

circles, has turned against racist South Africa, due to the unceasing efforts of the ANC to which Comrade Ruth First made a noble contribution popularising the cause of the oppressed millions of South Africa.

Comrade Ruth was to be among those people who fell victim of the 90 day detention law and was held in solitary confinement. In 1964 she joined the rest of our leadership in exile and has since then continued to devotedly

We Are  
Sure Of



Final Victory

*Interview with Hodipo Hamutenya, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of SWAPO and Secretary for Information and Publicity.*

**Q:** In the past few weeks, the Western mass-media has been making a lot of noise about the possibilities of the settlement of the Namibian independence question, what do you think are the reasons behind this great optimism as a member of the delegation that had gone to New York?

labour for the raising of our people's struggle inside our country. In her death we reaffirm our resolve to liberate the people of South Africa from all forms of oppression and exploitation, a supreme goal which she cherished until her untimely death.

We, the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe take it upon ourselves to avenge all those who have been robbed of their lives by the blood-thirsty apartheid butchers.

**A:** The line of the Western 5 to create what I call a false sense of momentum has to do with the fact that the 5 Western powers would like to be allowed to continue to serve as the mediators in the Namibian conflict and when they realise that they are getting us nowhere, that after 5 years of negotiations Namibia is not yet independent, the United Nations plan is not implemented, I think they feel that the world is beginning to question their role, their motive and whether at all they can actually facilitate progress towards the liberation of Namibia.

Under the pressure to convince a rather doubting world public opinion as to where their efforts are leading us, they found it necessary to deliberately go out of their way and manufacture doses of optimism which has no foundation, in fact there are no concrete and tangible evidence of progress in the negotiations; it is essentially a cover-up of their own inability to compel their racist clients in Pretoria to relinquish their colonial hold on Namibia, i.e. a smokescreen intended to cover-up the fact that South Africa is refusing to end its illegal and oppressive occupation of Namibia.

**Q:** SWAPO has consistently emphasised that they will only agree to a negotiated settlement which conforms to Resolution 435, so far what are the obstacles towards the implementation of the U.N. Security Council Resolution?

**A:** The obstacle is racist South Africa. It is racist South Africa which has been preventing the implementation of that resolution. You remember that that resolution was passed in 1978 and since then South Africa has been prevaricating and applying delaying tactics. First South Africa raised a hue and cry about what it called unjustifiably large numbers of UNTAAG personnel proposed by the former Secretary General of the United Nations to go to Namibia which consisted of 7 500 UN troops, 1 500 civilians and 360 police officers, South Africa then said that was

too large and loudly protested and made that an issue of make and break.

No sooner had they abandoned that when they jumped up on another issue which they called lack of impartiality, and they have been making a lot of noise about UN lack of impartiality for the past 3 years. Apart from that they have been making a lot of noise about what they called "inescapable SWAPO's violation of cease-fire" and therefore they wanted somebody to come and throw a cordon on the Angolan and Namibian border to ensure that SWAPO does not infiltrate so-called terrorists to intimidate the population during the proposed transitional period in Namibia. That was yet another smokescreen, another delaying tactic intended to afford South Africa an opportunity to continue propping up its stooges and puppets in Namibia and to attempt to consolidate its neo-colonial institutions which it has created in Namibia, namely, the so-called South West Africa Ministers Council, National Assembly, South West Africa police force and the South West Africa Territory Force. South Africa felt that with time these puppet neo-colonial institutions will gain some semblance of acceptability by the Namibian people, and therefore they were playing for time.

**Q: What do you think are the real reasons behind the consistent and insistence of the United States of America and South Africa over the withdrawal of Cuban internationalists from the People's Republic of Angola as it is very clear that there is no connection whatsoever between the presence of Cuban troops in Angola and the independence of Namibia?**

**A:** Well, I think you would understand that the Reagan administration is in difficulties. The Reagan Administration has found itself in an awkward position, Reagan has sided with Margaret Thatcher on a far-gone issue and that has gone a long way to eliminate a lot of traditionally pro-American regimes in America. At the same time the Americans supported Zionist state in the Middle-East, Israel, which is a bridgehead of American imperialism in this part of the world has recently caused massive destruction of Lebanon and that destruction is going on, and that has enraged a lot of Governments and people in the Middle-East. So, again we know that in Western Europe the American foreign policy is floundering. The Americans are trying to dictate to their Western European allies not to import gas from the Soviet Union and that has thrown the Washington foreign policy into a crisis, *vis-a-vis* on the foreign policy arena. He feels that his administration can use the Namibian issue as a trump-card to arm-twist Angola and Cuba and force Angola to get the Cuban internationalist forces out of Angola. That is an imperialist design and it shows that

Washington has no concern about the suffering, the agony and the atrocities through which the Namibian people are going at the hands of the South African fascist troops and police in Namibia. So, they would prolong as long as it serves their imperialist interest in the region the agony and suffering of our people. They are trying therefore to use the Namibian negotiations over Namibia as a bargaining card for them to get Angola to agree to their own imperialist design in the region. That is the obvious reasoning behind this policy of South Africa and Washington. The presence of the Cuban internationalists in Angola is an agreement between two sovereign states, viz. Angola and Cuba, it has nothing to do with the mandate of the 5 Western powers which they have asked the United Nations to give them to negotiate the future of Namibia. This is again an abuse of the responsibility given to the 5 Western powers to serve as intermediaries between SWAPO and their racist allies in Pretoria.

**Q: Recently the South African racist regime has passed a law making Walvis Bay an integral part of South Africa. How does SWAPO view this question as Walvis Bay is part of Namibia?**

**A:** The crux of the matter is that the racists are unable to reconcile themselves to the inevitable, that is the inescapable reality of Namibia's steady forward movement towards National independence. South Africa has got thousands and thousands of its troops, its police, its administrators, its security agents, etc., all over Namibia. These instruments of intimidation, instruments of oppression and exploitation know fully well that the Namibian people are solidly behind their vanguard liberation movement SWAPO and they know that the future belongs to the workers and peasants of Namibia, led by SWAPO and that the next government in Windhoek is definitely a SWAPO government. Aware of this inescapable reality, Pretoria is busy trying to create circumstances whereby she might be able to arm-twist the future SWAPO government in Windhoek, and they are now trying to claim ownership over the harbour of Walvis Bay as a leverage around which they think they will be able to arm-twist SWAPO to do things which South Africa would prefer to see the government of Namibia doing. They know that the SWAPO government will be committed to a policy of anti-apartheid and therefore they are trying to afford themselves certain styles of trump cards in advance of independence. That is the sole and only rationale behind South Africa's claim over Walvis Bay. SWAPO does not and will never accept South Africa's illegal claim over Walvis Bay, it is as much illegal as the occupation of Namibia.

In any case we are sure that the people of South Africa will have no interest in claiming the ownership of Walvis Bay. We know that the present regime is on its way and the ruling class is destined to be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. When South Africa is liberated under the leadership of the ANC, we know that the ANC government will have no interest in claiming Walvis Bay. So Walvis Bay is bound and destined to remain an integral part of Namibia. That much we are sure of.

**Q: Could we say that it is a foregone conclusion that SWAPO will not go to the elections without the release of all political prisoners by the racist regime?**

**A: SWAPO will not go to any elections not based on Resolution 435. Resolution 435 has got a number of provisions and steps, steps which will have to be followed. First there has to be a ceasefire, a ceasefire agreement which must be signed between the two contending forces, the military forces in our country namely SWAPO and racist South Africa, that is number one. Secondly, there will be 3 months of demobilisation, restriction and confinement and withdrawal of the South African troops from Namibia. In that period of 3 months all political prisoners will have to be released. After all political prisoners have been released, South African troops restricted and confined, then and only then will the electoral campaign start and the return of SWAPO's leadership, cadres and followers back to Namibia and the elections 4 months later. So there is no question of implementing Resolution 435 in parts, it has to be implemented as a complete package and therefore there can be no question of going to elections without the release of all political prisoners or without the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, which is the first thing that must be done. There can be no elections at gunpoint or under the bayonets of the South African racist troops in our country.**

**Q: Has there been any tangible agreement that has been reached in relation to the electoral system and the composition of the Constituent Assembly, since there has been a lot of discrepancies on this aspect?**

**A: You know that following the arrival of the Reagan Administration in Washington the Reagan Administration started to try to re-negotiate various provisions and clauses of Resolution 435, and one of the attempts to change and modify Resolution 435 was to introduce an electoral system based on something called one man 2 votes and you know that SWAPO rejected categorically this double-headed monster of mixed electoral systems. Now after that SWAPO supported by the frontline states**

said that elections in Namibia must be held in strict observance of the tried, tested and time-honoured principle of one man one vote. And we said that it has to be based on either single member constituency system or on the basis of proportional representation that we can have elections. We have made it very clear that anything that deviates from these two electoral procedures and are based on the principle of one man two votes will not be accepted by SWAPO. When the 5 Western groups brought up this question, they were saying that the decision of the electoral system will have to be made at a political level by the 2 major parties to the conflict, namely SWAPO and the government of racist South Africa. Now SWAPO has decided on its part that it will be either single member constituency system or proportional representation, the onus are now on South Africa to choose one of these two and South Africa has been avoiding to decide and this is why we have not proceeded to the stage of an agreement on the ceasefire, therefore South Africa is refusing to pronounce its decision on this matter.

**Q: During this week several mass-media have been quoting Comrade Sam Nujoma as saying that SWAPO is ready to sign a ceasefire agreement, if the racists are also prepared. Has there been any agreement on the composition of the UN peacekeeping force, the demilitarised zone, and are there any guarantees that have been given to SWAPO in relation to this question?**

**A: There has been no agreement on the composition of UNTAAG (United Nations Transitional Assistance Group) or rather the military component of UNTAAG. We have been in New York for the whole of July waiting for the South African delegation to arrive, so that the outstanding issues, namely, the decision on the electoral system, agreement on the composition of the countries that will make up the UNTAAG military, police and civilian components; deployment of UNTAAG forces in Namibia; monitoring, confinement and withdrawal of the South African forces. We could not reach an agreement because the South African delegation failed to turn up for the whole month. It was not until the first week of August that a delegation of the racist regime arrived in New York. But in New York, the delegation of racist South Africa which is dominated by military generals went there simply to engage in a public relations exercise. They evaded, dodged and avoided answering the fundamental questions as to which electoral system South Africa would prefer in Namibia or would agree to, or which country should go to Namibia.**

**They want neo-colonial states like Morocco and Indonesia to go and**

supervise elections in Namibia, countries themselves which are carrying out colonial policies. All this goes to show that the generals who went to New York did not go there to give a constructive position of South Africa but they went there simply to give a false impression that they are co-operating with the 5 Western powers and with the United Nations. You know that immediately after their return from New York the same military junta who are now dominating the racist regime of Pretoria planned and launched a military campaign in Namibia, throughout the operational area and across the borders into Angola. So for the last four days the battle has been fiercely raging inside Namibia, and as of now we have received news from the battlefield that the battle has been so intense, that our forces have shot down 7 South African helicopters and 6 Mirages since the 9th of this month (August). Everywhere in the operational area our forces are engaged in bitter confrontation with the enemy who is trying to recover the lost initiatives in the last few months. This is the situation that does not indicate progress towards signing a ceasefire. It is a situation leading to a more intense confrontation.

**Q: Would you then say that the main thrust, the main solution to the Namibian Independence question lies solely on the intensification of the armed struggle by the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) ?**

**A: That is the choice with which we are confronted and it is a choice which have no alternative but to accept. The enemy is bent on military victory and we are determined to deny him that victory. We will provide and are providing appropriate response to his arrogance to his aggressive posture and the confrontation is going on and we are sure of the final victory. We are going and we are making the price of occupation and military aggression very high for Pretoria.**

*We want to make it clear that to us the Namibian struggle is not an object of solidarity but it is part of our own struggle. We are not supporters of the Namibian struggle but participants. That is why we are always involved in the mobilisation of international and continental support for the Namibian cause with the vanguard movement of the Namibian people, SWAPO.*

Andrew Masondo  
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