer on the departure time for Cuban troops from Angola from four years to about two years.

One of the pieces still not fitted into the puzzle is Unita, the Angolan rebel movement, which stands to lose its main backer if South Africa pulls out of Namibia.

One of the points agreed in New York is that the signatories will not allow their territories to be used by groups attacking other countries and although this has not yet been spelled out, this could mean the ending of South African support for the movement.

Another factor in the Cuban withdrawal is that they will be withdrawing thousands of kilometres cross the sea whereas South Africa will only be withdrawing a few hundred kilometres by land. It will be much easier for the South Africans to return.

But doubts about South Africa's basic intention to withdraw from Namibia or even from Southern Angola grew again yesterday when a Swapo representative who is in Geneva to observe the talks said that huge South Af-



Neil van Heerden, director general for foreign affairs at the peace talks in Geneva.

rican army convoys had been seen travelling north through Namibia during the past week.— The Independent.

'Bad faith' plans rejected, but . . .

By TOS WENTZEL and SUE
LEEMAN in Geneva

BOTH the Cubans and Angolans say they are prepared to go on with the talks here, in spite of their rejection of the South African peace offer which they say was made in "bad faith."

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancia de Silva Moura said the public announcement of the package violated the principles of the negotiations, which were to keep such offers confidential.

"This shows bad faith and lack of seriousness on the part of the South Africans." He added that South Africa's attitude could disturb the climate of understanding established during earlier rounds

of talks. However, for now the talks would proceed.

In a reference to Swapo and the ANC, he said Angola "would not betray the struggle of liberation movements recognised by the international community". As part of its package, South Africa has demanded the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya also criticised the way in which the South African offer was unveiled, saying it seemed to be an attempt to upstage the talks.

However, he said Swapo was "ready for a ceasefire" and looked forward to the conclusion of this round of talks with some optimism.

In Washington American officials are saying nothing in

public about South Africa's newest proposals — but they are doing little to disguise their irritation at the timing and venue of Mr Botha's announcement.

State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley told reporters here: "In keeping with our usual practice and the ground rules of the negotiations, the US delegation will state its views at the conference table and not in the media."

Noting that the proposals were only one of many sets of proposals already tabled in the negotiations, Mrs Oakley said: "There will be more. If we are to achieve a settlement, there must be real give-and-take in negotiations leading to compromises acceptable to all parties."

SA HAD acted unilaterally in the full knowledge that its peace plan proposals would be rejected in order to stall Namibian independence, foreign affairs commentators said yesterday.

Observers questioned Pretoria's sincerity and condemned the SA proposal as a "dramatic public relations exercise and not a realistic proposal to create a basis for a settlement".

Such unilateral announcements could only damage the present round of negotiations, UCT political scientist Robert Schrire said.

Schrire viewed the revelation of the proposals by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Tuesday as totally unproductive and negative in terms of the spirit of the negotiations.

What SA put forward was a totally unrealistic time frame with obvious logistical problems, Schrire said, adding it was logistically impossible for Cuba to withdraw from Angola within a year.

SA Institute of International Affairs André du Pisani said although SA's action should not bring about a total breakdown it "clearly added a complicating factor".

Although SA was ready to accept

SA move on talks seen as obstructive

ELSABÉ WESSELS

UN resolution 435 it was not ready for the consequences of independence!

Asked what he thought of the SA proposals, Namibian Finance Minister Dirk Mudge said: "I was expecting that question for some time, but I was hoping it would come from the SA government."

It was "upsetting" to see SA cabinet ministers pronouncing on the future of Namibia without any Namibians — including Swapo — being consulted, he said.

CP foreign affairs co-spokesman Frank le Roux said the "so-called freedom plan" was nothing other than a dishonourable capitulation by government, Sapa reports.

The Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops interrupted its proceedings yesterday with a special debate on Namibia.

After a brief debate, the world's Anglican bishops voted unanimously to call on SA to withdraw from Angola and to implement resolution 435.

SA megaphone diplomacy row

GENEVA — SA's resort to megaphone diplomacy, by going public with an offer to hold UN supervised elections in Namibia by June, drew angry condemnation from Cuban and Angolan delegations in Geneva yesterday.

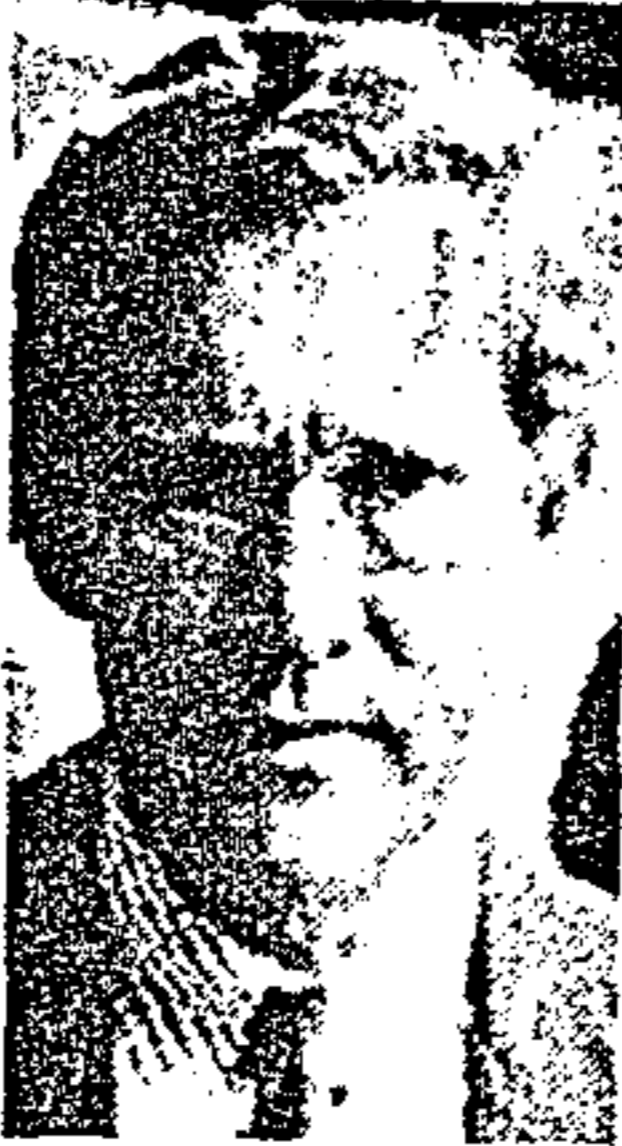
There was also implied criticism for the public disclosure of the offer, which is conditional on total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, from US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker.

He called on all parties to observe the ground rules of "talking at the table and not in public".

A Foreign Affairs spokesman in Pretoria denied SA had broken the spirit of the peace talks.

He said SA strictly adhered to the agreement not to comment on the substance of the talks but felt it had the right to make known its standpoint without referring to anything else at the talks.

"We simply made public what we stood for," he added.



● VAN HEERDEN

MIKE ROBERTSON

Crocker and an SA official confirmed Angolans and Cubans had tabled a proposal of their own.

SA delegation leader, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, earlier explained it had been decided to propose a firm date for Namibian independence in public to show the seriousness of government's political will.

The Cuban delegation accused SA of trying to mislead international opinion.

In a statement the Cubans said the SA proposal was unacceptable and that setting dates for withdrawing troops was preposterous and unrealistic.

The Cubans said they and the Angolans had not even had a chance to respond and suggested even the US delegation had been taken by surprise.

"Such a procedure, evidently pre-arranged, not only violates the principles which have governed the previous rounds in London, Cairo and New York, of always preserving the complex details of this negotiation process, but also goes against the spirit of the agreement

● To Page 2

SA's going public upsets peace talks

reached in New York by the parties in the conflict."

The statement added: "If SA's troops have achieved very little in the south of Angola, they will achieve even less with these methods at the negotiating table."

It did, however, reaffirm Angola's and Cuba's willingness to continue negotiations.

● The Swa/Namibian transitional cabinet is to hold urgent consultations with State President P W Botha in Pretoria

today on the negotiations.

Information Minister Fanuel Kozonguizi said in Windhoek last night: "The cabinet supports the effort of the parties negotiating in Geneva to achieve a formula for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia."

● See Page 3

SA plans rejected — but talks expected to forge ahead

ARCUS 4/1/88

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From TOS WENTZEL
and SUE LEEMAN

GENEVA. — The latest round of Angola/Namibia peace talks entered its third and possibly final day here today with both the latest South African offer and a new set of Angolan/Cuban counter-proposals on the table.

The talks were expected to forge ahead in spite of strong criticism from the Cubans and Angolans that the South African proposal was not only "unacceptable" but "preposterous and unrealistic".

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden said a "long, complicated road" lay ahead. Each side was not expected to accept proposals from the other side "as they stood".

However, the fact that the negotiating teams were still in Geneva "shows that we are still in business", he said.

At one stage yesterday it looked as if the talks would falter over South Africa's decision to go public with its plan.

While it was understood that details would be thrashed out in confidence behind closed doors, South Africa's move led to Angola and Cuba also making statements outside the deliberations.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected the South African plan, saying South Africa has no right to stipulate a date for a Cuban withdrawal. South Africa wants the Cubans out of Angola by June 1 next year.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected any attempt to link Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Silva Moura said Angolans opposed South Africa's demand for the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola. "Angola will not betray liberation movements recognised by the international community."

The South African plan also stipulates a ceasefire on August 10 this year and the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence on November 1.

● Further reports on page 15.

CBE TIME 4/8/88 (1221)

Anglican bishops slam Pretoria over Namibia

CANTERBURY. — Anglican leaders called on South Africa yesterday to pull out of Namibia and grant it its independence.

The 525 bishops attending the Lambeth Conference here unanimously passed an emergency resolution urging Pretoria do withdraw its troops from Angola and implement UN Resolution 435.

The conference also asked the Anglican churches in Canada, the US and Britain to put pressure on their governments.

The Bishop of Namibia, Bishop James Kauluma, welcomed the move but warned that previous peace efforts had failed.

The Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, seconded the motion, proposed by the Bishop of Stepney, England, Bishop Jim Thompson.

Archbishop Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, said he would send a message of support to the talks. — Sapa-Reuter

Peace plan is 'capitulation' by govt — CP

Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties differed sharply on the implications of the Namibia-Angola peace proposals unveiled by the South African government this week.

The Conservative Party dismissed what it labelled the "so-called freedom plan" as "nothing other than a dishonourable capitulation of the South African government".

However, the PFP was broadly supportive of the proposals, saying they appeared to reflect a new urgency and seriousness on the part of government to disengage from Angola and allow for Namibian independence.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Frank le Roux said the plan was preparing the way for Marxist rule in Windhoek as early as next year.

"With the announcement of the plan, the government has abandoned its undertaking that Resolution 435 will not be implemented before the Cubans have withdrawn from Angola.

"The CP considers the government's surrender in South West Africa as an inexorable step in the direction of black majority rule, also for South Africa."

The party's strategy with regard to Namibia would be discussed at meeting of the CP council called for August 12 in Bloemfontein.

Govt seemed serious

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said it appeared that South Africa was finally becoming serious about disengaging from Angola and independence for Namibia.

"Both of these have been overdue and we will support any moves in this direction.

"While it may be difficult to meet the timetable Mr Botha suggested, at least his proposals have a ring of urgency about them and this is to be welcomed."

Mr Eglin said a "rationalization" of the future of Namibia could be an important element both in improving South Africa's international relationships and in adding to the prospects of peace in the Southern African region.

"As far as the future of Namibia is concerned, that is something for the people of the region. But I see no reason why an independent Namibia could not only prosper but find a reasonable working relationship with its South African neighbour."

Mr Eglin said the cost factor — both in terms of money and lives — appeared to be important for all sides involved in the war. "But irrespective of the cost factor, this is the course we should be following."

SA attacked
over SWA
'peace plan'

Own Correspondent

GENEVA. — South Africa's resort to "megaphone diplomacy" by going public with an offer to hold United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia by June 1, 1989, yesterday drew angry condemnation from the Cuban and Angolan delegations.

And while South Africa came under attack for its surprise "peace schedule" yesterday, a delegation from the Namibian transitional cabinet prepared to fly to Pretoria for urgent consultations with President P.W. Botha today.

This latest development follows criticisms from the Minister of Finance in the multi-party government, Mr Dirk Mudge, who said it was "upsetting" to see South African cabinet ministers pronouncing on the future of Namibia without Namibians being consulted.

US officials had earlier joined the Angolans and Cubans in stressing that under the "ground rules" of the talks, all sides had agreed to state their views "at the conference table, not in the media".

At the time of going to press, all four parties were locked in negotiations after the South Africans had spent most of the morning with the US mediators. The Angolans and Cubans had since tabled a proposal of their own.

Perhaps anticipating the angry reaction, the South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs, earlier explained that it had been decided to propose a firm date for Namibian independence in public to show the seriousness of the government's political will.

Those in the international community who doubted the political will of the South African

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From page 1

Angola

government had argued that their reservations were confirmed by the fact that South Africa had not been willing to name a specific date for Namibian independence. It was significant that a member of the South African cabinet had now proposed a date, Mr Van Heerden said.

In implied criticism of the public disclosure of the offer, which is conditional on total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, the US Under-Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, called on all parties to observe the ground rules of "talking at the table and not in public" and said the South African proposal was "no one's last words".

A terse statement issued by State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley pointedly referred to the "ground rules" of the talks and added that the SA offer was "clearly not the position of the US".

"The South African proposal represents the position of one of the parties present in Geneva."

US administration sources said privately that President Fidel Castro was dragging his feet on the question of the timing of Cuban withdrawal and was continuing to ship new equipment into Angola.

However, officials also felt that an open challenge by SA was not the best means to a compromise.

And the Cuban delegation, whose reaction was by far the angriest, said: "Similar promises were

made and then ignored by Pretoria when it stated that independence would be offered to Namibia on December 31, 1978, or when in March 1985 it affirmed that by August 1 of that same year — after giving a seven-month lapse for the withdrawing of Cuban troops from Angola — South Africa would finally accept the will of the international community to cease its colonial domination over Namibia."

In a four-page statement the Cubans said the South African proposal was unacceptable, and the setting of compulsory dates for the withdrawing of their troops was "preposterous and unrealistic".

Reaffirming their willingness to continue the negotiation, the statement adds that Angola and Cuba "have their own proposals regarding the dates for the various measures that are to be adopted in the process of ceasing hostilities and establishing a definitive peace" but out of respect to the negotiating process they would not proclaim the date publicly.

The Angolan Deputy Minister of External Relations, Mr Venancio de Silva Moura, said that by going public the South Africans had not only violated the arrangements for the negotiations but had shown bad faith and a lack of seriousness.

Swapo's Information Secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said that if South Africa had wanted to present a bargaining position, it should not have been orchestrated in the way it had been.

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Opinion

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

ALMOST 10 years ago in October 1978, the foreign ministers of the 'Big Five' Western countries — America, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada — arrived in Pretoria to negotiate an international settlement of the Namibian dispute.

Their week-long negotiations, with the South African Government, with hordes of foreign and local journalists covering every movement and statement, resulted in an agreement, which it was confidently stated at the time would result in elections and an independent Namibia.

The then Secretary-General of the UN, Dr Kurt Waldheim, even hoped that UN troops would be in Namibia by January 15 the following year.

Significance

Those tough negotiations in Pretoria were based on UN Security Council Resolution 435, passed at its 208th meeting on September 29, 1978.

That resolution, accepted in principle by all parties, including the South African Government and the South West African Peoples Organization (Swapo) has been the foundation of the protracted negotiations in different parts of the world for settlement of the Namibian dispute.

Indeed, the significance of its unanimous adoption by 14 members of the Security Council — there were two abstentions, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia — was underlined earlier this year when President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev named September 29 this year as the date on which they hoped the latest peace initiative

would be implemented but while various plans were discussed and modified over the last decade the seven points of Resolution 435 have been largely forgotten.

Reiterated

In it, the Security Council approved a report by Dr Waldheim "for the implementation of the proposal for a settlement of the Namibian situation" and his explanatory statement.

It reiterated that "its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration of Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations".

The council decided to establish under its authority a UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in accordance with Dr Waldheim's report for a period of up to a year to help his Special Representative carry out the mandate conferred on him "to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations".

Declared

The resolution welcomed Swapo's "preparedness to co-operate in the implementation of the Secretary-General's report, including its expressed readiness to

sign and observe the ceasefire provisions" and it called on South Africa "forthwith to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution".

It also declared that "all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, or contravention of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and this resolution are null and void".

The resolution also requested the Secretary-General "to report to the Security Council no later than October 23, 1978 on the implementation of this resolution".

Refined

Shortly before that deadline and after the Pretoria summit, the South African Government and the Western Five issued a joint statement in which both sides agreed to go ahead with United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia.

As a result, UN Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari resumed his discussions with Pretoria and went to Namibia in an attempt to implement the settlement proposals. He didn't succeed and neither did talks be-

tween Angola and South Africa at Cape Verde and full-scale United Nations discussions at Geneva at the end of 1981.

By July 1982 the implementation of the peace plan had been refined and the Western Five issued a joint communiqué outlining the principles of settlement — and these still form the basis of the plan for an independent Namibia.

The communiqué said that, in terms of Resolution 435, "elections will be held to select a constituent assembly which will adopt a constitution for an independent Namibia. The constitution will determine the organization and powers of all levels of government. Every adult Namibian will be eligible, without discrimination or fear of intimidation from any source, to vote, campaign and stand for election to the constituent assembly.

"Voting will be by secret ballot, with provisions made for those who cannot read or write."

Adopted

Full freedom of speech, assembly, movement and Press would be guaranteed.

"The electoral system will seek to ensure fair representation in the constituent assembly to different political parties which gain substan-

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



Dist. OMBU
S/RES/435 (1978)
30 September 1978

RESOLUTION 435 (1978)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 208th meeting on 29 September 1978

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 385 (1976) and 431 (1978), and 432 (1978),

Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 2 of resolution 431 (1978) (S/12827) and his explanatory statement made in the Security Council on 29 September 1978 (S/12869),

Taking note of the relevant communications from the Government of South Africa addressed to the Security Council,

tial support in the election.

The elected assembly would formulate the constitution for an independent Namibia. The constitution as a whole would be adopted by a two-thirds majority of the assembly's total membership.

"Namibia will be a unitary, sovereign and democratic state.

"The constitution will be the supreme law of the state. It may be amended only by a designated process involving the legislature and/or votes cast in a popular referendum."

'Due process'

There would be three branches of government: an elected executive responsible to the legislative branch, a legislative branch to be elected by universal and equal suffrage and an independent judiciary.

"There will be a declaration of fundamental rights, which will include the rights to life, personal liberty and freedom of movement, to freedom of conscience, to freedom of expression, including freedom of speech and a free Press, to freedom of assembly and association,

including political parties and trade unions, to due process and equality before the law, to protection from arbitrary deprivation of private property or deprivation of private property without just compensation, and to freedom from racial, ethnic, religious or sexual discrimination.

"The declaration of rights will be consistent with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Aggrieved individuals will be entitled to have the courts adjudicate and enforce these rights."

Criminal offences with retrospective effect or

the provision of increased penalties with retrospective effect would be forbidden. Provision would also be made to establish elected councils for local and/or regional administrations, the

communicé ended. Yet, despite all the negotiations and agreements, these efforts have not resulted in a free, independent and internationally recognized Namibia.

Many of those involved, beginning with Dr Henry Kissinger, then US Secretary of State, in 1978 through to his successor, Mr Cyrus Vance, and the then British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, are no longer involved.

However, Resolution 435 and the subsequent negotiations remain the basis for an internationally recognized settlement of the Namibian dispute.

The first page of UN Security Council Resolution 435 which was passed on September 30 1978 and has been the basis for negotiations on an independent Namibia ever since.

FOR white South Africans who managed to see it *Cry Freedom* was not a film, it was an emotional experience and the feelings it evoked were a painful compound of shame, anger and dread. Now that it has ceased to be a film and become an issue, the effect is the same.

The shame arises from the knowledge that whatever Richard Attenborough has done to and with the facts, they are indisputable and indefensible, the anger comes from both the way the truth is used and the treatment accorded the result and the dread stems, in part, from the events that inspired the film, the measures taken against it and the repercussions of both.

While it is true that South Africa gave Attenborough the ammunition he needed, it is equally true he used it mercilessly, sometimes even maliciously and mischievously, to make a strong case overwhelming.

Take, for example, some of the early scenes: the rain on Crossroads is depicted "live" yet it stops frequently to present a frozen tableau from which colour is bled. The black-and-white result establishes the authenticity and immediacy of a newspaper photograph.

'Freedom' has evoked a painful compound of feelings

deeds that suit his purpose, made even his Gandhi a lopsided iconography that ignored the Mahatma's flaws and errors of judgment.

Attenborough has since further refined the technique of glorification by selective omission that ignored, for example, the possibility that Gandhi's refusal to fight Hitler opened the way for the Muslims, who took a more pragmatic view, being granted their own separate state by the grateful British whose plan to partition India so displeased the Mahatma.

SA proposals may be bogged down, says A-G

Namibia to press on with second-tier election plans

Political Staff

The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, said yesterday he intended to go ahead with arrangements for second-tier internal elections in the country — if possible by December this year — in spite of South Africa's proposal to begin implementing UN Resolution 435 by November 1.

Mr Pienaar said it was possible the SA proposal would not be accepted by the other side — as seemed the case — or the time scale for implementing UN-supervised elections could be lengthened in negotiations.

In the meantime it would be a good thing to hold elections in the country to help the local parties build up their political and democratic muscle.

He was speaking at the Union Buildings in Pretoria where he

attended a meeting between President Botha and members of the Namibian transitional government to explain the South African plan to them.

The plan sets June 1 as the deadline for UN-supervised elections in Namibia and complete withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Pienaar said he had made good progress recently in his attempts to persuade the internal parties in the transitional government to participate in second-tier elections and to bring them together.

At the moment they lacked the cohesion to be a viable opposition to the "non-democratic" force of Swapo.

But the DTA-Swanu-Swapo D group led by Mr Dirk Mudge on the one side and the opposing National Party-Baster group on the other side had each submit-

ted a constitutional proposal to him recently.

Not far apart

The two models were not far apart, he said.

Both contained protection for minorities — something he was striving for — though they did it in different ways and there was greater protection in the NP-Baster model.

He said the chief difference was the way the Mudge group wanted general affairs to be handled at central level whereas the other group wanted it done at second-tier regional level.

Mr Pienaar said he had made good progress because the DTA-Swanu-Swapo D group had come a long way towards accepting the principle of minority protection.

This was something that was

completely absent from the Hiemstra Commission proposals which they had originally endorsed.

Mr Pienaar said that it was true UN Resolution 435 contained no protection for minorities and would therefore be a setback to the progress he had made in the territory.

If it was accepted and implemented over the next few months then his plans for internal second-tier elections would have to be aborted.

But if the plans for implementation of Resolution 435 fell through and the deadline was pushed back, as seemed likely as the Cubans and Angolans seemed to have rejected the South African proposals, then it would be worthwhile to go ahead with the internal elections.

Security forces base bombarded

WINDHOEK — A security forces base in northern Namibia was bombarded from Angolan soil early on Monday morning, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek yesterday.

In the hour-long shelling of the base at Okalongo about 8 km from the border with Angola at 1.30 am, 122-mm rockets and D30 cannon were used, the

SWATF said in a statement.

Between 70 and 90 bombs and rockets were fired at the base and the bombardment stopped after the security forces had taken counter-action.

The SWATF statement said minor damage was caused to equipment but made no mention of casualties. — Sapa.

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Star
28/88

SA army base bombarde**d**

Defence Correspondent

A SOUTH AFRICAN army base was bombarded for an hour yesterday from Angolan soil, according to the SWA Territory Force. The base at Okalongo is 8km from the border.

The base came under fire from shells of between 70 and 90mm, rockets from 122mm Red-eye launchers and D-30 122mm artillery pieces, in spite of reports earlier this week of an informal ceasefire in the operational area.

Last night the South African forces remained on alert.

According to a high-placed Defence Force source, the military would be careful not to take "an aggressive or provocative attitude".

The bombardment stopped after security forces "had taken counter-action", the report said. Minor damage was caused.

CAT 1046 5/8/88

Namibia will be consulted' — Botha

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Namibian transitional government leaders will be closely consulted if an agreement is reached on Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435, a State President's office statement said yesterday.

The statement was issued following an urgent meeting between President P W Botha, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and four Namibian cabinet ministers in Pretoria.

The statement said the delegation received first-hand information on the negotiations in Geneva as

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well as the background to the South African proposal made public on Tuesday.

The transitional government had not been informed of the proposals before Mr Pik Botha's announcement, Namibian sources claimed earlier this week.

The delegation was, however, told that no agreement had been reached.

The Namibian delegation consisted of cabinet chairman and Minister of Finance and Government Affairs, Mr Dirk Mudge, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Andreas Shipanga, the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr Moses Katjuongua, and the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Mr Kosie Pretorius.

Meanwhile, our correspondent in Geneva reports that the Angolan peace talks yesterday appeared to be inching towards agreement on some issues, including a possible ceasefire, with all parties pronouncing themselves satisfied.

Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with US mediator Dr Chester Crocker, yesterday extended their latest round of peace talks by another day, giving assurances that everything was "on track".

The Angolan delegation leader, General Francisco dos Santos Ndalu, chief of the armed forces, said good progress had been made as the delegations, which had split into specialist groups, spent the morning and early afternoon discussing various proposals. These included the wide-ranging South African plan to hold elections in Namibia next year if all Cuban troops are withdrawn, as well as a joint Cuban-Angolan counter-proposal.

Both General Ndalu and the South African delegation leader, Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, said there was a strong likelihood the talks would be put off until today.

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CP demands TV time to hit back at Botha

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party yesterday demanded that SABC-TV give it the same amount of time as that allocated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, for his attack of the CP's statement on Namibia's future.

The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in a statement the party took exception to the fact that Mr Botha had been given "minute after minute to attack the party without any CP spokesman being given the opportunity to reply.

"This once again proves the fact that the SABC is being used for National Party propaganda," he said. "In the name of fairness and reasonableness, the CP now demands the same amount of time to answer to Mr Botha's attacks and twisted pronouncements about the CP's statement."

Dr Hartzenberg also said Mr Botha should explain why his government made it possible for a "communist terrorist" government to rule in Windhoek next year, and denied Mr Botha's allegation that he and Dr Andries Treurnicht had accepted Resolution 435 when they were members of the cabinet.

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Namibian rich put their homes on sale

BY JIM FREEMAN

UNCERTAINTY over Namibia's political future is threatening to send property prices plummeting, with people in the higher income bracket apparently putting their houses on the market to turn their assets into cash.

One Windhoek estate agent, Mrs Delana Wentzel, said she had been given about 40 luxury houses to sell in the week following the South African acceptance of a set of principles geared to peace in Angola and independence in Namibia. This trend was continuing, she added.

She said the market flood was in sharp contrast to several months ago, when growing confidence in Namibia's future led to a shortage in higher-priced homes.

Mrs Wentzel said the fears of the rich were beginning to trickle through to people in the middle-income bracket, who were

putting more and more of their houses on the market as well.

The "vote of no confidence" in the country was expected to accelerate, she said.

The president of the Namibian Chamber of Commerce, Mr Dick Hattingh, likened the situation to the late 1970s, when South Africa accepted the United Nations independence plan for Namibia. Individuals fearing a "revolutionary" government for the territory deserted Namibia in droves, while businessmen wary of impending nationalization cashed in on their investments.

Mr Hattingh said it had taken Namibia nearly 10 years to recov-

er from the economic blow. Now that it was almost back on its feet economically, the territory was suffering a similar affliction.

However, political observers in Windhoek say the Namibian public is reacting cautiously to the news that independence is looming on the horizon.

They say that Namibians, who have been subjected to any number of independence "scares" over the past decade, are generally sceptical that "this time it's for real".

Considerable confusion reigns in the territory following Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's November 1 deadline for implementing the UN plan.

Runcie hints at

Namibian security base bombarDED from Angola

WINDHOEK — A security force base in northern Namibia was bombarded from Angola early on Monday morning, the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said in Windhoek yesterday.

The bombardment took place at Okalongo, which a SWATF spokesman said was about 8km south of the border in the centre of Ovamboland. *S/18*

It was the second bombardment of Namibian territory from across the border in less than a week. *B/10a*

Last Wednesday the SWATF were involved in a skirmish at Oshikango shortly after a mortar attack on a base inside Namibia. — Sapa. *(24)*

Ploy or peace bid

JOHANNESBURG.- South Africa's bold peace plan has been received with mixed feelings.

Wits lecturer and political commentator Mark Swilling was very cautious.

"I can't decide whether this is a bluff or not, may be they are going to pull out the South African troops," he said.

"It sounds very sincere. Given the South African government's commitment to regional intervention to protect its borders it is extremely difficult to believe that it will not only withdraw from Angola but also withdraw from

Namibia.

"This may mean that this is all part of an elaborate plan to moderate world opinion and that in the end South Africa would do what it did in the past, namely stall, procrastinate and be obstructive.

However, Swilling said that at the same time South Africa was under extreme military and diplomatic pressure, namely "confront the Cuban army or withdraw are the South African government's choices. At this stage the latter is less costly".

The evidence suggested that when it came to the Cubans the South Africans were "outmanoeuvred in the air and on the ground they are on the defensive". Also, there were rumours of declining morale among some South African troops.

Swilling said the African National Congress bases or camps in Angola were not affected by the agreement. Both Cuba and Angola had resisted the inclusion of the ANC as part of the peace settlement.

6/8/88 *Star*
Namibia: govt puts lid on unrest

WINDHOEK — Namibia's Transitional Government has decided to get tough with the latest wave of schools unrest which has seen school classrooms torched around the country and widespread school boycotts.

The chairman of the Cabinet in the administration, Mr Dirk Mudge, announced this week that policemen had been post-

BRENDAN SEERY
ed outside all schools belonging to the Department of National Education in an effort to stem the flow of arson attacks on government property.

Mr Mudge also announced that a tough new law, giving the authorities power to clamp down on those they consider as instigators in the unrest, comes into force on

Thursday. *(22)*
Mr Mudge said the law, which is an amendment to the existing education law, provides for stiff penalties for those found guilty of inciting people to boycott classes.

The unrest began earlier this year when pupils in the war zone of Owambo began protesting at the presence of security forces bases near their schools.

SA to move out while Swapo and Cubans leave a de-militarised zone

Angola ceasefire agreed

(221) Star 6/8/88

**PPP
chief
plans
to go on
pension**

DAVID BRAUN
Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Newly elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party Dr Zac de Beer is to retire completely from his business career at the end of this month.

"I will be a pensioner from September 1," Dr de Beer told his first press conference after



DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A provisional agreement has been reached on a ceasefire between South African and Angolan/Cuban forces.

The agreement was clinched at the Geneva peace talks, but has to be ratified by the respective governments.

Cuban and Swapo forces are to withdraw to more than 100 km north of the international border between Angola and Namibia, and South African forces are to leave Angola.

Hostilities between the two sides are likely to cease from August 10, the date proposed by South Africa in a peace initiative presented at the Geneva talks this week.

There were indications last night that progress had also been made with regard to a tentative date for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

It is not yet clear what progress has been made on the timing of the Cuban troops' withdrawal from Angola.

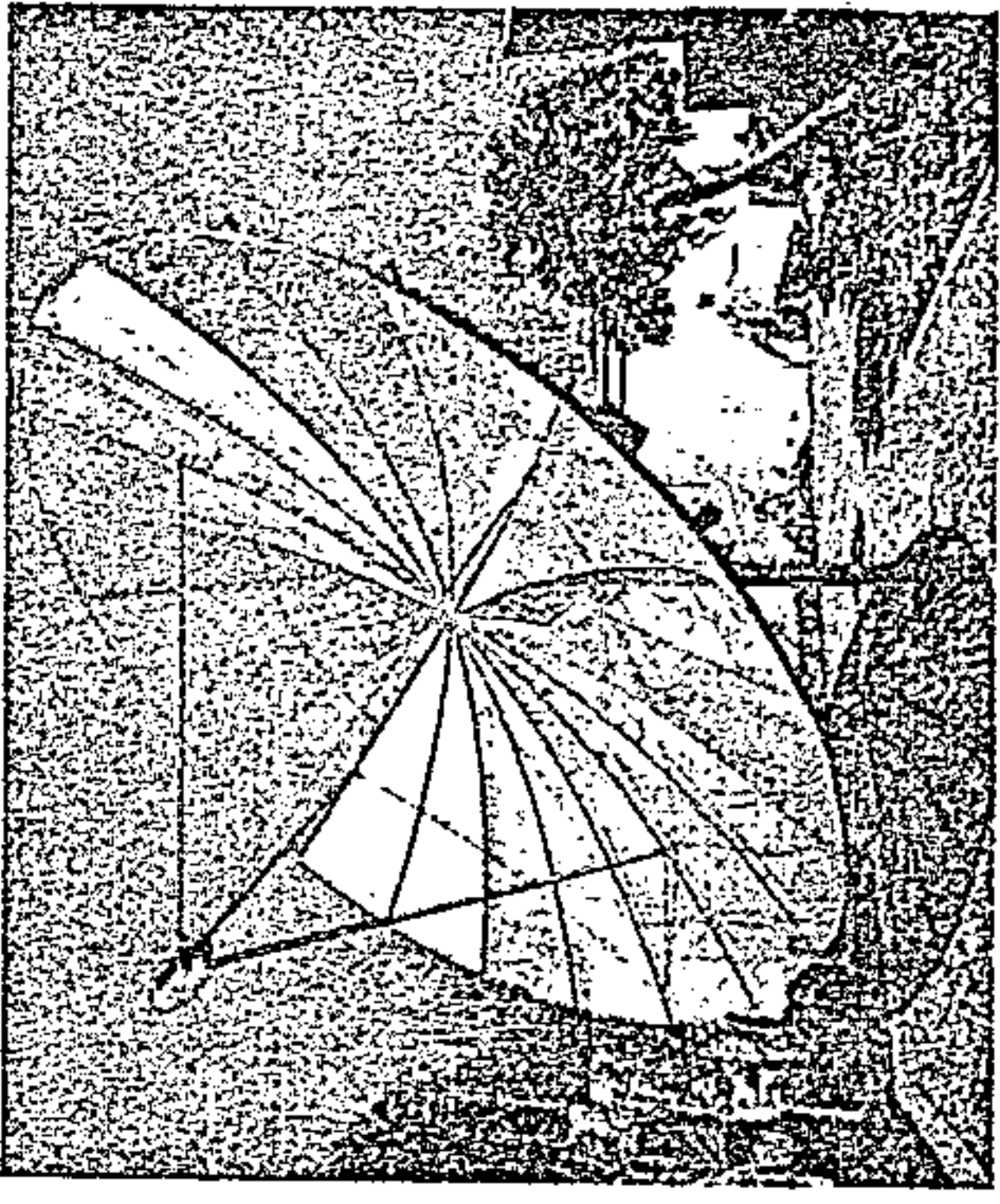
Diplomats were last night jubilant about the breakthrough, which came after talks between four governments (the United States has been chairing the negotiations) over the past three months.

A fifth power in the wings has been the Soviet Union, which has intervened at least twice to influence Cuba and Angola.

There were indications that Moscow had again used its muscle yesterday in Geneva when Cuba, at the last minute, attempted to make impossible demands with regard to fallback lines.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night issued a bland statement on the latest developments.

He said: "The delegations in Geneva reached agreement on steps



The new eavesdroppers

LOOMING film and TV boy-cotts could be offset by the interest and most exciting breakthrough in South African entertainment — eavesdropping. These are to be found tucked behind blind walls and trees in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, providing their owners with a ne-

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South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night issued a bland statement on the latest developments.

He said: "The delegations in Geneva reached agreement on steps considered necessary to further the search for peace in southern Africa. The South African delegation, which is returning to South Africa to report fully to the South African Government, will relay its decision within four days to the other governments after consultations with the leaders in South West Africa.

"The Administrator General in Windhoek (Mr Louis Pienaar) has been requested to arrange for the leaders in SWA to meet President Botha in Pretoria on Monday."

In a TV interview last night Mr Botha declined to comment on whether or not a ceasefire had been agreed to, saying that any further comments would violate an agreement between the parties.

The negotiations have taken place in London, Zaire, Cairo, New York, Cape Verde and, this week, Geneva.

The next round, at a venue still to be disclosed, is likely to be at ministerial level.

In terms of the South African proposal handed in at the Geneva round earlier this week, a ceasefire would be agreed to from August 10.

South Africa would withdraw its forces between August 20 and September 1.

Resolution 435 would be implemented from November 1, with elections in Namibia being held on June 1 1989.

By that time, according to the South African proposal, Cuba would have withdrawn all its forces from Angola.

Sources last night indicated it was now up to Cuba and Angola to agree to the timescale of the withdrawal of Cuban forces, but that this would have to be approved by South Africa.

● The Saturday Star Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that two Frontline leaders have come out in support of the peace negotiations.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said his country would automatically support Angola on every stand it took in settling regional problems.

He was speaking after meeting Angola's Transport Minister Carlos Fernandes, who handed him a message from Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

President Kaunda said Angola had been defending Africa's honour and had shouldered a heavy load on behalf of Africa.

In Maputo President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique also expressed his support for the negotiations. Speaking in Maputo during a dinner in honour of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, Mr Chissano said the negotiations offered a tenuous hope, reported the Mozambique news agency AIM.

Mr Chissano had praised Angola's efforts, courage and determination at the talks, AIM said.

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UN workers in Angola hit at Swapo's human rights record

5878 Star (221)

PARIS — Fear is rampant among 40 000 Namibian refugees at a Swapo-run camp in Angola, the French daily *Liberation* reported yesterday.

For, they say, Swapo officials "are far from respecting human rights".

United Nations and Scandinavian aides at the unnamed camp 350 km from Luanda admitted privately that they faced a "real problem" of oppression.

One young Swedish health assistant said bitterly:

"I spend half my time aiding Swapo, and the other half in helping people in this camp fleeing from them."

He said Swapo seized many children against their parents' wishes to train them as insurgents.

Liberation is in the forefront of all campaigns against South Africa, so there is no

JAMES TOMLINS

question of bias against Swapo. The newspaper sent special correspondent Jackson Phillips to Angola.

He wrote that the best known case of Swapo's breach of human rights centred around 100 prisoners described by Swapo Secretary-General Toivo

Ya Toivo as spies or prisoners of war.

The correspondent commented: "The fact is that Swapo has never given their names, and the Red Cross has never been allowed to visit any of them, although they have been held for nearly three years."

"If Swapo has every chance, as most people

believe, of winning elections in Namibia, then it must lift all doubts over its democratic intentions.

"For an independent Namibia will serve, for better or worse, as an example to South Africa."

Many refugees live in prefabricated houses provided free by Sweden, which funds the Namibian Education and Health Centre.

Talks: Govts agree on peace steps

Cape Times
6/8/88

221

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — The talks aimed at ending the Angolan war and bringing independence to Namibia ended yesterday with the four delegations saying they had agreed on "a sequence of steps to achieve peace".

Officials were silent on what the steps were, but the likelihood is that a ceasefire agreement is included.

The agreements will be put to the South African, Angolan and Cuban governments for approval before a joint statement is issued in the respective capitals on Monday.

South African officials had expected the talks to end at midday yesterday, but instead they continued into the early evening, forcing the delegates to reschedule their flights home. A press conference by US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker was cancelled.

Dr Crocker yesterday said the ceasefire question would be spelt out in the press communique. "We have to go in and negotiate on the communique."

He added that there was a

good chance of reaching an agreement.

After Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was accused of breaching the ground rules of the conference by going public in Pretoria with the South Africa proposal for Namibian independence next June earlier in the week, the SA delegation in particular refused to disclose details.

All the South African delegation leader, the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, would say was: "It was an interesting and quite exhausting round, but the time was well spent."

The SA delegation will meet the State Security Council on Monday, when a decision will be taken to accept or reject the agreed steps.

The next round of talks will take place during the week of August 22, but the venue has not been decided.

However, it could be significant that the Senegalese Ambassador to Switzerland yesterday paid a visit to the venue at which the talks were taking place.

Is freedom on the cards for Namibia?

(221) CP Press 7/8/88

CP Correspondent

IS the long-awaited independence of trouble-plagued Namibia less than a year away?

This is the question many people were asking as the four-nation peace talks in Geneva got underway this week. And South Africa - accused by Angola and Cuba of the premature release of details of its proposals, which "broke the spirit" of the talks - was full of hope that the course of action it proposed was the right one.

On Tuesday night, at a news conference in Pretoria, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha revealed to a large group of local and foreign journalists what South Africa's

Peace talks in jeopardy as SA proposals rejected

proposals were for peace in Angola and Namibia - proposals that included a ceasefire and total independence for both countries.

The wide-ranging proposals surprised many. But failed to impress some of South Africa's international critics - largely because of what has been said to be South Africa's insincere initiative towards authentic peace plans for the Angolan/Namibian region.

At the news conference, Botha did not speculate on how his government's proposals would be met by the other parties in Geneva, where talks involving South Africa, the US, Angola and Cuba resumed on Monday after two other sessions of dialogue in Cairo, Egypt and New York recently.

Botha said the South African delegation to Geneva had set down August 10 as the date for an effective ceasefire and a halt to all enmity between the factions involved in Angola and Namibia.

The implication of this was that not only should acts of hostility by all the factions concerned cease by this date, but the day would also see the first stages of the withdrawal, restriction and re-deployment of all the armed forces.

Botha added that by September 1 the South African Defence Force would have totally withdrawn from Angola.

A further assurance from his government was

that this would be done even before the Cuban army pulled out of Angola.

Concerning the implementation of UN Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia, Botha pointed out that the South African delegation would propose that seven months be allowed from the time of implementation to the time for elections in Namibia.

Of those seven months, he indicated, three would be set aside for the UN to deploy its forces and the remaining four months for election campaigns.

By next February 1, he said the SADF would have almost completely withdrawn from Namibia. Of the troops there, South Africa wanted 1 500 to remain at two bases in the south.

South Africa would propose in Geneva that by June 1, 1989, all Cuban troops in Angola would be withdrawn, and elections should be held in Namibia on that day.

However, the June 1 ultimatum for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola has been observed by political analysts to be a very contentious issue.

They argue that although the Cubans are ready to cut their four-year retraction plan to two years, they and their Angolan hosts are unlikely to entertain South Africa's contemplated time limit.

On the other hand, the deadline proposed by South Africa has been

seen by Swapo to be an intermediate way for South Africa between the conflicting courses of Pretoria and the liberation movement.

A Swapo spokesman reportedly pointed out that South Africa's insistence for the past six years or so had been that Cuba should withdraw its troops from Angola before Resolution 435 could be put into effect.

While, as Botha mentioned, the South African delegation in Geneva has tackled the issue of how the astronomical cost - quoted to be about R1,5-billion - of seeing Resolution 435 to its end would be satisfied, other conditions that have to be fulfilled are of immense interest to South Africans.

Before free and fair elections can be held for the constituent assembly in Namibia, several laws will have to be scrapped from the statute books.

These are presently either discriminatory or restrictive.

Also, political prisoners and detainees will have to be set free and political exiles allowed to return to Namibia.

Once a constitution has been drawn up and approved by the elected assembly, Namibia would be declared fully independent.

As things presently stand, however, it would appear that alleged ANC bases in Angola are a burning issue for South Africa.

According to Botha, the

South African delegation at the peace talks expressed the South African government's vehement opposition to seven places from where ANC operations are directed and from where, as he put it, "terrorists are trained to commit violence".

The bases were said to be:

● The Viana transit base - with accommodation for 300 people - indicated to be 11km from Luanda.

● The Caculama base - established seven years ago and said to be 50km north of the town of Caculama.

● Quibake - said to be in existence for a decade about 10km from the town of Quibaxe and also known as Camp 13.

● The Pango training centre, also known as Camp David Rabkin.

● The Melanie Training centre.

● Quatro - said to be set up as long as 16 years ago - where people are reportedly "rehabilitated".

● The Quela farm in north-eastern Angola.

South Africa's mention of the alleged ANC camps sparked sharp critical reaction and a statement from ANC president Oliver Tambo. But the content of his statement cannot be published in South Africa.

With South Africa allegedly having "broken the spirit" of the peace talks by its manoeuvre of divulging its proposals, observers are now asking whether the peace talks in Geneva are in jeopardy.

This should not be overlooked, particularly since Cuba on Wednesday said South Africa's proposals, as enunciated by Botha, were being made at the same time as they were being rejected in Geneva.

B/D Aug 8/88 (822)

SA ceasefire decision expected today

THE SA government's announcement on a proposed ceasefire agreement in Angola and Namibia can be expected today, Pretoria's chief negotiator in the peace talks, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

At the same time an informal ceasefire is already in place and announcements by the Cuban and Angolan governments on the ceasefire could come by tomorrow.

Van Heerden confirmed informal ar-

ROGER SMITH

rangements for the cessation of hostilities were already in operation and this meant troops have been avoiding confrontation on the battlefield.

Van Heerden said he had discussions with Cabinet Ministers on the ceasefire proposals and the whole Angolan/Namibian situation yesterday.

He would not confirm, however, that it would be a State Security Council meeting today which would decide on

the proposals. He said the announcement would come from government.

Van Heerden would also not say how optimistic conditions were for approval of the ceasefire proposals, or what steps might be taken on wider issues such as the involvement of Unita and the Namibian transitional government.

"I report to government and it is up to government to decide," he said.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from

● To Page 2 →

SA ceasefire decision expected today

London that when the announcement is made on a ceasefire agreement, it can be expected to include a date for the cessation of hostilities. The SA delegation has suggested August 14.

However, a ceasefire would only be the beginning, as the delegations are still a long way off from an accord.

It is likely that the next meeting in the week of August 22, at a venue still to be chosen, will be at an official rather than ministerial level.

Troops have been avoiding a confrontation on the battlefield, but if formalised, this will definitely signify that the peace process is on track.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected a seven-month timetable for the total withdrawal of Cuban troops. The Angolans have added that they will not abdicate their support for Swapo and the ANC.

However there were indications in Geneva that the joint Cuban/Angolan delegations were prepared to reduce their four-year timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal to two years. That still

From Page 1
B/D Aug 8/88 (822)

leaves a 17-month difference but it bears out Van Heerden's observation that there has been some narrowing of ground.

As to the issue of support for what they term "liberation movements", there are indications that the Angolans are not as inflexible as their public pronouncements would have them appear. There are degrees of support and, particularly with regard to the ANC, the possibility exists of negotiating a compromise with the South Africans.

Swapo officials were in the vicinity of the talks and on at least one occasion were seen having intensive discussions with US Undersecretary of State, Chester Crocker.

Van Heerden also said that at Geneva the delegations had come gradually closer to grappling with the crucial issues. Whether this means that the question of Unita has finally arisen is not known.

PW to brief Namibian leaders on talks

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NAMIBIAN political leaders will be briefed in Pretoria today by President Botha on plans which could lead to independence.

The briefing will follow a meeting of the State Security Council where proposals from last week's Geneva conference will be considered.

South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US are expected to release details of the peace proposals for south-western Africa later today.

A formal ceasefire agreement is expected to be the first Geneva conference proposal to be implemented, according to Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who led the South African delegation.

COMPROMISES

He said there were a large number of results of the talks on which the government would have to decide. The discussions had been very productive and positive.

South Africa has suggested Wednesday for the start of a formal ceasefire.

Mr van Heerden also said there had to be compromises in Geneva after South African proposals were met with Angolan and Cuban counter-proposals.

It seems unlikely that the South African timetable, which includes provisions for a Cuban withdrawal by June 1989, has been completely accepted.

At one stage the Cubans were talking about withdrawal over four years but they are now thought to be willing to cut this to two years.

'Freedom' comes at a very high price

Independence for Namibia is going to be expensive, says ANTHONY ROBINSON, who reports after a visit to the area that peace will bring formidable cash problems to the already-strained economy.

LONDON — The 13-year civil war in Angola and the lengthy guerilla war that has been waged against South Africa inside Namibia by Swapo have been hugely expensive for all involved.

But bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is not going to be cheap either. This is the unpalatable message in the little-noticed economic and financial section of the peace plan put on the negotiating table by South Africa — and immediately rejected — at the recent Geneva peace talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

To counter the widespread belief that South Africa has ruthlessly exploited the resources of Namibia, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pk Botha claimed that Pretoria had subsidised the Namibian Budget by R4 500 million since 1966 — half of that over the past four years.

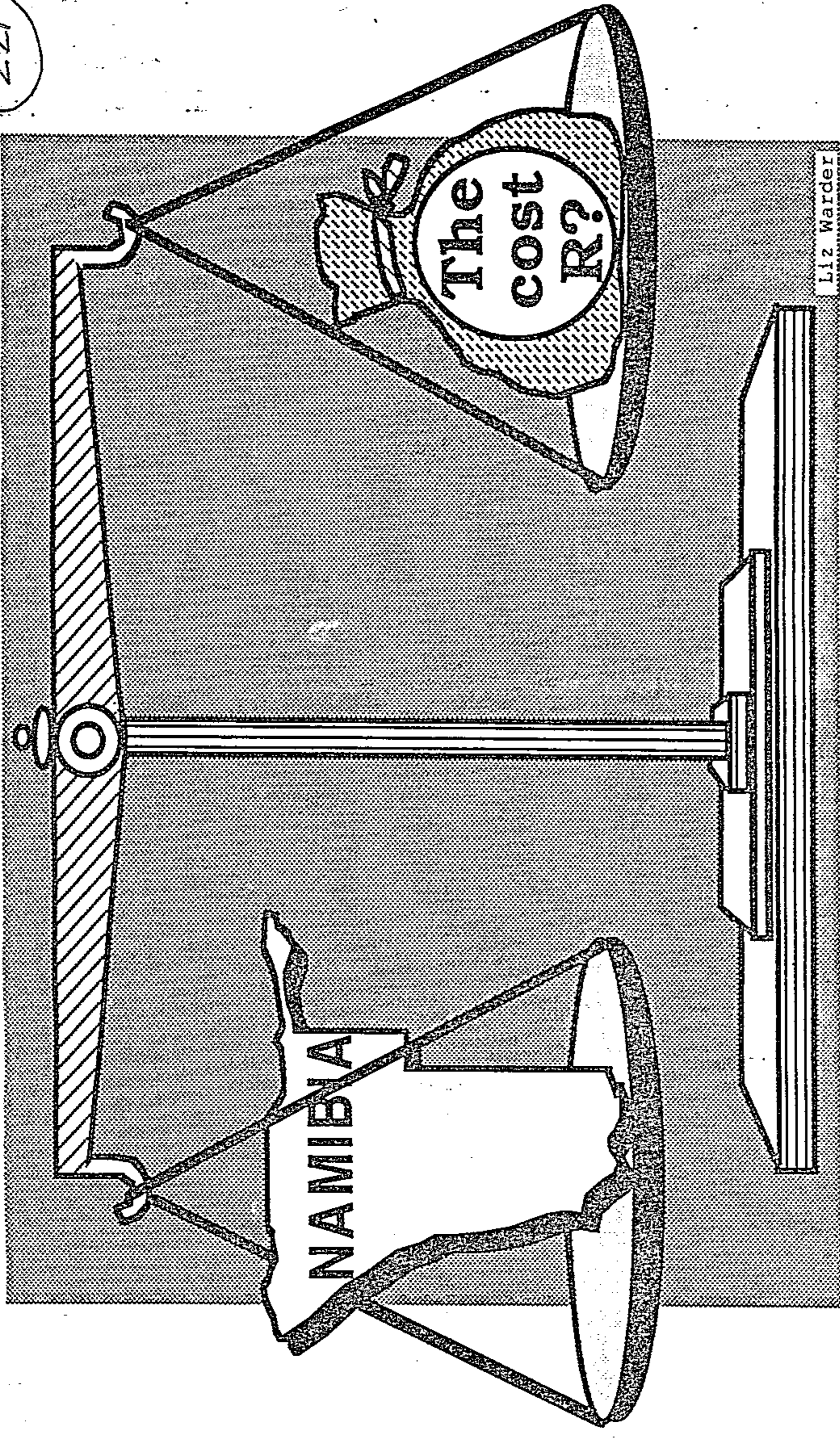
Whose tab?

Who, he asked, is going to pick up that tab in future? His question was directed at the permanent members of the Security Council, who will guarantee any eventual settlement. South Africa also acts as guarantor for R750 million of Namibia's bank debt. Who, he wanted to know, will guarantee that after independence?

The proposed South African timetable sets November 1 as the starting point for the seven-month implementation process under Resolution 435. This will give the UN a mere three months to raise, train and dispatch a 7 500-strong task force to monitor elections.

In 1978, when Resolution 435 was passed, the estimated cost of independence for Namibia was about R950 million. This year the already financially hard-pressed world body would be lucky to get away with a bill of less than R2 500 million. It could be a big test of the UN's commitment.

Rumours of peace have re-



Liz Warder

By SAM SOLE
If Cuba wanted to, it could withdraw its troops from Angola "in weeks".

A leading military analyst says it is logistically possible for Cuba to withdraw all its estimated 50 000 troops in Angola by the middle of next year.

But the withdrawal of equipment could be much slower and present difficulties.

Mr Heimoed Heitman, a correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, says the greatest difficulty for the Cubans would be the effective transfer of responsibilities to Angola's Fapla forces.

"There is no problem with the 'bodies' themselves — 50 000 soldiers fit into a relatively small number of ships and aircraft," he said.

"We would be talking of a matter of weeks rather than months."

Taking equipment was another matter. "There is the matter of the bad roads, many mined by Unita, and poor communications. So, getting the stuff to the ports could be a problem."

Mr Heitman said the biggest headache would be the effective handing over to Fapla.

"It is the Cubans who have been keeping Unita out of large parts of Angola. Fapla is simply not equipped to take over that role effectively, and it will require a crash programme of Cuban training not to leave a very big hole when they leave."

On the question of where the Cubans might go, Mr Heitman said it was "not impossible" that they might be redeployed in Mozambique.

"They might also be sent to Ethiopia — but it is likely that most of them would be sent home."

This would put a strain on the Cuban economy as there were no jobs.

"However, a proportion of them are national servicemen, who would have had to be absorbed anyway."

Mr Heitman said he was still not convinced of a Cuban commitment to a peace settlement.

Thanks to heavy South African-funded infrastructure development, Namibia boasts nearly 42 000 km of roads, 2 350 km of railways, and an electricity grid integrated into that of South Africa.

Whatever form independence takes, it will not change the fact that Namibia will remain economically dependent on South Africa.

Whether or not Namibia becomes another African basket case will depend on how quickly Swapo can be persuaded that Namibia actually has a rather fragile economy. — The Financial Times, London.

Over the two years Pretoria's contribution to the Namibian budget has halved from 35 percent to 17 percent.

This year about R700 million of the R1 890 million Namibian Budget is allocated to security, including the 35 000-strong territorial force.

Military sources say Pretoria spends about R1 000 million in a normal year. This includes the costs of anti-insurgency operations against Swapo, patrolling and fighting in the operational zone on both sides of the border, and support for Unita forces in Angola.

entrenching ethnic rights and guaranteeing that white income taxes would be spent on maintaining white services and standards.

The complex system of 11 ethnic second-tier authorities which stemmed from that decision led to a massive proliferation of bureaucracy, an explosion of public debt, and rocketing government expenditure.

This is now a crippling legacy for any future government. With severe budgetary constraints of its own, the world from Pretoria even before the latest peace proposals was that Namibia must stand on its own

of the Namibian people — and Moscow.

When they get to power they think that they'll be able to hold out the begging bowl and people will queue up to contribute.

They don't have a clue about the realities of Namibia's fragile economy, or its virtually total dependence on South Africa, one businessman said on his return.

To calm white fears in 1979, Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, sent Dr Gerrit Viljoen, former leader of the secessionist Broederbond, to persuade whites to stay. He succeeded by

government headed by Mr Sam Nujoma, exiled leader of Marxist-oriented Swapo.

White businessmen who recently met Mr Nujoma and senior Swapo cadres in Europe came away deeply worried by the economic nativity of Swapo leaders who for years have fought the independence struggle from first-class hotels and venues such as the UN.

They have become used to being funded by Sweden and other Scandinavian governments, world church bodies, the UN — which deems Swapo the sole legitimate representative

surrected old fears, as well as fresh hopes, inside Namibia. Ten years ago, when independence fever last hit Namibia, more than 25 000 people, a quarter of the white population, sold their farms and property and transferred themselves, their skills and their bank accounts to South Africa.

The exodus was a factor behind Pretoria's decision to backtrack on its original commitment to honour Resolution 435.

What scared many Namibian whites then still worries them now: the prospect of independence under a black majority

PW asks UN chief to SA

PRETORIA — President P W Botha has invited UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar to visit SA "in the very near future" to discuss preparations for the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 in Namibia. (22)

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said this yesterday at the Press conference releasing the statement by the parties involved in the Angolan peace talks.

Pik Botha said he sent a message to De Cuellar yesterday that the SA government had accepted provisions of "certain agreements reached in Geneva" on the understanding that SA would receive satisfactory responses to the concerns it had expressed in Geneva regarding the funding of the implementation of resolution 435.

The government also sought satisfactory responses on the financial assistance Namibia would receive, and who would pick up Namibian loan guarantees supplied by the SA government. — Sapa.

Tough talks ahead



Mr. Pik Botha

ARGUS 9/8/88
 (221)

By TOS WENTZEL
 Political Correspondent

TOUGH negotiations lie ahead following the first step to agreement on a peace plan for south-western Africa.

The ceasefire agreement announced last night by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was the first move towards a peace pact.

This pact will include provisions for the independence of Namibia.

Among the major problems to be resolved are:

- African National Congress bases in Angola;
- The cost of implementing UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence, including huge subsidies to the territory; and
- Establishing a direct link between the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola and the independence plan.

The principle of linkage has been established. South Africa wants all Cuban troops out of Angola before Namibian elections organised under Resolution 435.

AGGRESSION

Total withdrawal of Cubans is likely to be one of the main items on the agenda at the next round of talks in the week beginning August 22.

The question of ANC bases will also be discussed. In New York all parties promised to respect territorial integrity and not to allow acts of aggression against each other from their territories.

But in Geneva an Angolan spokesman said his government would not betray liberation movements which had international recognition.

The enormous costs of a Namibian independence plan will be raised with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has been invited to South Africa by President Botha.

According to Mr Pik Botha such a plan could cost R1½-billion.

South Africa also wants to know who will continue the contributions to the Namibian budget and who will take up guarantees for loans of about R750-million to Namibia in the past few years.

Mr Botha said that from 1969 to 1984 the South African contribution to the administration costs of the territory was about R2,3-billion.

Since 1984 South Africa has injected R2,2-billion into the Namibian budget.

HIGH LEVEL

According to military sources South Africa now has fewer than 1 000 troops in Angola compared to 3 000 a few months ago. They will start withdrawing from tomorrow and must all be out by September 1.

The high level of South African and South West African forces south of the border will be maintained until a number of other problems have been resolved.

Opposition spokesmen welcomed the ceasefire.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said it was only a first, tentative step.

The ceasefire was long overdue and he hoped neither side would drag their feet on the path to a Namibian independence.

Mr Frank le Roux of the Conservative Party welcomed the prospect of negotiations against a peaceful background. But he said the Conservatives opposed the implementation of Resolution 435.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Unita has rejected the ceasefire in Angola. A spokesman said the ceasefire did not apply to Unita.

● Ceasefire agreement page 14.

Swapo agrees to ceasefire from Sept 1

LONDON. — Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

But in a statement issued in Luanda, it warned that "Swapo combat operations against the South African troops and their local auxiliary units in Namibia will only hold if South Africa is prepared to honour its word that it will reciprocate Swapo's gesture of goodwill by not mounting military operations against combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's military wing, in the period leading to a formal ceasefire in October 1988."

The statement, released here by the Swapo news agency, Nampa, said Swapo "has pledged to do its best to help make the peace process in the South Western African region irreversible and successful, provided Pretoria also shows the political will to do the same."

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

The Namibian transitional government was "encouraged" by the Geneva agreement but was concerned that UN-elections would take place before national reconciliation had been achieved with Swapo, said Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the transitional government cabinet.

He said progress had been made in Geneva and it would now be much easier to achieve peace in the region. It would be possible to discuss the future without the pressure of hostilities.

"We have made it clear before that we want UN 435. That is what we are aiming at."

Mr Mudge said the government had expressed no new reservations at yesterday's meeting with President Botha, when it was briefed on the latest developments. However

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

P.T.U.

Swapo ceasefire

(Continued from page 1.)

it had reiterated its main reservation that there would be an election without national reconciliation in Namibia.

"I think the parties should get together and talk so that we go to the elections as political enemies and not military enemies."

Mr. Mudge made it clear he was referring to Swapo.

Mr. Kosie Pretorius, leader of the SWA National Party, said he was still satisfied that the agreement would lead to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola but he still had reservations about resolution 435.

JOINT FRONT

Mr. Louis Pienaar, administrator-general of SWA/Namibia, said he thought the chances had improved for a joint front by the internal political parties to prepare to take on Swapo in the UN elections.

All parties in the transitional government were represented at the meeting.

Leaders of the frontline states issued a joint communique after their summit meeting yesterday, expressing their satisfaction with the constructive spirit, courage, realism and flexibility demonstrated by the government of Angola in the framework of its peace initiatives.

WELCOMED

The summit also encouraged Angola to pursue this path and called on the parties concerned to avoid any action that might jeopardise the present process of negotiations.

● The ceasefire in Angola and the prospect of independence for Namibia are welcomed in Britain, although there are considerable reservations about the final outcome.


The news is given prominence in today's newspapers and was well reported on radio and television last night despite the pressure on space and air time caused by other major stories, such as the ceasefire in the Gulf and the birth of a royal baby.

The official British government view was given yesterday by a Foreign Office spokesman who said: "We welcome any moves towards a lasting peace in the region."

On the subject of the Cuban withdrawal, the timetable for which will be set by September 1, he said the British government had always maintained that peace would not become a reality until all foreign troops had withdrawn from Angola. — The Argus Correspondent, The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa.

Namibia closer to independence

Ceasefire ends SA's Angola war

221
B/Day
9/8/88


PRETORIA — SA's war in Angola stopped officially at 5pm yesterday and Namibian independence moved another step closer.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, in announcing the ceasefire in terms of the Geneva agreement, also said SA troops would be out of Angola by September 1 and that implementation of UN resolution 435 would begin on November 1.

Now, a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal is the next and, possibly, the last major stumbling block to be negotiated.

A question mark still remains over Swapo's role in the settlement plans and there appears to be rising concern in government about who will pay for the implementation of 435 and who will replace SA's contribution to balancing Namibia's budget.

But, aiming at a speedy settlement, SA also urged UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit Pretoria as soon as possible for detailed talks on those and other matters with President P W Botha.



● BOTHA

Political Staff

Pik Botha was cagey about how the ceasefire would be policed to avoid violations. He sidestepped whether there would be a "no go area" or whether Swapo would be monitored or prevented by Angola from continuing its bush war.

Up to now, the Angolans had argued they, and not Swapo, were bound by the terms of the agreement.

All Botha would say was that "certain agreements had been reached on this matter".

The issue of Cuban troop withdrawal could possibly be settled by September 1 but up to now there appears to be no change in the target dates of either side — SA calling for a seven-month withdrawal and the Cubans for two years.

Cuba and Angola have, however, agreed to settle their differences by September 1.

SA, Cuba, Angola and the US said yesterday at the co-ordinated official announcement of the ceasefire that the Geneva conference had been "detailed positive and productive."

"The delegations of Angola, Cuba and SA agreed on a sequence of steps neces-

● To Page 2 →

Ceasefire ends SA's war in Angola

sary to prepare the way for the independence of Namibia in accordance with resolution 435 and to achieve peace in south-western Africa."

They had agreed to recommend to the secretary-general that November 1 be the start of implementing 435.

"The parties approved the text of a tripartite agreement that embodies, in binding treaty form, the principles negotiated in New York and formally approved by governments on July 20.

"On their side, Angola and Cuba reiterate their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable acceptable to all parties for the staged and total withdrawal of

Cuban troops from Angola.

"The parties have undertaken to reach agreement on this by September 1.

"The parties approved a comprehensive series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military confrontation and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations."

Botha said the difference between this series of negotiations and previous ones was that a step-by-step approach had been adopted.

● See Page 3

← ● From Page 1
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221



INVITED . . . The secretary general of the UN (D) Javier Perez de Cuellar

PW Botha invites UN chief to SA

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha has invited the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to visit South Africa "in the very near future" in a bid to pave the way for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Announcing this last night, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said Mr Perez de Cuellar had been sent a message inviting him to visit Pretoria "as soon as possible" for detailed talks with President Botha.

Mr Perez de Cuellar had been told that after discussions with Namibian leaders, SA had accepted the provisions of agreements reached in Geneva on condition that it received a satisfactory response to its concerns about the funding of the 435 operation, continued financial assistance to the territory after independence and the finding of new guarantors for the territory's international loans.

Mr Perez de Cuellar had accordingly invited Mr Perez de Cuellar to discuss preparations for implementing Resolution 435 and related matters.

"We have informed the secretary-general that we anticipated his visit would expedite the steps envisaged in the discussion in Geneva," said Mr Botha, flanked during the press conference by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Nel van Heerden. — Political Correspondent with Sapa-Reuter

ARMY GOES TO TERRITORIES

Principles for peace
100 years of conflict

— PAGE 6

Ceasefire in Gulf too

NEW YORK. — Iran and Iraq will begin a ceasefire on August 20 in the nearly 8-year-old Gulf war, UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar announced yesterday.

He made the announcement to the Security Council, ending several days of intense diplomacy.

He said he would invite Iran and Iraq to send their representatives to Geneva on August 25 for direct talks under his auspices.

"I have been assured by the two parties to the conflict that they will observe this ceasefire in the context of the full implementation of resolution 598," he added, referring to a Council resolution adopted over a year ago.

"The governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq have also agreed to the deployment of UN observers as of the time and date of the ceasefire," he said.

He concluded: "The restoration of peace will bring to the peoples of both countries victories far greater than those of war." — Sapa-AP



ANNOUNCEMENT . . . The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announces the ceasefire. On the left is General Janmie Geldenhuis and General Magnus Malan (centre).

SA troops pull out tomorrow

From ORMANDE POLLOK

PRETORIA. — South Africa's war in Angola stopped officially at 5pm yesterday and Namibian independence moved a step closer.

Announcing the ceasefire in terms of the Geneva agreement, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said last night the final disengagement of South African troops from southern Angola would begin tomorrow and would be completed by September 1. And in a late night statement, Swapo announced that it would stick to the ceasefire — but only as long as South Africa also honoured it.

It had been agreed by all parties that implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence would begin from November 1, he said.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba had "already made the necessary arrangements and taken the necessary steps to see to it that the cessation of hostilities are now, as of this hour, in effect and that there will be no violation of this agreement," said Mr Botha.

pull out tomorrow

From ORMANDE POLLOK

PRETORIA. — South Africa's war in Angola stopped officially at 5pm yesterday and Namibian independence moved a step closer.

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It had been agreed by all parties that implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence would begin from November 1, he said.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba had "already made the necessary arrangements and taken the necessary steps to see to it that the cessation of hostilities are now, as of this hour, in effect and

that there will be no violation of this agreement," said Mr Botha.

A mutually agreed time-table for Cuban troop withdrawal is the next — and possibly the last — major stumbling block in the way of peace and stability in the region which has to be negotiated.

But a question mark still remains over the role of Unita in the settlement plans — and there is concern in the government about who will pay for the implementation of 435 and who will replace South Africa's massive contribution to balancing Namibia's budget.

A senior Unita spokesman said last night that the rebel movement would continue fighting and that the ceasefire did not apply to Unita.

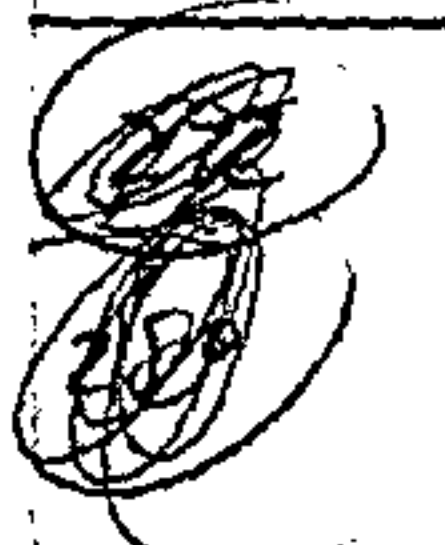
Mr Botha was cagey about how the ceasefire would be policed to avoid violations.

He sidestepped questions on whether there would be a "no-go area" or whether Swapo would be monitored or prevented by Angola from continuing its protracted bush war.

All Mr Botha would say was that "certain agreements had been reached on this matter".

The vital issue of Cuban troop withdrawal could possibly be settled by September 1 but up to now there appears to be no change in the target dates of either side — South Africa calling for a seven-month withdrawal and the Cubans for two years.

The joint statement by South Africa, Cuba, Angola and America — released last night in a co-ordinated official announcement of the ceasefire in all four countries — said that the delegations had agreed



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At the Pretoria Press conference yesterday. From left: SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Picture: PHILIP LITTLETON

Text of ceasefire announcement ²²¹

PRETORIA — Following is the text of the statement issued in Pretoria yesterday on a ceasefire in Angola and Namibia:

The delegations of Angola, Cuba, SA and the US met August 2 to 5 in Geneva, Switzerland, to continue their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in south-western Africa.

Building on the progress made at London, Cairo and New York, the negotiations in Geneva were detailed, positive and productive.

The delegations of Angola, Cuba and SA agreed on a sequence of steps necessary to prepare the way for the independence of Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and to achieve peace in southwestern Africa.

They agreed to recommend to the Secretary General of the UN the date of November 1 1988 for the beginning of implementation of 435. The parties approved *ab referendum* to their respective governments the text of a tripartite agreement that embodies in binding treaty form the principles negotiated at Governor's Island in New York and formally approved

by governments on July 20 1988.

On their side, Angola and Cuba reiterated their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable acceptable to all parties for the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The parties have undertaken to reach agreement on this timetable by September 1 1988.

The parties approved a comprehensive series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military confrontation and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations.

With the approval of these measures a *de facto* cessation of hostilities is now in effect. The full effects of these measures will become apparent in the weeks ahead.

The next round of negotiations at the level of senior officials will take place during the week of August 22 with the exact date and venue to be established. All the delegations expressed their appreciation for the superb facilities and support extended by the government of Switzerland. — Sapa-Reuter.

B/Day

9/8/88

First political reaction to the ceasefire in Angola and the withdrawal of South African troops from the country was positive.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has invited United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit South Africa to discuss preparations for the implementation of the UN independence plan for Namibia, which is to start on November 1.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba have agreed to the starting date. It may mean UN-supervised one-man, one-vote elections by June 1 next year.

The three countries have also agreed that South African troops will begin withdrawing from Angola tomorrow — and complete their pull-out by September 1.

'Political enemies'

In Luanda, President Eduardo dos Santos reportedly told a one-day summit meeting of African Frontline states leaders that there were now signs that peace in Angola was becoming a reality.

The Namibian transitional government chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday his Cabinet was encouraged by the Geneva agreement.

But he was concerned that UN-supervised elections would take place before national reconciliation with the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

"I think the parties should get together and talk so that we go to the elections as political enemies and not military enemies," he said after a briefing in Pretoria.

Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

The official British government view was given yesterday by a Foreign Office spokesman who said: "We welcome any moves towards a lasting peace in the region."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night said the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had been invited to come to Pretoria as as soon as possible to discuss the long list of items involved in the implementation of Resolution 435.

Swapo also pledges to stop fighting

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

In a statement issued in Luanda yesterday, it warned that the ceasefire depended on South African forces doing likewise.

The statement, released here by the Swapo news agency, Nampa, said that Swapo "has pledged to do its best to help make the peace process in the south-western African region irreversible and successful, provided Pretoria also shows the political will to do the same".

It added that "from August 10, guns will fall silent between the South African and Angolan/Cuban forces on the Angola side of the south-western Africa battlefield.

"On that date, the remaining pockets of the South African Army that are still inside Angola will be allowed to withdraw peacefully into Namibia. This withdrawal process is to be completed by September 1."

Among these was the question of who would foot the estimated R1,5 billion bill for the implementation of Resolution 435, who would replace South Africa's annual budgetary assistance to Namibia and who would take over its guarantees for Namibia's loans of about R750 million.

A second stumbling block was the question of the neutrality of the international peacekeeping and monitoring force.

Thirdly, and probably the biggest single hurdle to be cleared, is the question of the time-scale of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

A fourth hurdle is the matter of ANC bases in Angola. South Africa is demanding the curtailment of ANC activities and bases in Angola.

American officials are said to be anxious to head off any tensions or last-minute flare-ups that could interfere with the agreements hammered out in Geneva last week between South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

Informed sources say a no-go area for South African, Cuban and possibly Swapo troops, has been declared from the Namibian border to a line running east-west about 150 km inside Angola.

See Page 15.

Relief and joy have greeted the news of the ceasefire from 5 pm yesterday — and the follow-up withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, but observers say that a long haul lies ahead in finding a lasting solution.

Political Correspondent
and The Star's Foreign News Service

Angolan peace breakthrough throws

Cuban troop withdrawal still a major stumbling block

11 11 1

Angolan-Namibian ceasefire

100 years of conflict

Cap Times 9/8/84 221

THE ceasefire announced yesterday in the Angolan and Namibian conflicts offers hope for a solution to one of the most complex and intractable problems on the African continent.

Following are key dates in the interlocked conflicts:

1884: Germany colonizes South West Africa, huge, mineral-rich desert territory on southern Africa's Atlantic coast.

1915: SA invades, Germany surrenders territory.

1920: League of Nations gives SA mandate to administer territory.

1946: UN trusteeship replaces league mandate but SA rejects it.

1966: Swapo launches guerilla war to liberate territory. UN strips SA of trusteeship rights.

1968: UN renames territory Namibia.

1971: International Court of Justice rules SA presence in Namibia illegal.

1973: UN General Assembly recognizes Swapo as "sole authentic representative of the Namibian people".

1974: UN resolutions demand SA withdrawal and transfer of power to Namibian people with UN assistance.

1975: Angola becomes independent from Portugal. Cuban troops drafted into Angola at request of ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

1978: UN Security Council passes Resolution 435 envisaging a ceasefire, UN-sponsored elections and a peacekeeping force in Namibia. Pretoria holds elections in Namibia which are boycotted by Swapo. Elections are not recognized internationally.

1982: SA, with US backing, says Namibian independence must await departure of estimated 25 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

1983: In December, SA launches major operation against Swapo guerillas in Angola, Pretoria offers 30-day ceasefire which is rejected.

1984: In January, SA announces troop disengagement from southern

Angola. In February, in Lusaka, Angola and Pretoria form military commission to monitor pullback. Agreement bars Swapo and Cuban troops from moving into vacated areas. Swapo says its fight is unaffected.

In July Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma and Pretoria's Namibian administrator-general Mr Willie Van Niekerk meet in Cape Verde islands, but fail to agree on ceasefire.

In October, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says Angola would work towards withdrawal of Cuban troops as part of a regional peace settlement.

1985: In June, SA grants limited powers to an interim Namibian government made up of a coalition of internal parties, excluding Swapo.

1987: In September SA troops start buildup in southern Angola to fend off an offensive by Angolan and Cuban troops against pro-Western National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels. The offensive is blunted but SA forces and Unita fail in an apparent attempt to capture Cuito Cuanavale, an important staging post for Cuban and Angolan soldiers.

1988: In February, bomb explodes in a bank in Oshakati, northern Namibia, killing 27 — the worst guerilla attack in the Namibian conflict. SA retaliates with air attacks on suspected Swapo bases in Angola.

In May, US-mediated talks between SA, Angola and Cuba open in London. Further rounds are held in Cairo, New York and Geneva.

Pretoria accuses Cuba of jeopardizing the talks by sending up to 12 000 troops close to Angola's border with Namibia.

In June, SA says its forces killed 300 Cuban and Angola troops attacking Pretoria-guarded water installations at Calueque just inside Angola. SA defence officials deny reports that they have lost air superiority over southern Angola. — Sapa-Reuter

Cuban troop withdrawal part of deal

CEASEFIRE

SOUTH Africa and opposing Cuban and Angolan forces declared a ceasefire from yesterday pending more talks on ending the interlocked conflicts in Angola and Namibia.

The three countries also invited the United Nations to start implementing on November 1, its long-delayed plans for the independence of Namibia, a former German colony ruled by South Africa since World War One.

Withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola will be part of the deal and the three countries have pledged to agree by September 1, on a timetable for the Cuban pullout, the joint announcement said.

"The agreement . . . provided for a ceasefire, or cessation of hostilities, from the moment of the release of this statement," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a news conference.

"The ceasefire is now in effect."

The Foreign Minister said President P W Botha sent a message yesterday inviting United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to South Africa urgently to discuss implementation of a UN blueprint for the independence of Namibia.

The announcement followed US-mediated negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in Geneva last week.

Rebels

The Foreign Minister said South Africa would begin pulling out its forces from Angola tomorrow and the withdrawal would be completed by September 1.

South African troops have been supporting pro-Western Unita rebels under Jonas Savimbi fighting a 13-year-old civil war against the Angolan Government.

In Lisbon, the chief European spokesman for Unita said the ceasefire did not apply to his organisation.

"As far as we're concerned, the fighting goes on until the MPLA (Angola's ruling party), at least accepts the principle of negotiations with Unita," rebel spokesman, Mr Alcides Sakala, said.

Mr Botha said South Africa was recommending to the United Nations that implementing resolution 435 on Namibian independence should begin on November 1.

But this would depend on a satisfactory timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, he said.

"This is the first step on a very, very long and arduous road to the establishment of stability in this important region of Africa."

De Cuellar invited to SA for talks



INVITED . . . De Cuellar.

Mr Botha said further details would have to be agreed at another round of four-sided negotiations to be held in the week of August 22.

"It is up to us, the governments concerned, to reach agreement on the practical implementation of the sequence of steps agreed in Geneva," he said.

"The date November 1 is, of course, linked very clearly and categorically to the staged and total withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola," Mr Botha said.

The war, virtually static for long periods, has been particularly fierce during the past 10 months with South African forces pushing hundreds of kilometres into southern Angola and

• To Page 2

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Bucs boss on car theft charge

ORLANDO Pirates' boss, Mr Siphon "Sixty" Mali (65), appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday in connection with two cars he allegedly stole in January this year.

Mr Mali, Orlando Pirates' chairman and a taxi owner, appeared before Mr H van Heerden and pleaded not guilty to two counts of car theft.

One of the cars allegedly belonged to a Mr H Michaelis who testified that his car, a blue BMW, was stolen in January this year.

In a statement read in

To Page 3

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THE 13-year civil war in Angola and the lengthy guerilla war against South Africa waged inside Namibia by Swapo have been hugely expensive for all concerned. But it is not going to be cheap to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

This is the unpalatable message contained in the economic and financial section of the peace plan put on the negotiating table by South Africa.

To counter the widespread belief that South Africa has ruthlessly exploited the resources of its Namibian "colony", Mr Pik Botha claimed that Pretoria has subsidized the Namibian budget to the tune of R4,5 bn (£1,06 bn) since 1966, half of it over the last four years.

Who, he asked, is going to pick up that tab in future? His question was directed at the permanent members of the Security Council who will guarantee any eventual settlement. South Africa also acts as guarantor for R750 m worth of Namibian bank debt. Who, he wanted to know, will guarantee that after independence?

The proposed South African timetable sets November 1 as the starting point for the seven-month implementation process under Resolution 435. This would give the UN three months to raise, train and despatch a 7500-

strong task force to monitor elections to a constituent assembly.

Back in 1978, when Resolution 435 was passed, the estimated cost was around \$380 m. A decade later the already financially hard-pressed world body will be lucky to get away with a bill of less than \$1 bn and probably considerably more.

Many Namibian whites are worried about the prospect of independence under a black majority government headed by Mr Sam Nujoma, exiled leader of the Marxist-oriented Swapo. White businessmen who recently met Mr Nujoma and senior

ANTHONY ROBINSON of the Financial Times in London reports that peace will bring formidable economic problems to the former South West Africa.

CAM- Times 10/8/88. 221

Namibia struggling with crippling legacy

Swapo cadres in Europe came away deeply worried by the economic naivety of Swapo leaders who for years have fought the independence struggle from first class hotels and venues like the UN.

"They don't have a clue about the realities of Namibia's fragile economy or its virtually total dependence on South Africa," one businessman confided on his return.

To calm white fears in 1979, the prime minister P W Botha sent his colleague Dr Gerrit Viljoen to persuade whites to stay. He succeeded by entrenching ethnic "rights" and guarantee-

ing that white income tax would be spent on maintaining white services and standards.

The complex system of 11 ethnic second-tier authorities which stemmed from that decision led to a massive proliferation of bureaucracy and pork-barrel local politics, an explosion of public debt and rocketing government expenditure.

With severe budgetary constraints of its own, high inflation, biting sanctions, a plummeting rand and declining gold and currency reserves, the word from Pretoria even before the latest peace propos-

als was that Namibia must stand on its own feet. Over two years Pretoria's contribution to the Namibian budget has halved, from 35 to 17%.

After 13 years the war which has destroyed the Angolan economy has also become an unsustainable drain on Namibia itself. This year around R700 m of the R1,89 bn Namibian budget is allocated to security, including the 35 000-strong territorial force.

Military sources say Pretoria spends "about a billion rand in a normal year". This includes the costs of operations against Swapo, patrolling and fighting in the operational zone on both sides of the border and support for Unita in Angola.

Whether or not Namibia becomes another African basket case depends on how quickly Swapo can be persuaded that Namibia has a rather fragile, inter-dependent economy with a large area, a few rich mines and a fast-growing and mostly unemployed black population.

Coping with their aspirations will take a lot more than rhetoric.

10/8/88 B2 Day 22/A

PROPERTY/Edited by Terry Meyer

Windhoek on the move

JANE STRACHAN

INDEPENDENCE for Namibia could well provide a significant fillip for the region's property industry, a market which is already on the move.

Office and retail rentals in the Windhoek CBD are rising as a result of space shortages, and two commercial projects worth a total of R75m have recently been announced for the downtown area.

Research indicates that by 1990, demand for additional office space could be as high as 45 000m².

Reports on the residential market conflict, but most observers believe independence will not prompt a sustained drop in home prices.

Annelie Aerla, of Uri van Zyl Real Estate, says ordinary three-bedroomed houses are selling for about R150 000 and showing no signs of dropping.

Waiting list

"We put a new scheme on the market a month ago and have sold all 130 units," she says. "There are a lot of German immigrants here and I have a list of them wanting to buy for investment."

An interest rate hike put a slight brake on the higher-priced house sales, but that, says Aerla, was a natural phenomenon unrelated to politics.

She disagrees with a recently-reported view that uncertainty over Namibia's political future is threatening to send property prices plummeting.

While Aerla and other real estate agents concede that a certain de-

gree of uncertainty is to be expected and that some homeowners will be seeking to liquidate their assets, they do not anticipate a flood of sales.

The two office and shopping developments are a R42m scheme for Sanlam Properties and a R33m complex for Old Mutual. Both tie in with a municipal masterplan for the redevelopment of downtown Windhoek.

The 12-storey Sanlam building will be the institution's largest real estate investment in Namibia.

Few new developments have taken place in Windhoek during the past few years — the last A-grade space erected was the CDM Centre six years ago — and there are virtually no vacant shops or offices at present.

Thus tenant demand is expected to be strong, with rentals now having risen to economically viable levels.

Ronnie Masson, Sanlam's senior GM, investments, says research has shown the commercial market in

Windhoek to be buoyant, with a definite need for further development.

"And it's very important that, as a company which does a lot of business there, we must be seen to be investing there," he says.

He adds that no pressure has been brought to bear on the institutions to invest in Namibia, saying it is purely an economic decision.

He does not believe a change in government will affect the viability of the investment.

Old Mutual Properties property services manager Derek Stuart-Findlay holds a similar view, saying the company's experiences in other African countries — such as Kenya, Zimbabwe and Malawi — supported the positive attitude.

As Anglo American Property Services' Grahame Lindop points out, independence and international recognition is likely to bring new embassies and diplomatic staff, trade officials, increased tourism and business — all of which means demand for commercial and residential property.

"This can only be good for real estate values," he concludes.

Counting the cost of peace in Namibia

B/day
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THE COSTS of implementing UN Resolution 435 and supervising the run-up to "free and fair" elections in Namibia were clearly the responsibility of the United Nations, PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

Announcing the ceasefire in the Angolan conflict this week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the responsibility for implementation costs — which could amount to around R1,5bn — was an issue which still had to be decided.

In addition, the issue of where the "several hundred million" in aid funds currently paid to the territory by SA each year would come from after independence would have to be settled.

Schwarz said it had been customary in the past for the UN to "pick up the tab" for the costs of operations involving UN forces and personnel, and this should obviously also apply in Namibia. One example was the UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon.

Military sources said the cost of the

GERALD REILLY

entire operation could well exceed R1,5bn.

The UN transitional assistance group (Untag) would consist of about 7 500 men, and the costs of transporting this large contingent with all its equipment would in itself be a formidable amount.

The force had to be housed and provided with transport sufficient to support what was expected to be an extremely mobile operation.

'Acid test'

On SA's annual grant to the territory, Schwarz said the world community had been pressing for years for independence in Namibia.

"They must now put their money where their mouth is," he said. "This will be an acid test of the sincerity of

the world community."

Namibia would not only need aid to maintain all essential services; funds for development would also be vital.

"However, SA cannot walk away from sharing the responsibility. It is strongly to SA's benefit to have an economically viable and prosperous Namibia as a neighbour."

According to PFP researchers, in 1982 it was estimated that the war in Namibia cost around R1 250 000 a day. No later estimate was available, but observers claim the current amount is substantially greater because of inflation and intensified activity.

Budgetary assistance to Namibia in the current financial year amounted to R350m, cut on the instructions of State President P W Botha from R573m the previous year.

There is also a grant in the 1988/89 Budget of R828 000 to support the staff of the Administrator General, and another R910 000 for "air transport facilities for public servants in the northern parts of SWA".

Star 10/8/88

Bank blast: suspect²¹ is arrested

WINDHOEK — Police have arrested an alleged Swapo insurgent for blowing up a commercial bank at Oshakati in northern Namibia, the current chairman of the Transitional Cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in Windhoek last night.

The blast killed 27 people and injured several others on February 19 this year.

He told a news conference that the suspect had provided valuable information to the police.

The man would appear in court soon.

Mr Mudge said it was important to disclose the arrest at this stage as Swapo had denied responsibility and it was speculated that security forces had planted the bomb.

Mr Mudge said police had also arrested 22 people in connection with a wave of arson and unrest at black schools.

A police spokesman said a man had also been arrested in connection with a car bomb blast that wrecked a garage in Windhoek last year.

SA troops mop up wreckage of past Angolan battles

SA's frontline troops mopped up the wreckage of past battles yesterday for a withdrawal from southern Angola across 300km of sandy bush to Namibia.

SA officials at Oshakati said their forces in Angola — estimated at more than 2 000 — were already dismantling their main forward base near Cuito Cuanavale.

Under Monday's ceasefire plan, the withdrawal starts today and will be completed by September 1.

The officials said troops were "collecting garbage and picking up bits of

wrecked tanks and blasted trucks. They are almost ready to move".

In Pretoria, a Defence Ministry official said troops would be moving south today but added it could be a slow operation assuring cover for the pullback.

He said: "It is not like a rugby game where the whistle goes and everybody just packs up and goes home. There is a ceasefire, but one knows what the record of ceasefires is."

The withdrawal is part of an accord thrashed out in Geneva last week be-

tween SA, Angola and Cuba.

It could be the first step towards Namibian independence after 70 years of SA rule and to peace in the region after more than 21 years of guerrilla war and civil conflict.

At times, SA penetrated more than 1 000km to the outskirts of Luanda in more than a decade of conflict in the region.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan said last week his forces had killed 10 000 men in Angola since last September for the loss of 31 SA lives.

Military analyst Helmut-Romer Heitman, a Jane's Defence Weekly correspondent who has special access to the army, said about 1 500 men were still based near Cuito Cuanavale.

He said: "There is probably another combat unit of maybe 1 000 men positioned to the southwest to protect their line of retreat."

"I think they gave up the idea of taking Cuito late last year and they have just been making sure no one else gets in to use the air-field there." *Reuters*

NEXT PEACE TALKS 'WILL BE TOUGH'

ELSABÉ WESSELS

SA OFFICIALS believe the next round of Angolan/Namibian peace talks on August 22 will be the toughest yet.

Still to be resolved is the difference between the seven-month period specified in UN resolution 435 for a SA withdrawal from Namibia and the two-to-four years Cuba wants to pull its troops out of Angola.

Sources said an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal would be a watershed in the talks.

SA troops mop up in Angola

Capt. Truitt 10/18/85

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SOUTH AFRICAN frontline troops in Angola were mopping up the wreckage of recent battles yesterday as they prepared to withdraw 300km into Namibia.

SADF officials in Oshakati said SA forces in Angola — estimated at more than 2 000 — were already dismantling their main forward base near Cuito Cuanavale, where SA and Angolan troops have fought fierce battles, Sapa-Reuter reports.

Under a ceasefire plan announced on Monday, the troop withdrawal starts today and should be completed by September 1.

Officials in Oshakati said the troops were "collecting garbage and picking up bits of wrecked tanks and blasted trucks — they are almost ready to move".

Cuito Cuanavale, a key government garrison, faced heavy bombardment by the SADF's long-range G-5 guns earlier this year. Several times the town was reported to be on the verge of capture but Angolan and Cuban forces vowed they would not allow it to fall into SA hands.

In Pretoria, a senior defence ministry official said SA troops would be moving south from today but indicated that it could be a slow operation assuring cover for the pullback.

"It is not like a rugby game where the whistle goes and everybody just packs up and goes home," he said. "There is a ceasefire, but one knows what the record of ceasefires is."

WILLEM STEENKAMP reports that local military observers believe SA's troops in Angola could be back over the border in less than a week if ordered to leave in a hurry.

A SADF spokesman dismissed rumours that 6 000 SA troops were trapped by the Cubans and could not get out of Angola.

It was "ludicrous to suggest that South African troops are trapped in Angola", he said.

BARRY STREEK reports that while UN efforts to monitor the implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibian independence have yet to get into gear, SA's offer to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar is "under consideration".

However, with Mr Perez de Cuellar and his officials heavily involved in the Iran-Iraq peace negotiations, it was unlikely that much serious attention would be given to the Namibian situation in the immediate future.

● The costs of implementing resolution 435 and supervising "free and fair" elections in Namibia were clearly the responsibility of the UN, PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

● It was imperative that all Namibia's parties, including Swapo, worked out a constitution for the territory if a healthy economy was to be maintained, the chairman of the transitional government, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in Windhoek last night.

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Swapo informant valuable

WINDHOEK. — The Swapo insurgent who was arrested for allegedly blowing up a bank at Oshakati in Namibia, was providing the police with valuable information, the chairman of the Transitional Cabinet, Mr Dirk Mudge, said here last night.

He said the information included names of people and details of other incidents in the territory, but declined to give further details.

The blast killed 27 people and injured several others on February 19 this year. — Sapa

WASHINGTON — If the ceasefire in Angola becomes a permanent peace, much of the credit will belong to a slightly-built, middle-aged, bespectacled American professor with a penchant for favourite clichés and a mind like a razor.

He is 46-year-old Dr Chester Arthur Crocker, who has pursued with single-minded determination the twin goals of Cuban withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia since the day in 1981 he became President Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for Africa over the protests of a handful of US rightwingers.

He has pursued other policy goals — some of them as out of reach as they ever were, such as the end of apartheid and the emergence of an economically strong African continent — but, for the moment, a successful end is in sight for his Angola/Namibia efforts.

Dr Crocker, the longest serving assistant secretary in the Reagan State Department, has been forced to deal with vicious criticism at home and abroad on the road to this point where he stands to notch up his greatest success — with less than six months left in office.

At home, liberals accused him of a shopping list of sins ranging from lending moral support to the wicked SA Government to forging a *de facto* military partnership with the South Africans by supplying weapons to the terrorist Unita rebels.

DOUBLE DEALING CHARGE

The conservatives accused him of playing footsie with the Angolan government by permitting American businessmen to trade there and of aiding and abetting the Commies in Mozambique.

Internationally, Dr Crocker took public abuse from every tinpot Third World leader and semi-informed journalist who somehow came to believe that the United States was capable of controlling events within South Africa.

Throughout it all, he stuck quietly to his policies, making adjustments every so often — such as dumping the name "constructive engagement" but not the basic structure — and arguing his case on Capitol Hill.

He fought a losing battle against American sanctions, saying they would reduce US influence in South Africa just when it was most needed, and that it made no sense to weaken the SA economy at a time it appeared to be the most effective "engine for change".

In an interview here, Dr Crocker insisted that history was already proving him right.

The quiet man who makes his mark on Africa



Dr Chester Crocker . . . single-mindedly worked for Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

By NEIL LURSEN,
Argus Foreign Service

Whatever happens in Angola, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, has made his mark on millions of lives on this continent.

Usually, favourite phrases such as "windows of opportunity" and "cycle of violence" would emerge in his arguments with critics, but there was nothing clichéd about his basic themes.

These were that Africans must solve their own problems, that American could help them to do that, that conflict would not be settled by military means, that if peace were to last there must be no losers, and that the realities of power had to be taken into account.

For Dr Crocker, South Africa's regional power is a reality, and he recognises the country's security needs as well as the forces of nationalism and pride that exist and play a role in

Southern Africa.

He tried to devise and implement policies that would take all of these factors into account and he pursued them with the confidence of a man who feels he is right.

He also had the full confidence of President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, and — perhaps significantly — Vice President George Bush.

Dr Crocker is said to be especially close to Mr Bush and this raises the intriguing possibility that he will be asked to stay at the State Department, probably in a more senior position, should Mr Bush win the presidential election against the odds in November.

A successful end to the Angola/Namibia initiative would work in Mr Bush's favour — an example of the foreign policy sophistication of the Reagan/Bush era.

The Democratic candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, and some of his advisers have been negative about US efforts in Angola and have promised to change the policy — especially aid to Unita — should Mr Dukakis become president.

If the winds of war finally die away in south-western Africa because of the Reagan Administration's mediation, Mr Bush will lose no opportunity to point out Mr Dukakis's spoiling tactics in debates before the American people.

Thus, to a degree, the delicately-poised situation in the region could have an effect on the US presidential election — ranking with the Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the relatively bloodless transition of power in the Philippines as examples of successful diplomacy.

FUTURE IS UNCLEAR

Whether Dr Crocker would want to continue in public office is not clear at this stage. There must be something in him that would like to be there when all the jigsaw puzzle pieces start to come together at last.

But some say that he is looking forward to a return to a quieter life for a while away from the pressures and with time to write and to analyse events at his leisure.

Certainly, his writings would be awaited with eager anticipation by even those who quarrel with his policies. He has had a lifetime of analysis and study, both as a government officer (he served on the National Security Council staff in the 70s) and as an academic (he was director of African Studies at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Washington's Georgetown University).

Born in New York City, Dr Crocker received his advanced education at Ohio State University and at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University where he was awarded his PhD in 1969.

A quiet, unassuming man who likes to relax by fishing for trout in mountain streams, Dr Crocker has dominated events in Africa like no other international figure before him.

If he does retire from public life when the Reagan term winds up at the end of this year, he will have made his stamp on millions of lives in one of the world's most impoverished and turbulent regions.

SA firm on Cuban troops

SA WILL insist that the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola must be completed within seven months to coincide with implementation of UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia, government sources said yesterday.

SA troops began their withdrawal from Angola yesterday. It will be completed by September 1.

In Geneva last week SA threw down the gauntlet when it proposed the Cuban troop withdrawal should be completed within seven months of implementation of UN resolution 435, which would pre-

pare Namibia for UN-monitored elections.

Agreement on a date for Cuban withdrawal was the major item on the agenda for the next round of tripartite talks scheduled for August 22.

SA recognised that it would demand a major compromise on the part of Angola and Cuba who favour a staged withdrawal to be completed over four years.

Continuation of the peace process de-

● To Page 2

SA firm on Cuban pull-out timetable

pendent on SA, Cuba and Angola reaching an agreement on a withdrawal timetable.

According to the SA proposal, put forward in Geneva last week, phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, should be completed on June.

SA has identified November 1 for implementation of UN resolution 435 and the holding of Namibian elections seven months later.

Sapa reports from Namibia that army trucks, troop carriers and tank transporters plied back and forth between Ruacana on the Angolan border and the main SA garrison at nearby Oshakati.

Convoys also moved back and forth to the railhead at Grootfontein, about 500km to the south-east. Reporters saw no sign of troops crossing the border.

Asked about numbers and the stages of the withdrawal, an SADF spokesman said it was policy not to provide such information.

Although the exact number of SA soldiers in Angola is not known there have been reports putting it as high as 6,000 earlier this year.

Reuters reports SA officials at Oshakati as saying there are more than 2,000 SA forces in Angola.

An SADF spokesman denied a report in The Independent newspaper in London that 300 to 400 SA troops had been surrounded by Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale.

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Mystery fires — 'radicals' cleared

FROM RAJAH MUNAMAVA

NAMIBIA. — Mysterious fires which have gutted schools in Namibia over the past few days are no longer being blamed on radical student vandals.

The fires have caused damage amounting to hundreds of thousands of rand.

The authorities have consistently accused revolutionary elements of responsibility for the arson attacks.

But many believe the burnings are part of a move to disrupt black education in the territory - and to provide South Africa with a reason to impose a state of emergency here.

Mr Justus Garoeb, head of the Swapo-supporting Damara Council, recently spoke out after several arson attacks on schools falling under his administration.

"There is absolutely no reason why revolutionary forces should act against us," he said.

"The fact is we tend to believe that other forces are involved in these acts - which are

obviously aimed at destabilising the Damara Council platform."

The interim government has blamed Swapo and Namibian National Students' Organisation (Nanso) sympathisers for the current unrest sweeping through the country's schools.

Garoeb said: "If ever the members or supporters of Swapo, Nanso or any other progressive force happen to be involved in these atrocities, it can only mean one thing: that the enemy of the struggling people of Namibia have somehow infiltrated these forces and should be smoked out entirely."

Eradicate actions

At the same time he called on all progressive pupils, students and parents to help eradicate actions such as the school burnings.

A source close to one of the schools said: "What do pupils of this age know about politics, and what motives could they possibly have for destroying their buildings? It is highly unlikely."

Similarly, it would be naive to suggest that a fire which broke out this week at Okakarara

Secondary School, deep in the heart of Hereroland, was caused by "radical student elements".

The authorities invariably associated these "elements" with Nanso members and yet this organisation was not permitted to operate in any Herero schools.

Even the wearing of a Nanso T-shirt at any school falling under the Herero administration was strictly prohibited.

According to observers, most of the fire-damaged schools can hardly be termed "havens for radical elements". This includes schools such as Dibasen in Okombaho, Kollin in Arandis, Welwitchia in Khorixas and Petrus Ganeb in Uis. All these schools have been attacked at some time or another.

So far almost 15 schools throughout Namibia have been damaged by fire, causing many to close down.

The police seem to have hit a deadend over the arson attacks, and so far have reported arresting one suspect in connection with the fire at a school in Tsumeb.

— NAMIBIAN NEWS AGENCY

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What's Botha up to now!



From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK.- What is Botha up to now?

This is a question Namibians were asking this week, after South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha's startling announcement in Pretoria of a proposed timetable leading to an end to the war in Angola and independence for Namibia.

At a press conference on Tuesday night, Botha took journalists by surprise when he announced dates for a ceasefire, troop withdrawals and the implementation of Resolution 435 providing for Namibia's independence.

This is the first time that definite dates have been mentioned by South Africa, Angola or Cuba.

Botha proposed an effective ceasefire and an end to hostilities as from next Wednesday - August 10.

South African troops would begin withdrawing from Angola, with the pull-out being completed by September 1 this year.

He also proposed that the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola would be completed by June 1 1989.

UN Resolution 435 would be implemented on November 1, with elections being held in Namibia on June 1 next year - the day the last Cuban is to be out of Angola.



P W Botha



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P.T.O.

Argus Africa News Service
JOHANNESBURG. — Portugal has received an official request to supply troops for a United Nations force to be sent to Namibia, diplomatic sources in Lisbon said today.

Top South African officials are expected in Lisbon next week to discuss the issue.

The sources said although the Portuguese government was keen to send troops to the Namibian-Angolan border the armed forces were divided on the issue.

South Africa's Defence Force chief General Janate Geldenhuys, visited Lisbon a few weeks ago after talks with Angola and Cuba in London.

General Geldenhuys has many personal friends among officers of the Portuguese armed forces since the times of Portugal's colonial war in Angola. He was stationed for a number of years in Luanda.

14-year war

Since the negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the US started there have a number of top level diplomatic contacts in Lisbon involving Cuban, American, South African and Soviet officials.

Portugal fought a 14-year war in Angola before granting the territory independence in 1975.

Meanwhile as South African troops continued to withdraw from Angola to bases in northern Namibia today, Unita said it went on the offensive against Cuban and Angolan troops, killing 50 and capturing the town of Chamutete.

The Unita statement said the offensive, ordered by leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, was aimed at showing that his movement could not be ignored in the peace talks.

Unita said it killed 35 Angolans and 15 Cubans on Tuesday in an attack which captured the army supply base Chamutete, the second most important town in Huila province.

Five Unita soldiers were killed and 13 wounded in the attack, which was supported by heavy artillery and lasted three hours, according to the rebels.

Unita claimed to have destroyed a hydro-electric power plant supplying water and elec-

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

UN asks Portugal to send troops

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Bullough

Troops begin

orderly withdrawal

JOHANNESBURG. — South African troops yesterday began their withdrawal from Angola.

The withdrawal, due to be completed by September 1, is part of the peace agreement between SA, Angola and Cuba.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed that an "orderly withdrawal" was in progress.

In Pretoria, a spokesman dismissed a report in London's Independent newspaper claiming the ceasefire would save up to 400 South African soldiers besieged near the Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale, 320km north of Namibia's border.

"It is not SADF policy to comment on troop movements. It is, in any case, ludicrous to allege that South African troops are trapped in Angola," the spokesman said.

The Independent newspaper said the trapped soldiers had been surrounded by Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale. They said the trapped soldiers had faced surrender or certain death until last week's Geneva agreement which brought about the troop withdrawal.

In May this year, Africa Confidential reported that 3 000 SA troops were massed south of Cuito Cuanavale, while another 3 000 were stationed between the Unita base at Mavinga and Cuito Cuanavale, the Angolans' most forward airbase.

US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who mediated a series of peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, said Washington would continue supplying the rebels as long as the Luanda government received Soviet support.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe labelled the move as "absolutely stupid".

He said he could not understand the US decision to continue supporting Unita rebels in the wake of the recent four-nation agreement to halt the war.

He welcomed South Africa's pledge to withdraw its troops from Angola but said the departure of Cuban troops was unlikely to begin for several months.

Mr Mugabe doubted South Africa's commitment to peace in Southern Africa and warned that Pretoria might intensify attacks on its neighbours after Namibia's independence.

"I do not trust the South Africans," he said. "They still have to prove they are genuinely committed to the peace process."

He said that after Namibia's independence, South Africa might

feel besieged by black-ruled states and intensify a campaign to sabotage them militarily and economically.

Sapa reports that army trucks, troop carriers and tank transports plied back and forth between Ruacana on the Angolan border and the SA garrison at Oshakati.

Convoys also moved back and forth to the railhead at Grootfontein, about 500km to the south-east. But reporters saw no sign of troops crossing the border.

Asked about numbers and the stages of the withdrawal, the spokesman said it was policy for the SADF not to provide such information.

Although the exact number of SA soldiers in Angola was not known, SA troop strength in Angola was reported to have been as high as 6 000 earlier this year.

Reuters reported SA officials at

Oshakati as saying that SA forces in Angola exceeded 2 000 at present.

Observers said the withdrawal would strengthen SA's troop presence in Namibia, where an estimated 50 000 SA-backed SWATF troops are massed along the border.

SA will insist that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola be completed within seven months to coincide with the implementation of UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia, Government sources said yesterday.

The agreement on a date for Cuban withdrawal is the major item on the agenda for the next round of tri-party talks scheduled for August 22.

SA recognized that it would demand a major compromise on the part of Angola and Cuba, who favour a staged withdrawal to be

completed over four years.

Sources said failure on the side of Cuba and Angola to come to a satisfactory agreement on a timeframe for Cuban troops withdrawal could force a deadlock when talks resume later this month.

According to the SA proposal, put forward in Geneva last week, phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola should be completed on June 1, 1989.

Cuba said yesterday that the start of efforts to withdraw South African troops from Angola marked the beginning of the end for Pretoria's "aggression" against its black neighbours.

"This is the beginning of the end of one of the most aggressive chapters of Pretoria's hostile policy against neighbouring states," the official Prensa Latina news agency said. — Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuters-AP and UPI.

streets.

In the open...

Troop withdrawal under way

(Continued from page 1.)

tricity to the city, and to have captured a mining complex, fuel supplies and large amounts of Soviet-made weapons, including surface-to-air missiles.

The South African withdrawal, which started yesterday, is being made in accordance with the cease-fire agreement with Angola and Cuba.

South African troops are to pull back to Namibia by September 1.

The Defence Force would not say whether troops had already evacuated forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and other sectors.

In Harare, President Robert Mugabe welcomed South Africa's "pledge" to withdraw its troops from Angola but said the departure of Cuban troops was unlikely to begin for several months.

Mr Mugabe said Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos told the leaders of black nations at a summit in Luanda this week that a timetable for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops had still to be worked out.

He said: "It is not going to start now. It will start much later, perhaps after six to eight months."

Sapa-Reuter reports from

Ruacana in Namibia that the operation to withdraw South African troops from Angola is under way.

An official in Pretoria told reporters: "The process has started. The planning is being done right now."

LANDMINES

A security source in Pretoria said South African troops had been instructed to leave Angola within 15 days and details of the operation were being relayed to Angolan military authorities by US mediators.

"You have to think about things like landmines," he said. "Everything will be discussed with the Angolans. We will tell them every move we make."

Amnesty promise

SEOUL. — The South Korean Justice Ministry says it will release more than 20 political prisoners on August 15 to mark the anniversary of the liberation of the Korean peninsula from Japan. — Sapa-AP.

Rebel attack

MAPUTO. — At least 21 people were killed when a group of rebels attacked the sugar centre of Maragra, about 75km north of Maputo. — Argus Africa News Service.

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NAMIBIA

Counting the costs of R 435

As the bonfires celebrating the SA-Angola ceasefire agreement burn brightly in four capitals this week, there are those who see the political issues of an independent Namibia in terms of rands and cents. Can the business district of Windhoek survive a Swapo government? And so on. Even Foreign Minister Pik Botha wants to know who will foot the bill of the independence process as well as Namibian budgetary aid given by Pretoria in the past (see *Leaders*).

From Swapo comes the word that economic co-operation with SA will continue. "It would be naive for any government, even be it Swapo, to cut ties with SA," says Anton Lubowski, an executive member of the National Union of Namibian Workers, which is directly affiliated to Swapo.

The future negotiations about SA's loan guarantees, their annual contributions to the Namibian budget and the cost of implementing UN Resolution 435 will be part of a poker game, says an expert on the region. "Aim high, because you know that you will not get everything," he adds.

Government's concern about this issue was voiced by the SABC's comment on the ceasefire proposal a day before it was officially announced by Botha at the Union Buildings: "Now that this (the proposal) has been accepted and forms part of the set of principles agreed to in the present diplomatic initiative, questions about the implementation of the plan have naturally arisen. According to reports from Geneva the very substantial costs associated with the plan have caught some of the parties unawares. Apart from the R1,5bn need for organising the UN-supervised elections, guarantees will have to be found for replacing the R300m annual economic aid and the underwriting of R750m in loans that SA has borne until now," intoned the government mouth-piece.

Economist and academic Wolfgang Thomas says the cost element does not have to be as high as that and that, in his view, a total repayment of debts may not be justified in some cases. He warns against some people using this issue to evade a total settlement. It should be up for negotiation, he suggests. He reckons the R1,5bn, calculated to be the cost of implementation of the resolution, could be less in the end: "Trust between the parties could result in the UN peacekeeping troops moving out of the territory sooner. Trust will decrease the supervising function of the UN."

Lubowski, however, thinks Pretoria may be using this as an excuse to delay independence. "It is arrogant for SA, which has been in Namibia illegally for years, to worry



Thomas... cost element does not have to be high

about who will pay for the implementation of Resolution 435," he asserts. Lubowski seems to think UN members will pay up.

Thomas believes that SA's contribution to the territory's budget could also be negotiated. "SA's support has in real terms decreased over the last few years. I feel that the Development Bank (of SA) could — as in the case of the homelands and Lesotho — contribute towards the Namibian budget.

"The South African Treasury has this year made a direct Budget contribution to Namibia of R300m. I foresee that some white bureaucrats will leave the territory after 435 has been implemented and, accordingly, this amount will decrease. But I still see Pretoria giving transitional aid to an independent Namibia for about three years."

Thomas says the possible dispute over R750m in loan guarantees could also be negotiated: "It could even be taken over by some of the Western countries and the World Bank." He advises against SA companies pulling out of an independent Namibia: "As you saw a property boom in Harare, you will see a property boom in Namibia. If you have a relatively pragmatic government settled in Windhoek, it will become one of the most attractive frontline cities for investment."

Thomas does not foresee that there will be an all-out effort from a Swapo government to nationalise companies. "Blacks don't believe in that anymore. You may, however, find government shareholding in certain mining groups."

Walvis Bay's future will only be determined in later years, reckons Thomas. It could be speculated that Pretoria may first want to keep a close watch on the negotiation process. "SA's claim to Walvis Bay may decrease depending on the pragmatism of a

future government," he says.

Lubowski comments that the future of the rand monetary system under a Swapo government will be scrutinised: "I think the rand will increasingly come under pressure and it may be wise to develop one's own monetary system. That, however, will not be easy and could become very costly."

Costs are already a significant factor. There are those, like Denis Worrall, who believe that the ever-increasing burden of the war on the SA Treasury was one of the main reasons for finding a formula to end the hostilities.

Worrall has high praise for the role that Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden and his team of career diplomats played during the negotiation process. But the former ambassador to London, referring to Pik Botha's peace overture the previous week during the Geneva talks, warns against the risks involved in incidents such as Botha's "dramatic unilateral announcement which broke the code of silence."

The cost of the war and loss of human life was also mentioned in an extraordinary column in *Beeld* this week by NG Kerk minister Willem Nicol. "I do not think we wanted to settle because we thought we were strong enough to win," he wrote. "Now the enemy has obtained better weapons and we felt our limitations as far as finances and our readiness to sacrifice our sons are concerned. This weakened the reasons why we had to fight a war."

Pretoria historian At van Wyk, also in *Beeld*, asked whether the NP government has capitulated over Namibia. He pointed to Pik Botha's absolute denial of this during a TV interview when Botha recalled the pro-



Lubowski

ouncements of Prime Minister J B M Hertzog as evidence of a no-change policy, (Hertzog said, in 1927, that the "sovereignty of South West Africa lies with the Union.")

Since 1966, SA's attitude has changed, says Van Wyk, when former Foreign Minister Helgard Muller said: "We have never disputed the fact that ... SWA has a separate identity ..." And the late John Vorster: "We ... do not claim for ourselves one single inch of SWA's soil."

If this is not capitulation, it is certainly a turnabout, Van Wyk argued. The reasons are the 600 South African lives lost and the millions spent — "But then SA should not justify its disengagement (from Namibia) by

2888 (22) E. Day

Swapo government in Namibia acceptable to SA, says Stoffel

A SWAPO government in Namibia would be acceptable to SA if the Cubans left Angola, Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

His statement follows 10 years of negotiations during which SA has been accused of delaying an international settlement because it feared a Swapo victory in UN-supervised elections in terms of the 1978 UN resolution 435.

Asked if there had been a change of attitude, Van der Merwe said SA could not have accepted a Swapo government with Cuban troops at the territory's back door.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

However, SA could see its way to accepting a Swapo government once the Cuban threat had been removed.

"SA is not selling out. When the Cubans go home it will not be worth continuing the war if the only objective is to replace Sam Nujoma with Dirk Mudge."

Van der Merwe acknowledged his view's could invite reaction from conservatives.

"But not even rightwingers are prepared to expose their children to a war if there is nothing crucial at stake."

He said SA's presence in Angola in the past was justified because by fighting the Cubans, SA was fighting a Soviet surrogate. The change of political and diplomatic perceptions in the Soviet Union had played an important role in getting agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal.

The agreement on a period for the withdrawal is the main issue to be thrashed out at the next round of peace talks on August 22.

Sapa reported yesterday that security forces opened fire on a vehicle, wounding seven of its occupants, near Nkongo in northern Namibia on Tuesday night. The driver of

the vehicle allegedly contravened the dusk-to-dawn curfew in the area.

The SWA Territory Force (SWATF) said a member of the security forces tried to wave down the vehicle but the driver sped on and security forces opened fire.

The seven were taken to a military medical facility where surgeons operated on four of them.

The SWATF appealed to civilians in Ovambo to obey the curfew in operation from 30 minutes after sunset to 30 minutes before sunrise.

● See Page 3



● NUJOMA

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August 12, 1988 3

Swapo in power acceptable to SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Swapo government in Namibia would be acceptable to the SA government if the Cubans leave Angola, the Minister of Information, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Asked whether there had been a change of attitude about a Swapo government, Mr Van der Merwe said SA could not have accepted a Swapo government with Cuban troops at the territory's back door.

"SA is not selling out. When the Cubans go home it will not be worth continuing the war if the only objective is to replace Sam Nujoma with Dirk Mudge."

Mr Van der Merwe said SA's presence in Angola in the past was justified because by fighting the Cubans, SA was fighting a Soviet surrogate. The change of political and diplomatic perceptions in the Soviet Union had played an important role in getting Cuban and Angola to agree to Cuban troop withdrawal.

One of SA's demands in the present peace talks is for Cuban troops to withdraw from Angola within the seven months of the implementation of UN resolution 435.

The question of the Cuban presence in Angola emerged in 1982 as a major obstacle in the way of the implementation of UN resolution 435.

East News Agency reported.

12/2/88
7 wounded in Namibia *221*

WINDHOEK. — Security forces opened fire on a vehicle and wounded seven of its occupants near Nkongo in northern Namibia on Tuesday night, the SWA Territory Force said here yesterday. The driver of the vehicle allegedly contravened the dusk-to-dawn curfew in the area.

SA demands

proof of UN

impartiality

13/8/88 Star

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(Handwritten mark)

THE South African Government has made it clear that it must have proof of United Nations impartiality and clarity about who will foot the bill for the independence process before it agrees to implement UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

Though South Africa has raised these matters before, it has not explicitly stated them as preconditions for accepting Resolution 435.

The tougher line emerged in a statement by Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday, in which he clarified his remark on Thursday that the South African Government could "put up with" a Swapo government in Namibia.

In a veiled retraction, Dr van der Merwe said it was inappropriate to make statements about the acceptability or otherwise of any future government of Namibia

PETER FABRICIUS

He made the original remark at a briefing for political journalists in Pretoria on Thursday when he was asked how South Africa measured the political cost of its endorsement of Resolution 435, which could lead to a Swapo government in Namibia.

He said South Africa's view had always been that the people of Namibia should decide themselves what government they wanted. They could not do this while the Cubans were just across the border.

South Africa was not fighting against Mr Sam Nujoma (leader of Swapo) but against "Soviet surrogates with aggressive intentions in Africa", Dr van der Merwe said.

But with the Cubans gone — South Africa's condition for implementing Resolution 435 — "the object should not be to instal Mudge instead of Nujoma".

SA could put up with Windhoek under Swapo.

But in a clarifying statement issued yesterday Dr van der Merwe said South Africa wanted to see Namibia become independent with a developed infrastructure and with prospects for free enterprise.

"The record of Marxist governments in Africa is one of destroyers and not upholders of civilised standards."

On the road ahead for Namibia, long and complicated negotiations were the prospect. "Before the implementation of Resolution 435 the UN will have to offer proof of its impartiality," Dr van der Merwe said.

"All hostilities, including terror and intimidation, will have to end.

"There must be clarity on the Cuban forces and the financing of the independence process."

Little evidence in Namibia of SA's withdrawal

RUNDU — Three days after South Africa's withdrawal from Angola is supposed to have started there is little evidence of any big military activities in eastern Namibia.

The bulk of the SADF's units, involved in the support campaign for Unita and the action around Cuito-Cuanvale in south-eastern Angola, will probably be withdrawn across the border into the Caprivi strip and the border town of Rundu, which is one of the biggest military bases in the country.

The Caprivi strip is also home to the SADF's 32 Angolan battalion which was heavily involved in the fighting alongside Unita.

BRENDAN SEERY

Military sources said here the withdrawal of a large number of men and quantities of equipment from Angola is one which required detailed logistical planning.

According to a South West African Territory Force (SWATF) source, "there won't be much to see until at least next week".

It has been estimated that South Africa has about 2 500 men stationed in Angola, the majority of whom

are in the south-eastern Angolan province of Kuando Kubango.

It has also been reported that the greatest number of South African military equipment inside Angola is stationed in that province, including long range G-5 guns around the town of Cuito-Cuanavale.

In Rundu there are no signs of any major withdrawal taking place and no signs of unusual activity.

On a 720 km drive north from Windhoek to Rundu, two military vehicles were seen on the road.

At the big military air base in Grootfontein, a number of planes, which often ferry SADF men and

supplies, were seen parked on the tarmac apron.

A pair of Mirage fighter planes was seen flashing by at low level alongside the road on three occasions.

An Impala strike jet was seen practising evasive anti-missile flying — firing off a magnesium "decoy" flare to confuse heat seeking-missiles and then banking sharply around.

At Grootfontein some equipment was being prepared to be moved from the war zone. At the railway station, where the rail line from Windhoek and South Africa ends, a train load of wrecked military trucks — some broken down but others apparently blasted by land mines — was awaiting movement south.

from Angola

13/8/88

Namibia
-Angola
Special
Report

Namibia

w/4 ARKUS
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poisoned for uranium golden land

Information
Minister
backtracks
on Swapo

by BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

INFORMATION Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has beaten a retreat from a statement that a Swapo government in Namibia would be acceptable if the Cubans left Angola.

Dr van der Merwe, who made the statement at a Press briefing, is understood to have been rapped over the knuckles from the very top.

In his statement Dr van der Merwe said: "The emphasis had incorrectly fallen on one of the parties involved.

"The view of the South African government to South West Africa is clear. South Africa does not subscribe to the principle of SWA how they must arrange their affairs."

Prospects
"Everything South Africa has done in SWA in the past decade or more was aimed at providing the inhabitants of the territory with the opportunity to make their own choices in circumstances which are free from threats to peace by alien military forces north of their border and free from terror and intimidation.

ment in Windhoek will be the possibility of a flight of white skills and capital.

Unlike Zimbabwe, whites here are not financial prisoners and many have already secured nest eggs as insurance in South Africa and elsewhere. The prospect of a Swapo government becoming reality would send many packing across the Orange River, in spite of claims by liberal politicians like Mr Dirk Mudge that most whites here have accepted majority rule.

Companies have also undoubtedly been hedging their bets and though investment appears to be substantial at the moment, many have also ensured their funds are in places safer than Windhoek's banks. One political observer remarked cynically: "When Sam comes to open up the piggy bank he might find the only thing there is a one-billion rand overdraft."

All of which would cripple an emergent nation trying to stand on its own feet.

On the other hand there is a rumoured R1.4-billion in stance-by credit waiting in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for independent Namibia.

resource which would benefit Namibians if a 200-mile "economic zone" off its coast was recognised by the rest of the world.

Although South Africa makes much of the fact that it supports the Namibian budget, a President Nujoma in Windhoek would not have to concern himself overly with the loss of the R308-million which Pretoria put up this year for Windhoek's budget.

White flight
After independence there should be no need to continue the South African-promulgated system of 11 separate ethnic administrations and parliaments (cost in 1988/89: R447-million) and, of course, the war cost in 1988/89 to Windhoek about R700-million) will ease the burden on finances.

However, probably the biggest economic potential disaster facing a Nujoma govern-

by BRENDAN SEERY of the Argus Africa News Service in WINDHOEK

R700-million debt incurred in the country's name by previous administrations in Windhoek, and will have to face the fact there will be no more direct South African budgetary aid to the territory if once regarded as a "fifth province".

One of the first priorities for a probable Swapo government will be massive spending in social areas such as education and health, to redress the imbalances left as a legacy of apartheid.

Priority areas will be in the war-torn north, where 70 percent of the country's people live, most at subsistence level.

Would the economy be able to cope with the massive demands for finance from such a sweeping reconstruction and redevelopment programme? Namibia has a typical

RESOLUTION 435 no longer appears to be a shimmering desert mirage — but the financial future of an independent Namibia is still hazy and indistinct.

Will the country prosper because of its natural and human resources and become the envy of Africa, or will it become another Third World "basket case", kept alive by massive infusions of international aid?

When the dust of 435 has settled and a new government has moved in, what will it have in the way of an economy and what will its own priorities be?

If as predicted by most experts) the victor in the UN supervised polls is Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma will take over a vast semi-arid country of 823,000 square kilometres populated by 1.4 million people.

Priorities

He will find an economy which, at first glance, appears prosperous, with a gross domestic product in 1987 of R3 130.6-m, and a favourable balance of trade.

He will have to reckon, however, with an estimated

Third World economy in that it relies for the bulk of its income on natural resources which are exported — in this case, the mining, fishing and agricultural sectors.

Vulnerable

Together they contributed 37 percent of the gross domestic product in 1987.

Mining, fishing and agriculture are all vulnerable sectors of the economy, susceptible to fluctuations in the international markets of in nature.

Three multinational co-operations dominate Namibian mining — Rossing (uranium), Tsumeb Corporation (copper and base metals) and Consolidated Diamond Mines (diamonds).

Tsumeb is widely believed to be nearing the end of its productive life, while Rossing and CDM have "life of mine" forecasts which do not extend beyond the first few years of the next century.

Fishing in the nutrient-rich waters of the Benguela current provides a healthy living for many countries. Windhoek earns some revenue through boats registered here or through South African companies operating in Windhoek, but the real "rip-offs" happen outside the country's 12-mile territorial zone.

Taking advantage of the unresolved legal status of the territory, Soviet, Polish, Spanish and other trawlers haul in hundreds of thousands of tons of fish annually — a

'NUJOMA COULD BE IN WINDHOEK SOON'

by SAM SOLE
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — Sam Nujoma could be in Windhoek by the beginning of next year.

That's the opinion of Swapo's ebullient Windhoek spokesman Anton Lubowski. He is confident that the South Africans will pull out of Namibia because, he says, "They have no option, their backs are against the wall."

Mr Lubowski says there are six reasons why the Namibia question has now come to a head:

- The superpower agreement to end the conflict — "That is an enormous lever providing more pressure than the Western Five did and depriving Pretoria of the Russian bogey to blame for its intransigence";

- The financial strain — "South Africa has admitted it cannot anymore afford the millions of rands it spends on the war and propelling up the Windhoek administration";

- Internal pressure — "Pretoria is coming under increasing moral pressure from within South Africa. There is a kind of Vietnam syndrome as demonstrated by the refusal of the 143 to serve in the SADF";

- The Cuito Cuanavale debacle — "They lost hands down. They never broke through to the town and when they wanted to withdraw they could not."

"The G5 cannons got stuck in the mud. By the time they got loose the Cubans had come in from the south west and cut them off."

While this version of events has been denied by the SADF, an impeccable independent source has confirmed to Weekend Argus that South Africa was "bloodied at Cuito";

- The US election — "Pretoria has been forced to

try to reach a settlement before the sympathetic Reagan administration leaves the White House."

Mr Lubowski said South Africa was desperate to restore some international credibility.

"They could have released Mandela or played the Namibia card — they have chosen the latter, it seems", and

- The failure of the transitional government to attract local or international recognition.

Mr Lubowski said he was concerned about South Africa reneging on the agreement once its troops were safely back in Namibia.

"But I think they are committed to a path now. To back out would be political suicide."

Turning to Swapo's plan for an independent Namibia, Mr Lubowski said it was vital that whites be encouraged to remain.

"We don't want the same economic disaster as occurred in Mozambique and Angola."

Rich country

Nevertheless, Swapo was committed to a fair redistribution of wealth, he said.

"We are a rich country in relation to our small population. With the fish, minerals and land we possess, there is no way people need be as poor as they are."

Another concern, he said, would be freeing Namibia from the rand monetary system.

"We are not naive about it, we are economically tied to South Africa and dependent for prosperity on her."

But at the same time we do not want to be sucked into the falling value of the rand as South Africa's problems are bound to continue."

Independent assessment suggests Swapo will be a

Rebels who won't go away

Argus Africa News Service
JOHANNESBURG. — Peace negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba could be destroyed if the Luanda government refuses to negotiate with the rebel group Unita, a spokesman for the rebels, Mr Alcides Sakala, said from Europe this week.

He described as "dreams" statements made by the MPLA government that Unita would disappear if Namibia achieved its independence and South Africa ceased to support the rebels.

"We have been fighting for 27 years and nobody can believe that we will just disappear," he said.

"Our sources of diplomatic and military support are now greater than ever."

Unita had enough weapons to carry on fighting for "more than 10 years".

Time of the essence in Angolan talks

by TOS WENTZEL

Political Correspondent

TIMETABLES for further stages of a peace plan for south-western Africa will be high on the agenda of the next round of negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The next round of talks is due to be held in the week of August 22.

The period to be allowed for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will be one of the trickiest questions.

The Cubans so far have indicated that they are willing to have a phased withdrawal over four years, but in Geneva there was talk of them being willing to cut this to two years.

South Africa is likely to insist on a much shorter period, especially as implementation of UN Resolution 435 is due to start on November 1.

From the South African point of view there will have to be a direct link between the Cuban withdrawal and the independence plan.

Another problem is the financing of Resolution 435

"South Africa wants to see an independent country with a developed infrastructure and prospects for free development."

Dr van der Merwe said the road to independence was long and complex. Negotiations would still have to be conducted before United Nations Resolution 435 could be implemented.

Impartiality

The United Nations would have to demonstrate its impartiality: all hostility, terrorism and intimidation would have to end; Cuban troops had to withdraw, and the financing of the independence process would have to be obtained.

In terms of Resolution 435 the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Louis Pienaar, would remain as head of government until the last stage of the independence process.

But it was inappropriate to make statements on the acceptability or otherwise of any future government in the territory, Dr van der Merwe said.

which includes a UN supervising force. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha estimates this could cost R1.5-billion.

There is also the question of South Africa's huge subsidies to the territory — R2,2-billion since 1984 — and the Republic's guarantees for Namibian loans of about R750-million in the past few years.

Another tricky issue is Unita's position.

The United States has said it will not stop aid to the movement while Russia helps the Angolan regime. The Angolans insist that this and South Africa can aid must stop.

The presence of ANC bases in Angola may well enter the negotiations in the wrangle about Unita.

In the end, a trade-off on the positions of Unita and the ANC is a possibility.

Meanwhile, South African troops are pulling out of Angola completely, including from the Ruacana water scheme.

Angola has guaranteed the supply of water and power from the scheme to Namibia.



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma — could be in Windhoek early next year.

major political force after an election.

Given that the main players, once the Cuban question is settled, are the South Africans and Swapo, the primary obstacle to an agreement on UN Resolution 435 appears to be the role of the SWA Territory Force and the SWA police counter insurgency unit.

Swapo considers these units to be anathema of the SADF and territory covered by the mandate of 1500 men envisaged by the resolution.

However, according to the department of Foreign Affairs in Windhoek, Mr Erik Blumer, SWATF is considered an independent South West African force.

A spokesman for the SWA Police, Chief Inspector Kuru du Randt, said he did not want to comment on the disbanding of Koervoet.

He said police would receive the government of the day, but that Swapo had warned of reprisals should they come to power.

If the force were ordered to disband, members were likely to be absorbed into the SAP, said the chief inspector.

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CPAC Times 13/8/88

PW warns of threat to peace

221 Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA has warned that the Angolan-Namibian peace initiative would be "impossible" if the tough new United States sanctions bill against South Africa goes ahead.

In an outspoken statement only four days after the ceasefire in the region was implemented, Mr Botha spoke of "astounding" American "recklessness".

The bill was approved by the US House of Representatives in spite of intervention by the Reagan administration, which also warned that the peace talks could be wrecked.

Similar legislation has still to be debated by the US Senate and Mr Botha has said he would watch the outcome with interest.

But he left little doubt that the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence, and therefore the Angolan peace initiative to which it is linked, would be in serious jeopardy if the anti-South African measures are approved.

Reports from the US have suggested that President Reagan might be forced to veto them.

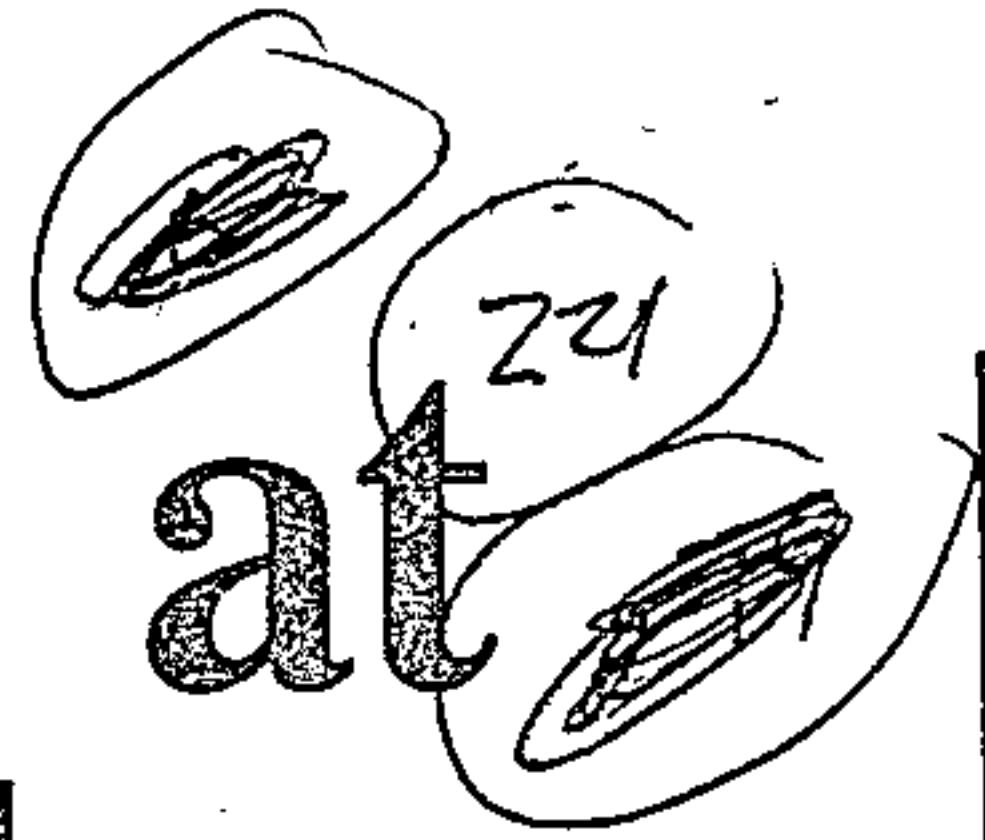
Mr Botha said it was "obvious" that the debate on the total trade boycott against South Africa was being used purely for "internal political aims".

Members of Congress were fully aware by now that prominent black leaders in South Africa as well as the governments of certain neighbouring states strongly opposed the legislation.

"The recklessness of members of Congress who do not care in the least whether their actions adversely affect the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of Southern Africa as a whole is astounding," said Mr Botha.

"It would be ironical if Resolution 435 should reach the point of implementation only to be obstructed or made impossible as a result of provisions in the legislation which impose extensive restrictions, including those that would cover financial transactions that would be necessitated by the implementation of Resolution 435."

cap. Tim's 13/8/88



Soviets hint at steering Cubans to a compromise

Own Correspondent

MOSCOW. — In its first public response to this week's announcement of a ceasefire in Angola, the Soviet Union has indicated that it is trying to steer its Cuban allies towards a compromise with South Africa.

The deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, said yesterday he had remained in close touch with the United States mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, throughout the talks and in many respects agreed with him.

He emphasized that while he remained opposed to South Africa and its policy of apartheid, the Soviet Union did not disregard all suggestions from the South African side.

South Africa and the joint An-

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force said yesterday a withdrawal of troops from southern Angola remained in the "planning stages" and that none of the troops had begun moving back across the border to Namibia. — UPI

golan-Cuban delegations disagree on a timetable for the withdrawal of 45 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa has insisted it wants the Cuban troops out by June 1 next year if it is to go ahead with its proposal to grant Namibia independence by then.

The Angolans want the Cubans to remain longer to help in the war against Unita.

Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union now accepted the need for

"partial solutions" in Southern Africa.

He added that the resolving of the Namibian issue could alleviate apartheid.

"If no more aid is given to Unita then perhaps the Angolans could control the situation themselves."

However, the Soviet Union would not stop aid to the ANC or to frontline states, he said.

The Soviet Union was willing to stand as a guarantor to a settlement — but before doing so it had to be assured that such a settlement was fair.

Meanwhile Sapa-AP reports from Lisbon that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban diplomat Mr Jorge Risquet met to discuss the ceasefire accord with South Africa.

Angolan reports said the meeting in Luanda covered several other bilateral issues.

ONLY when the United Nations soldiers in their powder-blue berets arrive at Strijdom Airport will the people of Namibia realise the time for independence has come.

From Karasburg to Oshakati and from Swakopmund to Wêreldend, the one thing that blinds Namibians of all persuasions and ilk together is their hefty dose of scepticism about peace plans, settlement plans, independence plans, any damn plans.

They've been down this road before. At least five times before. And so far there has been no concrete evidence that it is going to be different this time round.

Ten years ago some of my neighbours were scared out of their wits when the prospects of independence surfaced," says Gert Muller of the farm Otjimize in the Ombotzu area.

"They packed their bags and fled to that 'Vlugtelingskamp' in the Cape" — a slide reference to Somerset West and the Strand, which have become havens for rightwing Namibians. "And nothing happened."

Mr Muller is one of those Namibians who will believe his eyes rather than his ears. Talk has been cheap so far but only actions will buy the whisky.

Back in Windhoek scepticism and cynicism are also the order of the day.

Fears

The main concern is the very tight timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the run-up to a UN-sponsored election announced by the South African Government.

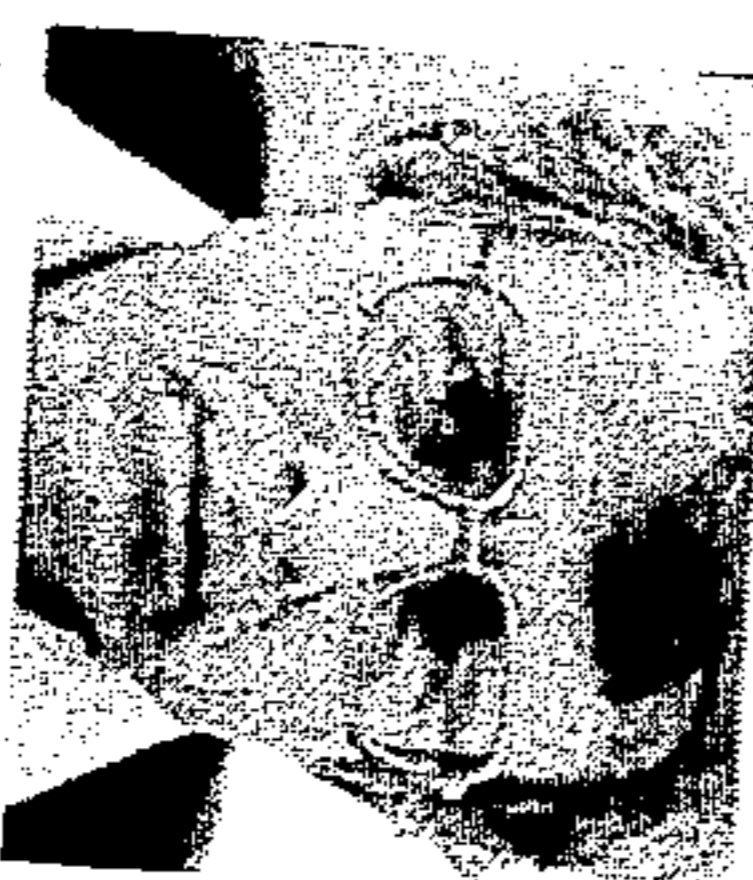
Very few people believe it is possible to accomplish this by June next year, as envisaged.

There are fears that Pretoria's sudden concern about the impartiality of the secretary-general of the United Nations and the international community having to foot the bill for independence are only new red herrings thrown on the table to prolong the negotiations. But still, there is a realisation dawning that this time

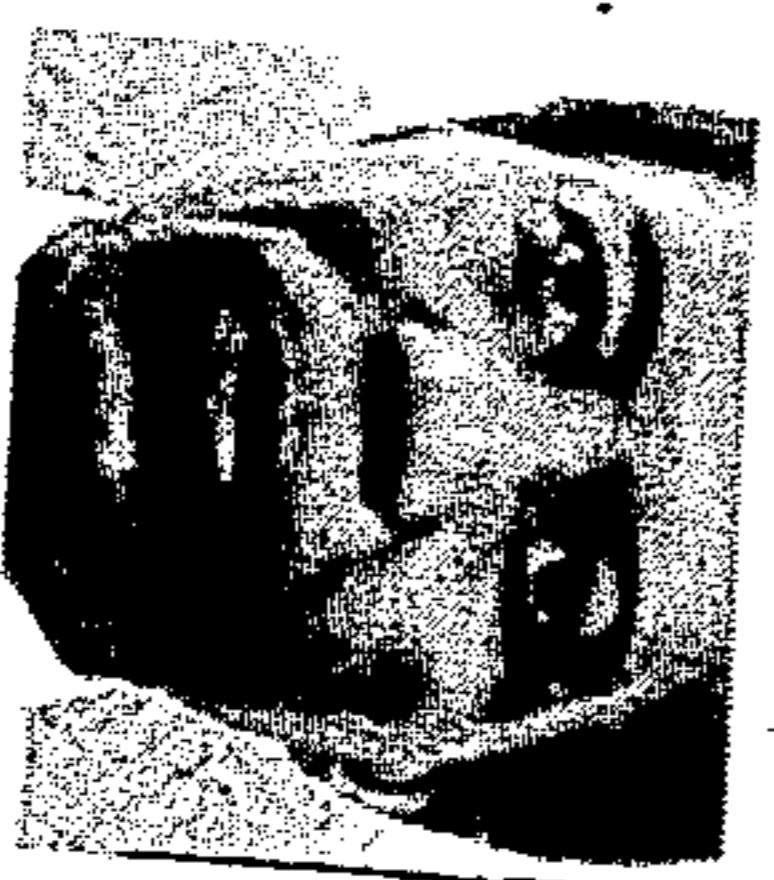
NAMIBIANS HAVE BEEN DOWN THIS ROAD BEFORE . . . AND IT HAS TURNED THEM INTO A NATION OF SCEPTICS. DRIES VAN HEERDEN REPORTS



GERT MULLER . . . wants to buy the farms of rightwingers who leave



Ulrich Eins . . . believes that even conservatives are realising independence is inevitable



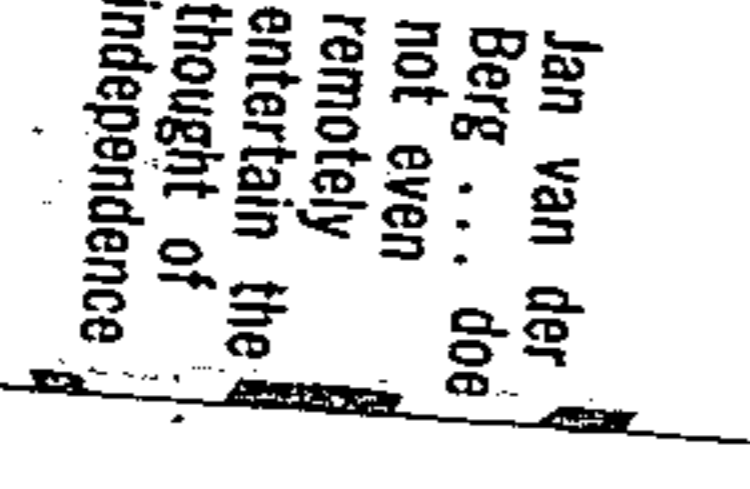
Dr Z J Ngavirue . . . "any future government will have economic problems"



"We have always been treated as a fifth province of the Republic and the South African Government is honour-bound to continue looking after us."



Economics professor Fannuel Tjinggaete . . . "we are waiting with bated breath"



Jan van der Berg . . . does not even entertain the thought of independence

"The problem is that over the years we have spent so much time advancing reasons why 435 will not work instead of working positively towards a strategy for independence."

And the interim government sat on their hands for two years, hiding behind South Africa's insistence that independence was still a long way off," he says. Maverick rightwinger Mr

Jan van der Berg, better known in Namibia as "Jan Apollo", believes the latest flurry of negotiations is little more than a storm in a glass of Windhoek Lager.

Speaking in his restaurant which has become an important meeting place for Windhoek conservatives, this descendant of the Thirstland Trekkers says he does not even remotely entertain the thought of independence.

But white Namibians are but a small minority in the country. The whole white population could fit into Ellis Park with room to spare for Mr Louis Luyt's latest acquisitions for the Transvaal rugby team.

Professor Fannuel Tjinggaete, economist at the University of Namibia, says the wait-and-see attitude is also prevalent among the black communities.

"We are waiting with bated breath to see if the ceasefire holds. If that is the case . . . then, maybe in two years' time . . . we may see independence."

Meanwhile, business confidence in the region is soaring.

The property market is sky-high. Demand for houses often at ludicrous prices, far exceeds the supply. "I have a waiting list for houses and flats that stretch from here to Tsimbuktu," says local businessman and president of the Institute of Estate Agents, Mr Bennie Joseph. A building boom is sweeping the country. In Windhoek alone, three major shopping

Stwies 14/8/88

centres are now being erected at a cost of more than R100-million.

But there is also a downside to the economic picture. Mr Eins is very worried that business has become too reliant on spending by the military.

"We have developed a defence-based economy and there have been no attempts yet to devise a peacetime strategy," he says.

The chairman of Rössing Uranium, Dr Z J Ngavirue, points to the fact that any future government will have serious economic problems to contend with.

"Estimates indicate that there are more than 70 000 Namibians who have fled the country and may want to return after independence. They will have to be resettled and put into gainful employment. With official unemployment already running at 22 percent, it is going to be a mammoth task."

Says Mr Eins: "Obviously the new government will have to make good their election promises. We may go through an initial period of crisis management. Education, housing and medical facilities for the poorer communities will take precedence over other avenues of spending.

Privilege

"For white people presently enjoying immense privileges, the *dolce vita* may be over."

Both Dr Ngavirue and Prof Tjingaete point to the fact that independence will open the country to more foreign investment and new markets that can be entered. Once sanctions have been lifted, the economy may pick up further.

One benefit of the introduction of the interim government is that a non-racial form of government is no longer anathema to Namibians.

But in the back of everybody's mind is the thought that Swapo will almost definitely come to power in any open election.

Reality

"I believe Swapo is going to win," says Mr Eins. "But I am not worried about the future because I believe the realities of government will moderate the rhetoric of being on the outside looking in."

Thus far there is little sign of panic in the white community. "I don't see anyone 'packing for Pretoria'," says Dr Ngavirue.

"I have a lot of confidence in this country," says businessman Mr Eins. "The amount of goodwill between people and the prospects for reconciliation are still immense."

Truce to cost UN a packet

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

THE United Nations discovered this week that while words are cheap, peace can get pretty expensive. Having come up with Resolution 435 in 1978 and having spent the last 10 years touting it, the world body was pleading poverty this week now that the time has come to cough up the estimated R1,9-billion implementation that 435 will cost.

This week, a top UN official, speaking on behalf of Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, told a group of American lawyers that with a total annual "peacekeeping" budget of R4,4-billion, the UN was going to be hard-pressed to oversee ceasefires in Angola/Namibia, the Persian Gulf, Kampuchea, Cyprus, the Western Sahara and Afghanistan.

Pleased

"It's ironic that after all these years the UN can finally play a role, and it finds itself bankrupt," one UN diplomat said.

But still, no one expects the world body to renege on its end of the deal.

"In global terms, R1,9-billion is a drop in the ocean. It will be able to solicit the money from member nations who want to earn brownie points," the diplomat said.

There is still no word if De Cuellar will accept South Africa's invitation to visit the region. He is known to have only turned his attention to the Angola deal in the last few days, having been totally immersed in the Iran-Iraq negotiations in the early part of the week.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the Reagan administration is quietly enjoying what it sees as vindication of its controversial policies in Southern Africa and the Persian Gulf.

For the time being, administration critics have been silenced and the stock of the embattled Chester Crocker has skyrocketed.

The Bothas of Namibia

WHEN Parliament debated South Africa's military occupation of German South West Africa in 1915 the then newly formed National Party of General Hertzog vehemently opposed Louis Botha's actions.

The invasion was seen as complicity in British imperialism — directed, moreover, against another imperial power which had shown sympathy to the Boer cause in the South African War.

Seventy-three years later other Bothas seem, at last, to be serious about efforts to extract South Africa from the Angola-Namibia imbroglio.

I take the view that the core of the whole question is that of Namibian independence, and, in turn, the core of that question is whether the South African Government can afford, politically, an internationally acceptable settlement in the territory.

Sceptics

UN Resolution 435 of 1978 is unambiguous: Free and fair elections on the basis of adult suffrage.

Undoubtedly, the bottom line is whether Pretoria can stomach the prospect of a Swapo government in Windhoek. Diplomats and other sober analysts of Namibia's internal politics concur that in an open election Swapo would win at least 60 per cent of the vote, giving it a commanding majority in the proposed constituent assembly.

South Africa may just have bitten the bullet in more ways than one.

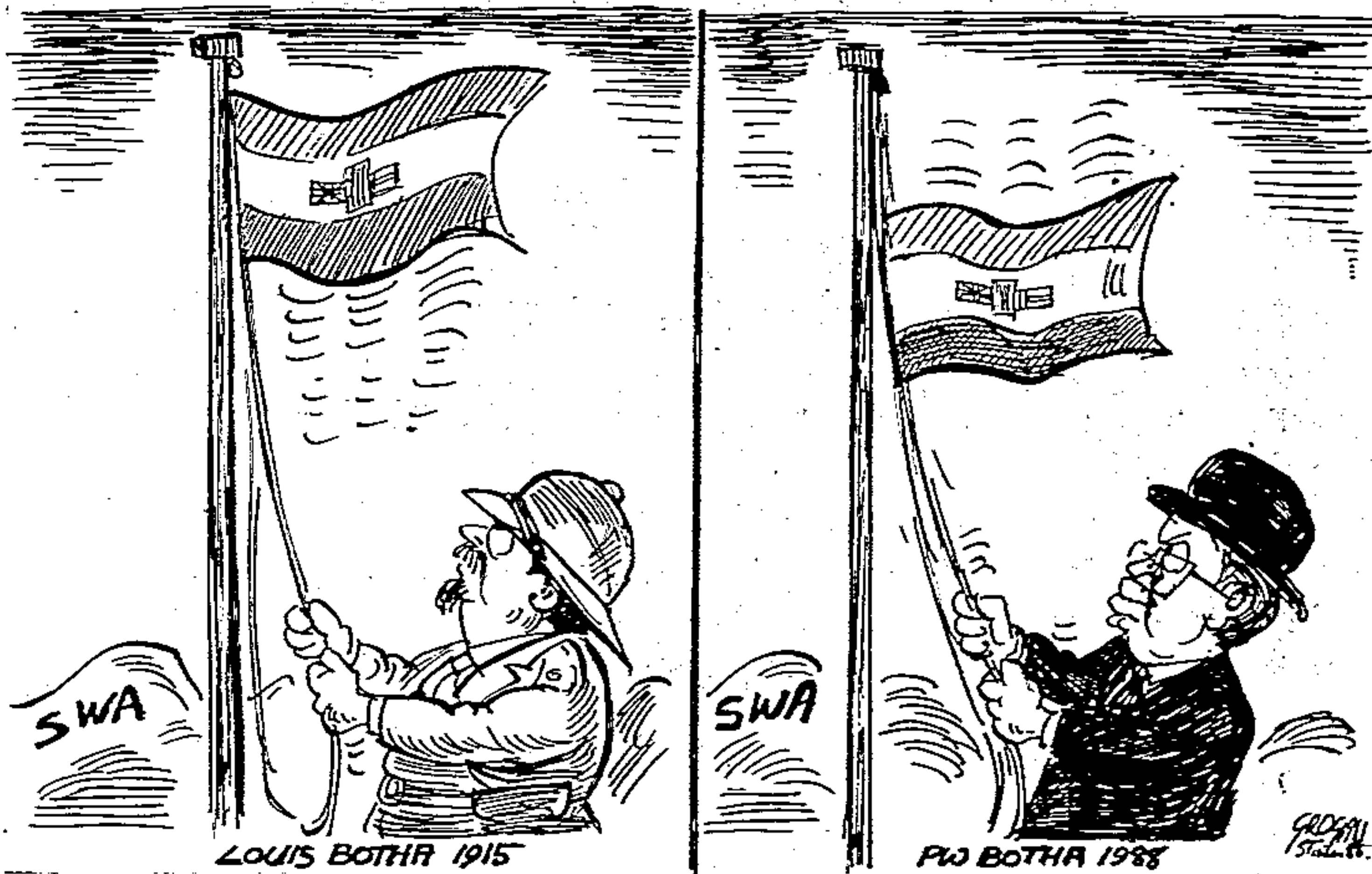
Those many sceptics who point to the several occasions in the past, notably in 1978, when South Africa seemed to be on the brink of a settlement, have solid grounds for their scepticism.

There are, however, some reasons for believing that the ball

FLAGPOLES APART

David Welsh

sees hope for cautious optimism about peace moves



game is different in 1988 from what it was in 1978 and on other occasions in the intervening years.

First, it looks as though South Africa has reached the zenith of its capability as a regional power.

Although still a formidable adversary, its loss of air control has

tipped the logistical scales against it. A continuation of the war must mean that casualty rates will rise appreciably and, to quote Pik Botha: "We must think twice before letting hundreds of our sons be killed."

Thousands of parents, on all sides of the conflict, will say "amen" to that.

A related consideration is that the South African military cannot afford to allow itself to be seen as less than invincible.

Astronomical

Secondly, the South African Government appears to have recognised that perpetuating the war is like throwing increasingly scarce resources into a bottomless pit.

Press reports cite the annual cost of the war to South Africa as being as much as R4-billion. Even if that is an exaggeration, it is quite apparent that the costs are astronomical — and can only rise.

Thirdly, big power co-operation, as opposed to conflict by proxy, marks 1988 as significantly different from 1978. One gains the impression that when

any of the regional actors has shown signs of derailing the negotiating process it has been subjected to formidable pressure to get back in line.

The peace process can succeed only if there are no losers at the end of the day — a point which Pik Botha has stressed. If it is sensible the South African Government will recognise that the gains for the entire region from a durable settlement could be immense.

Apart from the saving of human life and of the costs of war, South Africa could, without loss of face, get rid of an albatross that has been round its neck for more than 40 years.

It will, moreover, insist that a Nkomati-like accord be woven into the settlement that will deny the ANC use of bases and sanctuary inside Angola.

To the extent that this will undercut the ANC's ability to wage "armed struggle" and increase the pressure on it to seek a political solution, the longer-term possibilities of an accommodation in South Africa itself will be slightly improved.

Perhaps the most important gain of all from a prospective

settlement would be its vindication of traditional diplomatic methods of negotiation as opposed to the methods of violence like cross-border raids, "hot pursuit" and, as one cynic termed it, "pre-emptive hot pursuit".

The use of these methods in the past has become depressingly common. Perhaps they have secured some occasional strategic gains and satisfied the military, but their costs in terms of entrenching the regional spiral of violence have far outweighed the gains and strengthened the image of South Africa as a "bandit" state.

It is too much to expect that the hawks in the Government have been transformed into doves.

Bellicose

Less than a year ago General Magnus Malan was making bellicose noises during his parliamentary Vote, saying that "we cannot permit the Reds to hoist their flag in Windhoek" and threatening Angola for providing sanctuary to Swapo and the ANC.

The July issue of Paratus, the army's official magazine, contains even more bellicose material, written in the "total onslaught" paradigm, including an article explaining why the presence of the army in Namibia is necessary.

Yet, in a little-noticed comment, General Malan responded to a question as to whether South Africa was prepared to pull back to the Orange instead of the Kunene by saying, tersely it seemed, "Suidwes is in staat om na homself te kyk" (Rapport, July 24 1988). Perhaps (deeply buried) reserves of flexibility are coming up.

Few observers have been willing to stick their necks out and be bullish about the prospects for a settlement. The risks of being caught with your analytical pants down are too great.

I will hazard cautious optimism, but it is an optimism that reflects hope as much as insight.

Vexed CP calls for talks on Namibian peace plan

Political Reporter

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party has invited Namibia's political leaders to talks about the proposed implementation of UN Resolution 435, which provides for the territory's independence.

The CP has also assured white Namibians of its support for their actions to ensure their self-determination in their own territory, and its support to prevent domination over whites in a "Marxist-controlled unitary state".

ETHNIC ELECTIONS

At the CP's Free State provincial congress at the weekend, the party's executive discussed Pretoria's peace proposals for Angola and Namibia.

In a statement after the special meeting, the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, called on the Government to hold ethnically-based elections in Namibia to allow each of the territory's nations to decide on their future.

The executive reiterated its rejection of the peace proposals.

Senior party members told The Star that the CP regarded Namibia's imminent independence with extreme concern and was considering participating in the proposed UN-supervised elections.

The CP said the peace proposals "were not peace, but the prelude to a protracted struggle".

Though it was aware of the necessity for peace between southern African nations and states, the CP was inexorably opposed to "communist expansionism in southern Africa, the Cuban presence in Angola, its threat to South West Africa, and Swapo's Marxist nature and acts of terror".

The party also expressed its deep concern about the release of all political prisoners in Namibia, the return of exiles to the territory and the lack of precautions to monitor or destroy Swapo bases in Angola and Zambia.

German call for Namibia commission

MUNICH — Bavaria's ruling Christian Social Union (CSU) has called on the West German government to create a "Namibia commission" to help advance the territory to independence.

CSU/Spokesman Mr. Ortwin Lowack said West Germany had an historical responsibility for the territory. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

● See Page 2

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By Brendan Seery,
The Star's Africa News Service
RUNDU (eastern Namibia)

An air of sultry boredom hangs over the tented military police checkpoint at the army-erected pontoon bridge across the Kavango River here.

Over the river, the road goes into southern Angola and the land of Savimbi. The bridge, though, is quiet now, but, when South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola begins in earnest in about a week's time, it will rumble with sounds of "Ollifant" tank tracks and the tyres of G-5 and G-6 artillery pieces.

As when the SADF last withdrew from Angola — back in 1984, after the signing of the Lusaka agreement — the military

Rundu: doubts, fears amid the calm

will probably again parade into this dusty border settlement in columns of tanks, trucks and armoured personnel carriers.

The last vehicle across the Kavango into Namibia will probably troop the South African flag.

At the moment, though, Rundu seems almost unnaturally quiet, with remarkably little military activity for a centre which is one of the biggest South African military bases in Namibia. The Rundu Onstspannings Klub still does a roaring bar trade at night, and the SWA Police's feared Koevoet counter-insurgency unit held a fishing

tournament on the Kavango River this weekend.

Across the river, town dwellers can clearly see the skeletal wreck of the Angolan border town of Calais, its roofless houses and bullet-pocked walls bearing mute testimony to the ravages of a 13-year war which still looks a long way from being over, despite the air of "peace in our time" at international conference tables.

Rundu has been the main conduit through which South Africa's massive military and other aid has flowed to Unita, whose Jamba bush headquarters is less than an hour's flying time from

here. Supply columns, and, during the recent battles around Cuito Cuanavale, troops and tanks, have crossed the engineers' bridge over the Kavango. Still other units have gone into Angola from the Caprivi Strip.

About 150 km along the main rutted dust road from Rundu to the Caprivi, is the base of the SADF's 32 Battalion, a unit of Angolan former fighters from Holden Roberto's FNLA, who have been involved in the thick of fighting against Swapo and alongside Unita against the MPLA and Cubans.

What will become of them, when Resolution 435 is imple-

mented and South Africa withdraws from Namibia itself?

At the Koevoet base at Arend's Nes, about 20 km from Rundu, the question is similar. What will happen to the tough — some say ruthless — black and white policemen, whose unique brand of highly-mobile counter-insurgency gets them the "biggest percentage of the 'body count'" in the fight against Swapo, and the biggest percentage of "flak" from opponents of the South African presence in Namibia.

Also, what lies ahead for those Koevoet members who once belonged to Swapo's mili-

tary wing. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia, who have been "turned" and now kill their former comrades?

In the dug-out bomb shelter that serves as an "ops room", a young Koevoet duty officer looks at the large-scale map of northern Owambo and Kavango. Two Koevoet teams in Casspirs are on the spoor of a Swapo group in eastern Owambo.

At Arend's Nes, few of the veterans believe Swapo will adhere to the ceasefire.

Things will be tougher now, because the insurgents will know they can go back into Angola and "that we won't be able to follow them because of all this ceasefire and withdrawal stuff" grumbles a huge, bearded sergeant.

SA still wary on IAF A in moment

Border meeting on SA pullout

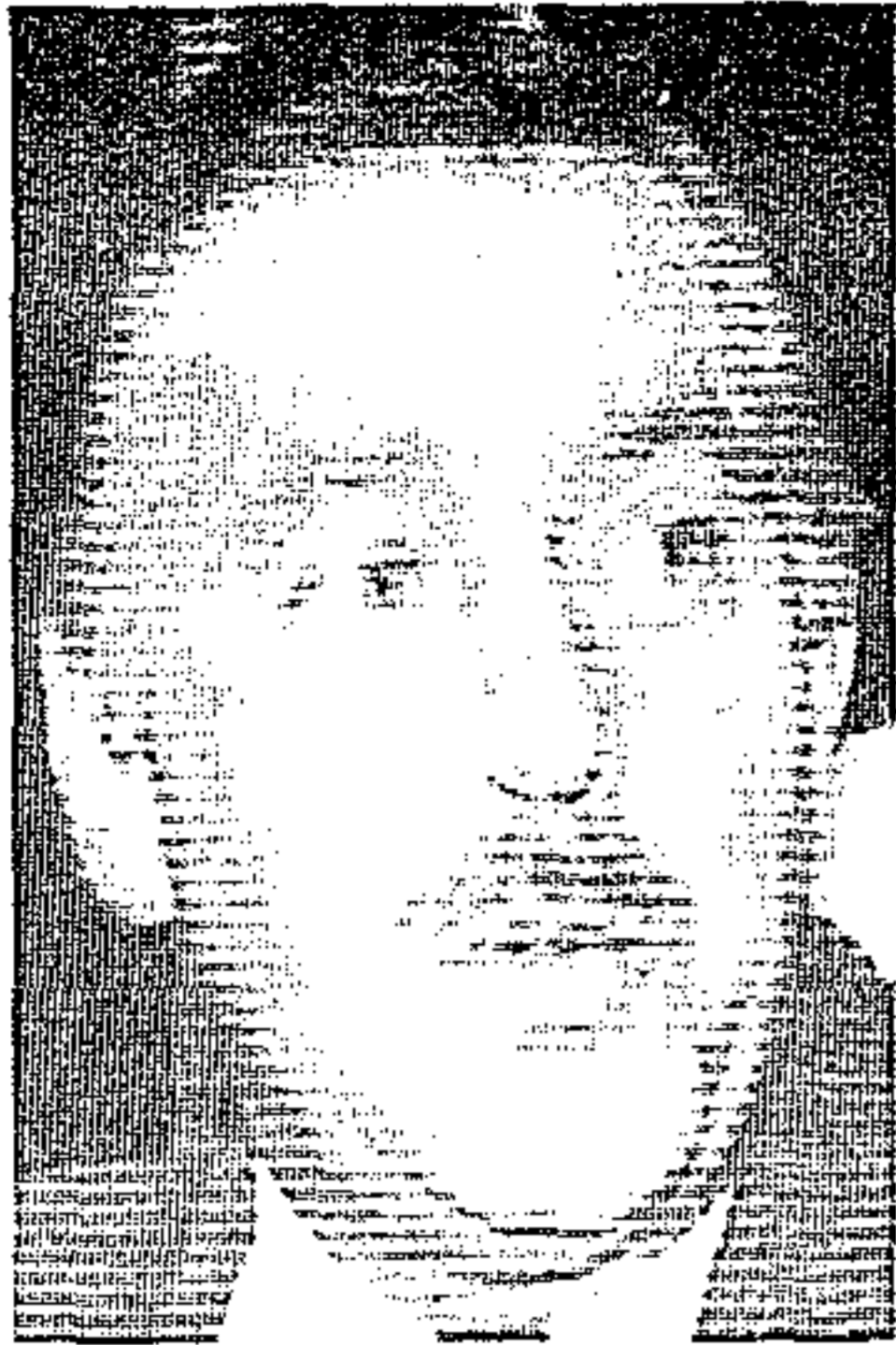
PRETORIA. — A joint military committee representing South Africa, Angola and Cuba will meet on the Namibian-Angolan border today to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Some 2000 to 2500 South African soldiers are to leave the country by September 1 in terms of the peace talks.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said at the weekend the committee would help implement the ceasefire.

He said United States representatives would also participate in the committee's work.

Another important item expected on today's agenda is the Calueque water scheme that supplies Ovamboland's water. South African sources said Angola is to take over the operation of the scheme,



Mr Pik Botha

which is on the Angolan side of the border.

Eleven SADF troops, who guarded and operated the scheme in terms of a "gentle-

man's agreement" with Angola, died in a recent "surprise" air attack on them by Angola, before the current ceasefire came into operation last week.

The peace negotiations proper, at "senior official" level, will resume next week when the question of the withdrawal of Cuba's estimated 50 000 troops from Angola will come under discussion. The parties are to agree on a calendar for this by September 1.

The US peace talk mediators may also be reminded next week of President P W Botha's warning that a new US

sanctions package against South Africa could sink the peace initiatives.

The parties agreed at their last meeting in Geneva earlier this month to recommend to the UN Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the date of November 1 this year for the beginning of the implementation of Resolution 435.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's office is yet to announce his response to an invitation by Mr Botha to visit South Africa to discuss such issues as UN impartiality and the R1,5 billion bill for implementing the Resolution. — Sapa

Unita 'will be sunk without SA'

HUAMBO, Angola. — Angolan officials believe a South African withdrawal from Angola and Namibia would mark the beginning of the end for Unita rebels.

They expect the agreement which South Africa reached this month with Angola and Cuba to shut down rear bases and vital supply routes which Unita has enjoyed for years.

"A South African withdrawal and independence for Namibia will mean Unita will no longer be able to attack villages and economic targets as easily as before," Mr Marcolino Moco, commissar of the central province of Huambo, said.

Huambo has been the scene of intense Unita activity for almost eight years. — Sapa-Reuter

SA pullout could mark Unita's end

HUAMBO — Angolan officials believe a South African withdrawal from Angola and Namibia would mark the beginning of the end for Unita. (22)

They expect the agreement which SA reached this month with Angola and Cuba to close rear bases and vital supply routes which Unita has enjoyed for years.

Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, has said it will not abandon its war until government agrees to direct negotiations.

"Annihilation or surrender" is government's current answer to Unita, although statements made by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and other Angolan leaders about a "solution between Angolans" suggest they may have some ideas for an internal peace, once foreign troops have gone. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Joint military group to monitor SWA border

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A joint military monitoring commission made up of officers from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and SWA/Namibia has been agreed to by all parties during talks here.

A joint statement announcing this was issued yesterday by the SA Defence Force's director of public relations.

Based on the US-mediated agreement reached in Geneva on August 5 between delegations from Angola, Cuba and South Africa, military experts of these countries met on Monday and yesterday at Ruacana on the border between Angola and SWA/Namibia, the statement said.

The meeting was held "in a climate of respect and responsibility".

The latest negotiations for peace in Southern Africa are to be discussed at a joint session of Parliament starting next Wednesday, reports The Argus Political Correspondent.

President Botha will speak at the beginning of the debate, according to an announcement by his office.

The joint sitting will be in a short session of Parliament which starts on Monday and which will mainly discuss amendments to the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, a Sapa-Reuter report from Luanda quotes a senior member of Swapo as saying on Tuesday that Cuba will withdraw its troops from Angola only after South African forces have quit SWA/Namibia and Angola's future security is guaranteed.

'Swapo man sentenced

WINDHOEK — A resident of the Oshikwiyu area in Ovambo in Northern Namibia, 44-year-old Afunda Nghiyolwa, has been sentenced in the Supreme Court in Windhoek to 20 years' imprisonment on a charge of murder and two of sabotage, SABC radio news reports.

He was convicted of planting a bomb in February last year at a

branch of First National Bank at Oshakati in which a 12-year-old boy was killed and five people injured.

According to evidence in court, Nghiyolwa had been ordered by Swapo to plant the bomb.

In addition, he had tried to destroy an electric power station in Ovambo with explosives in March last year. — Sapa.

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Sawetan
17/8/88

Parties debate peace

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha is to speak on the peace initiative in South-Western Africa at a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament on Wednesday next week.

In a statement last night, President Botha said he had called a joint sitting in terms of Regulation 126 of the Standing Rules and Orders of Parliament, and would propose that the latest negotiations over peace in South-Western Africa be discussed.

The president will participate in the debate at the start of the joint sitting.

All parties represented in Parliament have welcomed the peace initiative in Angola and this issue is unlikely to be contentious.

But the Conservative Party has strongly criticized the move towards implementing Resolution 435 in Namibia and has accused the government of paving the way for a takeover by Swapo, which it claims is communist-controlled.

This is likely to result in a clash over the future of Namibia, which the CP hopes to exploit during the municipal elections on October 26.

Angolan security

Meanwhile, a senior Swapo member said yesterday that Cuba would withdraw its troops from Angola only after South African forces had quit Namibia and Angola's future security was guaranteed.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said in Luanda that the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola would not be simultaneous with a South African pullback from Namibia.

Swapo has so far not taken any direct part in the peace talks but has been kept closely informed by Cuba and Angola.

Diplomats in Luanda said the peace negotiations, which are due to resume in the week beginning August 22, would possibly be held in Rio de Janeiro.

The main blank spaces in the peace agreement are target dates for the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and for completion of Namibia's transition to independence. Participants are pledged to settle these questions by the end of August.

● Security forces in northern Namibia shot dead 14 Swapo insurgents in various skirmishes in the past seven days, the SWA Territory Force said yesterday.

Namibia abuzz with talk of uhuru

South News 221

WINDHOEK. - This city stirred from its colonial slumber this week following the news of a ceasefire in Angola - and Namibian independence within three months.

Reactions ranged from jubilation to extreme concern. Cabinet ministers in the South African-appointed interim government appeared to have divided opinions - particularly on the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on November 1 this year.

This date was agreed to by South Africa, Cuba and Angola in Geneva. On that day, the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) will arrive in Namibia.

From the moment South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced the agreement in Pretoria at 5 pm on Monday, there was an immediate ceasefire in Angola.

The remaining South African troops still inside Angola are, from the time the ceasefire came into effect, allowed to withdraw peacefully into Namibia. This process is to be completed by September 1, 1988.

However, reports from northern Namibia indicated that there had been no signs on a withdrawal - although there was a heavy military presence in the area.

While some officers in the SWATF have told reporters that their troops

had pulled out "two weeks ago", other journalists were told there were no details and were referred to statements made earlier this week in Pretoria.

Swapo's Secretary for Publicity and Information, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said South Africa and Swapo were to cease acts of military hostility in Namibia on September 1.

He warned, however, that Swapo combat operations against the South African troops and the SWA Territory Force in Namibia "will only hold if South Africa is prepared to honour its word" by not mounting military operations against the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN).

This cessation of hostilities would extend for the duration of the period leading to a formal ceasefire between Swapo and South Africa in October this year.

However, the Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, has warned Swapo that it "could expect action" if it continues with its "aggression and violence against the inhabitants of SWA".

This veiled threat against the organisation surprised observers, who felt that Mr Pienaar was aiming for a banning order on Swapo.

Mr Hamutenya said to prevent incidents of military hostility, Cuba, Angola and South Africa would set

up a military commission to oversee the preliminary phases leading to the ceasefire.

He said the United States would participate in an observer capacity.

"In the meantime, the UN Secretary General will begin consultations with members of the UN Security Council and those countries which will be contributing troops, police officers and civilians to the personnel of the UN Transition Assistance Group," said Mr Hamutenya.

In the period leading up to implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia, the Secretary General was also expected to finalise all logistical and financial arrangements for the arrival of UNTAG in the territory on November 1.

"For its part, Swapo will do its level best to help make the peace process in the south-western African region irreversible and successful, provided Pretoria also shows the political will to do the same," he said.

Far-reaching

The announcement on Monday has caused many Namibians to wonder why Pretoria is suddenly so anxious to make such far-reaching agreements with Angola and Cuba.

Recent reports have claimed that up to five thousand South African troops are trapped behind Cuban-Angolan lines in southern Africa.

Said one observer: "If South Africa has been sitting through these talks because they have their soliders trapped in Angola, then I wonder if Pretoria won't renege on the settlement agreement once it has managed to get its men out under a ceasefire."

However, a spokesman for the SADF in Pretoria said this week that it was "ludicrous" to allege that SA troops were trapped in Angola.

Case 71015 17/8/88
Murderer gets 20 years 22

WINDHOEK — A northern Namibian resident, 44-year-old Afunda Nghiyolway, has been sentenced in the Supreme Court here to 20 years' imprisonment on a charge of murder and two of sabotage.

~~SWAPO~~ ~~1981~~ ~~1982~~
**'Guerillas' were
schoolchildren'**

By JIM FREEMAN 221

SWAPO has alleged that 14 people killed in northern Namibia over the past fortnight were not guerillas, as claimed by the security forces, but part of a large group of schoolchildren trying to cross into Angola.

The allegations have been denied by the Namibian police and the South-West Africa Territory Force (SWATF).

Nujoma backs quick Cuban withdrawal from Namibia

From BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has come out in support of a quick Cuban withdrawal from Angola and says he has ordered Swapo insurgents inside SWA/Namibia to observe what amounts to a unilateral ceasefire.

He said he firmly believed South Africa was serious about peace negotiations.

In a wide-ranging interview in the northern mining town of Kabwe, Mr Nujoma said Swapo insurgents inside Namibia had been given "strict orders" not to engage in "hostile acts" against South African troops unless in self-defence.

Asked whether he thought the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops could be withdrawn from Angola within the seven-month period from November 1 this year to June 1 next year — as demanded by South Africa — he replied: "Yes, why not?"

Commenting on South African suggestions that there were still some "loose ends" to be tied up in the UN peace plan, Mr Nujoma said any attempt to amend Resolution 435 would be "totally unacceptable" to Swapo, the Namibian people and to the international community.

However, he did make a major concession by saying that Swapo would not press the issue of the ownership of Walvis Bay or allow that problem to hold up the peace process.

Swapo maintains Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia but accepts that an independent government in Windhoek would have to negotiate with South Africa on the point.

Mr Nujoma made it clear, however, that the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) would have to be dismantled.

He said the Resolution 435 peace plan provided for the police to maintain law and order in the transition period. They would be armed only with side-arms.

The Swapo leader said he was not too concerned about the possibility of a flight of white capital and skills from the country.

DETAINEES TO BE FREED

He said his organisation had always made it clear that "the struggle was not against individual whites but against an unjust system".

He also assured his black political opponents inside Namibia that Swapo would adopt a policy of national reconciliation similar to that espoused by Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe and that there would be no recrimination and no discrimination because of political views in an independent Swapo-run Namibia.

He pledged that his organisation would release those people it was holding as alleged South African spies, in accordance with the provision of Resolution 435, which stipulated that all detainees should be unconditionally freed.

Mr Nujoma said he firmly believed South Africa was serious about the peace negotiations, saying he believed Resolution 435 could be implemented on November 1 this year.

"Let us believe that this time the South African government is serious," he said.

Apart from becoming increasingly isolated in the international community because of its attitude in the territory, South Africa could not afford to continue spending billions of rands and sacrificing the lives of young white soldiers in "a war they cannot win".

The Swapo leader said he expected UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to formulate a plan where both Pretoria and Swapo would be signatories to a ceasefire agreement.

He noted that in the past South Africa had been reluctant to sign a ceasefire with Swapo because this would have given the impression that it had been militarily defeated by the organisation.

Mr Nujoma speculated that to bypass this problem Dr Perez de Cuellar might possibly have to obtain two ceasefire agreements, or letters, signed individually by South Africa and Swapo.



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma

New peace talks

LONDON. — Delegates from Angola, Cuba and South Africa will meet next week in Brazzaville in a new round of peace talks, according to Luanda Radio.

The radio, monitored here by the BBC, said the US-mediated talks would be held from August 24 to 26.

The talks are expected to include negotiations about dates for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and for the completion of Namibia's transition to independence. — Sapa-Reuter.

Swapo will not allow ANC bases

From BRENDAN SEERY
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — A free SWA/Namibia would "certainly support" the people of South Africa in the struggle against apartheid, but a Swapo government in Windhoek would probably not allow ANC bases on its territory, said Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma.

"We are not fighting to liberate ourselves to have other people's bases in our country," he added.

Speaking about Namibia after independence, Mr Nujoma outlined major policies that a Swapo government would follow:

- Relations with South Africa would depend on Pretoria's attitude to Windhoek, but he noted that countries that were neighbours would "have to learn to live together". If South Africa attempted to destabilise a Swapo government or attack Namibia, the country would defend itself.

- There would be no blanket policy of nationalisation of private industries or holdings. "We don't want to steal the property of whites." If property was expropriated "adequate compensation" would be paid.

- A policy of national reconciliation and no racial or political discrimination.

- Swapo did not feel compelled to implement the socialist-type system of other countries such as the Eastern bloc. "We are returning to Namibia owing no one or any side a penny." However, if the people wanted socialism, Swapo would comply.

- Existing contracts and operations of

(Turn to page 3, col 3)

Nujoma outlines policy

(Continued from page 22) South Africa was "a myth". Namibia would establish its own markets and use its natural resources to limit links with South Africa, although trade links would continue in spite of ideological or other differences.

- Land would be redistributed. Dormant or vacant land would be given to those who needed it and could use it effectively.

- Swapo, through its commitment to UN Resolution 435, acknowledged the importance of a multiparty democratic system, but would accept the wishes of the people if they wanted a one-party state.

- The idea that Namibia was economically dependent on

37 Namibian students held by police

CAP TINES 221
WINDHOEK. — Police detained 37 university students demonstrating yesterday in support of a school boycott in the territory's northern war zone, journalists and opposition leaders said.

The University of Namibia students, most of them black, were reportedly

detained under a proclamation which allows police to hold people for up to 30 days without charging them.

Local journalists say many blacks in Ovambo are fleeing across the border into Angola, fearing an upsurge of violence and a possible security crackdown. — Sapa-AP

'A new hope for change in SWA'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — There is new hope for peaceful change in SWA/Namibia, according to President Botha.

But, he said, opening the Natal National Party congress, there were still problems.

These included the presence of Cuban troops, financial obligations in terms of the implementation of Resolution 435 for independence and proof of UN impartiality.

Mr Botha said the ceasefire agreement was built on principles which South Africa had always expounded: non-interference in another's domestic affairs, the withdrawal of foreign military forces and the denial of military bases to elements acting in other countries.

FOREIGN FORCES

If the region was able to continue on this basis "we could enter a new era of peace in Southern Africa ...

"For SWA it also means that foreign forces will not be used to dominate the territory's endeavours towards independence."

Mr Botha said South Africa was not telling the people how they should manage their affairs.

"What South Africa has done over the past decade was aimed at affording the inhabitants of the territory the opportunity to exercise their choice without threat from foreign military forces north of their border and without terror or intimidation."

SANCTIONS

South Africa did not opt for war, but for peace. "We do not opt for threats, but for development. We must convince each other of our goodwill in this regard. Along this road we must work for economic progress in Southern Africa."

But Mr Botha warned that sanctions were an obstacle.

"Sanctions may affect us adversely but they cannot possibly solve our problems or the problems of Southern Africa."

Long road to Namibian settlement

22) Botha

19/10/88
DURBAN — Long and complicated deliberations awaited Namibia before independence could be implemented, President P W Botha said yesterday.

In his address to the NP congress he said before UN resolution 435 could be implemented, the UN would have to prove its impartiality.

Finality would have to be reached on financial matters and all hostilities, including terror and intimidation, would have to be terminated.

"Should the international community be willing to accept the financial obligations which have to be met in terms of resolution 435, there is new hope for a peaceful road to independence for SWA," he said.

The ceasefire agreement was "a beacon built on principles which we have always advocated".

- These included:
- That countries should not interfere in one another's domestic affairs;
 - That foreign forces should not be used to pursue military aims in southern Africa; and
 - That countries should not provide military bases to elements acting in other countries in the region.

These principles were also accepted in the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique. — Sapa.

Nujoma eager for peace

Business Day reporter

1988/88
LUSAKA — After nearly 30 years in exile, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma is eager to accept a peaceful solution in Namibia.

(22) B Day
Nujoma, interviewed at Kabwe in Zambia yesterday, was optimistic independence was close and predicted Swapo would score a two-thirds majority on July 1, 1989 if polls went ahead as planned.

He said while Swapo would not implement wholesale nationalisation of the Namibian economy, it was in Namibia's interests for certain enterprises to become publicly owned.

● See Pages 2 and 9

Swapo leader says he has no economic blueprint

Nujoma ^{19/8/88} soft-pedals ^{B Day} ⁽²²⁾ on nationalisation

LUSAKA — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma says his organisation will not implement wholesale nationalisation in Namibia.

He added (assuming Swapo eventually ruled the country) that "it was in the interest of the Namibian nation for certain enterprises and companies as a whole to become publicly owned".

Nujoma emphasised in an interview yesterday that a complete policy of nationalisation was a matter to be decided after independence.

"If the National Assembly of Namibia decides to nationalise one or two enterprises in the interest of the Namibian people that must be done," he said.

He added there would be adequate compensation.

ELSABE WESSELS

Nujoma said Swapo did not have an economic blueprint. The organisation's lack of skilled manpower would make immediate wholesale nationalisation impractical.

He said on the mining, fishing and financial sectors there were some "essential institutions in which the Namibian government would have some shares of joint ventures".

He added: "We need to co-operate with those companies until a decision is made to the contrary. This might only be long after Sam Nujoma is long gone."

Nujoma, asked about a possible exodus of white skills and capital with independence, said there was enough room for all.

He would like foreign companies to operate in Namibia but they would have to enter into new agreements based on mutual respect and benefit to all involved.

Nujoma rejected claims of Namibia's economic dependence on SA as a "myth created by SA" and said mineral resources could provide wealth for its 2-million people.

"The dependence on SA is a forced one. Our beef is being stolen by the Boers," he said.

Nujoma was resolute that the SA enclave of Walvis Bay, whatever the legal position, was an integral part of the Namibian economy and SA would have to evacuate it after independence.

© See Page 9

Nujoma on SA: 'Let's forget past'

B7 Day
19/8/88

(221)

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma is confident he will lead a free Namibia on July 1 next year if Namibians go to the polls as planned.

Nujoma, interviewed at Kabwe in Zambia yesterday, was optimistic that independence was closer than ever and predicted that the exiled movement would score a two-thirds majority at the polls.

He seemed eager to prove his position and boldly predicted a landslide victory for Swapo, which the United Nations declared the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people in 1973.

After nearly 30 years in exile, Nujoma is eager to accept a peaceful solution. "But if SA torpedoes negotiations the war will continue. However long the struggle, it will always have its end," he said.

Nujoma, who has waged an armed struggle against SA since 1966, emphasised Swapo's readiness to sign a ceasefire with SA. "We have maintained that position for the past 10 years."

'SA genuine'

"The South African government cannot continue to cause death to young South Africans and Namibians. They are spending billions of rands on a war they will never win," he said.

The build-up of South African troops in northern Namibia was described by Nujoma as the Botha regime trying to show off as a regional superpower.

Swapo, which was not party to the ceasefire agreement entered into by SA, Cuba and Angola earlier this month, was nevertheless upholding it unilaterally.

An enthusiastic Nujoma expressed optimism about the peace talks. "I believe what the South African government is saying is genuine. Let's hope this time round they will be honest," he said.

Asked what Swapo's attitude to SA would be if it came to power, Nujoma said this would depend on SA's attitude to Namibia.

"Let us look to a bright future and forget the past," Nujoma said.

He believed, however, that a separate ceasefire agreement would have to be signed by Swapo and SA after the implementation of UN Resolution 435, with the aim of preventing "mutual destabilisation".

Negotiations could be expected to start immediately after independence.

Nujoma reiterated Swapo's acceptance of and support for a speedy implementation of Resolution 435, which provides for Namibian independence preceded by free and fair elections un-

ELSABE WESSELS in Lusaka



□ NUJOMA ... "Namibian troops will never cross the Orange River"

der UN supervision and control.

Asked about Swapo's position in the peace initiative, Nujoma said the organisation would become involved at the implementation of 435.

"We are briefed by our allies, Cuba and Angola," he said, adding that South African demands for a Cuban withdrawal to be completed within seven months was not unrealistic and could be achieved.

'Never cross'

On Swapo's relationship with the ANC following independence, Nujoma emphasised that the elimination of apartheid in SA was the direct responsibility of the people of SA.

It was Swapo's responsibility to free Namibia, he said.

"A free Namibia will certainly support the people of SA within the framework of the OAU, and the UN declaration that apartheid is a crime against humanity.

"But actual fighting is the responsibility of the people of SA and the ANC. Namibian troops will never cross the Orange River to go and fight in SA," Nujoma said.

Asked whether Swapo would allow ANC bases in an independent Namibia, Nujoma said the ANC was fighting without bases in Namibia at present.

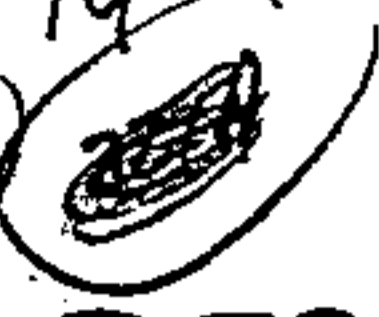
"We are not fighting to liberate ourselves in order to have other people's bases in our country," Nujoma said.

Nujoma on the Namibian economy

CAC: Tinf

19/8/88

221



Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Swapo would not implement wholesale nationalization of the Namibian economy if it came to power, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said in Zambia yesterday.

He added, however, that it was "in the interest of the Namibian nation for certain enterprises and companies as a whole to become publicly owned".

Mr Nujoma said that if a Swapo government had to nationalize there would be adequate compensation. While ruling out full nationalization, he said there would be land reform through "redistribution".

Mr Nujoma said it was Swapo's lack of skilled manpower that made immediate wholesale nationalization impractical.

As far as the fishing sector goes: "Our government will seek some share in some of the existing factories or create new factories to provide employment for our people with the help of other countries who will have the skill and manpower to help us in putting up those structures."

The same approach would apply to the mines.

Right now Namibia's economy was mixed up with that of South Africa, Mr Nujoma said. He rejected claims that Namibia's was economically dependent on South Africa. "The dependence on South Africa is a forced one. Our beef is being stolen by the Boers."

Mr Nujoma was optimistic that independence was closer than ever and predicted that Swapo would score a two-thirds majority in the polls.

He was just as resolute that the exiled movement would continue with its armed struggle against South Africa if the present Angolan-Namibian peace talks failed.

Optimism over peace talks

After nearly 30 years in exile, Mr Nujoma is eager to accept a peaceful solution. "But if South Africa torpedoed negotiations the war will continue. However long the struggle it will always have its end."

An enthusiastic Mr Nujoma, however, expressed optimism about the present round of peace talks.

"I believe what the South African government is saying is genuine. Let's hope this time round they will be honest," he said.



ANGOLA-NAMIBIA

One for the Gipper

The clock begins ticking in Washington again this week as negotiators begin the fourth round of south-western Africa settlement talks — this time headed for an intermediate September 29 deadline for an agree-

ment on the phased withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and of the first SA soldiers from the border area.

Whether that goal will be reached remains to be seen. It is even more problematic, American officials say privately, that by the November 1 date already agreed to, the three main parties will be able to signal the United Nations to begin implementation of Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

It is not too much to say that the Ronald Reagan administration wants both goals achieved so badly they can taste it. At a rare State Department press conference, Under-Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker put the best spin possible on the recent rush of diplomatic momentum on Angola-Namibia. One factor in the sudden progress in talks between Pretoria, Havana and Luanda, Crocker said, was that the parties have "become increasingly comfortable with their own mediating role. They want it, they invite it, they go out of their way to welcome it and they seem increasingly to want to be operating in that context.

"Secondly, there have been various efforts over the years to explore military solutions. Everybody has tried upping the ante at one stage or another — the South Africans, the Angolan government with Cuban help at another point — and it simply doesn't lead anywhere ...

"A third factor is the reality of a changing US-Soviet relationship. There has been some progress in co-operating on regional issues and this meeting in Geneva was a perfect case in point. We had two days of discussions with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin before the talks started. We discussed in detail and concretely in a non-rhetorical fashion all the key issues that we and they expected would arise during the Geneva talks ..."

Equally important, Crocker hinted, there are real prospects that Jonas Savimbi and his Unita forces might be able to work out some resolution of the conflict with the Dos Santos government in Luanda. He even went so far as to say that the Soviets agreed with the American position that the dispute was "political" in nature and therefore "must be solved politically" — that is, through some power sharing compromise or perhaps a de facto partition of Angola which nevertheless guarantees its borders from SA intervention.

Will there be an agreement by September 29 — the 10th anniversary of the UN adoption of R 435?

The Americans are not sure. They are committed to a solution and so are the Soviets, the Reagan aides believe. The jokers in the pack, however, are the Cubans and the South Africans, especially the South Africans. Fidel Castro, according to the American analysis, must still bend to the pressure of his Kremlin paymasters no matter how



US's Crocker ... parties comfortable with own mediation

badly he wants to cling to his role as leader of the Third World revolution.

But the P W Botha government is under no such pressure from Washington. On the contrary, Pretoria's internal political dynamic might even be strengthened by a bit of recalcitrance at the last moment — a withdrawal from Angola, for example, but a refusal to leave Namibia until a suitably friendly government is established in Windhoek.

As has been demonstrated before, President Reagan wants Castro out of Africa almost more than anything remaining to be accomplished in his presidency. It is interesting to speculate just what price the American hosts will be willing to put on the table when the August 22 talks get under way, to guarantee that the negotiating clock keeps ticking. ■

19/8/88 124 (227)

Next Angola talks to be held in Congo

CHE talks 19/8/88 (221)
PRETORIA. — The next round of south-western African peace talks will be held in Brazzaville, Congo, from August 24 to 26, a South African Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed here yesterday.

He confirmed a report to this effect broadcast by Luanda Radio, monitored by the BBC in London, and reported by the Reuter news agency.

Senior officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa are expected to discuss a range of topics at the US-mediated meeting, including:

● The efficacy of the newly-formed joint military commission monitoring the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of the 2 000-plus South African troops from Angola;

● A calendar for the withdrawal of 47 000 Cuban troops from Angola, and

● Issues surrounding the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia, and the response — if any — from UN Secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to the parties' recommendation that November 1 be set as the date for beginning the implementation of the resolution. — Sapa

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Friday 1981
Peace talks set for Brazzaville *(S)*

PRETORIA — The next round of south-western African peace talks will be held in Brazzaville, Congo, from August 24 to 26, a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Senior officials from Angola, Cuba and SA are expected to discuss a range of topics at the US-mediated meeting, including:

The efficacy of the newly formed joint

military commission monitoring the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of 2 000-plus SADF troops from Angola;

A calendar for the withdrawal of 47 000 Cuban troops from Angola; and

Issues surrounding the implementation of resolution 435 in Namibia and any response from the UN Secretary-General to November 1 as the beginning of its implementation. — Sapa. *(S)*

KIDS WERE KILLED — CLAIMED BY SWAPO

2

But allegation is denied by Namibian security forces

SWAPO has alleged that 14 people killed in northern Namibia over the past fortnight were not guerillas, as claimed by the security forces, but part of a large group of schoolchildren trying to cross into Angola.

A Swapo statement issued in Luanda said the children had been strafed by South African aircraft when they tried to cross the border "as refugees".

Swapo said details of the incident were still sketchy, but that the movement was investigating what it terms "the massacre".

The statement added that scores of more children had been injured in the

attack and had been taken by the Namibian security forces for treatment in Owambo.

The Swapo allegations have been denied by both the Namibian police and the South West Africa Territory Force (Swatf).

A Windhoek spokesman for the Swatf said he was "unaware of any incident where schoolchildren or children attempting to cross the border had been involved in a skirmish with the security forces".

He added that the Swatf had, in disclosing the deaths of the 14 guerillas, said they were never killed in one incident, but in eight separate skirmishes.

The spokesman said there had also been no wounded children admitted to either the army sickbay at Oshakati or the military trauma unit at Ondangwa in Owambo.

Wounded

The secretary of National Health and Welfare in Namibia, Dr Lourens Erasmus, said no wounded children had been admitted to the State civilian hospital at Oshakati.

Dr Erasmus said the majority of people wounded in skirmishes with the security forces were treated at army medical facilities as they were regarded as "the enemy". — Sapa.

FM 19/8/88

new property investments.

But as things would have it, within weeks of the SA government expressing its readiness to implement Resolution 435, leading to an independent Namibia, two institutional developers, Sanlam and Old Mutual, announced plans for R75m worth of new property investment in Windhoek's CBD.

For many, the timing couldn't have been less propitious. The spectre of a strongly socialistic Swapo government coming to power in Windhoek — and putting into effect its threats to nationalise assets — was enough to send shivers down the spine of any developer.

Not OM's Derek Stuart-Findlay. He says in planning their R33m redevelopment of Windhoek's Mutual Platz (*Property* July 1) OM took account of the fact that there might be a change in the political climate in Namibia and the international status of the territory.

It was not dissuaded. After all, he points out, OM operates successfully in other African countries which have a socialistic orientation — like Zimbabwe, Kenya and Malawi. Why should it be any different in post-435 Namibia?

Moreover, he says investment returns on the project are good and there could be an even stronger demand for space if the economy of a newly-independent Namibia grows at the rate some suspect it will.

Sanlam's assistant GM, property, Hendrik Bester, takes a similarly bullish view.

In deciding to commit funds to a R42m retail and office development in Windhoek's Kaiser Street, Bester says: "The view we took was that no matter what the political outcome in Namibia, the country would still have a feasible economy."

Sanlam currently has R5m invested in property in SWA, so the decision to go ahead with a major new capital project represented a massive increase in its portfolio off an extremely low base.

However, Bester points out the timing of the announcement in relation to the progress made on the implementation of Resolution 435, was purely co-incidental. Sanlam had been working on assembling the site for over a year. "We had been looking for a good investment opportunity in the territory for quite a while," he says.

In the final analysis it seems the institutions are making investment decisions based on pure business fundamentals. ■

NAMIBIA

221

Taking a long view

Political uncertainties in South West Africa/Namibia being what they are, developers have been wary about committing funds to

WINDHOEK —
Namibians
among the world's
leading sceptics,
reported increas-
ing optimism yes-

terday after Mon-
day's ceasefire, that their frustrating
search for independence from SA
was about to bear fruit.

"I am sure SA will this time go
through with independence, simply
because it does not have many
choices," said Anton Lubowski, a
leading white member of the Swapo
group which has fought Pretoria's
troops for 22 years.

A leading white right-winger and
former member of the territorial
Cabinet, Eben van Zijl, said: "I'm
much more optimistic about inde-

Optimistic mood grips Namibians

pendence than I was 10 years ago
(when the UN published a plan for SA
withdrawal).

Joe Putz, Namibia Nachrichten
editor, said the mood among whites
was a mixture of cynicism and disbe-
lief.

Lubowski, detained six times for
his opposition to Pretoria's rule, said
many Namibians wanted to end de-
pendence on SA's sanctions-hit eco-
nomy, hoping for a business boom in
an independent society. — Reuter.

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Addis tipped for talks on clearing way to ceasefire

By LESTER VENTER Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa, Cuba and Angola have set up a Joint Military Committee (JMC) to smooth the implementation of their ceasefire.

And the next exotic venue for peace talks may be the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha confirmed the creation of the JMC yesterday.

He said US representatives would participate in the committee.

Its first meeting will take place on Monday on the border between Namibia and Angola.

The establishment of the JMC is the latest encouraging sign in the search for a peaceful solution to the 13-year Angolan war.

But diplomats warned at the weekend that the process still faces "watershed issues" as they prepare for the next round of talks next week.

Boost

It is understood the venue for the talks is not yet fixed — but Addis Ababa is being considered.

Mr Bob Frasure, a trusted aide of US mediator Dr Chester Crocker, and one of the US's ablest diplomats, was recently transferred to Addis Ababa from his post as head of the political section of the US embassy in Pretoria.

Such a meeting in the Ethiopian capital will be a boost to a rapidly burgeoning African initiative to sponsor conciliation between the governing Angolan MPLA and Unita rebels, once the main equation involving South African and Cuban withdrawal is in place.

Timing

Indications are that if the bid for Ethiopia fails, Geneva is likely to be the alternative.

Wherever the talks take place, the main issue to be tackled is the timing of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

SA wants the Cubans out by the time Namibian independence elections take place on June 1 next year.

This already represents a substantial South African concession, as the country's initial demand was that the Cubans should be gone before the process leading up to elections started.

The Cubans, however, are sticking to their wish for withdrawal over 48 months.

Other issues to be discussed are the source of funds for the independence exercise, the impartiality of its United Nations referees, and the presence of ANC bases in Angola.

OTHER POLICE RECOVERED R500 OF THE STOLEN
money and are searching for two more men.

CPK Tuis 20/8/86
Swapo gets summons *221*

WINDHOEK — An Oshakati resident, Mr Francois Hamman, has issued summons to the Swapo movement to claim damages of R16,000 caused to his house in northern Namibia in a mortar bombardment on August 22, 1986.

CAT

7/15

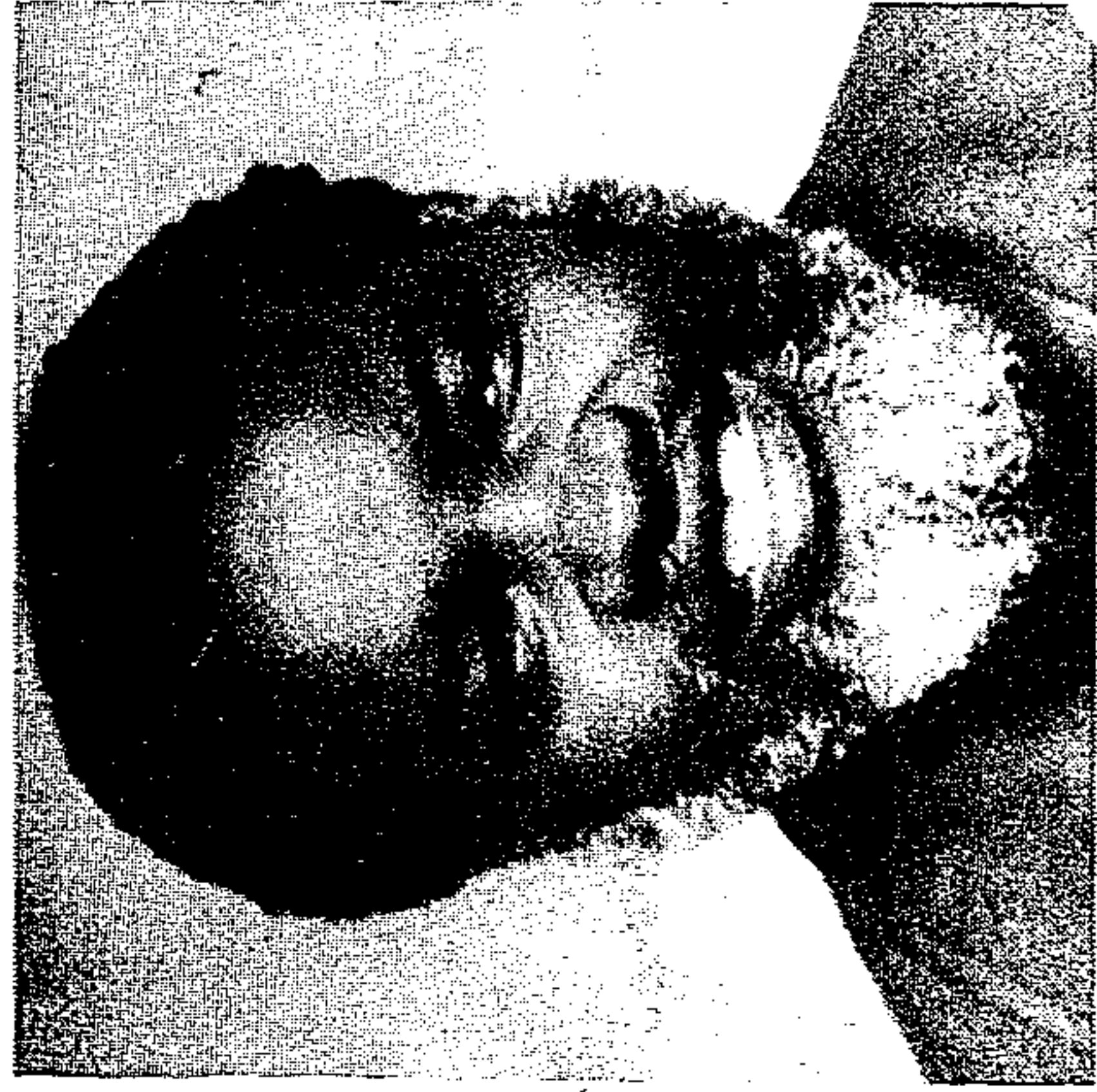
20/8/84

221

37 Namibian students held

WINDHOEK. — Lectures were cancelled at the Namibian Academy for tertiary education yesterday as authorities tried to obtain the release of 37 students arrested on Wednesday.

The academy — consisting of the University of Namibia, a technikon and a technical college — was cordoned off by a police task force on Thursday after a boycott of lectures began earlier this week. Police lifted the cordon yesterday. — Sapa



Swapo guerrilla leader, Sam Nujoma.

Ceasefire offers hope for Southern Africa

THE ceasefire announced last week in the Angolan and Namibian conflicts offers hope for a solution to one of the most complex and intractable problems in Africa.

Following are key dates:

1884: Germany colonizes South West Africa, huge, mineral-rich desert territory on Southern Africa's Atlantic coast.
 1915: SA invades, Germany surrenders territory.
 1920: League of Nations gives SA mandate to administer territory.
 1946: UN trusteeship replaces League mandate but SA rejects it.
 1966: Swapo launches guerrilla war to liberate territory. UN strips SA of trusteeship rights.
 1968: UN renames territory Namibia.
 1971: International Court of Justice rules SA presence in Namibia illegal.
 1973: UN General Assembly recognises Swapo as "sole authentic representative of the Namibian People".
 1974: UN demand SA withdrawal and transfer of power to Namibian people with UN assistance.
 1975: Angola becomes independent from Portugal. Cuban troops drafted into Angola at request of ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of

Angola.

1978: UN Security Council passes Resolution 435 envisaging a ceasefire, UN-sponsored elections and a peacekeeping force in Namibia. Pretoria holds elections in Namibia which are boycotted by Swapo and not recognised internationally.

1982: SA, with US backing, says Namibian independence must await departure of estimated 25 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

1983: In December, SA launches major operation against Swapo guerrillas in Angola, Pretoria offers 30-day ceasefire which is rejected.

1984: In January, SA announces troop disengagement from Southern Africa. In February, in Lusaka, Angola and Pretoria form military commission to monitor pullback. Agreement bars Swapo and Cuban troops from moving into vacated areas. Swapo says it's fight is unaffected.

In July Swapo president Sam Nujoma and Pretoria's Namibian administrator-general Willie van Niekerk meet in Cape Verde Islands, but fail to agree on ceasefire.

In October, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says Angola will work towards withdrawal of Cubans as part of a regional peace settlement.

1985: In June, SA grants limited powers to an interim Namibian government made up of a coalition of internal parties, excluding Swapo.

1987: In September SA troops start buildup in Southern Africa to fend off an offensive by Angolan and Cuban troops against pro-Western National Union for the Total Independence of Angola rebels. The offensive is blunted but SA forces and Unita fail in an apparent attempt to capture Cuito Cuanavale, an important staging post for Cuban and Angolan soldiers.

1988: In February bomb explodes in bank in Oshakati, northern Namibia, killing 27 - the worst guerrilla attack in the Namibian conflict. SA retaliates with attacks on Swapo bases in Angola.

In May, US-mediated talks between SA, Angola and Cuba open in London. Further rounds are held in Cairo, New York and Geneva.

Pretoria accuses Cuba of jeopardizing the talks by sending up to 12 000 troops close to Angola's border with Namibia.

In June, SA says its forces killed 300 Cuban and Angola troops attacking Pretoria-guarded water installations at Caluque just inside Angola. SA defence officials deny reports that they have lost air superiority over Southern Africa. - Sapa-Reuter.

218/88 (221) CPREP

MORE THAN 1 050 Swapo exiles have been trained in Lusaka "to take over the administration of a post-independence Namibia".

The training programme for "public servants" at the United Nations Institute for Namibia was disclosed to Business Day by its Deputy Director, Mark Bomani, in Lusaka last week.

The founding of the institute in 1976 was the outcome of the UN General Assembly decision 10 years earlier to end SA's mandate for the administration of Namibia and the UN's recognition of Swapo as the "sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia".

The UN approved of the proposed institute in 1974, and on being established in 1976 it immediately embarked on a rigorous training programme to prepare Namibians to take over the administration of an independent Namibia — assuming a Swapo election victory, said Bomani.

Today the institute's UN-approved annual budget exceeds \$5.1m. It gives courses in general administration, legal administration, economics, agriculture, health services and development management. As in the past, the UN still accepts direct financial responsibility with funds coming from member states. Top contributors are the Scandinavian countries.

The institute prepares Namibians for what Swapo leaders in exile call "the sobering experience" — facing the realities of running a Third World country once the jubilation of independence has worn off.

Said Bomani: "This is the first time

Swapo 'public servants' now train in Zambia

ELSABÉ WESSELS

in the history of a non self-governing country that the international community has taken the initiative before liberation of preparing the infrastructure and administration that will be required as soon as freedom is achieved. "We are preparing Namibians for nationhood," he added.

Bomani is a Tanzanian, but he is just as eager as any Namibian exile to see the students assume administrative responsibility in Windhoek.

This year 560 students are enrolled and housed in four-to-a-room living quarters at the institute.

Initially the institute concentrated on the training of middle-level public administrators, providing a three-year diploma course in development studies and management; short-term courses in supportive skills; academic remedial courses and training in specific skills, including computer

literacy. In 1982 a teacher's training course and a legal course for magistrates were introduced.

Since then more than 150 teachers have qualified, the majority being employed at the largest Swapo settlement centres in Angola and Zambia.

The majority of the 35 qualified magistrates are gaining practical experience in the justice departments of Kenya and Zambia. In fact, all training programmes include field work in neighbouring countries.

Only Namibian exiles are eligible for admission. To qualify, candidates must have completed their schooling and have a working knowledge of English. Students enter the institute for a period of three years. The first year is devoted to general orientation and the next two to specialised instruction.

Apart from training the exiles — the majority are refugees from Swapo settlement camps in southern Angola and Lusaka — the institute undertakes research into the various

NEWS FOCUS



□ SECRETARIES IN EXILE ... Swapo supporters under training in Lusaka

political and socio-economic aspects of Namibia.

The institute also contributes to the circulation of teaching material in the various refugee camps. "Education has always played a major role in the liberation movement," adds Bomani. "At present Swapo does not have the skilled manpower the country will need, and we are not looking at replacing the white bureaucracy overnight. However, the present government structure will have to be phased out."

Bomani's main criticism of the

Windhoek government is that it is "geared to serve SA" and that it is difficult to separate the two administrations. He believes that a totally independent Namibia would function more efficiently.

Funding requirements for the institute were initially set for only five years, on the assumption that its activities would soon shift to Namibia. But though Bomani and his students are optimistic, believing that the present round of peace talks have brought them closer to peace than ever, they realise the waiting game may still not be over.

Border war still raging claims Swapo

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.

Clashes between Swapo and SA forces in Angola continued despite the ceasefire agreement entered into by SA, Cuba and Angola on August 10.

A Swapo diplomat in Lusaka claimed on Friday that large numbers of Namibians had been shot in Angola from inside Namibia by SA-backed SWATF troops in the past two weeks. They were shot on Angolan territory after crossing the border between Namibia and Angola, he said.

The diplomat said Namibians crossing the border reported a major build-up of SA troops in northern Namibia.

A SWATF spokesman yesterday denied the claims, but added that "SWATF had killed 14 terrorists in eight separate incidents from August 2-15".

He said the internal security of Namibia was still the responsibility of the SWATF.

Swapo was not party to the ceasefire agreement entered into by SA, Cuba and Angola earlier this month.

However, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said in Kabwe, Zambia, last week that Swapo was voluntarily complying with the ceasefire.

Peace talks

The cessation of hostilities was agreed to at the previous round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks in Geneva where SA, Cuban and Angola approved a comprehensive series of practical steps to reduce the risk of military confrontation which brought a de facto cessation of hostilities into effect.

SA's negotiating team, headed by Foreign Affairs Director Mr Neil van Heerden, will meet in Brazzaville and Cuba on Wednesday for the next round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks. The main item of Wednesday's agenda is the agreement to a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

CAPE TOWN 23/8/88

SA, Angola sign for peace

221

RUACANA. — Military representatives from South Africa and a combined Cuban and Angolan delegation yesterday formally signed a treaty to end hostilities between the two sides.

The agreement was concluded near Ruacana, about 200 metres from the Angolan border in the northern Namibian bush, and provides for the formation of a Joint Military Monitoring Committee (JMMC).

"This is a memorable day towards the establishment of peace and stability in this region," the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, said shortly after he had signed the Ruacana accord yesterday afternoon.

Gen Meyer, who led the South African delegation, said negotiations that had preceded the agreement were

conducted in a spirit of goodwill that would help the JMMC to overcome any obstacles it might encounter.

The document — drawn up in English, Spanish and Portuguese — was signed by the commander-in-chief of the Cuban and Angolan troops, Lieutenant-General Leopoldo Cintra Frias of Cuba, and the Angolan presidential secretary for defence and security, Colonel Antonio Jose Maria.

Gen Frias said the negotiations had taken place in "an atmosphere of respect and responsibility", and he expressed the hope that the JMMC would successfully fulfil the functions assigned to it.

Col Maria said the accord was the first practical expression of the desire by all the parties for "just peace and dignified peace". — Sapa

Soldier dies in rocket attack

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF yesterday declined to divulge the exact circumstances that led to the death of an SADF soldier, Lance Corporal Raymond Jagga, 19, in the "operational area" on Friday.

Cpl Jagga's is the first SA death since the ceasefire announcement between SA, Angola and Cuba on August 10.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said in Lusaka last week that Swapo complied with the tri-party ceasefire agreed to earlier this month.

Cpl Jagga died on Friday "in action against terrorists in the operational area when the vehicle in which he was travelling was struck by an anti-armoured vehicle RPG7 rocket", an SADF statement said.

An SADF spokesman declined to say where in the "operational area" Cpl Jagga died, and whether it was in action against Swapo.

Cpl Jagga is survived by his mother, Mrs J W Jagga, and his father Mr V Jagga of Durban.

"The chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, expressed his sympathy with Lance Corporal Jagga's family, loved ones and friends," the statement said.



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Grenades hurled at DTA chief

WINDHOEK.— The vice-president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Mishake Muyongo, and his wife escaped death when two handgrenades were hurled at their Katima Mulilo home in the Caprivi strip.

Mr Muyongo, a former Swapo vice-president, said the Chinese-manufactured grenades missed their targets and the explosions caused minor damage.

One of the grenades was aimed at a bedroom window, but landed on the roof of the house. The other exploded in front of the house.

Mr Muyongo said the blasts were preceded by a political meeting on Saturday in which speakers attacked the DTA and people shouted: "Down with the puppet Muyongo."

He did not say who was responsible for the attacks, but added that the political struggle in Namibia should be peaceful. Violence was no solution to political opposition, he said. — Sapa

President's 'pardon' disputed

A full Bench of the Supreme Court in Windhoek has reserved judgment in an application in which the legality of a certificate authorised by the State President, Mr P W Botha, is being disputed.

The certificate, which was issued by the Namibian transitional government, led to the abandonment of the murder trial of four Defence Force members in 1986.

The SADF members were accused of having murdered 45-year-old Mr Frans Uapota in 1985. The hearing followed an application by Mr Uapota's widow to have the certificate set aside.

The respondents in the case are the State President, the South African Minister of Defence, the Namibian transitional Cabinet

and the Attorney-General of Namibia.

Advocate C le Roux, contesting the application for two of the respondents, said the military in Namibia was engaged in an undeclared terrorism war

Section 103ter was introduced to enable the State President to stop proceedings against SADF members if he was satisfied they had acted in "good faith".

Earlier, counsel for the applicant, Mr Sidney Kentridge, SC, said Mr Uapota and friends were seated outside a bush shop when they were approached by four white SADF members. They ordered the people to lie down. Mr Uapota was taken away. A rope was tied round his neck and he

was assaulted.

Post-mortem examination reports said he had died from a massive brain haemorrhage caused by head injuries, fracture to the neck and serious injuries to the upper abdomen and chest, including nine broken ribs.

Four SADF members, Mr C J Harmse, Mr F J Herbst, Mr D F Esselen and Mr J Fernando, were charged with murder.

Later, the State President authorised the Namibian Cabinet to issue a certificate in terms of Section 103ter

Mr Kentridge said: "The Cabinet, having been advised that it had no alternative in law, and with obvious reluctance, issued the certificate." — Sapa

Attack on senior DTA man's home

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The vice-president of Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA party, Mr Misheck Muyongo, escaped injury in an apparent assassination attempt over the weekend.

A grenade was thrown into his house in the northern Namibian settlement of Katima Mulilo. There were no injuries and damage was slight.

Police have made no arrests.

Mr Muyongo was one of the founders of the organisation, but later lost his high position in the hierarchy in exile.

After his return to Namibia in 1985 he stood over the Caprivi African National Union, which then affiliated itself with Mr Mudge's DTA group.

Security forces kill 3 Swapo members

WINDHOEK — Security forces in northern Namibia killed three Swapo insurgents in three skirmishes in the last week, bringing to 278 the number of Swapo losses to date this year, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek last night.

In the same period, a civilian died and another was injured when Swapo insurgents carried out two stand-off bombardments on Ombalantu village in northern Namibia.

The SWATF said in a statement considerable damage was caused to a hospital during the bombardments.

In the first attack last Thursday, insurgents fired 30 mortar bombs but fled back into Angola when the security forces returned the fire, the SWATF said.

No bombs hit the military base, it added.

Bomb-launching base plates and the tracks of 12 insurgents were found in follow-up operations.

In the early hours of Sunday morning, insurgents again bombarded the village from immediately south of the Angolan border with 122mm rockets.

Water tanks at the military base were damaged and considerable damage was caused to the hospital.

"The attack ceased after the security forces had returned the fire virtually immediately," the SWATF said.

Three incidents of sabotage were reported, which consisted of damage to roads and a telephone pole. — Sapa.

Swapo ready to abide by peace treaty

WINDHOEK — Swapo has formally informed the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that the organisation will abide by the peace agreement concluded between South Africa and the Angolan and Cuban forces.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, wrote in a letter to Dr de Cuellar: "Swapo will be ready to continue to abide by this agreement until the formal ceasefire, under (UN) Resolution 435, is signed between Swapo and South Africa, thereby triggering the implementation process."

He added that the cessation of Swapo's combat actions would continue only if South Africa also kept the agreement. — Sapa.

Star 24/8/88

SA team off for round 6 of talks

CMS Times 24/8/88 (221)
JOHANNESBURG. — A political and military delegation flew yesterday to Brazzaville, Congo, to resume peace talks with Angola and Cuba in what will be the sixth round of US-mediated talks.

The delegation, lead by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, will include SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service head Professor Neil Barnard.

Beginning today, the negotiators will discuss a timetable for withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban soldiers.

Officials said the scheduled three days of discussion were buoyed by the creation on Monday of a ceasefire monitoring group drawn from the three major forces.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said on August 9 that under the ceasefire agreement accepted in Geneva, South Africa would allow an independence programme for Namibia to begin under United Nations stewardship on November 1.

But that kick-off date was linked to Cuba and Angola setting a timetable by September 1 that was "acceptable to all parties" for the withdrawal of Cuba's expeditionary army. — UPI

Three Swapo insurgents killed

CMS Times 24/8/88 (221)
WINDHOEK. — Security forces in northern Namibia killed three Swapo insurgents in three skirmishes last week, bringing to 278 the number of Swapo losses to date this year, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek last night.

In the same period, a civilian died and another was injured when Swapo insurgents carried out stand-off bombardments on Ombalantu village in northern Namibia.

The SWATF said considerable damage was caused to a hospital in the village during the bombardments.

24/8/88 Star (B) (22)

Angola talks set for breakthrough

By Peter Fabricius

Brazzaville

The Angolan-Namibian peace talks starting in Brazzaville today could be poised for a breakthrough on the crucial question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

As the South African, Cuban, Angolan and American teams arrived here last night, it seemed that both sides might be prepared to shift their positions to approach a compromise.

Indications were that South Africa might be prepared to alter its basic position by accepting a partial Cuban presence in Angola after United Nations elections in Namibia — if the Cubans withdrew to the north of the country.

Until now, South Africa's position has been that all Cuban troops must be out before UN elections.

In Brazzaville last night it also seemed that Cuba might be prepared to alter its minimum period for pulling out of Angola from four years to two years.

Asked if he was confident of a breakthrough, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, who is heading the South African delegation, said he was "neutral".

Under the Geneva agreement, the Cubans and Angolans must come up with an acceptable withdrawal timetable by September 1.

South Africa has offered to begin implementing Namibian independence on November 1, with elections on June 1 next year.

However, Mr van Heerden stressed last night that November 1 and June 1 were not deadlines but target dates.

The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the Soviet Union believes there is a 50-50 chance that South Africa will try to back out of the accords now under negotiation.

Interaction

In an interview on the eve of the Brazzaville talks, Moscow's chief southern Africa policy-maker, Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoliy Adamishin, said South Africa had frequently gone back on its word in the past and there were fears that it would do so again in the present negotiations.

"But I think that in present conditions it will not be so easy for the RSA to go back on its word."

Mr Adamishin said conditions favouring a settlement included a change in the general world atmosphere and an interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States in favour of settling conflicts.

Asked whether US and South African support for the Unita rebel movement would hinder the negotiations, Mr Adamishin said that ensuring Angola's security and non-interference in its internal affairs remained an acute question to be resolved.

"The USSR adheres to the view that if favourable external conditions are created, then the Angolans themselves will find ways of solving their internal problems by peaceful means."

A series of major questions had already been resolved in principle, military disengagement was taking place and a mutually acceptable timetable should be presented for the total withdrawal of the Cuban presence, he said.

"But there are still complications at these talks which, with goodwill from all sides ... can be overcome."

"We are having ... a positive influence on the settlement by means of being in constant contact with our friends, Angola and Cuba. We maintain a systematic exchange of opinions with the United States."

War of words

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — In spite of the peace initiative underway in South-western Africa, the war zone in northern Namibia has during the past few days been flooded by propaganda leaflets with pro-South Africa or pro-Swapo messages.

Many residents have described this barrage of propaganda as being "very confusing". Certain villages of the area known as Ovamboland have been especially targetted, and residents have reported that the leaflets are being distributed during the night — while a strict military curfew is in effect.

Others said that pamphlets were being handed out during the day by members of the South African Security Forces.

The latest pamphlet to have surfaced in the Ombalantu region, near the Angolan border, has no identifying marks.

The leaflet, distributed at night, reads: "The enemy present in Angola aims to eradicate the people of South West Africa (SWA) and capture the territory."

It continues: "You will have no freedom of speech. You will not be free to worship the Lord. They will take your property, your car and your cattle and you will be left with nothing."

The leaflet also depicts drawings of five items of South African military hardware, including a tank and jet fighter plane. Of these, it says: "Have you seen the weapons that the SADF has deployed in Ovambo?"

"The weapons are there to make sure that the enemy doesn't take over SWA. The weapons deployed in Ovambo are not there to harm the people, but to ensure their peace of mind."

The leaflet adds that the "enemy will control all the schools, churches, businesses and property so that the people of SWA have no say over what belongs to them. All peace and prosperity will disappear".

On the reverse side of the leaflet is a drawing of a soldier of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's armed wing.

It cites the "aims of Swapo".

- The people will have no say.
- Everything will belong to Swapo.
- Swapo will form a one party state.
- Swapo will be the employer."

On the opposite end of the scale are leaflets purporting to come from Swapo — many of them urging security force members to leave the army and join Plan.

The standard of many of these pamphlets is low, several being hand-written while others are typed.

One leaflet with a Swapo logo distributed in the Oshakati area called on pupils to return to school.

Several residents have expressed doubts as to whether this pamphlet really was of Swapo origin.

One said he found it strange that Plan were calling on pupils to go back to school.

"Everyone knows there is a school boycott in the north. The children are staying away from classes because they want the SADF to remove its bases, so it doesn't seem likely that Swapo will call on the kids to go back," he said.

Army headquarters in Windhoek have yet to reply to queries concerning the distribution of leaflets in the "operational area".

WINDHOEK. — South African's administrator-general in Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, took observers by surprise this week when he announced that he would continue to push for the holding of second-tier elections before the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

While South Africa has reached an agreement with Angola and Cuba to begin implementation of the UN settlement plan in Namibia on November 1, there is some speculation as to why Pienaar still insists on the holding of ethnic elections.

Resolution 435 provides for the holding of free and fair elections in the territory, under UN supervision, and the outcome of any such regional elections held before implementation would become null and void once the resolution came into effect.

In view of the limited time available, political observers do not believe that the

proposed domestic elections would even be feasible.

The preparation of voters rolls alone would take longer than the 11 weeks left to November 1 — when the UN Transition Assistance group is to begin duty in Namibia.

A more likely reason for Pienaar's stance is that Pretoria has not kept him adequately informed of developments, and that he is merely insisting of ethnic elections in an effort to save face.

Pienaar has in the past been a staunch advocate of such elections, and has also given his assurances that Resolution 435 would not be implemented here in its present form.

He cannot now be seen to discard the idea of ethnic elections and to throw his weight behind the UN peace plan.

Several of the more conservative members of the South African-appointed eight-man interim government cabinet in Namibia have in the past consistently

called for the holding of second-tier elections, but even they seem to have fallen quiet on the issue in the light of recent developments.

Similar elections, but on a national basis, were held under South African supervision in 1978 — shortly after Resolution 435 was adopted by the UN security council. Swapo did not participate in these elections, and nor were they recognised by any government other than South Africa.

While most cabinet ministers seem to have realised that their time is running out, and are frantically soliciting support for their respective parties prior to independence elections, there are at least two who are concerned about minority rights being adequately guaranteed.

If South Africa sticks to its side of the agreement, free and fair elections will be held in the territory on June 1 next year, and Namibia will be independent after surviving as a colony for more than 100 years.



Swapo's Sam Nujoma

Another stumbling block?

South 18-24/8/88 (221)

The Angus, Wednesday August 24

It's the 'crunch' talks

Hopes for peace in Angola and SWA at crossroads in new Brazzaville meeting

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

HOPES for permanent peace in Angola and SWA/Namibia reach a crossroads in Brazzaville, Congo, this week when South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiating teams meet for the sixth round of talks in the current series.

The South African team will be under the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Herden, accompanied by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Janmie Geldenhuys, and the National Intelligence Service chief, Dr Neil Barnard. The talks are scheduled to end on Friday.

These will be the "crunch" talks, say diplomats. A fragile ceasefire agreed to in Geneva on August 5 reigns along the SWA/Namibia-Angola border and possibly as far as 155km north (at least between South African, Angolan and Cuban forces — Unita and Angola are apparently not included in the ceasefire agreement and continue to fight).

But the "fighting season" in south-eastern Angola is coming up and at the back of everyone's mind at the negotiating table will be the thought that if the talks break down, there might be a repetition of last year's bloody exchanges at Mavinga and Cuito Cuanavale when Unita and South Africa stopped the Fapla-Cuban assault on Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

"Everything is running smoothly at the moment and the joint military monitoring committee supervising the ceasefire is working well," said a South African diplomatic source.

"We just hope there is no offensive coming up against Unita, as there was last year at this time. If there is not, that will be a sign that we can talk turkey about Cuban withdrawal."

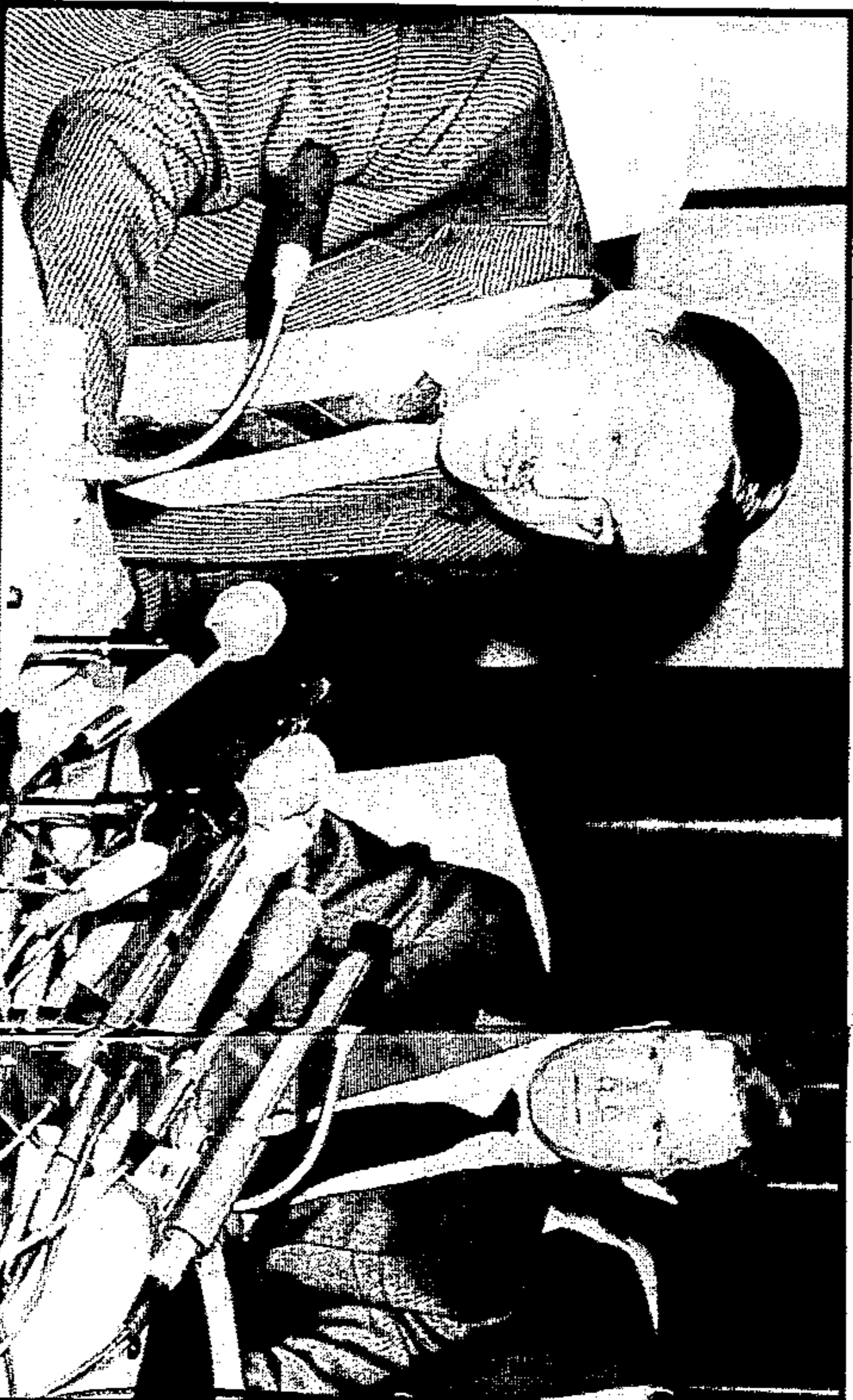
A lasting peace will depend on what timetable the Cubans present in Brazzaville for withdrawing their 50 000 troops from Angola to match South Africa's offer of a November 1 deadline for the start of the process of implementing United Nations resolution 435 for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of South Africa from the territory.

Under the South African offer, made on August 3 at the last round of talks in Geneva, United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia will be held on June 1.

The Geneva agreement of August 5 stipulates that Cuba and Angola must agree before September 1 to a deadline acceptable to all parties for the complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It will be this proposal that will probably come up first on the agenda in Brazzaville today.

Although the Geneva agreement does not stipulate that all the Cubans must be out by the June 1 elections, South Africa has repeatedly stated that Cuban withdrawal must be complete by the time elections are held in SWA/Namibia. And under the Geneva agreement South Africa has to approve the timetable for Cuban withdrawal before it gives the go-ahead for resolution 435.

Although little has been said in public, so far the Cubans seem to have been stick-



The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Herden, right, who is leading the South African team at the Brazzaville talks. He is seen here with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

ing to their old minimum of a four-year roster for getting out of Angola (though it has been suggested they could be negotiable down to two years).

Publicly, too, they do not accept the principle of "linkage" between implementation of 435 and a Cuban troop withdrawal — at least not in the way the South Africans understand it.

South Africa interprets linkage as meaning a simultaneous execution of both processes while Cuba appears to have accepted only that it must give an undertaking to pull out of Angola (at some time) in exchange for the South African concession on SWA/Namibia.

However, South African diplomats say this is just rhetoric and the Cubans know that the principle of linkage which they have accepted implies a simultaneous process. "The ball is very much in their court at Brazzaville," a diplomatic source said.

If Cuba is not prepared to come down to the seven-month deadline, the question arises: Is South Africa prepared to accept a longer period as long as this extended period also applies to resolution 435?

Diplomatic sources said this depended on the State Security Council. The negotiating team goes to the talks armed only with the seven-month schedule.

"We still have to see their schedule. If their idea is that the timetable for implementing UN 435 should be stretched to match a longer schedule for withdrawing their troops, we will have to pull that to the State Security Council."

"We have yet to see their proposal. They have no stone tablet like ours. Once they give an idea of how far they are prepared to adjust, we can decide how much we can accommodate them and still have free and fair elections."

The hazards facing an agreement in Brazzaville are too many for anyone to put much more than a flutter on it. The real intentions of the South Africans remain uncer-

tain and those of the Cubans obscure.

Since the Geneva agreement, announced on the South African side with a great deal of fanfare, Cuba has dampened enthusiasm considerably by announcing that SWA/Namibia must be granted independence before it even begins to withdraw its troops from Angola — a suggestion obviously unacceptable to South Africa.

The problem of Unita appears to be bothering the Cubans. Unita is not a party to the present ceasefire but Cuba believes that while Dr Savimbi's movement continues to threaten the Angolan government, Cuba's continued military presence is justified.

There is also some doubt about South Africa's sincerity. For, apart from the central issue of Cuban withdrawal, Pretoria has thrown up a whole host of lesser issues, any one of which could become an insurmountable obstacle to an agreement, if necessary.

Basically, these are:

- An insistence that Angola deny the African National Congress bases in its territory.

- An assurance from the United Nations that someone else will foot the estimated R1.5 billion bill for implementing resolution 435.

- An assurance that someone else (perhaps the five permanent members of the Security Council) will take over South Africa's economic aid to SWA/Namibia (which according to South Africa totals R4.5-billion since 1969, excluding security costs) and will take over as guarantor of SWA/Namibia's estimated R750-million worth of current loans; and



General Janmie Geldenhuys

- An assurance that the United Nations (which long ago declared Swapo the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people) will remain impartial in the independence process.

Given these hurdles, it is perhaps too much to hope that the Brazzaville talks will end with a joyous announcement of "peace in our time".

Perhaps the most one should hope for is that the talks will end with the negotiation process still intact and an agreement to meet again (somewhere, sometime) after all governments have considered a new postponed deadline for a settlement of the "old vexed dispute" (as Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has described it).

The danger is that if the November 1 deadline is not met, the United States presidential election and other factors will upset the complex peace negotiations and the current series could grind to a halt.

And then the military option might seem preferable.

Namibia: is a settlement really on the way there?

Comp. Times 24/8/88 221



By
**ROBIN
HALLETT**

WILL Pretoria really abide by its agreement to implement UN Resolution 435 and set in motion the process designed to bring independence to Namibia?

Resolution 435 was passed 10 years ago. Given Pretoria's long record of delaying tactics, it is hardly surprising that there is a good deal of scepticism in Namibia, South Africa and in the outside world.

One point at least is certain: Pretoria, highly adept at holding its ground with dogged obstinacy, would never contemplate withdrawing from Namibia unless it became evident that the continued occupation of the territory — a territory of only marginal importance to the defence of South Africa — was demanding a price so high as to be no longer worth paying. There are now a number of indications to suggest that this may indeed be the case.

Take first the military situation. The defence of Namibia has involved a prolonged involvement in Angola. While Angola remained a Portuguese colony there was close co-operation between South Africans and the Portuguese on security.

This was the ideal situation: a friendly power north of the border. It was, of course, undermined by the collapse of Portuguese rule.

But then the rise of Unita, making a remarkable recovery from the knock-out blow received at the hands of the Cubans and the MPLA in 1975, began to suggest a viable alternative. Let Unita create a buffer state in southern Angola in which the SADF would be allowed a free hand to go in "hot pursuit" of Swapo forces. It was worth giving Unita a good deal of support in pursuit of this objective.

But the more effective Unita became, the more insistently the MPLA had to appeal to its own external backers for support. And the MPLA had the great advantage of being able to pay through its oil revenues for the aid it received. So there was a steady increase in the volume of material reaching Luanda from the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries.

This has become particularly noticeable in the last couple of years. New supplies of aircraft, radar and anti-aircraft missiles have enabled the MPLA and its allies effectively to challenge the hitherto uncontested mastery by the South Africans of the skies of southern Angola.

No less important has been the increase in the Cuban military presence, which has risen in the last year from 30 000 to 45 000. According to a recent report from Havana (John Rettie in the Guardian, July 26), Fidel Castro told leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement in May that he decided at the end of 1987 to increase the Cuban commitment by sending over "crack divisions" equipped with T55 and T62 tanks as well as Cuba's best pilots flying MiG 23s.

Castro is quoted as saying that this decision "brought a total change in the balance of power", a change that was decisive in bringing the South Africans to the negotiating table.

There is clear evidence that

the increasing — though by World War II standards still very small — number of white casualties in the Angolan fighting was having an adverse effect. In January a survey of public opinion undertaken by the South African Institute of International Affairs indicated that 57% were in favour of negotiations with Swapo over Namibia (up from 33% in 1982). The same survey also showed that three out of four whites were opposed to greater military spending.

To these factors must be added significant changes taking place within Namibia. The year 1988 has seen the territory shaken by the most widespread opposition to South African rule ever launched, with a strike and a four months' schools boycott. Behind these developments lies the growth over the past three years of the National Namibian Students' Organization and the National Union of Namibian Workers — both organizations that have admitted to the inspiration and advice they have received from their South African counterparts.

Trade unions and student activists can, of course, be dealt with by familiar methods but the tougher Pretoria becomes the more its actions discredit the body it set up in 1985, the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU). To gain local credibility and support the TGNU has embarked on policies of liberalization and reform only to

find its efforts blocked by Pretoria's veto.

Add to this the fact that the territory's economy is described as declining. Since 1979 employment in the mines has shrunk from 36 000 to 22 000. Namibian trade unionists reckon that more than 50% of the country's potential work force is unemployed. A territory so strife-ridden, an economy so unbuoyant involves the South African Government in heavy expenditure, estimated at R700 million every year for defence, R306 million in deficit finance, R236 million in short-term loans and R80 million in an overdraft facility at the South African Reserve Bank.

It begins to look more and more as if the SADF is having to face in Namibia the sort of realities that confronted the French in Algeria, the Americans in Vietnam and the Russians in Afghanistan: technical military superiority is not enough to win a war that comes to be regarded by more and more local people as a struggle for national liberation.

Yet inevitably, given the long series of disappointments over attempts to reach a negotiated settlement over Namibia, Pretoria's latest moves are being taken with many pinch of salt.

Still, given the elaborate nature of recent negotiations and the international publicity they have received, well-informed observers are now cautiously inclined to believe that the South African Government is at long last really prepared to implement UN Resolution 435. I think I would now be prepared to bet that by the end of 1989 we are likely to see a very different regime in Namibia.

□ (Robin Hallett is an historian and writer on Africa)



Troop Withdrawal: SA, Cuba may compromise

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRAZZAVILLE. — The Angolan/Namibian peace talks starting here today could be poised for a breakthrough on the crucial question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

As the South African, Cuban, Angolan and American teams arrived here last night it seemed that both sides might be prepared to shift their positions to approach a compromise.

Flexibility

Indications were that South Africa might be prepared to alter its basic position by accepting a partial Cuban presence in Angola after United Nations elections in Namibia — if the Cubans withdrew to the north of the country.

Until now South Africa's position has been that all Cuban troops must be out before UN elections.

It also seemed that Cuba might be prepared to alter its minimum period for pulling out of Angola from four years to two years.

The signs of flexibility on this central issue, which has so far prevented a peaceful settlement, has boosted hopes of an agreement, though South African diplomats are still advising caution.

Timetable

Asked if he was confident of a breakthrough, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs who heads the South African delegation, said he was "neutral".

Under the Geneva agreement reached early this month the Cubans and Angolans must have an acceptable withdrawal timetable by September 1.

The timetable for Cuban withdrawal must be acceptable to South Africa, which has offered to begin implementing Namibian independence on November 1 with elections on June 1 next year.

However, Mr van Heerden stressed last night that November 1 and June 1 were not deadlines but target dates.

"They can be shifted downstream but not upstream," Mr van Heerden said.

● The arrival of special United Nations Representative to Namibia, Mr Marti Ahtisaari at the Angolan/Namibian peace talks starting here today has boosted confidence in a settlement being reached.

His presence indicates that the UN believes a firm agreement could be signed, setting in motion the process of UN-supervised elections in Namibia.

● See page 27.

The Argus, Wednesday August 24 1988 3

Swapo killers flee on bicycles after attack

WINDHOEK. — A civilian has been killed and others injured in a mortar bombardment of a village in the Owambo war zone in northern SWA/Namibia.

A Territory Force spokesman said the attack was by 12 Swapo insurgents, who fled back into Angola by bicycle and on foot.

In another bombardment a hospital and wa-

ter tanks at a military base were damaged.

The spokesman said that three Swapo insurgents had been killed in clashes, bringing to 278 the number the organisation had lost this year.

The latest incidents are seen by military authorities here as proof that Swapo is not observing the ceasefire agreements signed between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Total pull-out of Cubans 'a must'

CAPE TOWN — Namibia could become independent only when agreement had been reached on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a principle to which the Cubans and Angolans had bound themselves, President P W Botha said in a special joint debate by all three Houses of Parliament yesterday.

As the latest round of Angolan/Namibian peace talks got underway in Brazzaville, Botha appeared to telegraph a message of compromise on the crucial issue of Cuban troop withdrawal but emphasised SA's demand was for a total withdrawal, coupled to Namibian independence.

The coupling, he said, had finally been accepted after a long and hard struggle. SA had taken the initiative in Geneva by proposing that elections in terms of resolution 435 take place on June 1 next year, by which time Cuban withdrawal should have been completed.

Then Botha appeared to indicate a degree of willingness to compromise on the timetable that had to be agreed before next Thursday.

"However, the timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans must still be negotiated — and before September 1. It will be the toughest nut to crack."

Botha and other speakers expressed concern about the degree of impartiality of UN staff during the elections.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this was a matter that would have to be discussed, which was why the president had invited UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar for talks.

Political Staff

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan had a tough message for Swapo, noting that while the SADF was in Namibia primarily as a peace-keeping force, it would hit Swapo hard if it committed acts of terrorism in the territory.

He made it clear that independence for the territory was the main objective, but not at any price.

Having the Red Flag fly over Windhoek was irreconcilable with the efforts SA was making for Namibia, Malan said.

SA was in Namibia because it was taking out an insurance policy in its own interests and those of the people of that territory and of the subcontinent.

Fight-and-talk

Referring to the Brazzaville negotiations, Malan said SA had repeatedly stated that a fight-and-talk situation was unacceptable.

"We are conducting these negotiations because it is our serious intention to bring about stability in SWA. We are conducting them because they are in our interest and we conduct them from a position of strength."

Reports indicated that the Joint Military Committee formed to handle the ceasefire was still going well.

Meanwhile the SADF was, as always, prepared and ready. It maintained an alert, realistic posture without being provocative or aggressive. — Sapa.

11 held after unrest at school in Namibia

WINDHOEK — Police arrested 11 people at a Katura secondary school near Windhoek yesterday.

They were called in when a group of people began throwing stones and chasing teachers and pupils out of classrooms, according to radio reports.

Police fired rubber bullets.

Reports that the Anglican Bishop of Namibia, the Right Rev James Kauluma, was hit could not be immediately confirmed.

A spokesman for the Department of National Education said the 11 arrested were not pupils of the school or in any way associated with the school.

Police said those arrested would probably appear in court in connection with charges relating to the disruption of school activities. — Sapa.

Star

25/8/88

PLEASE dawn September 1!

This must be the fervent wish and prayer of this young Namibian herdsboy who lost his leg after he stepped on a landmine.

Most Namibians, especially those in the northern parts of the territory, who have had loved ones killed or maimed, homes and property destroyed and who live in fear of being caught in the crossfire between the South African Defence Force and Swapo, are hoping that permanent peace will come to this war-torn region.

September 1 is the date set for the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola as agreed at the Geneva peace talks on August 5 between South Africa, Angola and Cuba. The troops are expected to return to their bases in northern Namibia.

The ceasefire agreement reached also means the implementation of the United Nation's Security Council Resolution 235 — ensuring Namibian independence — is a step closer.

From MARK VERBAAN

WINDHOEK. — Swapo president Sam Nujoma is convinced that South Africa is genuine in its negotiations with Cuba and Angola.

He believes South Africa should be given the benefit of the doubt and a "chance to show honesty".

Nujoma was reacting to questions put to him during a series of interviews in Lusaka last week.

Some observers inside Namibia are surprised at the amount of confidence

Namibia's no



Swapo still has in South Africa's "intentions" to implement Resolution 435 here.

Others, however, are heartened and inspired by Swapo's belief that independence is at last on its way.

But the fact remains that for those living inside Namibia, it is far easier to lose hope and become disillusioned — especially when you look around and see not a single sign of the colonial status changing, or about to change.

Thousands of Namibians in exile, including the Swapo leadership, are desperate to return to their motherland and be reunited with friends and family once again.

Many have not returned to Namibia for almost 30 years. It is therefore understandable that there would be more optimism coming from these quarters.

The Swapo leader did feel, however, that the "Botha regime" had been forced to accept a negotiated settlement in southwestern Africa because of its "political defeats" in Namibia and its "adventurous wars" in Angola.

SWAPO

With regard to the reference to "political defeats" Nujoma was obviously referring to the failure of the South African-appointed interim government to achieve any real progress in its three years of existence.

Factors such as an increase in detentions without trial, and a host of outdated and draconian security laws constantly being used by police and army, have served to reinforce public opinion that the interim government and its cabinet are nothing more than "puppets" on the end of Pretoria's string.

Now, more than ever, the cabinet is in turmoil from political disunity. While some members are calling for white elections, others are demanding ethnic second-tier elections. In fact, virtually the only thing that cabinet ministers have in

common at the moment is an agreement that UN Resolution 435 should not be implemented here — at least not in its present form.

Nujoma's reference to South Africa's "adventurous wars" in Angola needs amplifying.

In the first instance, it is common knowledge that SADF troops failed in several attempts to capture the strategic southern Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale earlier this year. It was widely reported that South Africa's troops took a heavy beating from the Angolan and Cuban troops defending the town, and were forced to withdraw.

Second, recent reports alleged that South African soldiers were trapped behind Fapla/Cuban lines in the south. Pretoria denied this allegation, but many observers still believe it to be a plausible

reason for South Africa's agreeing to a ceasefire in Angola.

Nujoma said in the interview that the future independent state of Namibia would ask South Africa to leave the port of Walvis Bay since it was an "integral part of Namibia".

"In fact, South Africa does not need Walvis Bay because it is surrounded by water," he said.

The issue of who gets Walvis Bay once Namibia is independent has been a controversial one for many years.

Swapo and the vast majority of Namibians consider the coastal town to be part of the territory, and travellers to Walvis Bay are constantly surprised to find apartheid laws at work — not to mention a state of emergency in effect.

Observers feel that South Africa would be forced to relinquish its hold on the port after Namibian independence.

Said one analyst: "Such a small isolated community would not be able to survive without the active co-operation of an elected Namibian government."

However, this is an issue which will be resolved as talks between the three nations progress.

Nujoma also noted that Swapo's major economic restructuring plank would be that of land redistribution.

He said there would not be a wholesale nationalisation of mines and factories after Namibia's independence, but rather the nationalisation of certain enterprises — as the National Assembly of an independent Namibia saw fit.

"In such a case, there would be due compensation to the present owners," said the Swapo leader.

However, new agreements based on mutual respect and mutual benefit to all involved, would have to be worked out.

Dispelling the myth that the Nations would be partial toward Nujoma stressed that the world, composed of democratic and

"They will have their own obligations to ensure that the election be free and fair," he said.

"All parties and individual Namibians will be eligible to stand or somebody."

Several of the internal parties in Namibia have already begun support to ensure a position of free and fair elections are held in terms of Resolution 435.

However, unless all parties of the prospect of a Swapo government consolidate now to form a unit which is extremely unlikely, the on Swapo being elected to power

Nujoma put the support his enjoys among the Namibian people in two-thirds majority.

"The Namibian people who rose to arms under the banner will find it easier to drop the papers in the correct boxes to movement," he said.

Nujoma also referred to the criticism among white conservatives in Africa that the ANC would be based in an independent Namibia without bases in Namibia.

He said the ANC was fighting for the people of South Africa and that the ANC would be fighting for the people of South Africa and that the ANC would be fighting for the people of South Africa.

"But a free Namibia will support the people of South Africa in a framework of the OAU and which declared apartheid a crime



Taking aim. A familiar sight in Namibia

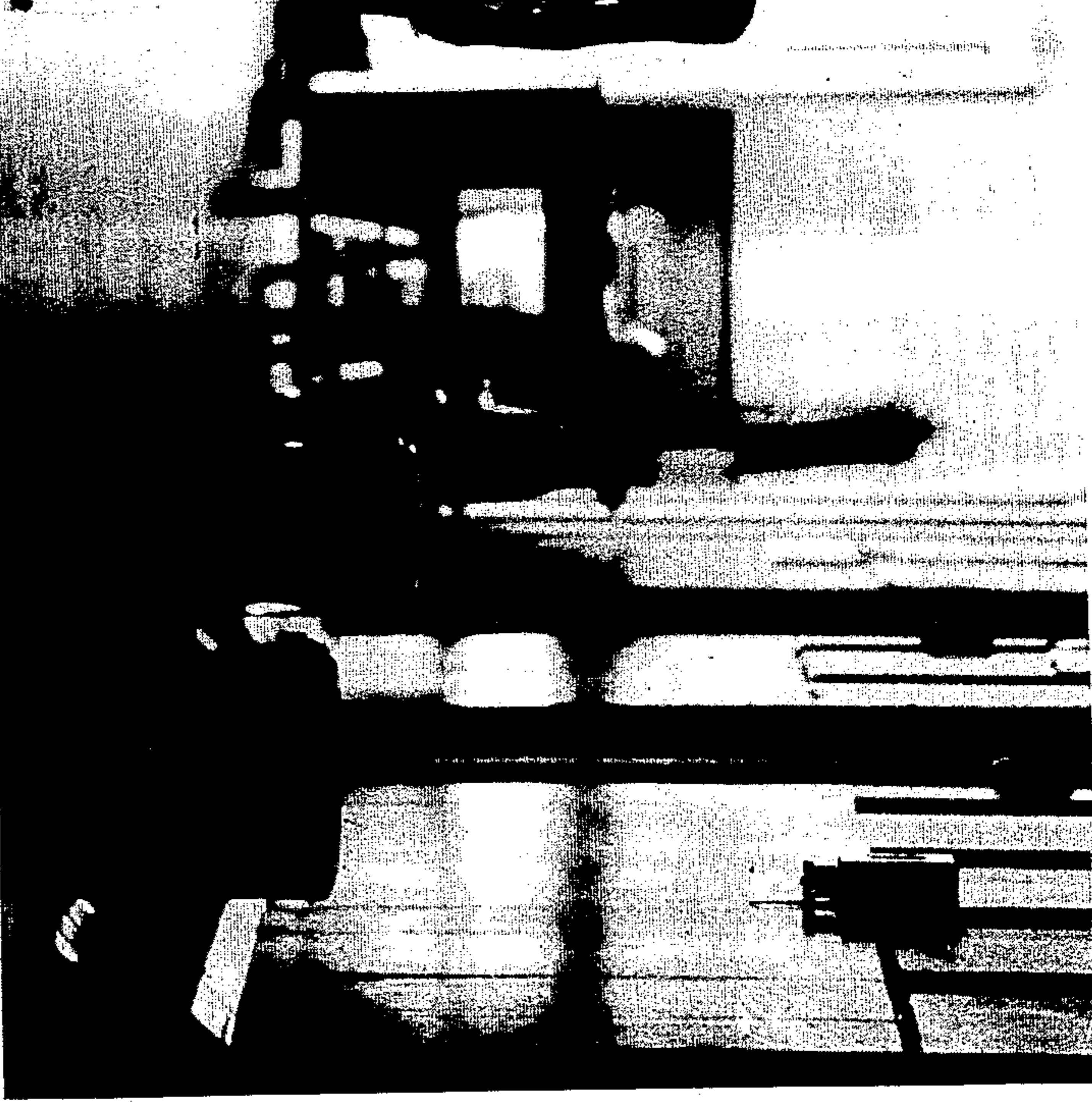
statement that violence leads to

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FEAR TIDE

South, Aug 27 to Sept 1, 1988
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On the road to freedom

BY SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

ASKING a question in Namibia is a tricky process.

If people are eager to reply, the answers are long, ponderous and admirable exercises in sidetracking.

If they are reticent, the response is pretty much the same.

Namibian social conversations are like slow meanders through the country's vast desert plains.

People have become used to everything dragging on forever: The 820 000 square kilometres of countryside, the Namib desert that stretches along the entire 1 600 kilometre coastline and the long tortuous history of political problems.

Often I switched topics and to my embarrassment found that people were merely pausing mid-sentence, while they considered my questions carefully.

As impatient journalists arrived to observe the peace breaking out recently, I had the impression that we were rushing around only to screech to a halt and collide with each other in slapstick comedy style several times.

"Swanu has a press conference right now!" said somebody as we arrived.

Notebooks and cameras clattered down Kaiser Street to the Thuringer Hof hotel. The South West Africa National Union (Swanu) — one of about 40 political parties — handed out an 11-page press statement.

Local journalists were firing questions. Party officials, mostly from Kaokoland, gave long answers that concentrated on the nitily gritty of parochial issues. Most of it did not mean a thing to outsiders. Anyone outside of the capital Windhoek, I suspected,



pees



Let's go to the... suggested a journalist. We were completely at sea with Swanu's issues.

Three languages

We got lost trying to get to the right section of the Tintenpalast (place of ink), where Mudge, leader of the interim government, was holding his news conference.

Eventually we followed a sign that said "demonstratie kombuis (demonstration kitchen)" and "administration for whites", this way.

Signs in public places are in Afrikaans, English and German and the hotel rooms even provide the omnipresent Gideon Bible in all three languages.

I experienced a strange thrill, hearing hothead black revolutionaries uttering murderous slogans in Afrikaans.

"Death to the boere," takes on a rather ironic nuance when it is said in the language of the boere.

We left the city for the Northern border in a six-seater Cessna. The endless sameness of the dry sparse plains, glowing orange in the early morning light, lulled me to sleep.

Suddenly I woke up as we were flying low over the shimmering Erossha salt pan.

Security measures

We can't land here, I thought, there is nothing but wild animals — wildebeest, leopards and other things that make city people quiver.

"Security measures," mumbled the pilot, Riaan Lombard, and went on to skim the low treetops and giant termite mounds on the other side of the pan all the way to the Ondwanga military base.

There's nothing like 40 minutes of low flying and the threat of anti-aircraft attacks to make the added adult brain grope for one of those prayers for safe passage.

When, in a fit of panic, the memory banks throw out "Gentle Jesus meek and mild ...," you do a quick mental apology to Whoever and try again.

A photographer, I think he is probably certifiably mad, enthused about how exciting this all was.

The Ondwanga air base with its camouflage planes coming and going and gun-toting soldiers rushing around, looked like an action-stations scene in a science fiction movie.

Perhaps it was just the sharp winter sunlight in my eyes but I felt I had stumbled onto the wrong film set.

I would not have been surprised if a loudhailer called for "Captain James T Kirk", except this war zone was chillingly real.

We had not been in the area for long before we were diverted to army headquarters and told by a sergeant major that some colonel wanted to speak to us.

Swapo's Sam Nujoma

The sergeant major entertained us with idle chatter about how he and his wife would leave if Swapo ever got into the government.

Their house is in an area surrounded by protective army roadblocks.

Almost every home is heavily sandbagged and the whites say they dive into their underground bunkers each time there is a Swapo attack.

The sergeant major and his wife, white Namibian Afrikaners, don't really want to leave their shabby fortress. They love "Suidwes", they love watching the tracer flares and fire plan exercises at night, he told us.

"The colours are so beautiful," he said squinting his eyes with an almost reverent appreciation.

He chuckled about how his wife, a teacher had been paid a salary for a while now despite the fact that she has not been working. The school where she teaches, like most of the black schools in Owamboland, is closed as a result of class boycotts.

The pleasure vanished from his leathery suntanned face as he bemoaned the fact that the interim government spoke too much English on television.

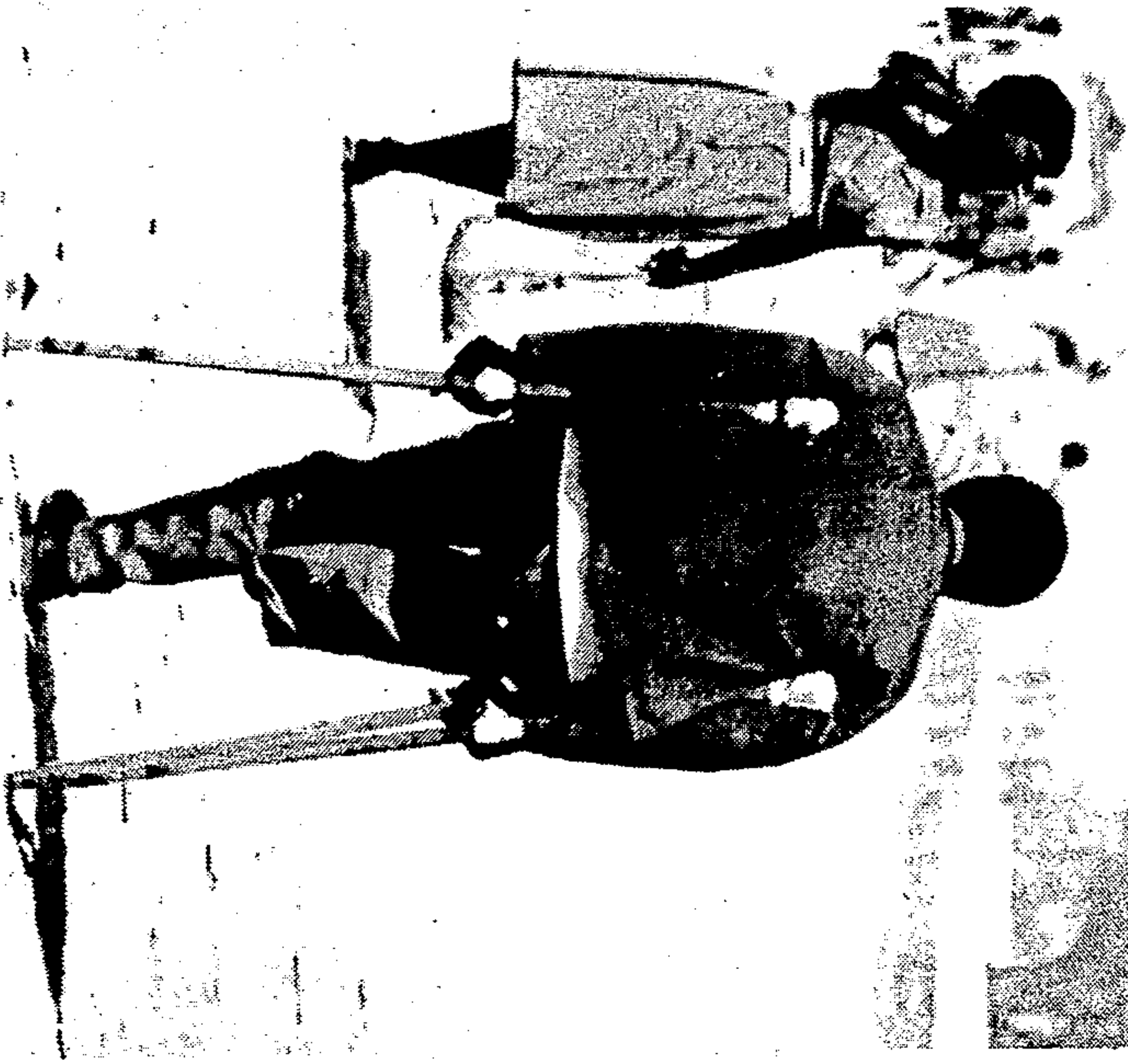
The next day as I was leaving Windhoek, I drove through the black township of Katutura. Much the same as any black township built by the South African government except for the many Herero women in their long, wide dresses that date back to Victorian times.

One woman in her colourful outfit with the high bodice, shawl and headdress which is a combination of an African turban and a Victorian missionary nurse's veil, was walking past a wall with giant graffiti that demanded, "435 NOW".

The demand refers to the United Nations resolution that calls for free and fair Namibian elections, among other things.

After only two days in the territory I realised that most topics here NEEDED long, winding explanations.

"And the longer you stay here the more complicated it becomes," said Gwen Lister, a newspaper editor who has worked in Namibia for 15 years.



A victim of war walks the streets

discrimination, the denial of human rights and the exploitation of the African majority by the white minority settlers.

"Namibia has enough natural resources for everybody to lead a decent life," he said.

Nujoma emphasised that the attitude of Namibians that Swapo's struggle was not against individual whites, but against the system of colonialism, racial attitude towards Namibia.

United, Swapo, body was respected servers in Namibians to elect articles in soliciting strength if d here in government led front, odds are movement people at a in the past of Swapo air-ballet elect the prevent fear n South allowed ling now

**PW's compromise to
Angola peace talks**

9th Times 25/8/88

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AS THE latest round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks got under way in Brazzaville yesterday, President P W Botha appeared to telegraph a message of compromise on the crucial issue of Cuban troop withdrawal.

Speaking in a joint debate by all three Houses of Parliament on the peace initiative, which all but the Conservative Party supported, Mr Botha emphasized that South Africa's demand was for a "total" withdrawal, coupled to Namibian independence.

- PW speaks at joint debate, page 5
- Guarded optimism at Angolan talks, page 7

Peace to help SA solutions

THE peace agreement on Angola and Namibia would enhance the opportunity of resolving South Africa's internal problems, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the House of Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

The climate of reconciliation would surely affect the domestic scene.

The fact that the SA government could sit down and reach an accord with Cubans and Angolans and the fact that Swapo said it wanted peace with South Africa, had to have a bearing on internal politics.

He called on the government not to lose the will to settle the Namibian issue, despite the difficulties ahead. — Sapa

Red govt for Namibia CP

IMPLEMENTATION of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia amounted to a rejection of the idea of self-determination for the different "nations" in the territory, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Expressing his party's concern at the course of current negotiations between South Africa, Cuba and Angola on peace in Namibia, he said in the special joint debate that the CP saw the end result as a communist government in Namibia and the Republic itself "fighting for its life" against communism.

Emphasizing his party's commitment to a "peaceful and honourable" settlement in Namibia, he said it was however disturbed by developments indicating a growing encirclement of communism around South Africa and that it "not prepared to throw the territory to the wolves".

The key question was whether the current settlement being negotiated would protect and guarantee the rights of the different peoples of Namibia.

The CP saw the negotiations as opening the door to Swapo and the end result of the negotiations' current course as pulling the frontline against communism back from the Cunene River to the Orange River.

Russia and Cuba were now agreeing to a political solution as opposed to war, but their ultimate goal of a communist Swapo government in Namibia and a communist African National Congress government in South Africa remained the same. — Sapa

Botha's speech on the Angola peace talks

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25/8/88
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Political Staff

AS THE latest round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks got under way in Brazzaville, Congo, yesterday, President P W Botha appeared to telegraph a message of compromise on the crucial issue of Cuban troop withdrawal.

Speaking in a joint debate by all three Houses of Parliament on the peace initiative, which all but the Conservative Party supported, Mr Botha emphasized that South Africa's demand was for a "total" withdrawal, coupled to Namibian independence.

The "coupling" had finally been accepted after a long and hard struggle.

Withdrawal

"To put it simply, SWA can only become independent when agreement has been reached about the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a principle to which the Cubans and Angolans have now bound themselves," Mr Botha said.

South Africa had taken the initiative in Geneva by proposing that elections in terms of UN Resolution 435 should take place on June 1, 1989, by which time Cuban withdrawal should have been completed.

Mr Botha appeared to indicate a degree of willingness to compromise on the timetable which had to be agreed before next Thursday.

"However, the timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans must still be negotiated — and before September 1.

"It will be the toughest nut to crack," he said.

South Africa had shown its goodwill by withdrawing its troops from Angola, he said.

Its proposal that the Cubans should also be withdrawn before the elections seemed "logical and fair".

Unfair advantage

Mr Botha added: "South Africa is not trying to gain unfair advantage through this, but withdrawal must take place in such a way that none of those involved can at any given moment outmanoeuvre the other."

Mr Botha and other speakers expressed concern about the degree of impartiality the UN staff would display during the elections, clearly fearing a pro-Swapo attitude.

However, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha gave the assurance that this was a matter which would have to be discussed.

This was why the State Preident had invited UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar for talks.

Steep road ahead — PW

CAPE TOWN
Times
25/8/88
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IT WAS not the first time that a solution in Namibia had been in sight and expectations should not be set too high too soon, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Negotiating the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola remained the "hardest nut to be cracked", he said.

He was opening a special debate on the territory at a joint meeting of all three Houses of Parliament.

Principles

"There are serious issues still to be negotiated. There is a steep road ahead," he said. "The latest negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa show progress. We are following a step-by-step approach.

"This means that we tackle one aspect at a time and finalize it before taking on the next subject."

The set of principles agreed to at the negotiations in Cairo, New York and Geneva would be converted into an international agreement.

"What has been achieved thus far by way of agreement is very important to South Africa because total Cuban withdrawal from Angola and SWA-Namibian independence are clearly linked."

"This had been a goal of South African foreign policy which the government had long striven for while almost the entire world, apart from the US, had denied and opposed it.

The Angolans and Cubans had now committed themselves to the principle that the territory could only become independent once agreement was reached on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Brazzaville and he did not want to comment further on the issue.

The establishment of a ceasefire in the operational area was another major event, he said. "The South African goodwill has been illustrated by our having started to withdraw our troops from southern Angola."

Mr Botha said the government continued to insist that the people of Namibia should be able to decide on their

own future, free of intimidation from outside.

One of the problems was the way in which the United Nations favoured Swapo.

"It was a serious stumbling block in the past, and it still remains one.

"The secretary-general will have to be absolutely neutral in his involvement in the independence process. Swapo and the other parties in Namibia will have to be treated on an equal footing." — Sapa

Hardest nut

South Africa had taken the initiative by presenting a proposal for implementation of Resolution 435 at Geneva whereby elections would take place before June 1, 1989, by which time the Cubans would have to be out of Angola.

"The timetable for the Cuban withdrawal must however still be negotiated before September 1. "This is the hardest nut to be cracked," Mr Botha said.

Representatives of the countries taking part were negotiating in

Malan says 'no' to red flag over Windhoek

HAVING the red flag fly over Windhoek was irreconcilable with the efforts South Africa was making for Namibia, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

He told the special joint meeting of Parliament that while South Africa did not prescribe to Namibia, it did however have interests it had to look after.

While there were several "tough nuts" to crack in the negotiations over the implementation of Resolution 435, it was to be hoped that they would lead to lasting peace and stability.

From South Africa's side this was a serious aim, and the government was doing all in its power to reach it.

South Africa was in Namibia because it was taking out an insurance policy in its own interests and in the interests of the people of that territory and of the subcontinent.

It had always been South Africa's policy to keep Marxism and people's democracies away from her front door and the country would not turn back from this course.

"We say this because South Africa has a non-negotiable faith in the self-determination of peoples — not only those in our country but everywhere in the world.

"Our presence and our involvement in Namibia therefore revolves around protecting and helping the pro-democratic and freedom-minded people. For that reason the struggle is worth the difficulty and expense.

"And for that reason it is inappropriate to now speculate over a possible Swapo government in Namibia."

Gen Malan said the possibility that Resolution 435 could be implemented was a fact.

There were, however, tough nuts that had to be cracked in negotiations on the subject.

Among these were the Cuban troop withdrawal, the financing of 435 and the impartiality of the United Nations.

There were guarantees from which South Africa would not budge and which were in the interests of this country, Namibia and the subcontinent.

There was therefore no ground for cheap allegations that the government was busy giving Namibia away or selling it out.

One could not give away something that one did not own. Namibia had never been part of South Africa.

Resolution 435 made provision for an election in Namibia, and particular preconditions were attached to this as well. — Sapa

CAPL Links 25/8/88 (21)

Guarded optimism at Angolan talks

From PATRICK CULL

BRAZZAVILLE — The first plenary session of the latest round of negotiations on the future of Namibia was due to start late yesterday afternoon.

After the morning session between the US and South African delegations, a US source indicated that the latest Cuban proposals had been given to the SA delegation by Dr Chester Crocker.

Further bilateral talks

Further bilateral talks, however, may have to take place before the four parties sit down together, with Dr Crocker conveying the South African response to the proposals to the Cubans and Angolans.

A spokesman for Dr Crocker would neither confirm nor deny that a news blackout had been imposed.

There was, he said, quite simply no comment.

The SA delegation came out after three hours of talks for an extended lunch break lasting about three-and-a-half hours.

A source in the SA party said that at this stage there was "nothing to report."

The Cuban, Angolan and US delegations also took an extended lunch break.

Although there are still major hurdles to be overcome, there is a spirit of optimism at the talks.

For the second time, Swapo is present as an observer, represented by Mr Hadipo Hamutenya, one of the top three men in the movement.

The issue is the timetable for the withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. There are signs that the mood might be right for compromise.

The Cuban stance at this stage is that the troops will be withdrawn over a four-year period. South Africa wants them out in ten months before there can be an independent Namibia.

Gulf Oil wells could become Unita targets

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Unita has warned that if US aid is withdrawn it will regard Gulf Oil wells in Cabinda as legitimate targets for attack.

Jane's Defence Weekly quotes senior Unita military official Brigadier Ernesto Mulato as saying its forces in the northern coastal enclave are capable of launching offensives against the oil installations.

He said that if the Democrats won the US election and Mr Michael Dukakis carried out his threat to stop aid to Unita, its soldiers would see no reason not to destroy the installations which are providing a substantial income to the Angolan government.

Meanwhile, there have been further reports that Unita has established a northern headquarters at Quimbele. US officials in London have confirmed that Unita was stepping up activities in the north.

The Cuban-Angolan axis is now expected to soften its stance and may propose a pullback over two years with all remaining troops withdrawn to a position north of Luanda before the independence process gets under way.

That will put the ball back in the South African court with a decision likely to rest with the State Security Council.

What has given rise to optimism is the presence of a number of key figures.



Friendly discussions about timetables

Peace talks now at the 'rockface'

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

BRAZZAVILLE. — The Angolan/Namibian peace talks have for the first time got down to the "nitty-gritty" of timetables for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who is leading the South African team, said the first day of the talks yesterday had been "extensive and intensive and conducted in an atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations".

South African diplomatic sources said that the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans had now started "seriously working at the rockface of withdrawal calendars".

Until now the series of talks had been about broad princi-

ples and "clearing the undergrowth".

The mood here is friendly and constructive.

Although the teams have agreed not to disclose details it is understood that the Cubans may be prepared to reduce their schedule for withdrawal from four years to two years.

South Africa may also be prepared to increase the seven-month period for implementing United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia.

South African diplomats have emphasised that although the June 1 date for UN-supervised elections and final Cuban withdrawal offered by South Africa in Geneva was still a target, it was entirely negotiable.

However, no new timetables have yet been put on the negotiating table, though tentative proposals are believed to have been made yesterday.

The talks opened in the Congress Palace with a meeting between the South African team and Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State and mediator at the talks.

The South African team was then asked by the Cubans and Angolans for a meeting to discuss the timetables.

Under the Geneva agreement signed this month Cuba and Angola must draw up a formal agreement for a timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

Most observers at the talks seem optimistic that a settlement in south-western Angola is now closer than before.

The talks are scheduled to finish tomorrow but could be extended if necessary.

South African sources have also said that the September 1 deadline for the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola is on schedule.

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Bullets hit bishop

WINDHOEK. — A black bishop who heads the Anglican Church in Namibia was yesterday hit by rubber bullets as police confronted high-school protesters, local journalists said.

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RECEIVED AT WINDHOEK

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONSTRUCTION AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION

CAWU

HEAD OFFICE:

TELEPHONE:

REGIONAL OFFICE:

REGIONAL OFFICE: OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL MANAGER, REGIONAL HOUSE, 100-102, BROADWAY, WINDHOEK, NAMIBIA. TEL: (06) 221-1111

Namibia police strike again at young demos

Star 26/8/88

221

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Namibia's police riot unit yesterday again fired rubber bullets and teargas to break up groups of youths demonstrating in Katutura township at Windhoek.

It was the second day of such action. A Department of National Education spokesman said groups of youths tried to disrupt classes and damage government property at five schools. It is not known if there were new arrests.

On Wednesday, 11 youths aged from 10 to 19 were held after clashes with police at the senior secondary school. Police had first fired rubber bullets and teargas to try to disperse them.

During the action the Anglican Bishop of Namibia, the Rt Rev James Kauluma, was hit in the leg by a rubber bullet.

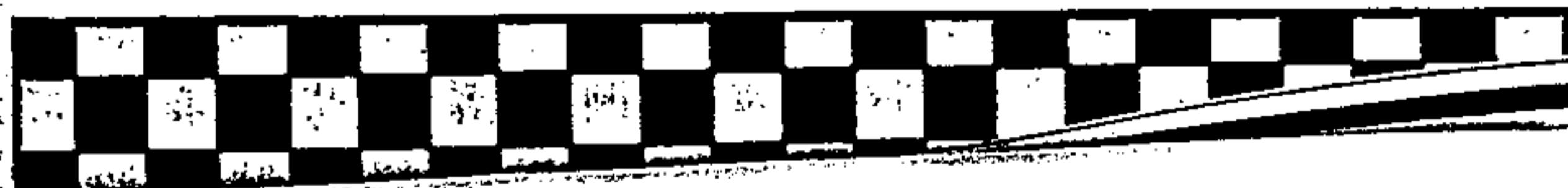
The latest incidents are part of continuing schools unrest which has affected educational institutions across the territory.

The unrest developed from a boycott started by pupils in Owambo. They were protesting over the siting of security force bases close to their schools.

The protest spread to Windhoek and other centres. It has also involved students on the Windhoek campus of the University of Namibia.

There have also been reports of arson attacks on government schools round the country.

There have already been arrests under the Protection of Fundamental Rights Act, which provides for stiff penalties for inciting school boycotts or preventing pupils from attending classes.



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Peace hopes

Sowetan

26/8/88

221

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Mr Neil van Heerden Director-General of Foreign Affairs who is leading the South African team, said the first day of the present round of talks this week has been "extensive and intensive and conducted in an atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations."

South African diplomatic sources said the

Angolans, Cubans and South Africans had now started "seriously working at the rockface of withdrawal calendars."

Until now the series of talks had been about broad principles and "clearing the undergrowth."

Mood

The mood here is friendly and constructive, and the talks are still very much on track.

Though the teams have agreed not to disclose substantive details it is understood that the Cubans may be prepared to reduce their schedule for

withdrawal from four years to two years. South Africa may also be prepared to increase the seven-month period for implementing United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia.

South African diplomats have stressed that though the June 1, 1989 date for UN elections and final Cuban withdrawal offered by South Africa in Geneva was still a target, it was entirely negotiable.

The talks started in the Congress Palace with a bilateral meeting between the South African team and Dr Chester Crocker the American assistant Secretary of State who is mediating the talks.

What Namibia's next government faces: A crisis in the schools

THE Windhoek Teachers' Training College is a massive, modern complex on the outskirts of the capital. Opened in 1979, it has excellent facilities: dozens of lecture theatres, spacious auditoria, refectories, libraries, a rugby stadium and an olympic-size swimming pool.

The college can accommodate 2 000 students — which would go a long way to addressing the massive shortage of black teachers in Namibia.

But it doesn't — because it is open to whites only.

Owned by the second-tier administration for whites, the college recorded its highest registration in 1985, when 306 students registered.

Presently, only 25 percent of teachers in Namibia are in possession of a matric certificate or a higher qualification, while 20 percent do not even have their Standard Eight certificates.

The glaring differences between the education provided for a white Namibian child and a black child are a prime example of apartheid structures which still flourish in Namibia.

The administration for whites maintains strict segregation at its schools. Black children have to attend private schools, schools falling under the interim government's department of national education or schools controlled by one of 10 ethnic administrations.

Proclamation AG8, adopted in 1980, is responsible for this situation, creating 10 different directorates of education in Namibia. Such a divided and confusing system is obviously not conducive to effective education, and a frequent demand is that Proclamation AG8 be scrapped so that education can be placed under one controlling — and non-discriminating — body.

The confusion was made clear when on September 16, 1986, the minister of education in the interim government, Andrew Matjila, promised publicly that from 1987 "race and colour will no longer play a role in the admission of pupils to any school..."

The administration for whites, backed by the powerful National Party (SWA), condemned Matjila's statement, calling on parents and teachers "to keep calm".

Matjila was unable to keep his promise.

Approximately 10 times more is spent on a white child's education than a black child's. As a result, education and recreational facilities at white schools are of a much higher standard than at any other school.

School attendance is compulsory for whites, while children of other races are under no legal obligation to go to school.

The inferior quality of education in the territory was reflected in appalling pass rates at the end of last year: Of 1 373 pupils who wrote the Standard

There's no apartheid in Namibia, the authorities say. MARK VERBAAN took a closer look and found some of the problems a new administration will inherit

Eight exam at national education schools, only half passed.

Pupils at ethnic administration schools fared even worse. Of the 7 059 who wrote, only 1 683 passed — a mere 23 percent.

There was a less than 40 percent matric pass rate at national education and second-tier administration schools last year. However, the financially superior white administration managed a 90 percent pass rate, with 475 of the 888 pupils qualifying for university.

A representative of the Namibia National Students' Organisation said: "Good results are impossible when the majority of pupils live under notorious conditions in urban ghettos and rural slums and villages — and when they are studying under repressive, undemocratic and authoritarian conditions."

In the northern regions, particularly Ovamboland, children are not only at an automatic disadvantage because of a lack of facilities and trained teachers, but face the added hardship of attending school under conditions of war.

Schoolchildren are constantly questioned by security forces about the whereabouts of Swapo guerrillas. There have been allegations of soldiers maltreating children because of a failure to answer such questions.

Education in the north is in turmoil at the moment, with many pupils boycotting classes in an attempt to get the SADF to move its bases away from four schools in Ovamboland.

A recent spate of arson attacks at schools throughout the country is a controversial issue, with the authorities blaming "radical elements" and progressive students insisting that rightwing forces are behind the attacks.

If an average of 35 children per class is to be achieved, at least 50 new schools capable of accommodating 600 pupils each will have to be built in the northern regions.

In August 1985, the SADF withdrew all of its 23 teachers in Ovamboland schools because it wanted more influence in the organisation of education in the area — a demand that was unacceptable to the chairman of the Ovambo administration, Peter Kallangula.

Schools are now critically understaffed, with the majority of teachers holding no more than a secondary school education themselves. The latest figures — issued two years ago — indicate a ratio of 60 black pupils to one teacher, and 18 white children to one teacher. — The Namibian.

CAH **Schools unrest
in Namibia**

Trials
26/8/88
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WINDHOEK. — Police yesterday fired rubber bullets and teargas to disperse crowds in renewed schools unrest at five Katutura schools.

A spokesman for the Department of National Education, Mr Manfred Dedekind, said a group of people moved through the schools, chasing pupils out of classrooms, while a stone-throwing crowd damaged school property. — Sapa

UNREST IN SCHOOLS

YOUTH OF SCHOOLS

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST

UNREST



ANDRIES TREURNICHT ... opposed to settlement

THE Conservative Party is poised to establish an ultra-rightwing affiliate group in Namibia to fight any UN-sponsored settlement plans.

Mr Tom Langley, CP spokesman on foreign affairs, will visit the territory soon for talks with conservative groups.

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has already held talks with some rightwing groups about a possible unified opposition to the settlement proposals.

Mr Langley will report back to the party leadership on his return.

Party sources, however, are confident that some sort of rightwing, CP-aligned force can be forged in the territory. They claim increasing calls for support from white Namibians concerned about the progress of the settlement talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Recently Dr Treurnicht visited Namibia with AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche for wide-ranging talks with various groups.

It is understood the CP is particularly keen to come to an agreement with the Basters under Kaptein Hans Diegaardt and the SWA National Party under Mr Kosie Pretorius.

The CP's bitter opposition to the prospect of a UN-sponsored settlement in Namibia in terms of Resolution 435 was again underscored at its Transvaal provincial congress at the weekend.

Dr Treurnicht told an enthusiastic public meeting that the CP would not accept settlement in Namibia for two main reasons:

- It was wrong to force a majoritarian government in a single system on the people of the territory when Pretoria refused to do it in SA;

- A Swapo government in Windhoek — the most likely option under Resolution 435 — would pose grave security risks.

The CP's moves to involve itself more directly in the affairs of the territory are likely to be opposed by the SA Government, which is trying to forge a united front among the internal parties to confront Swapo in any future election.

CP aims a right hook at Namibia peace bid

28/8/88
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STW

BY BRIAN POTTINGER

221 STW 2/8/88

By PATRICK CULL
Brazzaville

A RESOLUTION to meet again during the week of September 5, appears to be the only really concrete achievement of the four-party talks on the future of Namibia which ended in the early hours of yesterday morning.

SA delegation leader Neil van Heerden acknowledged as much when he said he was sad the gap between the two sides had not been narrowed, although he was happy with the spirit of the talks and the fact that there was now a better understanding of the respective positions.

Succeed

And another SA diplomatic source said the two sides were "still a long way apart" and that the talks had fallen short of SA expectations.

The talks, however, would go on, because "if we don't succeed, then we are back on the battlefield."

Once again, the venue will be the Congo capital of Braz-

Namibia: Undergrowth cut away, now for chiselling away at the rockface

zaville, whose government must be disappointed at the lack of visible progress.

A bland statement issued by the US after the talks — Mr Van Heerden was not even given a copy and had to get one from a journalist on the way home — said the discussions were "serious, detailed and constructive" and that there was an exchange of views and assessments "that could facilitate resolution of remaining issues."

The statement said all parties agreed more consultations were required.

The subject of the talks was a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, acknowledged to be

the crunch issue.

An SA diplomat said what had been achieved was that the undergrowth had been cut away and the four delegations had begun to chisel away at the rockface.

Chiselling would appear to be the wrong word — a bashing of heads against the rockface would, by all accounts, be a more accurate description.

Target

In terms of an agreement reached in Geneva, where the last round of talks was held, the Angolan-Cuban axis was to have presented a timetable for withdrawal when the two sides met again. At that stage, the target

date for an agreement was September 1 — this is now out of the question.

November 1 — the date for the implementation of UN resolution 435 — remains, however, although if it is to stay as a target date, the pace will clearly have to be accelerated.

An SA source said the offer made by the Angolans and Cubans was ludicrous and embarrassing.

It obviously did not get the talks off to a good start.

A second offer was forthcoming after the Cubans and Angolans had paid a flying visit to Luanda on Thursday night, but it was still not enough to inspire a breakthrough.

A counter viewpoint was

expressed by the Angolan ambassador to Bonn, Mr Hermilio Escorcio, who said on Friday night it was "a question of flexibility on the part of the US and SA."

He said he was satisfied with the work, but not the progress.

SA diplomatic sources indicated the two sides had not managed to find the "switch" which would have paved the way for agreement. As a result, all parties were returning for consultations with their governments.

As usual, the silence from the chairman of the talks, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, was deafening — his Press attache was not even prepared to confirm

or deny that there was a blackout on news.

The one really concrete thing came from SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys, who gave the assurance that, whatever the outcome of the talks, the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola would continue and that all SADF personnel would be out by September 1.

The next step will be a report to the SA Government by the delegation on Tuesday, after which the two sides will once again return to Brazzaville — and the rockface.

Block

It was reported in Cape Town that a new stumbling block in a possible settlement for Namibia had come to the fore: Defence Minister Magnus Malan revealed last week that the territory's force had grown to 30 000 men.

In terms of resolution 435, this force would have to be disbanded — something which is being seen as a serious blow to the economy.

SWA's future is bright - Sam Nujoma

CP Correspondent

SAM Nujoma, president of Swapo, says prospects for Namibia's independence are bright, given the present political climate in Southern Africa - but he cannot make a pledge that Namibia will be free this year.

In a solidarity address this week to the 10th congress of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party at Kabwe, 150km north of Lusaka, Nujoma said: "We are committed and dedicated to the liberation of Namibia. One day we shall secure victory against colonialism and imperialism."

Nujoma paid tribute to Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda for spearheading the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. "It has always been your 'trademark' to support the liberation struggle in Southern Africa."

Nujoma said Swapo would intensify the armed struggle despite the current talks between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.

Addressing the same meeting, Angolan president José Eduardo Dos Santos pledged continued support for Swapo. Angola would not relent its support for the liberation of Namibia, he said.

But he added that prospects for Namibia's independence were much brighter now. Referring to the current talks on Namibia's independence, he said: "Everything looks promising."

Dos Santos also assured Swapo of continued support from the frontline states, of which he is chairman, until victory is secured.

Meanwhile, Dos Santos has said Angola would not compromise its constitution in order to accommodate Unita rebels. The current talks with South Africa were being carried out with this in mind.

Mozambican president Joachim Chissano told the Unip conference: "South Africa should face reality and grant independence to Namibia, and also abolish apartheid."

He sounded optimistic of a positive outcome in the Namibian independence talks.

Ethiopian president Mengistu Haile Mariam reaffirmed his country's practical support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa. - ANO

28/06/78 CP Press

LISBON — A top Angolan military official was quoted at the weekend as saying withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from his nation was directly linked to US aid for Unita rebels.

Portugal's Lusa news agency reported Angolan Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Antonio dos Santos Franca as saying: "We're not going to sacrifice our security in return for nothing."

Franca, whose comments were made as he left Brazzaville for Luanda, headed the Angolan delegation at US-mediated talks, with SA and Cuba, suspended on Saturday

Angola links Cuban withdrawal to aid for Unita

after parties failed to reach agreement on a withdrawal timetable.

The Angolans and Cubans say it will take four years to complete the withdrawal. SA wants them out in a year. US mediators are reported to have proposed 18 months.

The talks will to resume next Monday in the Congolese capital.

Withdrawal of troops has been linked to an overall peace plan for the region and an agreement by SA to

grant independence to Namibia and withdraw its troops from southern Angola and Namibia.

Unita is not party to the talks and has not observed a ceasefire signed last week by SA, Angola and Cuba.

An American diplomat close to the US mediators in Brazzaville said US support for Unita could not be a bargaining chip.

"It is absurd to ask us to disengage unilaterally. I don't consider it a con-

dition of our mediation," he said.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, architect of the accord, has said an agreement between the Angolan government and Unita was essential for the plan to take hold.

On Friday, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told OAU head Moussa Traore that Angola would not be pressured into a power-sharing agreement with Unita as the price for peace in the region. — Sapa-AP.

It's back to Brazzaville for more talks

Parties fail to agree on terms of pull-out

DELEGATIONS from four countries involved in a bid to resolve the problems of south-western Africa will head for Brazzaville once again next week to try to hammer out a compromise which will lead to Namibian independence in terms of UN resolution 435.

The last round of talks ended in the early hours of Saturday morning with the leader of the SA delegation, Neil van Heerden, acknowledging his disappointment that the gap between the two sides had not narrowed.

One area of particular concern to SA is the run up to the implementation of resolution 435 when the bulk of SA troops will have been withdrawn from Namibia.

PATRICK CULL

An SA diplomatic source said there would have to be a matching response from the other side. This had not been forthcoming; what was offered "falls quite a way outside our expectations".

One possibility mooted is that SA will shift from its position of demanding that all the Cubans be out of Angola prior to independence and permit a limited number to be based north of Luanda.

This would allay Angolan fears that Unita, continuing to be supplied by the US, would pose a major threat to MPLA control.

To date the issue of US aid for Unita has not been discussed. A source said this was a matter for the US and Angola.

It is acknowledged the target

date for an agreement on Cuban withdrawal from Angola — September 1 — is now out of the question while there also appears to be far less chance of November 1 being the date for the beginning of the implementation of resolution 435.

SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys gave the assurance that whatever the outcome of the talks, all SA troops would be out of Angola by September 1.

The SA delegation will report to the government tomorrow when the possibility of a shift in the SA position will obviously be looked at.

Then it is back to Brazzaville to discuss what Van Heerden describes as the major issue — Cuban withdrawal.

IN BRIEF

No Mahobe acquittal

THE application for the acquittal of former Mamelodi Sundowns Football Club boss Zola Daniel Mahobe was turned down by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate on Friday.

Mahobe faces five counts of fraud involving R6m.

The case was postponed to Wednesday.

Zulu group in Holland

AMSTERDAM — Zulu song and dance group Shikisha are the only South Africans taking part in the week-long World Roots Festival 1988 starting here today.

Results of food tests

DURBAN — The results of tests made on samples of food eaten by the 35 children admitted to Addington Hospital with food poisoning on Friday would be made known today, SABC radio news reported.

Only two of the children had not been discharged by Saturday: they were both in a satisfactory condition.

Wits school festival

PORT ELIZABETH — The 1820 Foundation in Grahams-town has announced that its

W & A

paid, having the e profit increase (R11,5m).

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Marine corps' future assured after exercise

By Deon Lamprecht and Craig Kotze

WALVIS BAY — South Africa's fledgling marine branch has secured a permanent place in naval operations after proving its mettle in large scale naval exercises here.

The officer commanding South Africa's largest navy exercises, Rear Admiral Chris Bennett, said the position of the marines was assured after large scale amphibious landings off the Namibian coast last week.

A battalion-strength joint marine and paratroop force proved its ability to secure and hold a bridgehead after an attack from the sea.

The amphibious landing formed an integral part of Exercise Magersfontein which is currently being conducted off Walvis Bay and is designed to test the full spectrum of the navy's operational capabilities.

"The first landings were very satisfactory and we surprised ourselves," said Rear Admiral Bennett.

"But unlike the American marines, our role is limited to raiding," he said.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, and the chief of the South African Navy, Vice-Admiral Glen Syndercombe will today view demonstrations of gunnery and replenishment at sea.

The exercise will continue well into September and will test the navy's ability to operate far from its home bases for up to 60 days.

About 1 500 men will participate in the exercise and strike craft, submarines, mine countermeasure vessels and support ships will take part.

SA troops out tomorrow

29/8/88

221/8 B/day
Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — The last of SA's forces which have been helping Unita in its siege of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola are scheduled to cross back into Namibia tomorrow.

Foreign observers are expected on both sides of the border to witness the withdrawal.

SA, Angola and Cuba are to erect 11 monitoring points along Namibia's northern border within the next few weeks to ensure the ceasefire between Angola and Namibia is upheld, say senior military sources in Windhoek.

The sources, who asked not to be identified, said the members of the Joint Monitoring Co-ordination Committee agreed to the move while signing the ceasefire ratification last week.

The monitoring points would stretch from the vicinity of Ruacana, in north-western Namibia, "to deep into the Ca-

privi", the sources said.

The Main aim of the monitoring points was to ensure none of the signatories to the ceasefire, or Swapo, sent forces into one another's territory to jeopardise the agreement, signed as a preamble to the possible implementation of the UN independence plan for Namibia.

It is understood Unita will fall in with the ceasefire and do nothing to upset the shaky peace in the region.

In advance of tomorrow's SADF and SWATF final withdrawal from Angola, columns of military vehicles, many of them badly damaged, have been reported crossing back over the river into Namibia during the past few days.

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Angry SA ready to make sparks fly

Political Staff *MGWS 27/7/88*

SOUTH Africa is to object strongly to Cuban/Angolan actions in the past two weeks when peace talks resume in Geneva next week.

Sources predicted today that sparks would fly but that the talks would continue after a major hiccup.

South Africa has been angered by:

● An attack on a water tower at the Oshikango border post by men wearing Fapla uniforms;

● Continued claims made by Cuban President Fidel Castro about victories at Cuito Cuana-vale and Calueque;

● Angolan statements that the African National Congress was excluded as a subject of the talks and would continue to be given succour by Angola; and,

● Statements by Angolans and Cubans on details of the

talks, which were supposed to be confidential.

The South African delegation will seek assurances that cross-border attacks will cease.

A Government source pointed out that Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said recently that the parties should not attempt to "rub each other's noses in the dirt", score debating points or gain military or diplomatic advantage.

Indications today were that the military situation would be raised at a pre-talks meeting, also in Geneva, between the United States and the Soviet Union.

South Africa has already objected to the United States about the attack at Oshikango to have pressure brought on the Cubans and Angolans to stop further military action.

The attack sparked strong reaction yesterday from Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. ● See page 2.

Diplomats from SA tell of 'working at the rockface'

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

ARGUS 29/8/88

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“WORKING at the rockface” was how Neil van Heerden, leader of South Africa’s negotiation team, characterised the start of the Angola/Namibia peace talks in Brazzaville, Congo.

He said the “underbrush” of broad principles had been cleared in previous talks. They were now down to the nitty-gritty, the rockface of a calendar for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The rockface seemed barely dented in the three days of bargaining which ended with nothing visibly gained but an agreement to meet again in the Congo capital next week. However, South African diplomatic sources insist that flexibility was shown in some important areas by both sides.

Diplomatic sources suggest the negotiations were much more about the timing of Cuban redeployment to the north of Angola than about a date for their complete withdrawal.

It seems that South Africa’s greatest flexibility was on its official previous position that all Cubans must be out of Angola before the proposed June 1, 1989, date for United Nations elections in SWA/Namibia.

President Botha’s speech in Parliament on the talks has been mostly interpreted as meaning that South Africa has dug in its heels on this principle. But South African diplomats point out that Mr Botha said the Cubans must be out before SWA/Namibia independence rather than before the June 1 date for elections.

It must be remembered

that SWA/Namibia will not become independent on that day. June 1 is the date by which a constituent assembly must be elected to draw up a constitution for independence.

Apart from the importance of this in itself, it also indicates a new emphasis and South African diplomatic sources point out that it was the official position before the talks began.

At Brazzaville it was suggested that this was the point on which South Africa was most flexible and that the South African team focused instead on timetables for redeployment of Cuban troops northwards in Angola during the period running up to the elections — not on the deadline for complete withdrawal.

South Africa put the view at Brazzaville that the different phases of the independence process under UN resolution 435 — the period before the process starts on November 1, the period from then to the elections on June 1 for a constituent assembly and the post-election period — had different “sensitivities”. South Africa said the most sensitive period was the middle one.

During the first three months after the start of the implementation of UN 435, South African forces would have to withdraw from SWA/Namibia except for a nominal presence of 1 500 troops confined to the Oshihelo and Grootfontein bases.

South Africa told the Angolans and Cubans that in those three months UN forces would be arriving and the world’s attention would be on SWA/Namibia.

The South African view was that in this period it should not look as though only South Africa was withdrawing. There should be a matching withdrawal northwards of Cuban troops to balance the South African withdrawal.

The point that the South African team tried to make to the Cubans and Angolans was that the presence of a large Cuban force — with an arsenal of conventional weaponry far greater than needed to protect Angola — just across the SWA/Namibia border during the election campaign would intimidate voters and affect the outcome of the elections.

Apart from the intimidation factor, South Africa also seems to believe that if the election process under UN 435 begins with a South African military “retreat” not matched by an equivalent Cuban “retreat”, this would make Swapo look like the winner of the war in the minds of SWA/Namibia voters.

The South African appeal for a Cuban withdrawal northwards in the three months after November 1 is understood to have been the reason for the sudden return to Luanda by the heads of the Angolan and Cuban delegations.

They consulted the Angolan government and returned with a proposal that fell “quite a long way short” of South African expectations and at this point the talks effectively ground to a halt.

The Angolans and Cubans argued that the Cuban presence had nothing to do with UN 435 and that they were in

Angola by invitation of the country’s sovereign government. They added that the Cuban presence was equivalent to the South African presence across the other SWA/Namibia border in South Africa.

South Africa countered that its troops across the Orange River were in no position to influence the outcome of the elections as strongly as the Cubans across the Cunene because about 70 percent of the population was in Owambo on the northern border.

South Africa said that Swapo was on record as saying that if anything went wrong at the polls, its Cuban allies would be there to help.

South Africa believes the large Cuban presence just across the border goes right to the heart of the linkage principle which is aimed at ensuring free and fair elections under UN 435.

Although Cuba’s and Angola’s response to this approach did not meet South African expectations, it was at least a response.

All the indications from Brazzaville were that Cuba and Angola would adamantly reject complete Cuban withdrawal from Angola by the time of UN elections.

South African diplomats have indicated that the September 1 deadline for South African troops to be out of Angola is still on track and that although the September 1 date for an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal timetable is now unattainable, the November 1 date for starting UN 435 could still be.

SA troops to withdraw fully by tomorrow

29/8/88
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By Claire Robertson
Pretoria Bureau

The last of the SA Defence Force troops stationed in Angola are due to cross the Kavango River back into Namibia tomorrow in terms of a ceasefire agreement to come into effect on September 1.

Foreign observers and reporters are due to visit the Angolan-Namibian border to record the end of the withdrawal — a day before the deadline of midnight on August 31 — which has been in progress for the past three weeks.

The Joint Military Monitoring Committee (JMMC), a body made up of SADF and Angolan military representatives, is to hold the first of its daily meetings tomorrow. The venue for meetings will alternate between Namibia and Angola.

The JMMC has also set up 11 monitoring points along Namibia's northern border to ensure signatories to the ceasefire — and Swapo — observe the truce, according to a JMMC statement.

Swapo, while vowing at the weekend to continue its fight for Namibian independence within the territory, has said it will observe the ceasefire.

The ceasefire is the first concrete step in a complex plan involving the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibian independence.

South Africa has so far not said it is suspending military operations against Swapo.

Peace, stability before timetables

29/8/88

Star

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General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF, relaxes on the plane back to South Africa.

Positive progress was made in Brazzaville during the latest negotiations on a settlement of the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba have failed to meet a September 1 target for agreeing on a timetable for pulling Cuban troops out of Angola, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the weekend.

But Mr Botha, commenting on the peace talks that ended in Brazzaville on Friday, said positive progress had been made in the negotiations on a settlement of the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.

The US-mediated talks in the Congolese capital ended after three days of tough negotiations on a timetable for withdrawing an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. Negotiations will resume in Brazzaville in a week's time.

The failure to meet the September 1 deadline is not a surprise. Political sources have described the date as a target, not a deadline.

"The discussions at Brazzaville were serious, detailed and constructive," said a joint statement issued by South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

Pretoria demands the withdrawal of the Cubans as a condition for granting independence to Namibia. Angola and Cuba have said they want a four-year withdrawal of Cuban troops while South Africa has demanded a pullout over one year to match its departure from Namibia.

In a statement released in Pretoria, Mr Botha said: "From the negotiations that took place in Brazzaville it became clear that the delegations from the various countries would now have to report back to their respective governments.

COMPLICATED MATTER

"This is a complicated and delicate matter that requires clinical reflection on the part of the governments involved in these discussions.

"The South African delegation is now returning to report back fully to the Government and the indications are that further discussions about this important issue will need to be arranged," Mr Botha said.

"The SA Government would like to express its appreciation to the Republic of Congo for the facilities and hospitality extended to all the delegations, and reiterates the view that the problems of our continent must be solved by the leaders of Africa.

"In view of the desirability that further deliberations and negotiations should take place, it follows that the date of September 1 1988 for the reaching of an agreement about a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is not attainable."

"The discussions in Brazzaville took place in a spirit of mutual understanding," Mr Botha said.

"Because so much is at stake for all the people and countries of southern Africa, the question of timetables should not be the decisive element — what is important is that southern Africa should achieve peace and stability.

"It should be borne in mind that positive progress has been made in respect of a cessation of hostilities. So, too, in respect of the recognition of the linkage between the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435," Mr Botha said. — Sapa and Reuter.



Head of SA's negotiating team, Mr Neil van Heerden, finds time to shop in Brazzaville's market.



Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs, in optimistic mood.



General Carlos Aldana, head of the Cuban delegation, arrives at Brazzaville's Congress Palace.

Brazzaville: Fresh bid for compromise

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Delegations from four countries involved in a bid to resolve the problems of south-western Africa return to Brazzaville next week in a bid to hammer out a compromise that will lead to independence for Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435.

The last round of talks ended in the early hours of Saturday morning with the leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, acknowledging his disappointment that the gap between the two sides had not been narrowed.

It was in stark contrast to the muted optimism expressed before the talks.

One area which is of particular concern to South Africa is the run-up to the implementation of Resolution 435 when "it should not look as if only South Africa and Namibia have made concessions".

During this period the bulk of SA troops will have been withdrawn from Namibia and there is very obvious concern about what will be happening north of the territory.

An SA diplomatic source said there would have to be a matching response from the other side which had not been forthcoming and what had been offered "falls quite a way outside our expectations".

One possibility which has been mooted is that SA will shift from its present position that all the Cubans would have to be out of Angola before independence and permit a limited number to be based north of Luanda.

This would allay Angolan fears that

Unita, continuing to be supplied by the US, would still pose a major threat to the MPLA.

The SA delegation will report to the government tomorrow. Meanwhile, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported from Lisbon yesterday that a top Angolan military official said that the withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops is directly linked to US aid for Unita rebels fighting the MPLA government.

"We're not going to sacrifice our security in return for nothing," Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Antonio Dos Santos Franca said before returning to Luanda from Brazzaville.

The Angolans and Cubans have said it would take four years to complete the troop withdrawal. South Africa wants them out in a year. US mediators reportedly proposed a compromise timetable of 18 months.

Unita is not party to the talks and has not observed the ceasefire signed by SA, Angola and Cuba.

An American diplomat close to the US mediators in Brazzaville said that US support for Unita couldn't be "a bargaining chip... it's absurd to ask us to unilaterally disengage... I don't consider it a condition of our mediation (at the talks)".

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, architect of the accord, has said an agreement between the MPLA government and Unita is essential for the plan to take hold. But Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Saturday that Angola would not be pressured into a power-sharing agreement with Unita as the price for peace in the region. — Sapa-AP

Points to monitor ceasefire set up

By JIM FREEMAN

WINDHOEK. — South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to erect 11 monitoring points along Namibia's northern border within the next few weeks to ensure that the ceasefire between Angola and Namibia is upheld, according to senior military sources here.

The sources, who have asked not to be identified, said the members of the Joint Monitoring Co-ordination Committee (JMCC) agreed to the move while signing the ceasefire ratification last week.

The monitoring points will stretch from the vicinity of Ruacana in Namibia's north-western Kaokoland region "to deep into the Caprivi", the soldiers disclosed.

The main aim of the monitoring points is to ensure that none of the signatories to the ceasefire, or Swapo, send forces into one another's territories to jeopardize the agreement, signed as a preamble to the possible implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

It is also understood that the Unita resistance movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi in south-eastern Angola will fall in with the ceasefire and do nothing to upset the shaky peace in the region.

SA journalists to visit Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — A party of South African newsmen was due to leave Jan Smuts Airport for Harare today, en route to Angola.

Clearance for the week-long visit was negotiated with the assistance of Cuban Embassy staff in Harare, who issued the invitations last week. The degree of access which the group is to be granted to Angolan officials will be detailed during a briefing at the Angolan Embassy offices in Harare today.

The thawing of the frosty relations between the frontline states and South Africa's mainstream media began with a snap visit to Harare last month by representatives of Rapport and the Financial Mail.

Namibia to get plush new hotel

Capl Times 27/7/88
NAMIBIA is to get a new R20-million plush hotel at a time when independence worries are prompting scores of people to sell their holdings in the country.

The new Safari Court is being built south of Windhoek and will have a four-star rating, according to the managing director of Safari (Pty) Ltd, Mr

221
Johnnie Hamman. He said the hotel would be completed by 1991.

The new hotel is the latest in a series of multi-million-rand investments in Windhoek. A number of insurance companies have pumped in more than R40 million to try to overcome a chronic lack of office accommodation in the city.

State President erred, court told

30/8/88 221
Star

WINDHOEK — The South African State President had acted with "gross unreasonableness", when he stopped the prosecution of six soldiers for the alleged murder of a civilian, the Windhoek Supreme Court heard yesterday.

A certificate to indemnify the six soldiers from prosecution was issued on March 22 this year on the authority of the State President by the Namibian Administrator-General following the death of Mr Immanuel Shifidi on November 30 1986 at a Swapo political rally.

Mr Jeremy Gauntlett is appearing for Mr Shifidi's daughter, Miss Hilda Shifidi, who seeks a court order to invalidate the certificate. Respondents are the Administrator-General, the State President, the Attorney-General of Namibia, the South African Minister of Defence, and Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Rifleman Eusebius Kashimbi, and Rifleman Steven Festus.

The halting of the trial of the last six respondents was in terms of Section 103 of the of the Defence Act, which exempts members of the SADF from court action if they act in good faith in combating terrorism in an operational area.

Mr Gauntlett said that at an inquest into the death of Mr Shifidi evidence was given that the Swapo meeting was a lawful one. About 50 members of 101 Battalion attended the meeting in civilian dress, armed with weapons such as pangas, knobkerries, knives and bows and arrows with "instructions from their superior officers to disrupt the meeting".

Medical evidence revealed Mr Shifidi died of stab wounds with lacerations to the aorta and the pulmonary artery. Head wounds, including a fractured skull, had probably been administered after death.

Mr Gauntlett said the soldiers did not act in response to anything that had happened at the meeting and there was no basis for an opinion that their actions were for the purposes of the prevention or suppression of terrorism.

Mr Gauntlett asked for the application to be granted with costs.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

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221 B/Da
30/8/88

Court told PW acted unreasonably

WINDHOEK — President P W Botha had acted with "gross unreasonableness" which inferred he had either not applied his mind or had acted in bad faith when he stopped the prosecution of six soldiers for the alleged murder of a civilian, the Windhoek Supreme Court heard yesterday.

A certificate to indemnify the six from prosecution was issued on the authority of the President by the Namibian Administrator-General.

Immanuel Shifidi was killed on November 30 1986 at a lawful Swapo political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek when members of Ovambo's 101 Battalion disrupted the meeting, counsel Jeremy Gauntlett said in argument. He is appearing for Hilda Shifidi, Shifidi's daughter, who seeks a court order to invalidate the certificate.

She cites as respondents the Administrator-General, the President, the A-G of Namibia, the SA Defence Minister, Colonels Johannes Vorster and Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo and Riflemen Eusebius Kashimbi and Steven Festus.

The trial of the last six respondents was stopped in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act which exempts members of the SADF from court action if they act in good faith in combating terrorism in an operational area.

Gauntlett said there was no basis on which any reasonable person could believe the Defence Force was at the meeting to prevent or suppress terrorism in an operational area. He asked for the application to be granted with costs.

The application is being heard by the Judge President of Namibia, Mr Justice Berker, with Mr Justice Strydom and Mr Justice Levy. — Sapa.

Case Tim 15 (221)
30/8/88

Bid to revoke no-trial order

WINDHOEK. — President P W Botha had acted with "gross unreasonableness" when he stopped the prosecution of six soldiers for the alleged murder of a civilian, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

A certificate to indemnify the six soldiers from prosecution was issued on March 22 this year on his authority by the Namibian Administrator-General.

The dead man, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, was killed on November 30, 1986, at a Swapo political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek when members of Ovambo's 101 Battalion disrupted the meeting soon after it started, Mr Jeremy Gauntlett, counsel for the applicant, Miss Hilda Shifidi, the daughter of Mr Shifidi, said in argument.

Good faith

Miss Shifidi seeks a court order to invalidate the certificate. She cites as respondents the Administrator-General, the State President, the Attorney-General of Namibia, the South African Minister of Defence, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Rifleman Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

The halting of the trial of the last six respondents was in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act which exempts members of the SADF from court action if they act in good faith in combating terrorism in an operational area.

Mr Gauntlett said the Swapo meeting was lawful and openly held. — Sapa

Hospital fees up in Namibia

30/8/88
WINDHOEK — Namibian hospital fees are to rise by 50 percent on September 1 and by a further 50 percent in January.

Katutura State Hospital in Windhoek treated 604 000 patients in the last financial year at a cost of R50,2 million, while only R799 000 was recovered.— The Star's Africa News Service.

Star

(22)

Dukakis is warned on Angola switch

AR663
30/8/88

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The Argus Africa News Service reports

THE American Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, has been warned that a reversal of the present United States policy towards Angola would prolong the civil war there and kill any chances of SWA/Namibia independence.

The warning was given by the well-known authority on the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, and expert on Angolan affairs, Mr Fred Bridgland, diplomatic correspondent for the Scotsman.

Mr Bridgland said that any notion that the Angolan resistance would stop because of a Dukakis decision to cut off arms supplies needed to be abandoned.

Writing in the latest issue of *South Africa International*, published by the South African Foundation, Mr Bridgland said the West made the same mistake in 1976 when "after a series of terrible errors of judgment, it cut off all aid to Unita and settled down to do business with the MPLA".

Mr Bridgland, the author of *Jonas Savimbi: A Key to Africa*, said the assumption then, as Mr Dukakis was making now, was that Unita would be finished.

From 1976 to 1988, however, Unita had grown to such an extent that it was now threatening the internal cohesion of the Cuban state itself.

"Unita's ability to scrap it out in the forests without any outside support, and its ability to capitalise on support once it is won, suggests that Unita would again survive any cut-off in American aid," he wrote.

However, any cut in American supplies of arms to Unita would mean that the rebels would be



Dr Jonas Savimbi

unable to put great pressure on the MPLA government, which would once again play for total victory.

"Since such total victory is unlikely, what would be achieved would be another decade of warfare stretching into the next century until some new cycle of historic events again put pressure on the MPLA to settle," Mr Bridgland wrote.

He warned that there was another flaw in a possible Dukakis decision to cut aid to Unita, recognise the MPLA government and simultaneously increase pressure on South Africa to end its rule in SWA/Namibia.

"Whatever else the South Africans are, they are not stupid. Why would they want to honour a democratic process in Namibia if the United States was unwilling to pursue one in Angola?"



Mr Michael Dukakis

Where would be the equitability in such a development?" Mr Bridgland asked.

"The most likely outcome of a Dukakis reversal of US policy would be the worst of all worlds — a prolongation of the Angolan war and an end to any chance of independence for Namibia."

In his article he also pointed out that South Africa's intervention in the Angolan civil war in 1975 had been with the approval of Zambia and the United States.

"Between July, 1975, and December of the same year Brand Fourie, then the top civil servant in the South African Foreign Ministry, made more than 20 clandestine trips to Zambia to liaise with Kenneth Kaunda and Jean Wilkowski, the US Ambassador to Lusaka," Mr Bridgland said.

31 Dec 30/12/88

Last SA troops cross the border

ELSABÉ WESSELS

MONTHS of heavy fighting and years of SA military presence in Angola officially come to an end today, as the last SA troops cross over the Angolan border into Namibia.

The withdrawal closes a chapter of heightened SA military aggression in Angola, which escalated with the Lomba River battle in October and continued at Cuito Cuanavale, military observers said yesterday.

The withdrawal required the dismantling of SA forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and SA positions at the Calueque water scheme where 12 SA soldiers died in an Angolan air raid on the dam in June.

Monitored 221

Continued water and electricity supply from Calueque and Ruacana to Namibia was guaranteed by the Angolans and Cubans at Geneva when the ceasefire was agreed to on August 10, and will be monitored by the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC).

SA troop levels peaked at an estimated 6 000, during the height of the Angolan/Unita conflict at the Lomba River in October, says Africa Confidential.

Troop levels have been reduced, however, to an estimated 2 000 in recent months, says Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmoet Heitman.

● See Page 4

Reason given for halting murder trial

WINDHOEK — National interests superceded the interests of individual wrongdoers and for that reason SA State President P W Botha had decided to halt the murder trial of six soldiers of the SA Defence Force, the Windhoek Supreme Court heard yesterday.

J Swart, SC, was submitting argument on Botha's behalf in an application challenging the validity of a certificate issued in terms of section 103 of the Defence Act to stop court proceedings.

The application concerns veteran Swapo member Immanuel Shifidi's death at a political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30, 1986.

Respondents are the Administrator-General, the State President, the Namibian Attorney-General, the SA Defence Minister, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

Shifidi was killed when members of Ovamboland's 101 Battalion infiltrated the Swapo public meeting.

An inquest court later found Shifidi had died in action aimed at disrupting the meeting and that criminal liability was involved.

Swart said in argument the Defence Act indemnified from prosecution SADF members who acted in good faith in combating terrorism in an operational area if it was in the national interest not to proceed with court action. — Sapa.

Vital late talks on labour Bill

TALKS focusing on controversial aspects of the Labour Relations Amendment Bill will continue today in Johannesburg between top employers and the country's two largest labour groups.

National Council of Trade Unions' general secretary Piroshaw Samay said yesterday the two union groups (the other is Cosatu) would ask employers to disregard five provisions in labour legislation which the three parties had earlier agreed would not be promulgated.

It is expected employers will reserve the rights given to them by the law which comes into effect tomorrow.

Camay hoped certain "offensive" clauses could be reworded and the Act amended next year.

He said a South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs delegation had met Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis to suggest alternative wording.

Among contentious clauses is introduction of a new definition of unfair labour practice. — Sapa.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Kevin Davis. Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Moon. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

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31/8/88

Mr Bill.

He said there were simply not enough facts available yet to assess the meaning of the explosion. But he was

for their problems as blacks living in an apartheid society? This attempt to silence us will not succeed and our work will go on."

She added: "We question the authori-

Manhattan Court, directly behind Khotso House, said she and her sister-in-law, Mrs P D White, were sleeping when the explosion occurred. She rushed to evacuate other tenants in the building.

SA troops beat ceasefire deadline

By Claire Robertson and John Ryan

South African troops poured across the Angolan border in a motorised convoy yesterday in fulfilment of ceasefire and withdrawal agreements reached at the Geneva peace talks.

Yesterday's border crossing completed a withdrawal operation of South African and South-West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) troops.

Sapa reports that yesterday's South African withdrawal, through Rundu and Ruacana, was emphasised as "total" by the SADF's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, at a press conference on the bank of the Kavango River. Fewer than 1 000 troops crossed the river at Rundu yesterday.

At no time since last year had more than 3 000 South African troops been deployed in Angola, he said.

Returning troops were met by members of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) which was established to check possible violations by Cuban, Swapo or SADF forces. In terms of the agreement, these forces may not be deployed between the 16th parallel and the Angolan-Namibian border.

On the bridge over the Kavango River, while remnants of South African artillery from positions east of the last battleground of Cuito Cuanavale were moving across, South African and Cuban officers shook hands.

Cuban Colonel Jesus Falcon told newsmen there was good understanding between the two groups.

He said he believed the JMMC would go about its business in a "very good spirit" in a preventive, rather than reactive, way.

General Gleeson echoed the Cuban sentiments. He said, as far as the ceasefire was concerned, all appeared to be going according to plan. There had been no incidents involving the Cubans or Angolans since June 24 and no violations by Swapo since August 12.

The general said he expected that Swapo forces would adhere to the general ceasefire agreement from tomorrow — the deadline proposed by South Africa for an end to hostilities.

The JMMC, he said, would start its operations in earnest on the same day.

"We must go step by step," he said.

There were almost as many journalists on hand to see the final withdrawal from Angola as there were South African troops crossing the border.

The military hardware from the Cuito Cuanavale region — Ratel armoured cars, Samils, howitzers, trucks and the occasional Buffel — were manned mainly by one or two soldiers.

South Africa's pull-out programme began three weeks ago. It involved 1 000 troops from the Cuito area, who took 11 days to cover the 300 km. They have been coming through the Rundu border in dribs and drabs.

Few of the soldiers showed emotion at the prospect of an end to it all.

Asked if the South African forces had left any armaments behind for Unita to use, General Gleeson said: "We have left no military equipment. We are taking out what we took in."

South African troops have been in Angola intermittently since 1975. They withdrew in 1976 after a major offensive against Swapo of which the South African public was unaware.

There was a formal troop withdrawal in April 1985 but the proposed ceasefire — in terms of the Lusaka Agreement of February 1984 — did not hold.

During talks at Ruacana on August 16 the parties engaged in negotiations over Angola and Namibia agreed on the establishment of the JMMC to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Last Monday, military representatives from South Africa, the SWATF and a joint Cuban-Angolan delegation signed a treaty at Ruacana to end hostilities between the two sides.

● See Pages 3 and 15.

State argument on freed soldiers

Why the President halted murder trial

WINDHOEK — National interests superseded the interests of individual wrongdoers and for that reason the South African State President decided to halt the murder trial of six SADF soldiers, the Windhoek Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Senior counsel Mr J-Swart was replying to an application challenging the validity of a certificate issued in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act to stop court proceedings against the six soldiers.

The application concerns the death of a veteran Swapo member, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, at a political rally in Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30 1986.

His daughter, Miss Hilda Shifidi, in the application cites the State President, the Administrator-General, the Namibian Attorney-General, the South African Minister of Defence, and Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Rifleman Steven Festus.

The court has heard that about 50 members of Owambo's 101 Battalion were driven from northern Namibia to infiltrate in civilian dress the Swapo public meeting. The soldiers were armed with pangas, clubs, knives and bows and arrows.

Violence at the meeting flared into a full-scale riot in which Mr Shifidi sustained fatal injuries.

On March 22 this year, the Administrator-General issued a certificate on the authority of the State President in terms of Section 103 Ter to stop the trial of the six respondents.

The section of the Defence Act indemnifies from prosecution members of the SADF who act in good faith in the combating of terrorism in an operational area if it is in the national interest not to proceed with court action.

Mr Swart said in argument that the State President's decision to authorise the issuing of the certificate was directed by the circumstances of the incident, and not by proven and exact fact, which indicated the national interest.

The Defence Act took cognisance that quick action was required in certain situations and for that reason the law did not provide for a full and factual account to be presented to the State President.

"The circumstances are considerably less exact than facts," Mr Swart said.

The State President had considered all the circumstances as submitted to him through the inquest court record and the charge sheet of the Attorney-General, "but they were not the only factors that led to the decision", Mr Swart said.

In terms of constitutional law, the State President was not only the Head of State of South Africa, but also the supreme authority over the SADF with powers to promulgate martial law, to declare war and to conclude peace treaties.

Countrywide service area

The question was not whether terrorist activities were committed at a specific time and place in order to qualify the issuing of a Section 103 Ter certificate.

In terms of the Defence Act the SADF was in service over the whole of South Africa and Namibia, Mr Swart said.

The State President's subjective opinion on an operational area was sufficient in itself, but his opinion was also supported by the objective definition of the Defence Act, he added.

The application is being heard by the Namibia's Judge-President, Mr Justice Hans Berker, with Mr Justice Johan Strydom and Mr Justice Harold Levy.
— Sapa.

UN chief — no decision yet

The Star Bureau

or two and perhaps longer.

NEW YORK — The UN secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, still has not decided whether he will accept the invitation of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to visit South Africa to discuss plans for implementing the proposed Namibian settlement, a UN spokesman said yesterday.

Many diplomats believe that the secretary-general is obliged to make the trip, but he has so many matters on his plate at present that it would probably have to be deferred for at least a week

In any case, no decision is expected until the completion of the next round of southern Africa peace talks, scheduled for September 5.

Dr Perez de Cuellar is at present in Geneva for peace negotiations between Iran and Iraq. He is involved also in the western Sahara peace effort and in discussions aimed at reconciling the two opposing factions in Cyprus.

With the opening on September 20 of the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly there is very little time left.

Cuban troops said to have been on red alert

South Africa believed that Cuban and Angolan troops had been placed on red alert following the suspension of regional peace talks in Brazzaville last week, according to the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb.

Referring to "strange" reports that South African forces had been defeated and driven from Angola, Mr Babb said the red alert did not seem to be the action of an army "sure of itself or one aiming at peace, but rather one preparing for a return to war".

'Strange' reports of SANDF defeat

Stew
21/8/88
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Senior military officials told reporters earlier that the mass withdrawal by the SADF from Cuito Cuanavale, 300 km inside Angola, had proceeded without engagement between the two forces.

Mr Babb said the final withdrawal of SA troops had removed any justification that Cuba claimed for the presence of an estimated

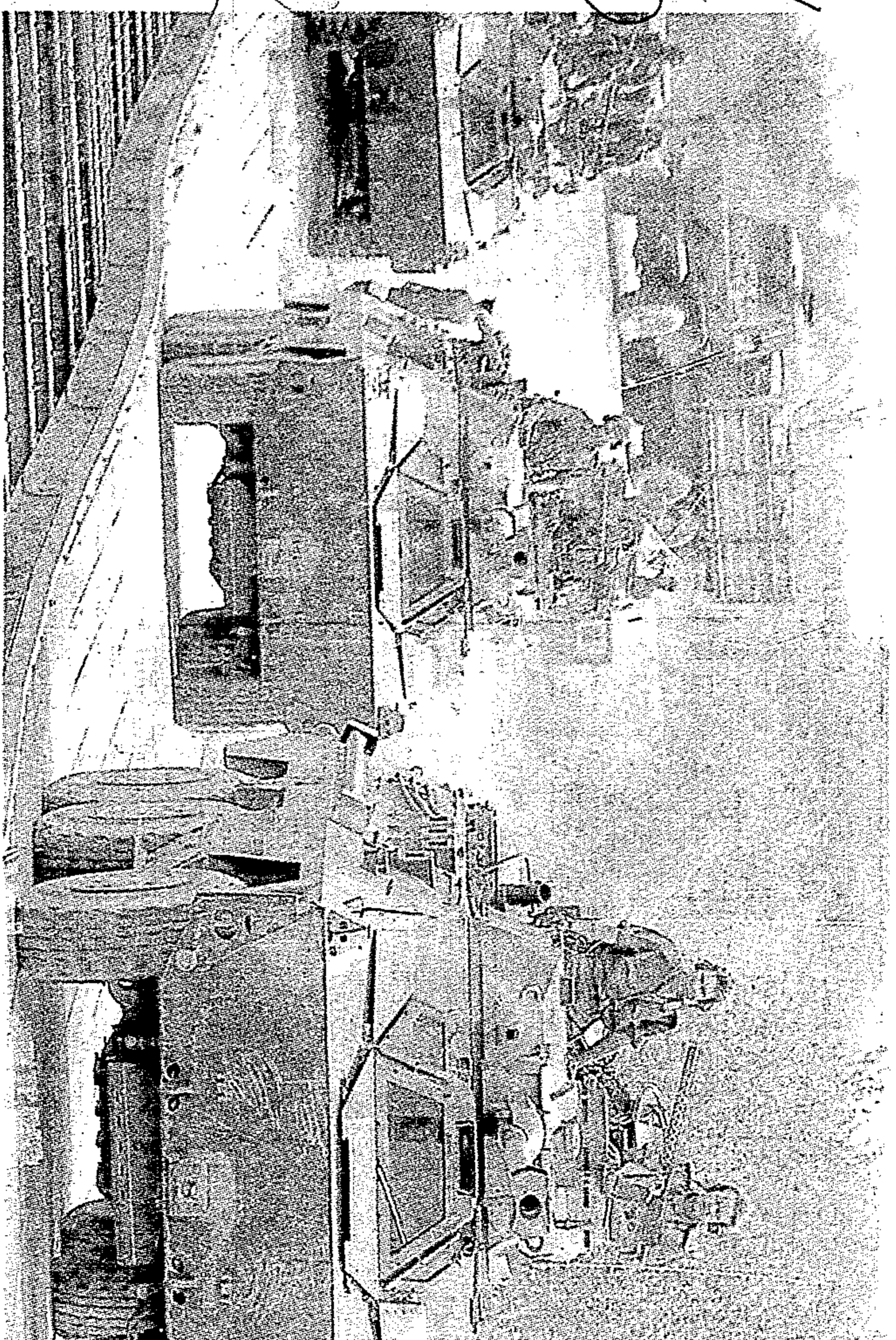
By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

50 000 troops in the country.

He described the Cubans as "an occupying force" that all Africa wanted to be rid of. "Justification for the Cuban presence has always been that they were there

because South Africa was in Angola; with our departure that justification falls away."

A "reasonable" commitment and timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans was necessary before South Africa, Angola and Cuba could sign an agreement to ask that United Nations Resolution 435 — the Namibian independence blueprint — be implemented.



Armoured vehicles, covered with celebratory graffiti and towing G5 artillery, cross Rundu Bridge and dreams of home become reality for South African troops.

● Pictures by Etienne Ra

SADF 6's trial halted 'for sake of national interest'

Copy Times 31/8/88

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WINDHOEK. — National interests superseded the interests of individual wrongdoers and President P W Botha had decided for that reason to halt the murder trial of six South African Defence Force soldiers, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

Senior Counsel Mr J Swart was submitting argument on behalf of the SA State President in an application challenging the validity of a certificate issued in terms of Section 103 of the Defence Act to halt court proceedings on March 22 this year.

The application concerns the death of a veteran Swapo member, Mr Immanuel Shifidi, during a political rally

in Katutura township outside Windhoek on November 30, 1986.

His daughter, Miss Hilda Shifidi, cites as respondents the Administrator-General, the South African State President, the SWA-Namibian Attorney-General, the SA Minister of Defence, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Riflemann Steven Festus.

Mr Swart said the President's decision to authorize the issuing of the certificate was directed by the circumstances of the incident and not by proved and exact fact, which indicated the national interest. — Sapa

Ten years down the road Namibia asks, 'is peace for real?'

By *Jim Freeman* 31/8/88

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From JIM FREEMAN in Windhoek. A second article on Namibia will appear in the Cape Times tomorrow.

ON THE surface, life in Namibia continues as normal while foreign politicians and generals battle in distant capitals for a deal to bring independence to the last colony in Africa.

But, wherever they meet, there is an underlying tension foreign to the happy-go-lucky people of the country.

In the coffee bars of Windhoek's main Kaiser Street the conversations are muted. In the bars, giant, foaming draught beers are downed with more desperation than the customary *joie de vivre*.

And the question on

everybody's lips: "Is it for real?"

There is no fear of looming independence among the estimated 1.3 m people in the territory. It is just a desperate desire to know what is going on.

For 10 years they have lived with independence hopes and hoaxes. Each time it seemed the country was on the brink of statehood, a new and seemingly insurmountable obstacle appeared.

The last was when South Africa said three years ago that the estimated 30 000 (at that time) Cuban troops in Angola would have to leave the country before elections could be permitted under United Nations supervision in Namibia.

Informed sources in the South African government say the new impetus is not thanks to Pretoria or Luanda having swallowed their pride but more to the

fact that the superpowers have decided to put their hands on the helm.

Namibians are used to false alarms so when, a month ago, the peace plan was resurrected the people laughed from Vloosdrif to Oshikango and swore they had heard it all before.

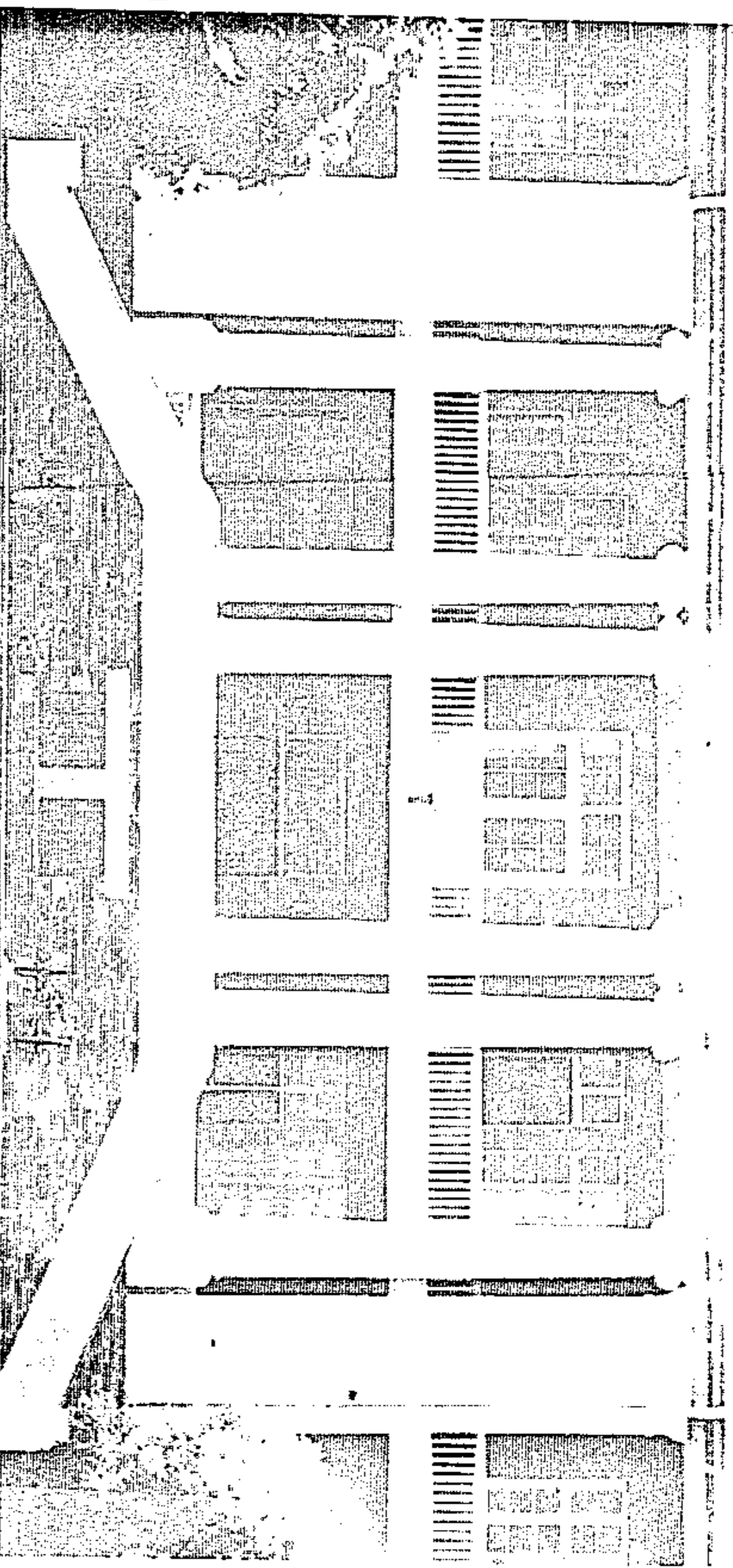
However, with dizzying speed, the Angolans and Cubans accepted linkage in principle. . . . South Africa said yes to a military withdrawal from southern Angola and the habitues of the Windhoek watering holes said "wait a minute!"

Many people scoffed and said "South Africa won't sell us down the river" but, as meeting after meeting followed that-be followed meeting, the Doubling Thomases began to change their tunes.

Dominated

"South Africa wouldn't sell us down the river, would they?"

The official line is "Namibia is not being sold down the river, we have just decided it is time to let go".



SEAT OF POWER: Windhoek's Tintenpalast — could it be the future home of the President of Namibia, at present still plain Mr Sam Nujoma?

To understand Namibian politics it is necessary to know a little of the geography of Windhoek itself.

The territory's skyline is dominated by three architectural features — the Tintenpalast (seat of power and future government), the gingerbread house (Christuskirche of the Lutheran Church, and South West House.

The last is an imposing building of sandstone reminiscent of the Union Buildings in Pretoria and is, for now, the real seat of government. Enter the office section of the building and you enter the domain of the South African-appointed administrator-General.

Mr Louis Pienaar, who has sat in the plush, book lined office for the past two years, nods his silvered head gravely and says: "Oh yes, this time we are serious."

But the dapper and suave administrator-general has contributed more to the uncertainty

of white Namibians on the imminence of independence than has their own cynicism.

Representative

The day South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pk Botha said agreement had been reached in principle on a ceasefire with Angola and a target date of November 1 was set for the implementation of the UN settlement, Mr Pienaar said Namibia's internal parties should go ahead with their quest for a constitution.

Just down the corridor from the tight-lipped administrator sits senior foreign affairs representative, Mr Eric Blume.

"This initiative caught Swapo with its pants down and as far as we are concerned, we want to keep their pants down," he said.

The Namibian transitional government, in stalled three and a half years ago, has worked hard at fine-tuning its constitution.

If they can agree on a fundamental rights manifesto then it can be presented to a constituent assembly after the UN supervised elections as a fait accompli.

The government of the day after those elections will be one led by Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo.

not even Pretoria disputes that. In fact, the only point of dispute is the majority with which he will come to power.

The most conservative intelligent guess is a poll of 70% but — given the realities of the situation that is probably way off mark.

Victory

For 10 years the impressionable people of Namibia have lived with the concept of Resolution 435 and the loudest lobbyist has been Swapo.

If the United Nations plan comes together in more implementation of the scheme will be regarded as a victor for the movement.

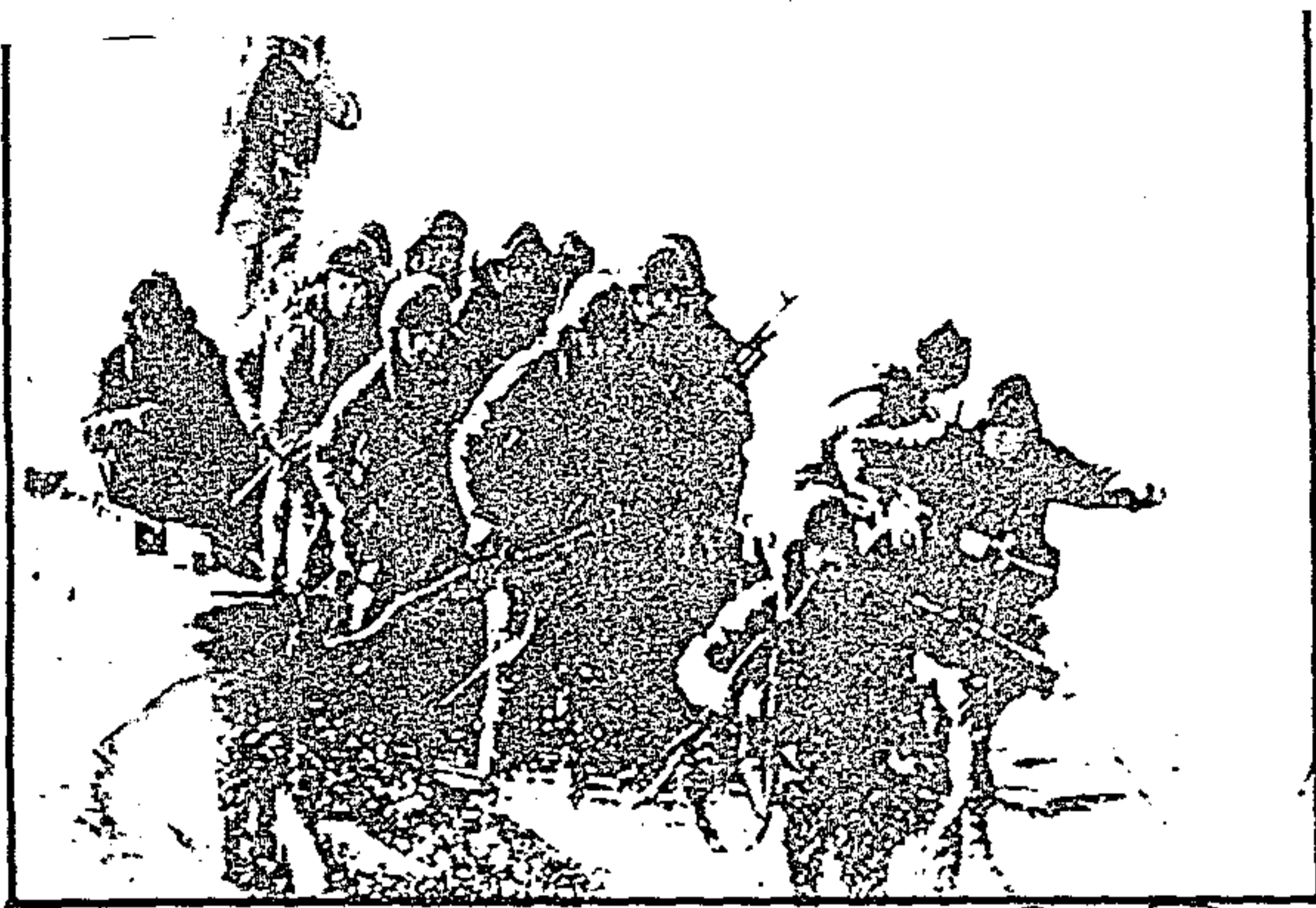
Mr Nujoma is going to become President of Namibia.

However, no matter how much support he enjoys from Africa and the rest of the world, the case of his tenure in the Tintenpalast will still be determined by South Africa.

With no harbour and an impoverished and war-torn Angola to the north, imports are going to have to come through either Walvis Bay or the Cape.

Swapo seems pragmatic, given the statements 10 days ago by Mr Nujoma in Lusaka that wholesale nationalization and blind economic egalitarianism were not likely.

If Mr Nujoma has read the signs right, South West House could see its status change from a symbol of colonialism to first a trade mission and eventually a residence for the South African ambassador to Namibia. And from the signs, Mr Nujoma could have read Pretoria's rules.



ARL:5 31/8/88 Argus Africa News Service
reports from Walvis Bay

(200) (221)

SOUTH Africa's amphibious military capability was dramatically demonstrated to the world this week when the Navy revealed its new "Delta 80" landing craft — up to now a closely guarded secret — in a marine landing off the Walvis Bay Coast.

Six of these extremely versatile and fast craft were shown to the media this week and used for an amphibious landing with marines on the sandy beach of Pelican Point.

The landing formed part of the largest naval exercise, codenamed "Magersfontein", in the history of the South African Navy and has already been under way for a month.

More than 2 500 navy personnel from all the fleet's flotillas are taking part in the exercise, which is designed to test the Navy's ability to operate far from its bases.

This week's company-size marine landing follows a far larger amphibious exercise last week by more than 1 000 marines and paratroops off the desert enclave.

Also using Delta craft, the force was launched towards the beaches from the Navy's largest ship, the replenishment vessel SAS Tafelberg.

According to Rear-Admiral Chris Bennett, who is commanding the exercise, the amphibious capability had contributed greatly to the striking power of the Navy and the Defence Force.

The Navy's fledgling marine branch had also earned itself a per-

manent place in naval operations after proving its mettle during the landings.

Admiral Bennet also praised the marines and paratroops on the high standards of their training.

The Delta craft are multi-purpose boats used for landing troops and other tasks. The shallow draught vessels each with three "keels" — are equipped with two powerful outboard engines and can reach a speed of up to 40 knots.

Each has a crew of four and can accommodate a platoon of about 35 combat-ready soldiers.

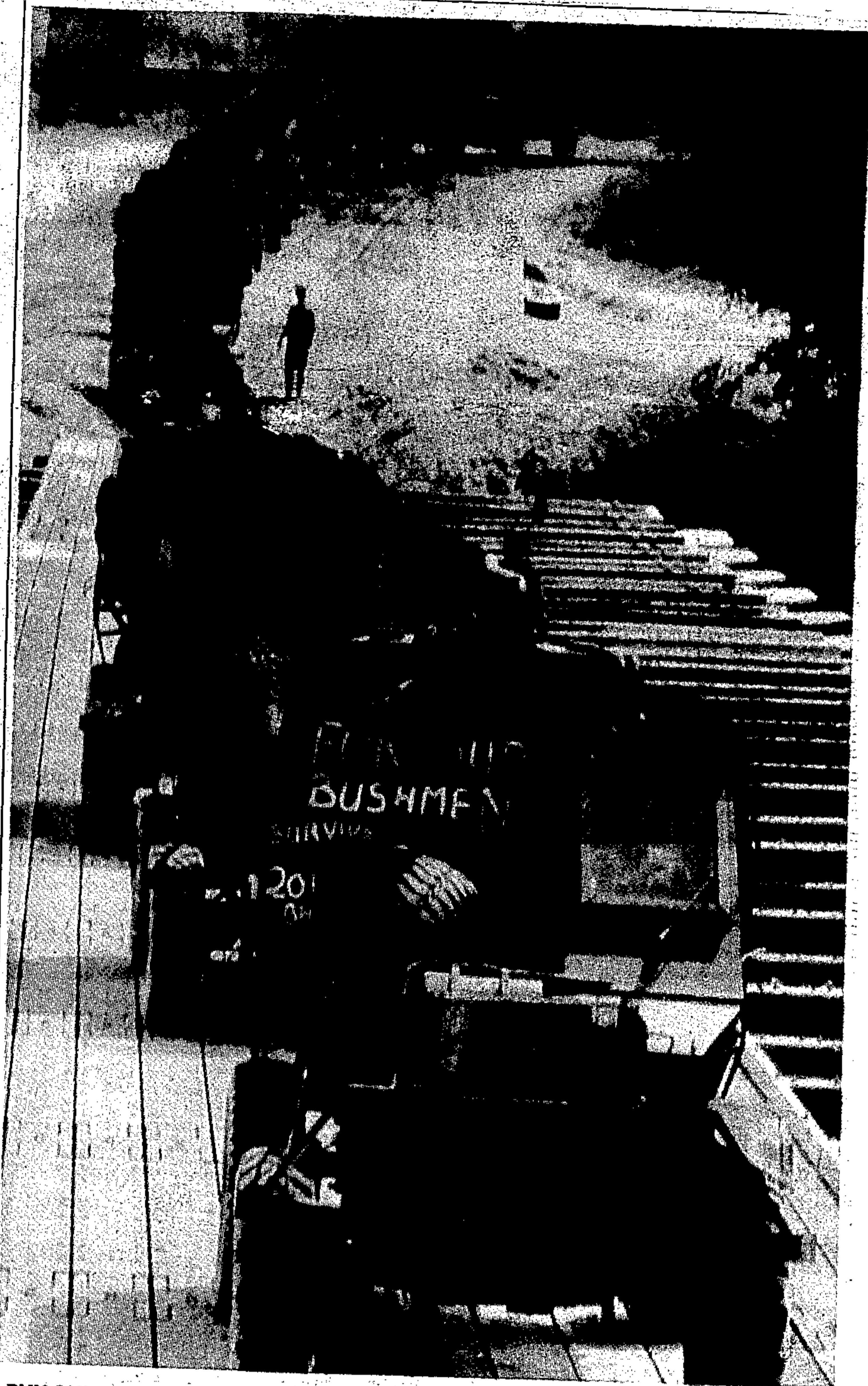
According to the Navy, they are locally designed.

Walvis Bay would remain part of South Africa and the Government had not changed its attitude on the matter, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, the Deputy Minister of Defence, said during naval exercises off the enclave this week.

"Walvis Bay is part of South Africa and will remain part of the country. The Government has not changed its attitude on the issue," Mr Breytenbach told military correspondents gathered on the South African Navy's Tafelberg replenishment ship.

Admiral Bennett labelled the exercise so far a "complete success" and said it had proven the navy's ability to operate far from its main bases and logistics infrastructure.

"We learned an immense amount from the exercise, although we did have to make a few adjustments. But we also learned from them," said Admiral Bennett.



PULLOUT: Fifty armoured vehicles rumble across a pontoon bridge carrying the last South African troops out of Angola where they had been fighting for more than a year. *ARGUS 31/8/88* Full report and more pictures, page 21.

Clashes in ⁽²²¹⁾ Namibia: 14 Swapo killed

Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — The SWA Territory Force says 14 Swapo insurgents have been killed in clashes in the Namibian operational area in the past week.

It said these brought the organisation's deaths in action this year to 292.

The SWATF said a number of arms caches had been found in the last week, and there had been two detonations of landmines by cattle in the same period.

Swapo said originally it would honour the ceasefire from September 1, although the organisation's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in Lusaka recently his fighters inside Namibia had been ordered not to fire on South African troops.