

NAMIBIA GENERAL

August 1978

SWA agrees to UN main in SWA

The Argus Correspondent
RETORIA — The Government last night gave the green light for the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, to enter South West Africa.

But further implementation of the UN-approved proposals for peace in the territory would appear to depend on Mr Ahtisaari's report on how he envisages implementation. This is the substance of a message conveyed to the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. F. Botha, last night following a five-hour Cabinet meeting yesterday.

The Cabinet met specifically to consider the implications of co-operation in implementing the Western African independence in a plan for South West Africa of a separate call by the UN for the incorporation of Walvis Bay in the territory.

Mr Botha's message to Dr Waldheim, released in Pretoria at midnight, spelled out in detail reasons for South African misgivings on the Walvis Bay resolution, and said: "In spite of our misgivings . . . the South African Government as well as the Administrator General of SWA, would be willing to receive your special representative and to a wait his subsequent report on the manner in which he, in his capacity as your special representative, envisages the implementation of the proposal, which we on our part accepted in good faith on April 25.

WILL DECIDE

On receipt of his report the South African Government will decide whether his recommendations are indeed in accordance with the proposal.

Mr Botha said of the Walvis Bay issue that the

Government was deeply concerned that the letter and spirit of the proposals would not be observed and implemented, by some of the parties.

LAW ORDER

Accordingly the South African Government would wish to satisfy itself that the letter and spirit of the proposal will indeed be honoured, such as those provisions concerning the maintenance of law and order, the presence of South African forces and functions, deployment, size and composition of UN Military per-

sonnel and observers, as well as the commitment that the elections would be held before the end of 1978.

NOT A PART

The support of the five Western powers for the resolution had shocked the South African Government as in negotiations the five had acknowledged that Walvis Bay was not part of SWA.

Referring to explanations received from the five on their stance on Walvis Bay, Mr Botha said:

"While we cannot agree with their justification for introducing the Walvis Bay issue at all my Government has taken note of certain clarifications, inter alia that they do not regard this subject as part of their settlement proposal and they emphasise that the resolution does not address itself to the legal status of Walvis Bay, nor does it, in any way, prejudice South Africa's legal position.

According to the five "steps necessary" referred to in the operative paragraph of the resolution means negotiation and do not seek to coerce any party.

Furthermore, it is stressed, the treatment of Walvis Bay is in a future context and there is no time table.

"The future of Walvis Bay can only be determined in discussion between the South African Government and the future government of SWA."

Ahtisaari — an outspoken critic of SA 'presence'

HELSINKI. — Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa, is an outspoken critic of South African presence in the territory.

'Our job is to make it clear that the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal,' Mr Ahtisaari, 41, said after his appointment.

A former schoolteacher and former Finnish Ambassador to Tanzania, he was

born on June 23, 1937 in Viipuri, now in Russia but part of Finland, before being ceded after World War 2. He is married and has a son.

FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr Ahtisaari's interest in international affairs became evident when he switched from teaching in Finland to take up a post at the Karachi Institute of Technology, Pakistan, a job he held from 1960 to 1963.

He joined the Finnish Foreign Office in 1965. By 1971 Mr Ahtisaari, a

Social Democrat, was assistant head of the Department for Development Aid.

He was appointed Ambassador to Tanzania in 1973 and accredited at the same time to Mozambique and Somalia.

In 1975 he was made a director of the SWA/Namibia Institute, an organisation working for the independence of the territory, financially assisted by Finland and other countries.

SYMBOL

The tall, thick-set 41-year-old with the manner of a patient teacher hopes now to be the symbol of the United Nations 'presence' or, as he puts it, 'a visible assurance' to the population of South West Africa that their well-being is a matter of concern to the international community.

The Ahtisaaris — the name is pronounced ah-tee-sah-ree — come from the Karelian region in the south-east, adjacent to the Soviet Union.

Martti Ahtisaari — he prefers not to use his middle name — was born there on June 23, 1937, and spent his boyhood and college years in Oulu.

CLOSE

They are a close family, spending winter weekends skiing in the Pocos and going out as often as possible for tennis or golf.

Exercise or no, Ahtisaari constantly fights — and plainly loses — a battle to drop the kilograms he puts on when he forgets his diet. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent.



MR. Martti Ahtisaari . . . 'a visible assurance.'

Water pipeline

sabotaged (22)

NM 11/8/78

by Swapo

Mercury Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK—A major water supply line was blown up by terrorists in central Owambo near the South-West Africa—Angola border at the weekend. Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, general officer commanding SWA Command, announced yesterday.

He said the explosion was the most serious border violation during the past few weeks.

In a second sabotage incident on Saturday, terrorists also destroyed eight telephone poles about 10km south of Etale in central Owambo.

General Geldenhuys said a Russian-made TMA-3 landmine, consisting of about 8kg of explosives, was used to blow up the 180mm thick pipeline supplying water to Eenhana.

A spokesman said the reservoir there said there was enough water to last for another week.

General Geldenhuys said a Security Force patrol arrived at the scene about 10km from Eenhana shortly after the explosion on Saturday.

Landmine

A Russian-made landmine was also found at the scene, but members of the security forces put it out of action.

In the other incident, the telephone line serving Owambo civilians in the Onangwena area was damaged by explosives.

The latest border violations follow a series of incidents across the SWA Angola border since Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace plan in Luanda recently.

Security forces have been shot at with small arms from Angola and there have been a number of landmine incidents during the past two weeks.

Last week a Black teacher, Mr. K. Nghipukuula, was gunned down by terrorists after he refused to accompany them to Angola.

An Owambo shopkeeper, Mr. Japhet Shilumba, was also shot dead by terrorists on Tuesday last week. They ransacked his store and stole R400 in cash.

South Africa Wants to Join West

10 Years to Join West

22/11/81/28

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa last night finally accepted the Western settlement proposals for South West Africa's independence — but stood firm in its outright rejection of the Security Council resolution on Walvis Bay.

In a statement following yesterday's marathon five-hour Cabinet meeting, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. K. Botha, announced that South Africa was ready to implement the first phase of the Western plan by receiving the UN special representative in the territory.

But the statement made it clear that the South African Government reserved the right to reassess its acceptance of the plan following the report of the appointed UN representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Ahtisaari has been appointed by the Security Council to "supervise and control" the election process leading South West to independence; together with Mr Justice M. Steyn, the South African appointed Administrator General of the territory.

Referring to the anticipated report from Mr Ahtisaari on the steps he envisaged for the implementation of the proposals, Mr Botha said: "The South African Government will decide whether his recommendations are indeed in accordance with the proposals."

Rejecting the Security Council demand for the early reintegration of Walvis Bay into an independent Namibia, Mr Botha repeated the Prime Minister's suggestion earlier this week that the government was prepared to negotiate on the strategic port with a "friendly government in South West Africa."

Although South Africa accepted the Western proposals on April 25 this year, it came close to withdrawing its support over the Walvis Bay issue which was regarded as a "breach of faith" by the West's support of the Security Council.

Last night Mr Botha emphasised that South Africa would not "negotiate with anybody"

on the basis of the Security Council resolution, which is regarded as backtracking on an undertaking that the issue of Walvis Bay would not be raised before independence. In the light of the West's handling of the Walvis Bay issue, the South African Government "would wish to satisfy itself that the letter and spirit of the proposal will indeed be honoured, such as provisions concerning the maintenance of law and order, the presence of South African forces and the function, deployment, size and composition of UN military personnel and observers, as well as the commitment that the elections would be held before the end of 1978."

The South African head of the UN mission, Mr Eksteen, was scheduled to convey the Cabinet's decision to UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, late last night.

Mr Vause Raw, speaking as leader of the New Republic Party, last night said "I believe the decision has correctly placed the responsibility with the Western five where it belongs."

"It avoids the traps cunningly laid for South Africa. A flat rejection in the face of the deliberate provocation of a broken promise would have been just what our enemies wanted. An unqualified acceptance would have been an invitation to a double cross. Now theonus rests on the United Nations representative to implement the spirit of the agreement which South Africa accepted in April." — DDC

Full Botha text, page 7.

Free elections doubtful says Nujoma

NEW YORK — Prospects for free and fair Namibia independence elections are increasingly doubtful, if not untenable, Swapo president Sam Nujoma, said here as he stuck to all his demands and derided those of Mr Vorster.

"Don't believe what he is saying," he advised with a smile and a finger wag.

By his side was just expelled South West African Vicar-General Ed Morrow, whose presence he used to stress that Administrator General Martinus Steyn could never be trusted to have control through the transition process.

Mr Justice Steyn had only enforced "more and more repressive laws" during his tenure, he said. By the time of elections he would be in a position even to forge the results.

Mr Nujoma insisted that Walvis Bay "has been and is and will forever be an integral part of Namibia," and he painted a lurid picture of a Namibia strangled by South African control of the port.

Within seven minutes, Walvis Bay-based Mirage jets "could put Windhoek under fire," he said.

Speaking at length just after meeting United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Mr Nujoma said he had given a Swapo assurance of "full co-operation" with the United Nations, but hedged on total acceptance of the Western plan for United Nations-policed independence.

Swapo had agreed "to work within the framework of the proposals bearing in mind our reservations," he said.

Mr Nujoma said he would order a ceasefire only after United Nations special representative Martti Ahtisaari had ended all repressive laws, all political prisoners had been released and all

South African troops had to be pulled out.

Asked if he was confident of victory in fair elections, he cracked back with one word: "Sure."

Repeatedly pressed on the political slant of a Swapo-ruled Namibia and on the future of foreign investment there, he said that would be a matter for the future government to decide — that would be "stage two" in the liberation process.

Swapo was only concerned with "stage one" at this time, he said. He cautioned that the imbalance between black poverty and white wealth could not be allowed to continue, but stressed the mineral wealth of the territory must be used to benefit all Namibians, regardless of their colour and national origin.

If South Africa reneged on the United Nations operation, Swapo would have no alternative but to resort to intensified fighting, he said — a fight Swapo would definitely win.

Relaxed and smiling throughout, he strongly rejected South African charges that he led a terrorist organisation, and he showed amusement at Foreign Minister Pik Botha's allegation that he was funded by the United States.

"The decolonisation process has just started," Mr Nujoma said, but he warned it would be dangerous to suggest "the diplomatic process" had already succeeded.

The attitude and the activities of the racist occupation regime concerning Namibia remain intransigent and contradictory to the spirit of the negotiations and the efforts of the United Nations to pave the way for genuine independence," he said.

DDG

SA's claim to Walvis Bay

determine the territory's future.

In the same month the South African Parliament approved the South-West Africa Constitution Amendment Act of 1977, which set the wheels in motion for the movement towards independence.

However, Mr Vorster again said Walvis Bay and Penguin Islands enclaves had never been part of the mandated territory and South Africa would not relinquish control over them when the territory becomes independent.

The purpose of the Amendment Act is to extend the powers of the State President in the eventual attainment of independence by the territory, and the future administration of Walvis Bay.

Under the new act, Section 2 (1) of the proclamation stipulates that "Walvis Bay shall cease to be administered as if it were part of the territory (of SWA) and as if inhabitants thereof were inhabitants of the territory and shall again be administered as part of the province (of the Cape of Good Hope)".

In terms of Section 5, Walvis Bay ceased to be part of the Electoral Division of Omaruru (SWA) for the election of members of the South African House of Assembly, and shall become part of the Electoral Division and Namakwaland (Cape Province.)

Consequently, from September 1, 1977, the port and settlement of Walvis Bay reverted to its status and position as it was prior to October 1, 1922.

— Shirley Smith

The territory of South West Africa has always been a problem child for South Africa, and now as independence for Namibia (its African name) draws near the crucial question of the control of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands enclaves becomes paramount.

Geographically, historically, politically and legally, South Africa has strong claims on that remote fishing port and the even more remote guano-covered islands.

During the debate in Parliament last year on the South West Africa Constitution Amendment Bill, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands had never been part of the South West African mandate territory, but were former British possessions that

became part of South Africa.

In 1922 their administration was handed to South West Africa purely for reasons of convenience, and consequently South Africa would not relinquish control over them when the mandate territory becomes independent.

Mr Vorster based his stand on historical fact. At about the same time as the Dutch East India Company established a hospital and small victualling station at the Cape of Good Hope (1652), the presence of whales along the west coast brought foreign ships on whaling expeditions to the area.

Some American hunters actually established small settlements at Walvis Bay and further north at Swakopmund.

were still terra nullius. The position was finally tied up in 1866 when they were formally proclaimed and annexed to being part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope by Sir Philip Wodehouse Governor.

Walvis Bay was annexed as British Territory on March 12, 1878, and Queen Victoria authorised the Governor of the Cape Colony to annex Walvis Bay and the adjacent territory as part of the Colony on December 14, 1878.

In 1880 the British authorities decided to restrict their responsibilities and possessions north of the Orange River to Walvis Bay and the islands only, and after

that was followed by the discovery of guano on the island enclaves and that was possessed in the name of Queen Victoria. The islands were taken as, until that time, they

that German colonialism grew in the area.

In August 1884 a German protectorate was declared over the area, which Germany gradually extended its control over until the boundaries of the present South West Africa were established by agreement with Portugal in 1886, and with Britain in 1890.

In July 1884 the Cape Colony Legislature passed the Walvis Bay and St John's River Territories Annexation Act, Act No. 35 of 1884, which empowered the Cape Governor to formalise the annexation by proclamation.

The annexation of Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands in the Cape Colony was a fait accompli.

Thus the port and the islands became legally part of the territory of the Union of South Africa on May 31, 1910.

In July 1919, (during the First World War), South Africa (an ally of Britain), captured South West Africa and proclaimed it under South African military rule.

After the war, under Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles in June 28, 1919, Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including Germany South West Africa.

In accordance with Article 22, Part 1, of this Treaty (The Covenant of the League of Nations) a mandate system was created for the administration of the former German, and

Turkish colonies and territories.

On December 17, 1920, the Council of the League of Nations comprised South West Africa as a mandate to be governed as an integral part of the Union of South Africa.

In Article 1 of the Mandate Agreement of South West Africa the mandate territory was described as "the territory which formerly constituted the German Protectorate of South West Africa".

This clearly excluded Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands from the mandate territory.

But, for reasons of administrative convenience, the South African Government decided to administer Walvis Bay as part of South West Africa.

The port and settlement was regarded as part of SWA for all judicial purposes in terms of the South West Africa Affairs Act, Act No 24 of 1922, which became effective after the withdrawal of military government from SWA.

The League of Nations at the time not only acknowledged that Walvis Bay formed part of South Africa, but even doubled South Africa's right to administer the area as part of SWA.

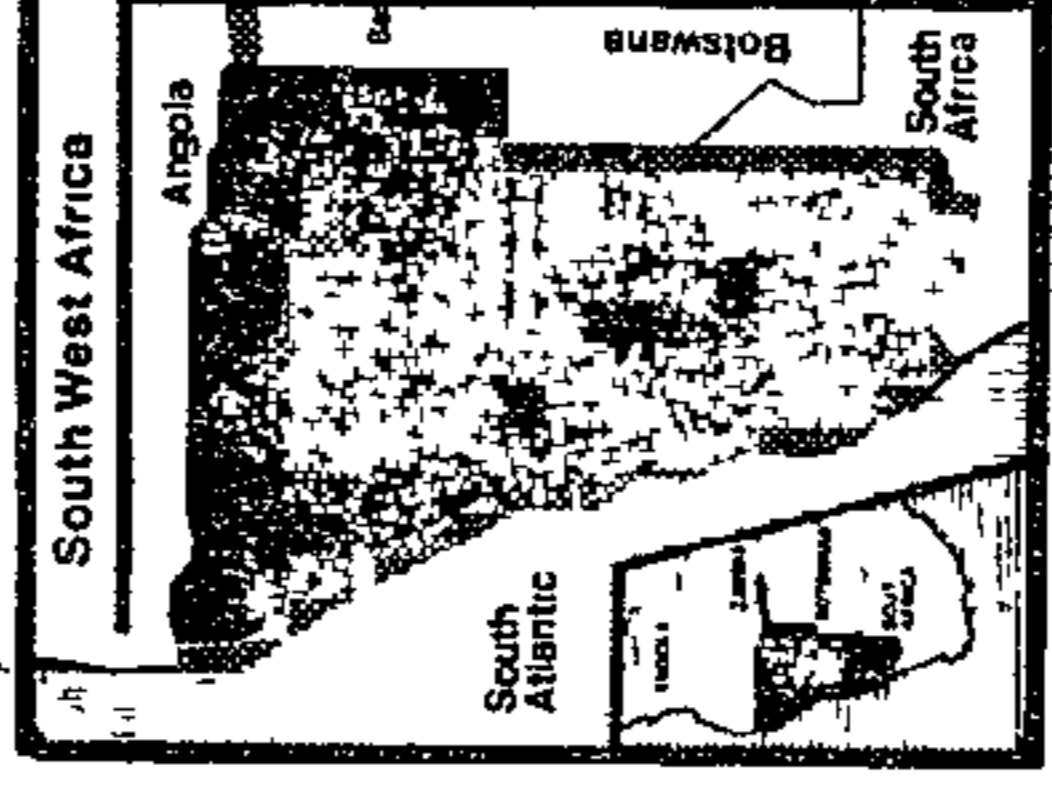
In October 1945 the United Nations Organisation was created, while in April 1946 the League of Nations was disbanded without stipulating what should become of the mandate.

The UN Charter made no provision for the con-

Continuation of the mandate system, but, instead, established an international trusteeship system on a voluntary basis.

The South African Government declined to place SWA under UN trusteeship, whereupon a prolonged political and legal dispute arose between the UN and South Africa.

In 1972 the UN Secretary contacted the South African Government and was told that SWA would be led towards



self-determination and independence.

Between September 1975 and March 1977 the Turnhalle Constitution Conference was held in Windhoek, where the decision was taken that SWA would become independent at the end of 1978, and that independence would be preceded by a short period of interim government.

But the five Western nations of the UN security council intervened and in June 1977 negotiated a plan with the South African Government through which Swapo, the Turnhalle groups and all other interested parties would participate in free nation-wide elections to

It's the smell that gets you

Why all that fuss about Walvis Bay? If the South African Government really wanted to put one over on Swapo, they'd give the place to them, let alone fight for it tooth and nail in the Security Council.

For one thing it stinks. And what's more, you can smell the place 20 km away before you can see it.

And the smell permeates everything. And I mean everything — your clothes, your hair, the air you breathe even your beer. That lovely South West bier.

It's either a tarred road, hard Namib desert sand or beautiful green grass.

The grass comes as a bit of a surprise. Where, you wonder, does this oasis-like green come from in this tug-of-war town bounded on three sides by the Namib and on the other by the cold Atlantic — until you realise the historic town boasts what is claimed to be one of the finest (if that's the correct word) sewerage reticulation schemes in the Southern Hemisphere.

It is odd, to say the least, to see neat little houses with neat little front gardens, colourful flowers bordering neatly-grassed lawns.

But, oh dear, what we in South Africa are pleased.

to call the backyard. That's a fish by another name.

Where your children or mine will happily kick or bowl a ball on the grass in the backyard, in Walvis Bay the kids are restricted to sand — vast acres of the stuff.

But the Walvis waifs seem happy enough I saw dozens of nippers happily playing in their barren surroundings.

Most impressive thing about the whole place was, of course, the harbour where security, incidentally, seems only perfunctory. We drove in, drove around and happily popped off photographs with nary a cop on the beat in sight.

What I did see was a tiny little South African Navy vessel — presumably some kind of patrol boat. It was not very much bigger than East London's pilot boat. Behind, "parked" side by side, were two huge trawlers which I assumed were Taiwanese, judging from the Chinese hieroglyphics emblazoned on their sterns.

The town itself has no redeeming features, with the shopping centre a one-street affair covering a few blocks.

After that it's back to the sand. That's why I think Pik should give the whole place to Sam.

And, of course, for the other reason too. It stinks. — David Denison

It's go

for SWA

1/8/78 Star 221
Rush report
by UN man
expected

By Hugh Leggatt,
Political Correspondent

The Department of Foreign Affairs considers it feasible that the timetable for SWA/Namibia's independence can be completed by the target date of the end of the year.

Now that the go-ahead has been given for the visit of the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari to SWA/Namibia it could be only a matter of two weeks for the start of full implementation of the plan.

The next step before the Western proposals are implemented is the drawing up of a report by Mr Ahtisaari on how he envisages implementation.

If South Africa finds no problems arising from the report the run-up to pre-elections can begin.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said today that Mr Ahtisaari would arrive at the weekend and his report should be completed in a week.

Commenting on a statement by Mr Sam Nujoma that his guerrillas would not cease hostilities until all repressive laws had been repealed, political prisoners freed and South African troops confined to base, the spokesman said all these provisions were included in the accepted proposals.

Nonsense

Mr Nujoma was talking nonsense, the spokesman said, because he knew that the cessation of hostilities was subject to the plan to be implemented not by him, but by the UN.

"The agreement provides for cessation of hostilities and the testing of that cessation," he said.

He added that South Africa's attitude now was that the Government should "walk the extra mile."

Welcomed

In Windhoek, political groups generally welcomed South Africa's decision, but discrepancy arose over attitudes to the target date, reports The Star's Africa News Service.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance believes it will be a tremendous shock if the assured date of December 31 is not met.

The Namibia National Front, a black and white coalition, believes insistence on December 31 is "ridiculous".

Swapo also doubts if the date can be met.

The National Party's election front, Aktur, believes the date is not really important and should be worked out by parties involved.

● In Canberra, a Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said the UN had approached Australia informally to see whether it would contribute to a peacekeeping force. Australia's options were being considered at an official level, reports Sapa-AP.

● Walvis "not on the agenda" — Page 3.

Walvis is not agenda, says

ON the Botha

Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent
In a strongly worded message to UN-Secretary General Dr Kurt Waldheim, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night reiterated South Africa's sovereign right to Walvis Bay.

He said the Government rejected the UN resolution calling for reintegration of the enclave as it was "devoid of any legal or factual basis."

South Africa was not prepared to negotiate with anybody on the basis of the resolution, he said.

The message also gave the green light for the UN special representative, Mr Marti Ahtisaari, to enter SWA/Namibia.

But further implementation of the UN-approved proposals for settlement will depend on Mr Ahtisaari's subsequent report on how he envisages representation.

The Cabinet met specially yesterday to consider the implications of the UN resolutions.

Mr Botha's midnight message to Dr Waldheim said "In spite of our misgivings the South African Government as well as the Administrator-General of SWA, would be willing to receive your special representative and to await his subsequent report on the manner in which he, in his capacity as your special representative, envisages the implementation of the proposal, which we on our part accepted in good faith on

CONCERNED

"On receipt of his report the South African Government will decide whether his recommendations are indeed in accordance with the proposal."

Mr Botha said of the Walvis Bay issue that, bearing in mind the manner in which the matter had been "dragged into the ambit of the proposal," the Government was deeply concerned that the letter and spirit of the proposals would not be observed and implemented by some of the parties.

"Accordingly the South African Government would wish to satisfy itself that the letter and spirit of the proposal will indeed be honoured, such as those provisions concerning the maintenance of law and order, the presence of South African forces and functions, deployment, size and composition of UN military personnel and observers, as well as the commitment that the election would be held before the end of 1978."

The support of the five Western Powers for the resolution had shocked the South African Government as, in negotiations, the five had acknowledged that Walvis Bay was not part of SWA/Namibia.

Referring to explanations received from the five on their stand on Walvis Bay, Mr Botha said:

"While we cannot agree with their justification for introducing the Walvis Bay issue at all, my government has taken note of certain clarifications inter alia that they do not regard this subject as part of their settlement proposal and they emphasise that the resolution does not address itself to the legal status of Walvis Bay, nor does it, in any way, prejudice South Africa's legal position."

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YES

SA willing to receive UN's special man

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PRETORIA. — The South African Government was willing to receive the UN special representative in SWA/Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a statement here last night.



Mr Botha



Mr Nujoma

Nujoma states Swapo conditions

NEW YORK. — Nationalist guerillas fighting for control of SWA/Namibia would not lay down their arms till "all repressive laws" were repealed, political prisoners were freed and South African troops confined to base, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said at the United Nations here yesterday.

Mr Nujoma told reporters he was confident his organization would win UN-supervised elections in the territory.

Informed that the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had said South African troops would not leave SWA/Namibia till a ceasefire was in effect, Mr Nujoma said: "Don't believe what he says."

Mr Nujoma declared:

"Swapo will never order a ceasefire until all repressive laws are repealed by the UN special representative, until all Namibian political prisoners are released, and until all enemy troops are confined to their base. Then, and only then, I will order confinement of Swapo guerilla forces."

Asked whether Swapo was committed to the nationalization of SWA/Namibia's mining and other resources, Mr Nujoma said the people of the territory reserved the right to "take any appropriate measures with regard to its natural resources."

But that would be decided eventually by SWA/Namibia's national parliament and not at this stage by Swapo.

"In spite of our misgivings, flowing from the circumstances I have set out, the South African Government, as well as the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice M T Steyn, would be willing to receive your special representative and to await his subsequent report on the manner in which he, in his capacity as your special representative, envisages the implementation of the proposal which we, on our part, accepted in good faith on April 25 last.

"On receipt of his report, the South African Government will decide whether his recommendations are indeed in accordance with the proposal," Mr Botha said in his reply to Dr Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary-General.

"While we cannot agree with the five Western powers' justification for introducing the Walvis Bay issue at all, my government has taken note of certain clarifications, inter alia, that they do not regard this subject as part of their settlement proposals and they emphasize that the resolution does not address itself to the legal status of Walvis Bay, nor does it in any way prejudice South Africa's legal position."

The full text

Here is the text of the statement by Mr Botha to Dr Waldheim.

"Your Excellency, I have the honour to refer to my statement in the Security Council on 27 July, 1978, in which I set out my government's point of view in respect of Security Council Resolutions 431 and 432, dated 27 July, 1978.

"I wish to reiterate that the South African Government completely rejects Resolution 432 and considers it to be devoid of any legal or factual basis. I also wish to reaffirm, on behalf of my government, that we will not be prepared to negotiate with anybody on the basis of Security Council Resolution 432."

"I also wish to bring to your attention the text of a statement made by the South African Prime Minister on 28 July, 1978: 'Walvis Bay is South African territory and no decision by the United Nations or any other body can deprive South Africa of it. In fact, only a decision by the South African Parliament can bring about change to the status and position of the territory of Walvis Bay'."

"The decision by the Security Council thus has no force of law and the government cannot allow that it be dictated to as to what it should do with its property or how it should be controlled or administered."

"To have negotiations with a friendly government in South West Africa about the harbour and its use is one matter which speaks for itself, but to make demands and to link these demands to a settlement in South West Africa is another matter, which the government rejects unconditionally."

"The action of the five Western powers in the Council supporting the resolution in question has shocked my government."

"In this regard I wish to draw your attention once more to the part of my statement setting out the understanding reached between my government and the five Western powers on Walvis Bay."

"Throughout the negotiations leading to my government's acceptance of the Western proposal, the five acknowledged that Walvis Bay was not part of South West Africa."

"They alluded merely to the possibility that a controversy might arise about the issue at some future stage. They acknowledged that they were not at all arguing about the political and legal situation in respect of Walvis Bay."

"They were not addressing the merits of the case."

"On various occasions my Prime Minister also informed the representatives of the five that the introduction of the Walvis Bay issue into the proposal would lead to the immediate termination

of the negotiations. The five more than once gave assurances that it was not their intention to address themselves to the political or legal aspects of the matter.

"That was reaffirmed by their abstention on General Assembly Resolution 32/9d of 4 November 1977, declaring that Walvis Bay is an integral part of South West Africa."

"During the talks in New York in February of this year, it was proposed to dispose of the question of Walvis Bay in a paragraph stating that acceptance of the proposal would in no way prejudice the territorial claim of any party. At my insistence it was agreed to delete even this implied reference to the question of Walvis Bay."

"The five Western governments again stated their position,

Continued on page 2

- Eglin, Raw comment, page 2.
- Leading article, page 10

SA's reply

Continued from page 1

both in the General Assembly on 25 April and to us, as follows: 'All aspects of the question of Walvis Bay must be subjected to discussion between the South African Government and the elected government of Namibia.'

"There is no room for any doubt. The language is clear.

"In the event, the final proposal contained no reference at all to Walvis Bay. Nor, I may add, did Security Council Resolution 385 (1976), which has throughout formed the basis of our negotiations at the final proposal.

"My government has carefully studied and considered the explanation of the vote in the Security Council on 27 July, 1978 by the United States Secretary of State Mr Vance, on behalf of the five Western powers, as well as communication received from them on the issue of Walvis Bay.

"While we cannot agree with their justification for introducing the Walvis Bay issue at all, my government has taken note of certain clarifications, inter alia that they do not regard this subject as part of their settlement proposal and they emphasize that the resolution does not address itself to the legal status of Walvis Bay, nor does it, in any way, pre-judge South Africa's legal position.

"According to the five the 'steps necessary' referred to in operative Paragraph 2 of Resolution 432 mean negotiation and do not seek to coerce any party. Furthermore it is stressed, the treatment of Walvis Bay is in a future context and there is no timetable — the future of Walvis Bay can only be determined in discussion between the South African Government and the future government of South West Africa.

"In the light of what has happened two aspects have taken on special significance in the deliberations of the South African Government, namely:

- (a) The issue of Walvis Bay, and
- (b) the implementation of the proposal.

"I have already set out the South African Government's position on Walvis Bay. Bearing in mind the manner in which this issue has been dragged into the ambit of the proposal, the South African Government is deeply concerned that the letter and spirit of the proposal would not be observed and implemented by some of the parties. Accordingly, the South African Government would wish to satisfy itself that the letter and spirit of the proposal will indeed be honoured, such as those provisions concerning the maintenance of law and order, the presence of South African forces and the functions, deployment, size and composition of United Nations military personnel and observers, as well as the commitment that the elections would be held before the end of 1978.

"In spite of our misgivings flowing from the circumstances set out above, the South African Government, as well as the Administrator-General of South West Africa, would be willing to receive your special representative and to await his subsequent report on the manner in which he, in his capacity as your special representative, envisages the implementation of the proposal, which we on our part accepted in good faith on 25 April last. On receipt of his report the South African Government will decide whether his recommendations are indeed in accordance with the proposal." — Sapa

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Bush war toll since 1972 is 9400

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Mail Africa Bureau
SALISBURY — Official figures issued in Salisbury last night show that 9409 people were killed in Rhodesia's bush war between December 21, 1972, and July 31, this year.
Security forces killed in action numbered 546, guerrillas 4963, white civilians 207 and black civilians 3693.

The black civilian total includes 106 Security Force members murdered while off duty and unarmed, bringing total military losses to 652.
A total of 1712 blacks were listed as murdered by terrorists, 296 killed by landmines, 645 killed as alleged collaborators, 261 killed as recruits, 322 alleged curfew-breakers, 62

killed when they failed to halt on being challenged, 263 killed in crossfire and 26 shot as looters.
With several thousand guerrillas killed in raids into neighbouring countries, particularly Mozambique, the bush war has now claimed at least 11500 lives.
Military headquarters last night reported 14 more

deaths, including the death in action of Guard Widi Kayisa, 25.
Security Forces have killed six insurgents and an alleged collaborator in Rhodesia.
Three black men have been killed by terrorists in different operational areas.
Three more black men died in guerrilla-initiated crossfire.

Parts of proposals 'disturb' — Botha

JOHANNESBURG. — There were disturbing elements in UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim's SWA/Namibia independence proposals, which might create extremely serious obstacles, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Before flying from Jan Smuts Airport to attend the UN Security Council meeting on the proposals, Mr Botha

referred particularly to the proposed 7 500-man UN military force and to the proposed independence target date as the main obstacles.

Mr Botha said he was going to New York to obtain clarity on the situation and would be putting the South African Government's point of view there.

South Africa's reaction would be stated in the Security

ty Council debate.

One of the most severe obstacles, Mr Botha said, was the proposal by Dr Waldheim to create a 7 500-man military force. He said South Africa had a certain number in mind for the force and that this was "very much less" than the proposed 7 500 men.

Referring to the target date of December 31, Mr Botha said the position was that there would have to be an election this year. If a constituent assembly in SWA/Namibia decided to postpone the independence date "I think my government would accept that".

However, Mr Botha stressed: "We must get on with the job. I don't want a second Rhodesian situation developing. It was not an arbitrary date and was known for two years.

"Simply because it doesn't suit Swapo, the dates must be postponed for ever so that they can take over through the barrel of a gun — we are not going to have that."

There had been an 80 per cent registration of voters and it was important to show that everyone involved was sincere in moving the territory towards independence.

An important step was the election. "We can't wait longer — this will mean moving

Continued on page 2

Botha

Continued from page 1

into a generally de-stabilized situation."

Asked who was going to pay for the operation, estimated to cost as much as R255m, Mr Botha said this represented a large part of the total UN budget and the amount was so high because of the number of people it was proposed to involve. Asked whether South Africa had a firm date in mind for a ceasefire, the minister said it was an important part of the agreement with the Western powers that there should be a cessation of hostilities before any reduction of any South African troops took effect.

"There will be no reduction unless there is a comprehensive cessation of hostilities."

Asked what mood he was in as he left to attend the Security Council meeting, Mr Botha said South Africa had done everything in its power to facilitate independence for SWA/Namibia and to achieve an acceptable solution.

"I don't know what more we can agree to. We've done everything we could — if this is not good enough, I will have a clear conscience" —

Sapa

Troops ambush terrorists

NM

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WINDHOEK — Two terrorists were thought to have died in a security forces' ambush, the Officer Commanding SWA Command, Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in a statement here yesterday. Security forces were still trying to establish the exact number of casualties suffered by the terrorists.

The incident occurred near the cutline north of Ondangwa on Tuesday.

The general also gave further details about two separate landmine incidents in northern South West Africa.

Three Ovambo civilians were killed in the incidents and five people were injured, among them a White and a member of the Ovambo home guard.

In one incident, a convoy of vehicles belonging to a construction company on their way to a road workers' camp was hit by a landmine.

Home guard

Two Black workers were killed and one was seriously injured. A White was also injured.

In the second incident, a light delivery vehicle belonging to an official interpreter detonated a landmine.

The driver was seriously injured and later died of his wounds.

The owner of the vehicle and three passengers, one of them a member of the Ovambo home guard, were injured and were receiving hospital treatment.

Security forces immediately went to the scene and discovered fresh tracks.

The patrol followed the tracks to a village about 4km from the road where they found two suspects who were being detained. — (Sapa.)

UN staff to

leave for

SWA today

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Cape Times 2/8/78

NEW YORK. — An advance party of United Nations officials leaves for SWA/Namibia today to plan for a 50-member team due to fly to the territory on Saturday, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN officer in charge, said yesterday.

Don't violate proposals — PM

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa would go ahead with unilateral independence for SWA/Namibia if the United Nations or Swapo violated or altered any of the proposals agreed upon in the Security Council on Monday, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said last night.

Interviewed on SABC-TV, Mr Vorster also emphasized that his government totally rejected the UN Security Council resolution that Walvis Bay must be re-integrated into a future independent Namibia.

On the eve of the arrival in the territory of the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the prime minister said the report which Mr Ahtisaari had to give on the implementation of independence would have to adhere in spirit and letter to the proposals put forward by the Western five and accepted on April 25 by South Africa.

The cabinet would examine that report minutely to

ensure that it was in accordance with the agreement entered into with the Western five, Mr Vorster said.

Mr Vorster said if Swapo continued its violence in the territory, South Africa would not feel obliged to maintain its cooperation with the United Nations on independence for the territory.

The onus was on the Western five, who negotiated with Swapo, to ensure that Swapo honoured its acceptance of the proposals. The onus was not on South Africa, Mr Vorster said.

Asked what the government would do if there was a breakdown in the United Nations plans for the territory, Mr Vorster said providing South Africa kept its part of the bargain it would go ahead with its own plans.

He said South Africa was honour-bound to make South West Africa independent before the end of the year, despite any consequences or threats by Swapo or anybody else.

Mr Ahtisaari, a Finn, was named by Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim as the special UN representative to study the situation in the territory and make recommendations for implementing a Western independence plan endorsed by the Security Council on Thursday.

Mr Ahtisaari, 41, said in an interview that one or two UN officials, whom he declined to identify, would fly to Windhoek almost immediately to make accommodation and transport arrangements for the main party, which he expected to number almost 50.

He said he and the others in the main party planned to leave on Saturday aboard a United States aircraft loaned to the UN.

He confirmed that accompanying him, as a military adviser, would be Major-General Hannes Philippe, Austrian commander of the UN disengagement observer force on the Golan Heights since July, 1975.

The UN is expected to mount a major operation in SWA/Namibia, involving about 5 000 troops and some 1 000 civilians to help keep the peace and supervise elections during the period leading to independence.

Mr Ahtisaari said his team expected to spend two to three weeks in SWA/Namibia.

"I expect to spend a lot of my time in Windhoek, but there will also be some travelling as well," he said.

His itinerary was still being worked out, but he expected to meet Mr Justice M T Steyn, the Administrator-General.

It is generally acknowledged that the success of the Western independence plan depends heavily on a good relationship between Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Justice Steyn.

Mr Ahtisaari declined to speculate on when his report might be completed. He discussed his plans yesterday with the South African charge d'affaires, Mr Adriaan Eksteen.

Close scrutiny

Mr Ahtisaari's recommendations will be the subject of another meeting of the Security Council before the Secretary-General can launch the proposed UN operation.

Observers doubt that this can happen much before the end of this month or the early part of September.

Mr Ahtisaari's recommendations will also be closely scrutinized by the South African Government, whose acceptance in April of the Western independence plan was soured by the

C. Times

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council's action last week in declaring that Walvis Bay should be "re-integrated" into SWA/Namibia.

The UN had approached Australia informally to see whether it would contribute to a peace keeping force in SWA/Namibia, a foreign affairs department spokesman disclosed yesterday.

Australia's options were being considered at an official level by advisers in the foreign affairs, defence and finance departments, but the government had not yet considered the matter, and no decision had been made, the spokesman said.

Officials said they understood that dispatch of a transport unit to make up part of a UN logistics force in the territory was one of the options being examined by the government's advisers.

The UN had also informally sounded out about 10 other countries, including Holland, Sweden, Iran and Japan, officials said — Sapa-Reuters

● Most of Walvis Bay's coloured people want South Africa to hand over the enclave to the new government of independent Namibia, according to Labour Party leader Mr. Sonny Leon, a staff reporter writes

Mr. Leon and other Coloured Persons Representative Council executive members Mr David Curry and Mr Norman Middleton this week visited Walvis Bay, which falls in the CRC constituency of Tafelberg, in which a by-election is being held.

At a meeting in the coloured township of Narraville more than 700 of Walvis's 4 500 coloured people voted unanimously to ignore the Tafelberg by-election and to call rather for incorporation into Namibia. "We did not come here to campaign for the election," Mr Leon said "The people are not interested in being part of the Cape

"And suffering the same indignities of the people of South Africa. We believe that Walvis Bay is part of South West Africa and should remain so when the territory becomes independent."

Mr Curry's wife, who has spent 10 days in Narraville canvassing local opinion, said that out of 900 voters only 19 people had cast special votes in the election — and polling closes on August 14.

"I canvassed more than 700 homes and the opinion was unanimous. Namibia, not South Africa."

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK—South West Africans are waiting anxiously for the arrival of the United Nations mission headed by Mr Marthi Ahtisaari, special representative of the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

The whole settlement had now hinges on the initial recommendations made by Mr Ahtisaari on the implementation of the Western peace proposals.

Leaders of two major political parties in SWA—the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the

Namibian National Front welcomed South Africa's decision to implement the first phase of the proposals.

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA, said South Africa had acted correctly in creating the opportunity to see whether

there were any differences of interpretation between the UN's representative and the SA Government.

It was clear that South Africa would not tolerate any differences of interpretation on the Western proposals, he said. "We cannot now fall in-

South Westesters wait anxiously

Toivo may hold key to SWA poll victory — prof

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

A PRISONER on Robben Island, Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo, may hold the key to victory in scheduled elections in South West Africa. Dr Gerhard Totemeyer, of the University of Stellenbosch, said yesterday.

Dr Totemeyer, a political scientist and author of a book on SWA, was commenting on the coming one man, one vote elections for a constituent assembly as set out by the

Western settlement proposals.

Mr Toivo ja Toivo, is the co-founder with Mr Sam Nujoma of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

"Right now Swapo is the strongest group," Dr Totemeyer said. "But there are a number of factors which can influence events in the next few months."

One of these is the release of Mr Toivo ja Toivo, who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment un-

der the Terrorism Act in 1968. Dr Totemeyer was confident that he would be released soon in terms of Western proposals for the freeing of all political prisoners.

Of critical importance to future political developments was whether Mr Toivo ja Toivo would join hands with Mr Nujoma.

"If they join forces it will mean a tremendous increase in support for Swapo. If a leadership struggle develops it will be bad for Swapo."

to a morass over differences of interpretation. It would only drag out the independence process endlessly."

Mr Bryan O'Linn, Secretary-General of the NNF, said he was relieved that the SA Government had not summarily rejected the UN Security Council resolution for the implementation of the West's proposals.

He said that although the NNF appreciated some of the reservations expressed by South Africa, it disagreed very strongly with the Government's in-

sistence that elections should be held before the end of the year. "This is totally unrealistic in present circumstances in view of the fact that the plan provides for a period of about seven months to elapse after endorsement by the Security Council."

Mr O'Linn said the NNF also rejected the attitude of Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, that hostilities would only be stopped after the withdrawal of SA troops to base, the release of all political prisoners and the abolition of discrimination.

"The Western plan is quite clear that the first fundamental step is a ceasefire," he added.

Mr A. H. du Plessis, leader of the National Party's Election Front, Artur, said the West was pandering so much to Swapo that he had serious reservations about the successful implementation of the proposals.

SWA waits anxiously for special UN envoy

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WINDHOEK — South West Africans are waiting anxiously for the arrival of the United Nations mission headed by Mr Martti Ahtisaari, special representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim.

Railmen to stay, but . . .

PRETORIA — The majority of the nearly 4 000 white railway workers in South West Africa are ready to adjust to the demands of a multi-racial society, with a number of important safeguards

Most reject integrated schools and want assurances from the railways administration that their children's fees at private white schools in South West Africa are paid or their children be subsidised to attend schools in South Africa

They also want compensation guarantees should their property and other investments be threatened by an independent South West African government

Meanwhile, a delegation from the Walvis Bay Town Council is to fly to Pretoria next Wednesday to discuss the town's financial problems with the Minister of Finance, Sen Horwood.

The meeting is an attempt by the local people to draw the Government's attention to the enclave's crippled economic circumstances which, with the collapse of the fishing industry last month, have brought the town to its knees — DDC

The whole settlement effort now hinges on the initial recommendations made by Mr Ahtisaari on the implementation of the Western peace proposals.

Leaders of two major political parties in South West Africa — the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the Namibian National Front — yesterday cautiously welcomed South Africa's decision to implement the first phase of the proposals

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA, said South Africa had acted correctly in creating the opportunity to see whether there were any differences of interpretation between the UN's representative and the South African Government

It was clear South Africa would not tolerate any differences of interpretation on the Western proposals, he said

"We cannot now fall into a morass over differences of interpretation. It would only drag out the independence process endlessly," Mr Mudge said

He added "As far as the DTA is concerned, Mr Ahtisaari is welcome to come here and we will do what we can to aid him in his investigations here, but we will expect him to be fair and impartial"

Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary-general of the NNF, said he was relieved South Africa had not summarily rejected the

Security Council resolution for the implementation of the West's proposals

"It is unfortunate, however, that a final decision could not be reached at this stage. The uncertainty of whether or not the plan will be implemented will therefore continue for some weeks"

He said although the NNF appreciated some of the reservations expressed by South Africa, it disagreed strongly with the Government's insistence that elections should be held before the end of the year

"This is totally unrealistic in present circumstances in view of the fact that the plan provides for a period of about seven months to elapse after endorsement by the Security Council"

Mr O'Linn said the NNF also rejected the attitude of Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, that hostilities would only be stopped after the withdrawal of South African troops to base, the release of all political prisoners and the abolition of discrimination

"The Western plan is quite clear that the first fundamental step is a ceasefire," he added

Mr A H du Plessis, leader of the National Party's election front, Aktur, said the West was pandering so much to Swapo that he had serious reservations about the successful implementation of the proposals

He said he understood South Africa's present attitude and the fact that they were being careful. "But in my own heart I cannot frankly welcome the situation that has developed"

The secretary-general of the Swapo Democrats, Mrs O Abrahams, said South Africa was the legal owner of Walvis Bay, but South West Africa had a moral claim to the enclave

Speaking at the first press conference in South West Africa of the newly-formed party led by Swapo dissident Andreas Shipanga, Mrs Abrahams said "Walvis Bay is part of our country and I would like to see it incorporated immediately"

"But on the grounds of the Organisation of African Unity decision years ago to recognise colonial boundaries, I suppose legally we don't have a leg to stand on. Morally, though, it is part of our country"

Mrs Abrahams and her husband, Dr Kenneth Abrahams, secretary for information and finance, returned to South West Africa at the weekend after 15 years in exile

Meanwhile, the UN has approached Australia informally to see whether it would contribute to a peace-keeping force in South West Africa

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman in Canberra said the Government had not yet considered the matter and no decision had been made — DDC-SAPA-AP

What happens when the Finns fly in



Mr Nujoma

MARTIN SCHNEIDER:
Political Editor

A 41-YEAR-OLD Finn named Martti Oiva Ahtisaari, who is said to be strongly opposed to the South African Government's occupation of South West Africa, faces an awesome task on his arrival in Windhoek this weekend.

In many ways, the UN special representative in charge of the territory's pre-independence elections will be playing a key role in a delicately-balanced attempt at a rare if not unique achievement — a peaceful genuine change in the power structure of a country through negotiations.

Nothing more or less is required of him than to reconcile the conflicting demands of two very different groups — one which would like to retain as much power and influence as possible, the other which wants to break down all vestiges of what it



Judge Steyn

sions of the agreed solution will be observed by all parties.

Existing police forces must have the "primary responsibility" for maintaining law and order during the transition period. They must be under the charge of Judge Steyn.

Neighbouring countries must ensure that the provisions of the transitional arrangements are respected.



Mr Vorster

Dominating the numerous problems ahead is the probability of continued Swapo guerrilla and SA troop encounters which will strain to breaking point attempts to obtain agreements on the way the proposals should be implemented.

The initial problem will probably be Mr Ahtisaari's first report to the UN Secretary General. The SA Government has



Mr Mudge

already reserved the right to accept or reject his recommendations, particularly on such issues as law and order, the presence and function of SA forces and the size and composition of UN military personnel.

Intense argument could also develop over what laws and measures are discriminatory and restrictive. But the most intricate manoeuvre will probably be

the arrangement of a ceasefire. Aggravating these problems will be the stresses and strains in Swapo which could lead to guerrilla excesses and a battle for power.

The guerrilla movement led by Mr Sam Nujoma is already divided after the break away by the influential Mr Andreas Shipanga, who is now linking forces with the Namibia National Front.

And while it is impossible at this stage to gauge the influence Mr Toivo Ja Toivo will have if he is released, it is likely to be profound. Among numerous other problems already surfacing is the drawing up of a constitution if there is no clear winner in elections.

But there are two positive factors favouring an eventual settlement. The threat of sanctions against South Africa if the deal falls through and it presses ahead with a UDI-type internal settlement.

The influence on Swapo of the frontline states, particularly Angola, which clearly want a settlement to

restore a measure of stability in Southern Africa and a better climate for foreign investment in their own countries.

In a sense, the Walvis Bay issue may be seen as a classic example of how progress may be made using brinkmanship tactics.

It seemed at times that South African Government would actually break off negotiations because of the issue. However, the tough public stand taken by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, placate charges within National ranks that the Government was bowing to pressure.

It also turned the Walvis Bay issue into a strong bargaining point with an independent Namibian government, particularly if Swapo gains control.

But the Government is still going ahead with the Western proposals.

And at this stage so Swapo's Mr Sam Nujoma, who feels just as strongly that Walvis Bay should be incorporated into SWA now. He too has a constituent to placate.

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RDM

The overwhelming problem ahead appears to be the simple fact that the contending parties involved in the 30-year dispute over SWA have so much to lose.

Do they want a settlement through the ballot box, or are they merely going through the motions of negotiations, waiting for a diplomatic opportunity to break off further talks?

The South African Government may accept that it can no longer directly control SWA, but it is clearly determined to ensure that a friendly neighbour is installed, possibly the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance working in coalition with the Namibia National Front.

The other main contender for power at this stage, the Swapo guerrilla movement, is just as determined to take power, but with its untested support, risks losing all in an election.

For both sides, the implementation of the Western proposals for one-person-one-vote elections leading SWA to independence, by the end of the year provides ample scope for excuses to withdraw from negotiations.

What are the Western proposals Mr Ahtisaari now has to implement?

His overall mission is to "supervise and control" elections enabling "the people of Namibia to freely and fairly determine their own future". In this process, he has to "work together" with the South African Government's Administrator General in the territory, Mr Justice M.T. Steyn.

The elections will be held to select a constituent assembly which must adopt a constitution for an independent Namibia.

But a number of conditions have to be met before elections are held.

● Judge Steyn must repeal "all remaining discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations or administrative measures.

"These would include the sweeping Emergency Powers he recently invoked.

● All Namibian political prisoners and detainees held by South African authorities must be released. These would include the legendary Swapo founder, Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, who is on Robben Island.

● All Namibians living in exile must be allowed to return "peacefully and participate fully and freely in the electoral process without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment."

● A ceasefire in the guerrilla war in the territory's northern border must be arranged. Both African and Swapo armed forces must be restricted to base.

Within 12 weeks, all but 1 500 SA troops must be withdrawn from Namibia. Remaining SA forces must be restricted to Grootfontein or Oshana, or both. They must then be withdrawn after the election.

● Citizen forces and commands must be demobilised.

● A military "section" must be established to "make sure that the provi-

steam engine—the decisive invention of that revolution, the source of power vastly greater than men, or horses, or waterwheels could provide. What has been called the “invention of invention” multiplied the number of inventions in the production of goods.

average number of patents in 1760 and 1790, that number of inventions in which the fact of building with machinery in time—was an invention something new the regular came to be called “invention” willingness to report for voracious and could not inventions went hand in hand techniques which eased the sprawling industrial cities increasing numbers—and

In some industries, new were truly revolutionary. James Hargreaves invented the spinning wheel. His first eight spindles; in 1770, when sixteen. The year before, the frame, and ten years later, the mule. These two inventions unprecedented, hitherto almost enough, in 1785 Watt's steam factory mass production of Industrial Revolution was a Germany saw its first steam remained small. And even overnight, by 1790 there were

operation. The old commercial mentality, the old handicraft industries, and the old small-scale enterprise were tenacious survivals. Through the eighteenth century, Europe remained a predominantly rural society.

This in itself was not a sign of stagnation. There was no rigid separation between agricultural and industrial occupations, before the age of the factory, employers of labor depended largely on the domestic system. They engaged workers, rural and urban, to do their work at home. This held true for England, the mother of industrial society, as well as all across central Europe. In the rural districts of Bohemia, there were more than two hundred thousand domestic workers spinning flax; in the Swiss canton of Glarus there were more than

thirty-four thousand domestic spinners across the countryside. Most of these rural industrial workers were women.³⁹

Moreover like the industrial sector of Europe, the peasants felt the

Deal of the ghastly alternatives

DESPITE all the huffing and puffing the South West African plan is still, as the Americans say, on track. Our Government has made all its protests and misgivings over Walvis Bay clear, it has spelled out further reservations, but the important thing is that it has accepted the plan as endorsed by the Security Council. So at last the machinery of settlement is officially in motion — and that is the greatest bit of good news to have hit the depressing Southern African scene in a long time. For if a peaceful settlement can be successfully concluded in this one part of our sub-continent, it could provide a model for the concept of negotiation and a much-needed boost for morale throughout.

Of course a lot can still go wrong and derail the plan. It is painfully obvious that neither the South African Government nor Swapo is an enthusiastic participant. Each would much rather have its own go-it-alone solution. But each is responding to tremendous pressures being brought to bear on it, and so both have been brought this far.

The big question is whether, having been brought to the water, they will actually drink of it.

One is left with the strong suspicion that each would desperately like to see the other opt out, and so in the forthcoming months we are likely to see each trying its utmost to provoke the other into doing so. There will be plenty of opportunities for this: Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special representative's report will be the first, then there will be Swapo's demands for a repeal of the emergency powers, and, most critical of all, the issue of a

ceasefire, with Swapo already saying it will fight on until Walvis Bay is included in the deal, and South Africa saying no deal starts until the fighting stops.

Yet on both sides there are strong disincentives to opting out — which is what is holding the reluctant parties in line. South Africa knows that no major power will recognise an independence that does not bear the stamp of UN legitimacy, because all accept the UN as the legal authority over SWA just as Britain is over Rhodesia. Therefore any internal UDI would almost certainly lead to sanctions against South Africa, and also trap us in a steadily intensifying terrorist war beyond our borders. The same nasty combination that is dragging Rhodesia down — even nastier Vietnam connotations

What of Swapo? The alternative for it, of a long and grisly war taking another 10 to 15 years, with a ruined country at the end of it, must also be forbidding. More important, though, is the pressure being exerted by the frontline states (and particularly of late, Angola) who have growing problems of their own and want this disruptive issue disposed of. Swapo is totally dependent on them for its war effort, so it is highly vulnerable to their pressure; and the West, through shrewd diplomacy, has been able to keep up and even intensify this frontline pressure.

So it boils down to being the reluctant deal of the unattractive alternatives. And as the huffing and puffing continues over the months ahead it will be the state of those alternatives, rather than what is said in the foreground, that will really count.

incomes ranging from £1000 to £3000 a year, and up to twenty thousand ordinary, muddling landed gentlemen whose income was anywhere between £300 and £1000 a year. The least affluent of these gentlemen were little more prosperous than that far larger category, the freeholders, whose farms might bring them as little as £30, or as much as £700 a year. This scale, ranging from £30 to £50,000, offers a prospect of vast economic and social distance, from cottage to palace. Yet even this hierarchy, steep as it appears, does not comprehend the whole spectrum of English rural life. Below the petty freeholder with his £50 or £75 a year were the mass of tenant farmers, some of

³⁹ See Anderson, *Europe in the Eighteenth Century* 65

Maandag 3/8/78

Blokkies vir die Boesmans!

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Van JOHAN VOSLOO

WINDHOEK

'N BOEKIE met blokkiesblaai en 'n potlood daaraan vas gaan deur die Turnhalle-alliansie onder die Boesmans uitgedeel word sodat hulle kan leer hoe om op stembag 'n kruisie te trek. Dis een van die planne wat 'n politieke party in Suidwes vandag op die voorrand van 'n vrye verkiesing moet maak.

Die DTA van pastoor Njoba- en mnr Dirk Mudgehulle kry honderde van die boekies en potlode gereed vir verspreiding onder die Boes-

mans. Ongeletterdheid onder die inheemse bevolking is 'n algemene verskynsel in Suidwes

Uit die reeds voltooide registrasievorms blyk dit duidelik dat meer as 50 persent van die stemgeregtigde bevolking nie hul eie name kan teken nie, en dat daar 'n stempelafdruk van die linkerduim geneem moet word.

By onder meer die Boesmans strek die probleem nog verder. Baie ken geen skryf-ding nie en het koördinasieprobleme. Om 'n kruis te trek en nie 'n stembrief te bederf nie, verg oefening. Die blokkiesboek sal hulle die kans gee om die slag aan te leer, word gemeen

Woema!

Verkiesingsliedjies is 'n ander saak waaraan die DTA ernstig aandag gee Verlede Sondagmiddag, met die koms van mnr Martti Ahtisaari, het die DTA-ondersteuners



MNR MARTTI AHTISAARI aan tafel Sommer met die intrapslag het die Suidwesters hom Antie Sarie gedoop.

die sangstryd teen Swapo op die lughawe verloor.

Nou gaan 'n liedjieskomitee gestig word Gevra is 'n rasseleier of oud-rasseleier om die nodige woema te gee Intussen is mense druk besig om op-en-wakker liedere te komponeer.

Die Swapo's se liedjies, almal in die Wambo-taal, word ingesit deur ervare koorleiers met draagbare luidsprekers en bygestaan deur 'n

paar skril vrouestemme Dis opruiend — „vryheid deur die loop van die geweer" en „weg met die Boere en Vorster" — en gaan gepaard met lyf- en handgebare Dit is baie ritmies en almal sing luid saam

Die DTA, 'n etniese alliansie met 'n veelvoud van tale, het 'n probleem. Dit besef hulle nou, en daarom die plan vir 'n koorkomitee en die soeke na 'n rasseleier, sê die organiseerder, mnr Appie Louw

Die DTA se V-simbool vir vrede teenoor die gebale vuis van Swapo, is in Afrika dalk ook 'n punt of wat minder werd, stem baie DTA-mense saam Maar hulle staan vir vrede en met die simbool wil hulle wys dat hulle in Afrika 'n verkiesing kan wen.

Die Namibia National Front se een opgesteekte duim word in hierdie stadium nie eintlik raakgesien nie.

Intussen word daar in partykantore druk geverf aan duisende plakkate, word vlaggies aan stokkies gebind en voorbereidsels getref vir 'n verkiesing wat die meeste teen dié tyd hoop tog maar so gou moontlik moet kom

**Nuu
he**

ERWYL die Martti Ahtisaari

tste terro's et koedoes

lywige mnr i en sy VV-

span fette bymekaar maak, vind die Windhoekers nog baie ruimte vir humor om en rondom hierdie belangrike besoek aan hul gebied, skryf JOHAN VOSLOO.

So is mnr Ahtisaari sommer die Sondag met die intrap verdoop na Antie Sarie — en Antie Sarie het hy gebly As jy die ronde diplomaat bekyk, wil jy hom al half sien met 'n kappie en 'n sisrok.

Sy persskakel is mnr. Anouar Ceriff van Tunisie Op dié toestand verbeter het es aan RAPPORT gesê toe gisteroggend is tele- eene.

oor dr. Diederichs is op t maak — sy het ook gvera wat die koerantmanne kom besoek het, het verbaas gisteraand in die hospitaal 'n Vrou wat haar man vanmiddag Pretoria toe, "hy en die President gaan glo vloer, as hy nog daar is, want gese: "Hy is op die vierde te kom, is aan RAPPORT om by genl.-maj. Foutie uit ontstaan is. Op navraag hoe Staatspresident om tweenunder die indruk dat die meeste van die personeel vas By die hospitaal was die drupsgewys uitgelek.

Die nuus van sy siekte het berg Jan Breytenbach van die was daar gister 'n onderd DIE Staatspresident se em

VV-MAN SÊ NEE OFFIE

Suid-Afrika, Venezuela, Koraie, Colombia, Korea. mnr Ahtisaari 'n man is wat hou van lekker kos Maar wat is sy van dag tot dag die einde van die tyd se eetgewoontes kyk, lyk dit of hy ekstra moeite doen om sy gewig in toom te hou.

Mnr. Ahtisaari eet sy biefstuk tydsam en met smaak. Sy wit wyntjie gebruik hy oordeelkundig en met die respek wat dit toekom. Hoewel hy nooit meer as een porsie bestel nie bestee hy maklik twee keer soveel tyd as 'n gewone eter aan sy bord kos

Wetk

IS VOL

UN mission pair fly to Windhoek

3/18/8
WRM
1221

**By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK**

THE United Nations mission to South West Africa got off the ground yesterday as a two-man advance guard left for Windhoek — and the territory's Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, prepared to face special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Milton Ridel and Lieutenant Mitchell Goldstein will be the first members of the massive operational staff to arrive when they land in Windhoek today to prepare the UN base.

UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim yesterday set himself an end-of-the-month deadline to report to the Security Council on detailed planning for the United Nations-policed independence elections.

He gave Mr Ahtisaari's 50-strong Pathfinder mission exactly 20 days to examine the situation in the territory and file a report that will be the basis of his recommendations.

The Ahtisaari team is due to land in Windhoek at about 3 pm on Sunday.

About two-thirds of them will stay on to form the nucleus of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) unless dispute wrecks the entire undertaking.

Their US Air Force Boeing 707 will leave Kenia City Airport at 7.30 pm

SA came on Saturday flying as military adviser is Major-General Hannes Philippus, the Australian commander of UN forces on the Golan Heights.

Several other powerful officials are flying with Mr Ahtisaari, despite early reports the team would be kept to logistics specialists from all UN departments.

They include Mr Paul Boman, a former Tanzanian attorney-general and ambassador to Washington, and Mr N T D Karakaratne, the recently retired Sri Lankan Ambassador.

Mr Kanakarathne is one of several members with experience of the UN's Congo operation. Mr Boman is an important figure in the OAU Liberation Committee

Warning

Two Press officers are in the party. One of them is Mr Anwar Cherif, who was Press officer to General Assembly President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the man who superintended the expulsion of South Africa's 1974 delegation.

Throughout yesterday Mr Ahtisaari continued to brief and be briefed. He is being warned that South Africa means to interpret such a mission as possible the independence of Western Africa.

He's going to need tact and patience — and an awful lot of both," said one closely involved diplomat. Officials close to Mr Ahtisaari also expressed concern that Mr Justice Steyn might seek to envelop his mission in such a blanket of cooperation that it ceased to be able to exert any control of its own.

One described this as "the oil and sugar treatment" and suggested that it could present as great a problem as the "water example" — were the Ural ironworks in Russia.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, is said to be beset with doubts. The oil and sugar treatment, it is suggested, could present as great a problem as the "water example" — were the Ural ironworks in Russia.

But Mr Justice Steyn said from Windhoek yesterday he was looking forward to meeting Mr Ahtisaari.

It has been generally agreed that the success of the independence operations rests heavily on the two men and how they get on.

Mr Steyn emphasised the need for close cooperation. "It is only if the two of us establish an intimate personal contact of trust and cooperation that this operation will succeed," he said. "I look forward to meeting him."

According to sources in New York, the South African decision to accept Phase One of the UN operation was taken primarily on the advice of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and taken with deep misgivings.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, is said to be beset with doubts.

social and economic problems, who were usually far more interested in artisans and craftsmen of the traditional type than in industrial wage-earners. The fact that many of such large-scale industrial enterprises as existed — the Ural ironworks in Russia — were geographically remote from urban life to remain its predominantly rural character almost

Ahtisaari given 20 days

3/8/78
22
22

UNITED NATIONS — The UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, has given his special envoy to South West Africa, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, only 20 days to file his independence schedule with the Security Council.

The South African Government has already threatened to go it alone if Mr Ahtisaari's plans do not follow, to the letter, the Western settlement plan agreed to by both South Africa and Swapo.

Dr Waldheim has cleared the decks for swift council action by cancelling an official visit to Uruguay so as to be here in the first days of September.

A two-man advance guard which left United Nations headquarters on Tuesday night arrives in Windhoek via Zurich today to prepare the United Nations base.

The 50-strong Ahtisaari team itself is due to touch down at Windhoek at about 3 pm on Sunday — Mr Ahtisaari plans to be back here by August 25.

Several other powerful officials are flying with Mr Ahtisaari, including Mr Mark Boman, a former Tanzanian Attorney-General and ambassador to Washington, and Mr N T Kanakarathne, the just-retired Sri Lankan ambassador.

Mr Kanakarathne is one of several with experience of the UN's Congo operation. Mr Boman is an important figure in the OAU Liberation Committee.

Two press officers are in the party. One is Mr Anovar Cherif, of Tunisia, who was press officer to General Assembly president

dent Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the man who superintended the expulsion of South Africa's 1974 delegation. Mr Cherif has been second in command of the UN's special South Africa radio service.

Throughout yesterday Mr Ahtisaari continued to brief and be briefed. He is Africa means to interpret as strictly as possible the Western independence plan. Every step he takes from the moment he lands must be in accordance with the April 25 agreement, sources said.

Officials close to Mr Ahtisaari are concerned the South West Africa Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, might seek to envelop his mission in such a blanket of co-operation that it would cease to be able to exert any control of its own.

One described this as "the oil and sugar treatment" and suggested that

could present as great a problem as no co-operation at all.

According to sources here, the South African decision to accept phase one of the United Nations operation was taken primarily on the advice of the Foreign Minister, Mr Botha, but with deep misgivings.

Mr Vorster himself is said to be beset with doubts. Other high South African officials are described as "itching to pounce" — with every Ahtisaari action put under the microscope.

Mr Justice Steyn said from Windhoek yesterday he was looking forward to meeting Mr Ahtisaari.

"It is only if the two of us establish an intimate personal contact of trust and co-operation that this operation will succeed," he said. — DDC.

Ahtisaari profile, page 4.

ps. Tollie Lewis and Basil Menego, our two Grand Delegates we express our sincere thanks for the efficient way they have carried out their duties and attended to their duties.

commendations to improve Workings/or administrative matters have been received from them and Supreme Committee has favourably to most of such recommendations.

of Supreme Grand Chapter I say "thank you Companions Lewis for all you have done", expressing the hope that H. will spare these Ex. Companions for many years to labour of this most instructive and rewarding of Degrees.

y, on this score, I have considerable pleasure in stating how appreciate having our First Grand Principal M.E. Companion son with us to-day.

I know that you share with us that feeling of satisfaction and experience when we note that our labours have reached and that the goals we have set have now been attained.

The ones that get away...

Ja Toivo: SWA's X factor?

WALVIS BAY — A glossy tourist brochure produced by the Walvis Bay Sakekammer proudly claims the port's fishing industry is the biggest in Africa and contributes substantially to world food production

That is the way it used to be. But the yield has dropped in just four years from 10 million cartons of edible canned fish to 1.1 million.

The gross product value has plummeted from R80 million in 1974 to R35 million this season.

Mr Frans Conradie, chairman of the Walvis Bay fishing factories executive committee said yesterday he "could not believe it" when the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Steyn, closed the fishing season last month.

"We were having poor catches of pilchards because it seems that all the fish have migrated northwards up the coast, but the anchovy catch was excellent."

The anchovies, he said, saved the industry, providing income from fish-meal oil.

"We thought we would be able to go on catching anchovy until the end of the season. There are shoals of them out there. They are still there. But they are being taken by foreign trawlers, mostly from behind the Iron Curtain."

He said the entire Walvis enclave depended on the fishing industry. Apart from the people out of work, the town's economy was geared to a six-month fishing season — during which there was plenty of cash in circulation — and a six-month slack period.

This year Walvis Bay's season was 2½ months short.

In the harbour yesterday Walvis' 75 trawlers looked like a ghost fleet.

Mr Conradie said the demise of the fishing industry could be blamed partly on the lack of control over foreign trawlers operating off the South West African coast.

There is a 200-mile fishing limit off Walvis itself — but it is not enforced. The rest of the territory operates a 12-mile limit.

A crewman of the *Crustacea*, the Department of Sea Fisheries patrol and research vessel based at Walvis, said "It is like using a match box against a tank. Once we found some Russians fishing within three miles of the coast. We tried to warn them off, but they came up on either side of us and tried to crush our boat. What is there to do except go full astern and get the hell out!" — DDC

JOHANNESBURG — A prisoner on Robben Island may hold the key to victory in scheduled elections in South West Africa. Dr Gerhard Totemeyer, of the University of Stellenbosch, said yesterday.

Dr Totemeyer, a political scientist and author of a book on South West Africa, was commenting on the coming one-man-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly as set out by the Western settlement proposals.

The prisoner is Mr Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, co-founder with Mr Sam Nujoma of Swapo.

"Right now Swapo is the strongest group," Dr Totemeyer said. "But there are a number of factors which can influence events in the next few months."

One of these is the release of Mr Toivo Ja Toivo, who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment under the Terrorism Act in 1968. Dr Totemeyer was confident he would be released soon in terms of Western proposals for the freeing of all political prisoners.

Dr Totemeyer said "We can't keep him in South Africa much longer now. He was sentenced for things he did in Namibia."

Of critical importance to future political developments was whether Mr



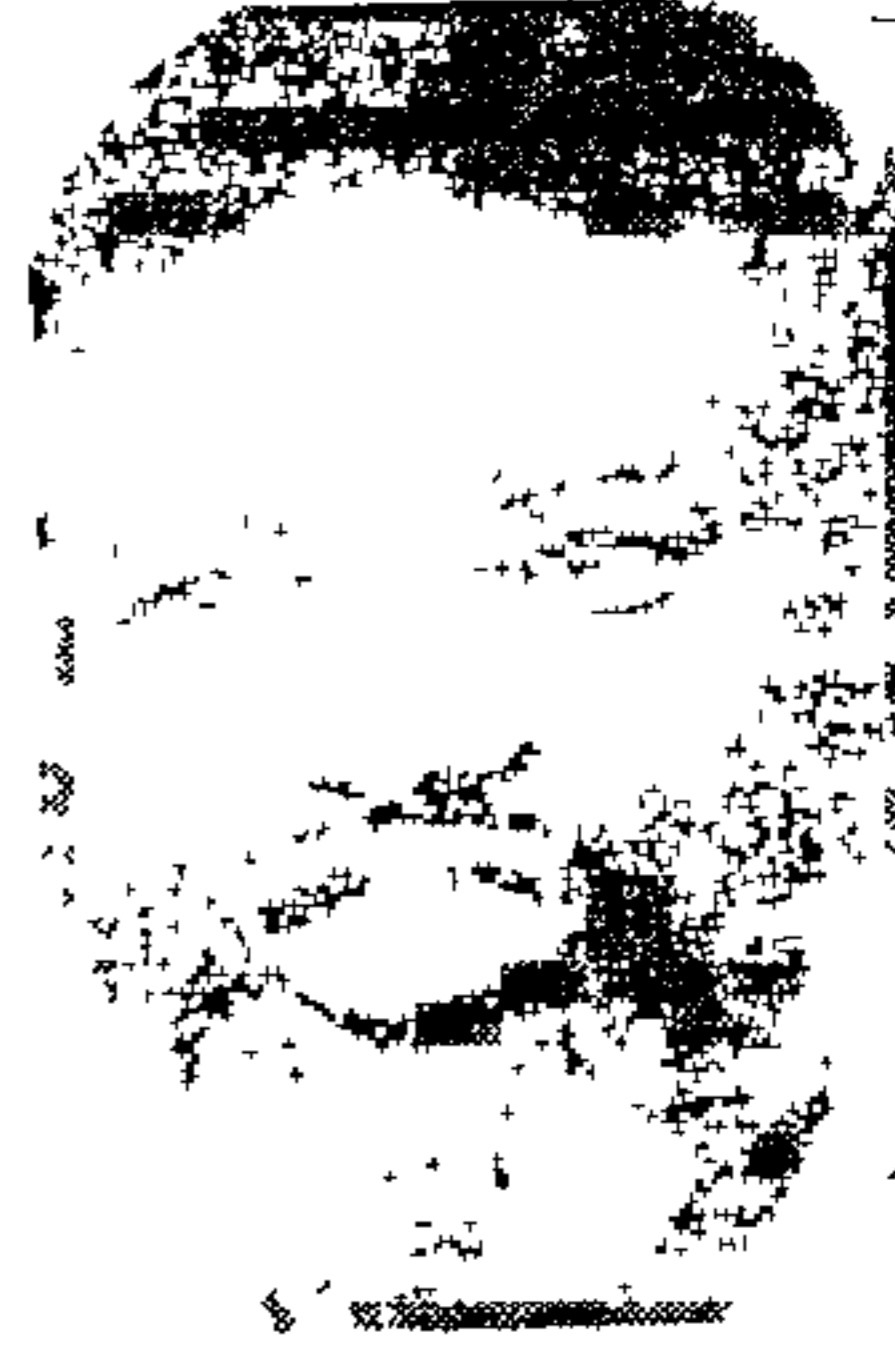
MR MUDGE . . . his DTA losing ground?

Toivo Ja Toivo would join hands with Mr Nujoma or whether his release would start a tussle for control within Swapo.

"If they join forces it will mean tremendous increase in support for Swapo. If a leadership struggle develops, it will be bad for Swapo."

Dr Totemeyer gives Swapo between 42 per cent and 52 per cent of the potential electorate, as against his estimate of between 20 per cent and 30 per cent for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, under the tutelage of Mr Dirk Mudge.

"But I get the impression that DTA is running



MR NUJOMA . . . could face leadership struggle.

out of steam and the National Namibia Front (NNF) is picking up."

He gives the NNF about 20 per cent.

One of the factors which might influence the struggle decisively in the next few months is the return to South West Africa of Mr Andreas Shipanga.

Mr Shipanga is one of the men who rebelled against Mr Nujoma's leadership of Swapo. He was detained in Tanzania.

Since his release Mr Shipanga has formed his own political party, Swapo Democrats, and pledged his support to the NNF — DDC.

Waldheim's SWA man not new to Africa

NEW YORK — The man who will manage the big UN job of overseeing the transition of South West Africa to independence is a big blue-eyed Finn with broad experience and many friends in Africa.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, since early 1977 UN Commissioner for Namibia, is Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's choice as special representative to South West Africa.

His name is pronounced Ah-Tee-sahr-ee, with the first syllable accented.

Mr Ahtisaari will work with Mr Justice Steyn, South Africa's Administrator-General for South West Africa, who will conduct the election while Mr Ahtisaari and his UN transition assistance group provide monitoring and security.

One South African official who has met them

both believes that the relationship could be excellent, describing both men as astute, sensible and "well-rounded."

"They don't know how well rounded until they see him," an Ahtisaari aide laughed, in reference to his famed girth.

Stationed in Dar-es-Salaam, he had served since 1973 as Finnish Ambassador to Tanzania, Zambia and Somalia, and since 1975 as Ambassador to Mozambique. He was the African group's hand-picked candidate for the job.

Mr Ahtisaari is only 41 — young for the number three, R57 000 a year rank of Assistant Secretary-General in a bureaucracy where retirement age is 60.

A teacher-turned diplomat, he is married to

a history teacher named Ezva. They have a nine-year-old son, Marko, and live a very close family life, enjoying skiing in the winter, tennis and golf in the summer.

Mr Ahtisaari was born June 13, 1937, in Finland's Karelia, adjoining the Soviet Union. He graduated in 1959 from the University of Oulu, where he grew up.

He was a teacher in Oulu in 1959 and 1960, and then went to Karachi Pakistani Institute of Technology.

At one stage, he headed a student association that helped poor countries and in that capacity he helped arrange schooling for blacks from South West Africa that had fled to Finland.

He worked in the Finnish Foreign Ministry from 1965 — DDC

SWA: Govt is braced for a UDI storm

Pretoria Bureau

THE South African Government is bracing itself for a unilateral declaration of independence in South West Africa — and for the inevitable hostile world reaction

This, according to observers of international affairs interviewed yesterday, is clear from comments by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, in a television interview earlier this week.

He said if "other parties" failed to abide by the agreement on SWA independence, "then we would have no option — whatever the consequences — but to make SWA independent".

The director of the SA Institute for International Affairs, Mr John Barratt, said if Swapo reneged on the West's proposals there were two courses open to the Government.

It could either go ahead

with its plans to give SWA independence or it could attempt to re-negotiate another agreement with the West.

If it chose a UDI then the consequences mentioned by Mr Vorster could be very serious for South Africa

Demands for mandatory United Nations sanctions against South Africa could be expected

This would be a bitter test for the Western Five who drew up the agreement accepted by South Africa.

Only Britain, the United States or France could then save South Africa from sanctions by using their veto powers.

The director of the Foreign Affairs Association, Mr Cas de Villiers, said the consequences of a UDI in SWA could be "too ghastly to contemplate".

If the West failed to block a UN move to outlaw South Africa economically by using their vetoes then South Africa would find itself confronted by:

● An escalation in the terrorist war with increased Russian military and other aid to Swapo;

● A greatly increased South African military commitment along the SWA border, in funds and manpower;

● The need, like Israel, to carry out pre-emptive across-the-border-raids, with the threat of higher casualties

At the core of the sanctions war against South Africa would be an attempt to cut the country off from its oil supplies

- Iran, South Africa's major supplier, had resisted pressure in the past to slow down or cut the crude oil flow to this country, but pressure would be greatly increased if a sanctions war against SA was declared.

Economists in Pretoria said one of the first Government moves, if sanctions were declared, would be fuel rationing.

1. INTRODUCTION

AFRICAN HISTORY I
Full coverage of this seminar would entail an error in our Tutorial Programme. Please refer to the Tutorial Programme for details.

Week Beginning: potential sources of growth and current and future constraints
July 19th Growth. Colonial attitudes: how can one account for and

6. The

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A delegation from the Walvis Bay Town Council is to fly to Pretoria next Wednesday in an attempt to draw the Government's attention to the economic plight of the residents of the enclave.

Already burdened with exorbitant costs of essential consumer goods — the price of most items is far higher than that paid in South Africa because of transport costs — Walvis Bay people, since incorporation into the Cape, have been forced to pay higher taxes

ation into the Cape, have been forced to pay higher taxes

Taxed in the past at South West African rates, they now have to pay South African income tax — which averages 35% more. The "crippling" rate of taxes is the main issue the delegation wants to discuss with South African Minister of Finance, Senator Owen Horwood

Also on the agenda are requests for a special account for Walvis Bay and loans for essential works

Hart pledges UK aid

THE British Minister for Overseas Development, Mrs Judith Hart, discussed future British technical cooperation with South West Africa when she met the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir David Scott, in Johannesburg yesterday. Mrs Hart was travelling to Botswana

Mrs Hart said she had decided that Overseas Development ministerial missions would be asked to identify, in consultation with the new administration, SWA's manpower and training needs and the

arrangements for a larger future British technical cooperation programme.

Mrs Hart said there would be a great need for secondary school teachers, and she would be pursuing this at once. Other needs would be identified by the mission

These decisions follow Dr David Owen's undertaking at the United Nations last week that the UK would play its full part in supporting the government of an independent SWA

2.2 SECTORAL CONTRIBUTION TO G.D.P.

Again various estimates of the contribution of the various sectors to the G.D.P. are given in Table 2.

Tutorial Programme: how can one account for and

Week Beginning:

July 19th

Colonial attitudes: how can one account for and

6. G.N.P. Figures: World Bank Atlas, 1977. Dollar figures converted to Rands at 1,15 Reading.

7. Barthold op. SWA-Dependence in Black Africa" in Journal of Modern African Studies (1972)

8. World Bank Atlas Studies (1972)

Sept. 9, 4 Ibid. Sept. 11)

Simulation Exercise: African political parties and the decolonisation of Cameroun.

Sector are 17 and 40% respectively.

13. First, R. op. Africa Since 1875, pp. 64-75. S. Amin: "Underdevelopment

14. Barthold. op. SWA-Dependence in Black Africa" in Journal of Modern African Studies (1972)

15. Ibid., p. 13.

Simulation Exercise: African political parties and the decolonisation of Cameroun.

Swapo raids on the rise 221 — army chief

WINDHOEK — Terrorist activity in South West Africa has increased sharply during the past two weeks, and military authorities expect continuing escalation as Swapo recovers from the South African May 4 raid into Angola that crippled its operational effectiveness.

After a period of almost total inactivity following the strike that destroyed base camp "Moscow", Swapo is again deploying its forces and last week at least 120 terrorists were known to be in Owambo. They are believed to have since fled back across the border.

This was confirmed in Windhoek by the officer commanding South African forces in the territory, General J J Geldenhuys.

Gen Geldenhuys said Swapo activity dropped from about 50 incidents a month to almost zero following the strike.

But in the past two weeks terrorists had launched fresh incursions, killed two Ovambos, planted landmines, blown up a pipeline and blasted telephone poles, he said.

In the northern Owambo

centre of Oshakati, a military spokesman said five new incursions had been detected. "It must continue to escalate. I think the Cubans and the MPLA will provide them with arms and equipment. They will soon be busy again," he said.

Gen Geldenhuys estimated there were about 8 000 Swapo supporters outside the territory, directly or indirectly involved in terrorist activity.

The destruction of "Moscow" base, he said, had caused a turn-around in the situation and would take Swapo a long time to rebuild the damage to morale.

Military authorities also claimed that a Swapo terrorist wearing South African Army uniform murdered a black school teacher in Owambo last week, launching a new propaganda tactic that they believe is intended to discredit the Defence Force.

A military intelligence officer said 12 terrorists were known to have infiltrated Owambo wearing the brown SADF uniforms and army boots. — Sapa.

Silent UN men arrive (221) in SWA

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The first two United Nations officials arrived in South West Africa yesterday to pave the way for the 50-strong pathfinder mission headed by the UN's Special Representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The two-man advance guard — Mr Milton Ridel, chief of Operation Services in the administrative section of the UN, and Lieutenant Mitchell Goldstein, a member of the UN Security and Safety Services — immediately set about making arrangements for this weekend's arrival of the UN mission.

They were booked into the centrally-situated three-star Kalahari Sands Hotel, which is also the headquarters of the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

All the two men would say when approached in the foyer of the 14-storey hotel was that they were responsible for organising the UN mission's accommodation and transport.

The Ahtisaari mission is due to land in Windhoek on Sunday afternoon.

It is clear that the UN mission will face serious logistic problems if the SA Government gives the final go-ahead for the implementation of the Western peace proposals.

Though the estimated 5 000 UN troops could take over the bush camps vacated by SA troops, it will be almost impossible to accommodate the several hundred administrative officials expected to stay in Windhoek during the elections.

● Sapa-AP reports that a Tokyo newspaper "Asahi" said yesterday that the Japanese Government would send about 20 observers to SWA to help, if necessary, with the general election scheduled for December. The Japanese Foreign Ministry would not confirm the report.

First two UN men

arrive in South West

Mercury Correspondent 4/19/78

WINDHOEK — The first two United Nations officials arrived in South West Africa yesterday to pave the way for the 50-strong Pathfinder mission headed by the UN's special representative, Mr. Jartti Ahtisaari.

The two-man advance guard — Mr. Milton Ridel, chief of operation services in the administrative section of the UN, and Lieutenant Mitchell Goldstein, a member of the UN security and safety services — immediately set about making arrangements for this weekend's arrival of the UN mission.

They were booked into a centrally situated three-star hotel, which is also the headquarters of the South African administrator-General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Hotel employees were told to remain tight-lipped about their two foreign guests.

All the two men would say when approached was that they were responsible for organising the UN mission's accommodation and transport.

The Ahtisaari mission is due to hand in Windhoek on Sunday afternoon.

Swapo attacks on the increase

OSHAKATI — Terrorist activity in South West Africa has increased sharply during the past two weeks and military authorities expect continuing escalation as Swapo recovers from the May 4 raid into Angola that crippled its operational effectiveness.

After a period of almost total inactivity following the strike that destroyed base camp "Moscow," Swapo is again deploying gangs and last week at least 120 terrorists were known to be in Owambo.

They are believed to have since fled back across the border.

In Windhoek this week the officer commanding the South African forces in the territory, Gen. J. J. Geldenhuys, told Sapa:

"Terrorist activity has increased. Since the May 4 raid, they have started to infiltrate again.

"Their command control systems were dealt a very heavy blow, but they are starting to re-deploy groups."

The general disclosed that Swapo activity dropped from about 50 incidents a month to almost zero following the strike and the few at-

tempts that were made had been the work of gangs under orders issued before May 4.

But in the past two weeks terrorists have launched fresh incursions, killed two Owambos, planted landmines, blown up a pipeline and blasted telephone poles.

In the northern Owambo centre of Oshakati, a military spokesman said five new incursions had been detected.

"It must continue to escalate. I think the Cubans and the MPLA will provide

them with arms and equipment. They will soon be busy again," he said.

The spokesman described the period after the strike as extremely quiet and said terrorists inside South West Africa had returned to help re-structure the base but activity had started again and he believed the timing had been linked with the UN Security Council debate on the territory's future.

"They usually try to get some publicity when something is before the council," he said.

At a military base east of

Oshakati, a few kilometres from the Angolan border, an intelligence officer confirmed the escalation.

"On July 23 there were 120 terrorists in the area. We know this from the track we picked up," he said.

"They have all gone back across the border. We feel they were here to try to intimidate the people and turn them against elections."

Gen. Geldenhuys estimated that there were about 8 000 Swapo supporters outside the country directly or indirectly involved in terrorist activity.



They will spend 20 days assessing the situation in the territory before reporting back to the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim.

It is the first time that UN officials have been in the mandated territory since the visit by Dr. Alfred Escher, Dr. Waldheim's special emissary six years ago.

A military spokesman at South West Africa Command said that Mr. Justice Steyn would decide whether South African Air Force planes would be placed at the disposal of Mr. Ahtisaari during his visit.

It is clear that the UN mission will face serious logistic problems if the South African Government gives the final go-ahead for the implementation of the Western peace proposals.

Bush

Though the estimated 5 000 UN troops could take over the bush camps vacated by the South African troops, it will be almost impossible to accommodate the several hundred administrative officials expected to stay in Windhoek during the elections.

Most of the 1 000 UN administrative personnel will be based in the capital, which already has an acute shortage of accommodation, housing and office space.

The UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will also have to vie for accommodation with various Western countries that are apparently keen to establish permanent representatives in the territory.

Booked

It is understood that the United States Embassy has already booked several rooms for an indefinite period at the Kalahari Sands Hotel, while the British Embassy has put out feelers for office accommodation in Windhoek.

There are only about 800 beds available in all the hotels in Windhoek and, with an average daily occupancy ranging from 60 to 70 percent, most proprietors are reluctant to reserve a large part of their hotels on a long-term basis.

Estate agents said there were very few houses for rent and less than 10 percent of the city's 2 800 flat units were vacant.

Sapa-Reuters in a message from New York reports that the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, had chosen a former Sri Lanka ambassador to Washington, Mr. Neville Kanakarte, to advise on the proposed UN operation in South West Africa.

Language hurdle for UN in SWA

Mercury Correspondent

WINDHOEK — United Nations officials overseeing South West African independence will have to rely heavily on Afrikaans-speaking South African and South West African Whites if they are to communicate with the local Black population.

The Ovambo people, who make up nearly half the population of South West Africa, speak seven dialects of Ondonga and Kwanyana, which are among the most difficult African languages to learn.

The only way UN people will be able to speak to Ovambos will be through an interpreter who speaks Afrikaans and English.

Ovambo customs are strange to newcomers to Africa.

A formal hello takes five minutes and an Ovambo will quickly take offence if the formula for greeting is not strictly followed.

The Bushman language and customs are even more difficult for a White to follow.

221

4/8/78

The Western plan for Namibia

221
FM 4/8/78

The key to an internationally acceptable transition to independence is free elections for the whole of Namibia as one political entity. The purpose of the electoral process is to elect representatives to a Constituent Assembly (CA), which will draw up and adopt the Constitution for an independent and sovereign Namibia. Authority would then be assumed during 1978 by the government of Namibia.

A resolution will be required in the Security Council (SC) requesting the Secretary-General (SG) to appoint a United Nations Special Representative (SR), whose central task will be to make sure that conditions are established which will allow free and fair elections. The SR will be assisted by a UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag). In carrying out his responsibilities, the SR will work together with the Administrator-General (AG)

UN control

Free elections will be held for the whole of Namibia as one political entity. The elections will be under the supervision and control of the UN in that, as a condition to the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves, and the certification of their results, the SR will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political process at all levels of administration before such measures take effect. The SR may himself make proposals in regard to any aspect of the political process.

Elections will be held to select the CA, which will adopt a Constitution. The Constitution will determine the organisation 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 CA. Voting will be by secret ballot, with provisions made for those who cannot read or write. The date for the beginning of the electoral campaign, the date of elections, the electoral system, the preparation of voters' rolls, and other aspects of electoral procedures will be promptly decided upon so as to give all political parties and interested persons, without regard to their political views, a full and fair opportunity to organise and participate.

The official electoral campaign shall commence only after the SR has satisfied himself as to the fairness and appropriateness of the electoral procedures. The implementation of the elec-

toral process, including the proper registration of voters and the proper and timely tabulation and publication of voting results, will also have to be conducted to his satisfaction.

The following requirements will be

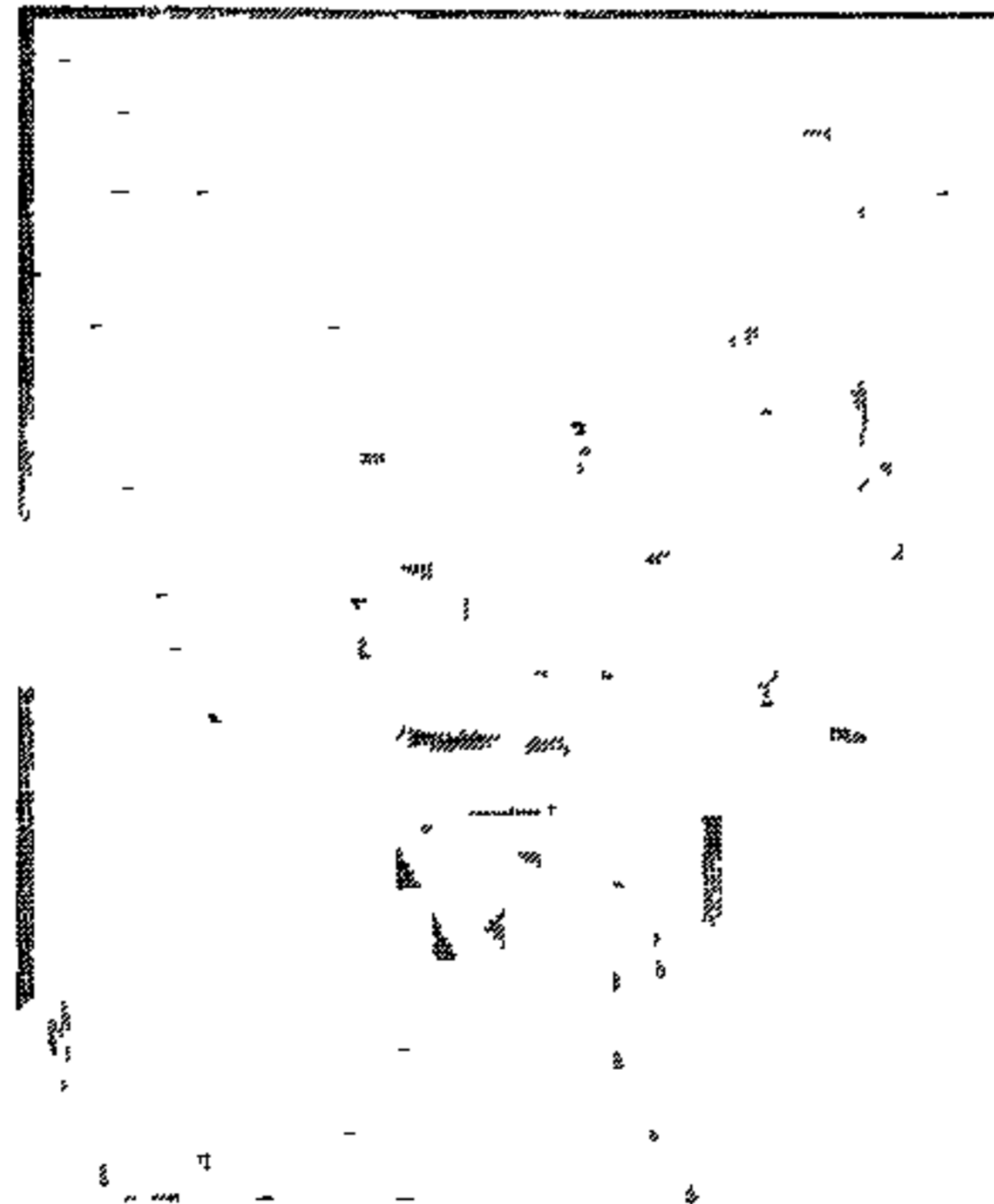
Here are the essential details of the Namibian settlement plan put forward by the Western Five last April.

fulfilled to the satisfaction of the SR.

- Prior to the beginning of the electoral campaign, the AG will repeal all remaining discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations, or administrative measures which might abridge or inhibit the objective of free elections.

- The AG shall make arrangements for the release, prior to the beginning of the electoral campaign, of all Namibian political prisoners or political detainees held by the SA authorities so that they can participate fully and freely in that process, without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment. Any disputes concerning the release of political prisoners or political detainees shall be resolved to the satisfaction of the SR acting on the independent advice of a jurist of international standing who shall be designated by the SG.

- All Namibian refugees or Namibians detained or otherwise outside the territory of Namibia will be permitted to return peacefully and participate fully and freely in the electoral process.



UN's Kurt Waldheim . . . sending his man to Windhoek

A comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts shall be observed by all parties. This includes

- The restriction of SA and Swapo armed forces to base, and thereafter a phased withdrawal of SA troops from Namibia. They must be reduced to 12 000 within six weeks, and 8 000 within nine weeks. Within 12 weeks — and prior to the start of the election campaign — all but 1 500 of the SA troops must have been withdrawn. The remaining SA forces will be restricted to Grootfontein or Oshivello or both and will be withdrawn within one week after certification of the election. By that time all Swapo bases must be closed as well.

- The demobilisation of the citizen forces, commandos, and ethnic forces, and the dismantling of their command structures.

- Provision being made for Swapo personnel outside to return.

- The de-activation within 12 weeks, of all military installations along the northern border.

A military section of Untag will make sure that the provisions of the agreed solution will be observed by all parties. The five governments, as members of the SC, will support the SG's judgment in his discharge of this responsibility. The SG will, in the normal manner, include in his consultations all those concerned with the implementation of the agreement.

Primary responsibility for maintaining law and order in Namibia during the transition period shall rest with the existing police forces. The AG to the satisfaction of the SR shall ensure the good conduct of the police forces and shall take the necessary action to ensure their suitability for continued employment during the transition period. The SR shall make arrangements when appropriate for UN personnel to accompany the police forces in the discharge of their duties. The police forces will be limited to the carrying of small arms in the normal performance of their duties.

Immediately after the certification of election results, the CA will meet to draw up and adopt the Constitution. It will conclude its work as soon as possible so as to permit whatever additional steps may be necessary prior to the installation of an independent government of Namibia during 1978.

Neighbouring countries shall be requested to ensure to the best of their abilities that the provisions of the transitional arrangements, and the outcome of the elections, are respected.

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The die is cast

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FM 4th August 1978

After more than three decades of international acrimony — dating back, indeed, to the time of General Smuts — it seems incredible that UN officials should at this very moment be on their way to South West Africa to set in motion the independence process.

Although the way ahead is still strewn with landmines, the Western Five have unquestionably pulled off a major diplomatic triumph in getting this far. And it would be churlish not to commend too the major concessions which both Swapo and SA have made, however grudgingly, in order to allow the UN Security Council to implement the first phase of the independence process.

Formal adoption of the Five's settlement plan (detailed on page 407) by the Council still awaits the report which the UN's Special Representative, Martti Ahtisaari, will submit to Secretary General Kurt Waldheim once he has seen the lie of the land when he arrives in Windhoek at the weekend.

But there can be no doubt that the Council, backed by the Five, will exert the strongest of pressures to prevent SA and Swapo from falling out of line.

The achievement of the Five — and full marks here to Andrew Young, whose brainchild the year-old Western demarche was in the first place — is that they have succeeded so far in preventing the dispute over SWA from escalating into a major East-West confrontation.

Cold war

They have succeeded in outmanoeuvring the Soviet Union — which although it did not endorse the Western efforts in the Security Council last week, at least did not use its veto against them.

The Carter administration's refreshing new approach to Africa — seeing its problems in an African context rather than in terms of the crude philosophy of the Cold Warriors — is thus beginning to bear fruit at last. Carter, Young, David Owen, Genscher, and the other Western diplomats have also succeeded in enlisting the support and co-operation of the

Financial Mail August 4 1978

posals in April, it presumably will not object now to the wide-ranging powers which the proposals vest in the UN's Special Representative.

Another thorny issue could be the registration of voters, which SA started unilaterally six weeks ago. Steyn no doubt believes he can persuade Ahtisaari to approve his action in retrospect. However, UN sources tell the *FM* that it is possible that Ahtisaari will refuse to do this, to allay Swapo fears that the election process might have been rigged through SA-sponsored registration.

Further requirements are that the Administrator-General repeal all existing

front-line states and Nigeria — an achievement unprecedented in post-colonial Africa, and one which the USSR can hardly relish.

Nevertheless, despite the hurdles which have so far been crossed, both SA and Swapo still seem to be keeping open the back door to pull out or wreck the plan at the last minute.

Walvis Bay

SA has made it clear that its final acceptance will depend on the report submitted by Ahtisaari to the Security Council. SA claims it has been taken for a ride by the West on Walvis Bay (*FM* last week) and that Western trustworthiness is now at stake. It will therefore wait and see whether Ahtisaari's detailed proposals conform in spirit and letter to the original Western plan.

The question remains: is SA's tough talking merely for domestic political consumption? Or is there now a possibility that SA is looking for an excuse, real or contrived, on which to call off the deal and push ahead with an internal settlement?

The same questions apply to the recent statements in New York by Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, when he expressed views which seemed to be in conflict with the Western proposals.

From Prime Minister Vorster's lengthy television interview and government-inspired press reports this week, it seems that there are a number of important issues on which SA might differ from the Western interpretation of the settlement proposals.

Among these is the insistence by SA and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance that elections and independence must take place by December 31 this year. The Western plan also has this as the target date. At the same time, however, the plan provides for a 12-week period for SA troop withdrawal, confinement of Swapo fighters and a small residual SA force to base, and other preparations, before the election campaign for the constituent assembly can even begin. And the elec-

tion period is scheduled to take four months over and above the 12-week period.

Assuming that any disputes over these issues can be resolved without derailing the plan and that the ceasefire is effective, the four month election campaign can begin.

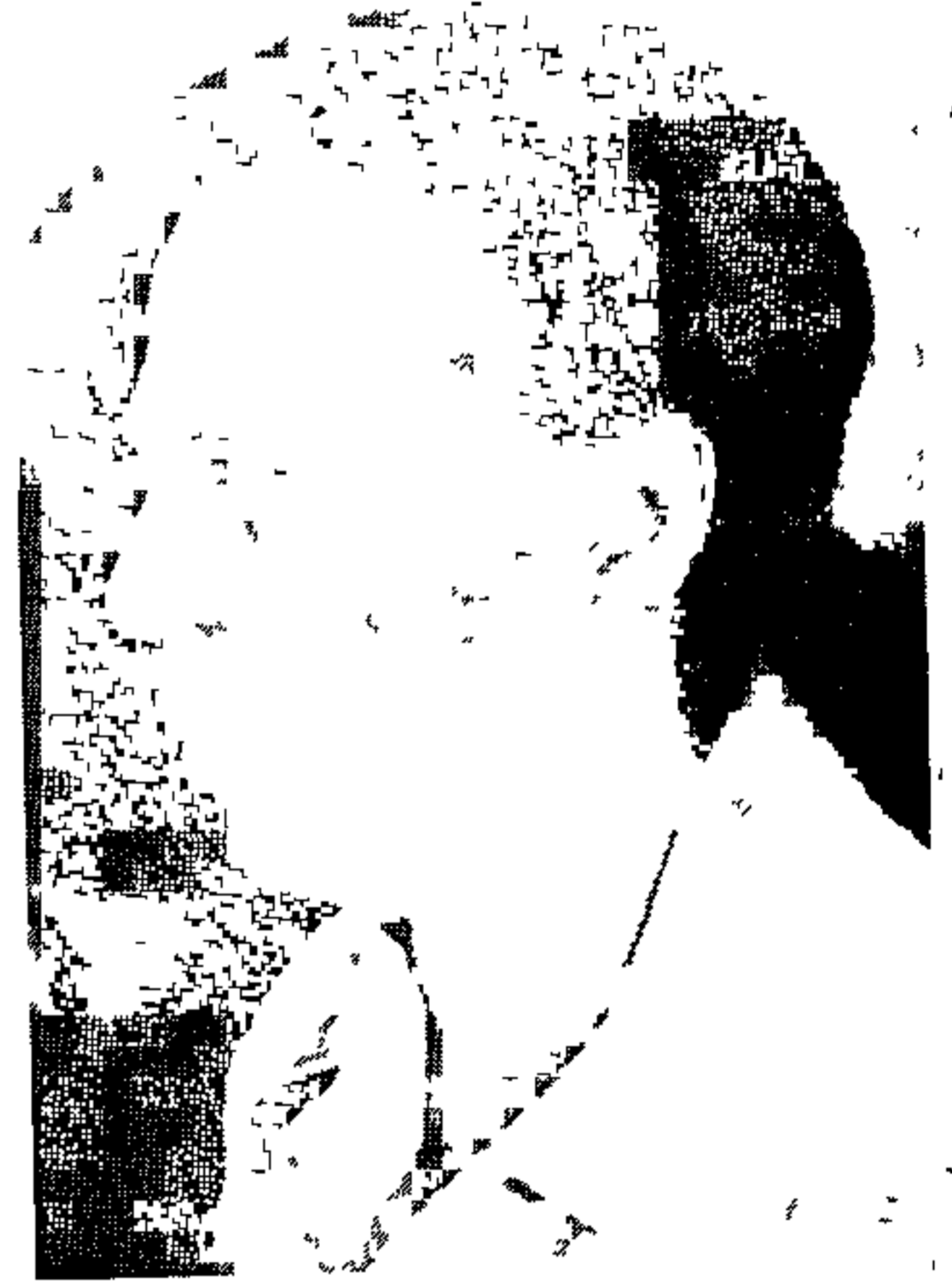
Primary responsibility for law and order during the election remains with the SA police. The Administrator-General is

tion period is scheduled to take four months over and above the 12-week period.

Assuming that formal UN adoption of the Western plan (dependent on Ahtisaari's report-back) takes place in early September, the elections on the original time-table envisaged by the Five cannot occur before April next year. And that is assuming that there are no hitches along the way.

The status of Ahtisaari and Administrator General Marthinus Steyn, and their relationship to each other, could also be a stumbling block.

For its part, however, the settlement plan is very clear, although Steyn



Young . . . a feather in his cap

remains in charge of running the territory, Ahtisaari has the ultimate say. Since the "UN Special Representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political pro-

personnel will be drawn from the special UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) of about 5 000 troops and 1 000 officials which he will have at his disposal.

As far as Swapo is concerned, its guerrilla forces are also required to remain confined to base. And once again, it will be the job of Untag to ensure that Swapo honours its obligations under the Western plan.

It's obvious that there could be many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. Keeping the plan on the rails will be a major test of determination and of good faith on all sides.

The world is holding thumbs.



Mr Martti Ahtisaari

A port politicians made famous

By GEORGE YOUNG, Shipping Editor

THE desert port of Walvis Bay has become more famous in recent months than any other South African harbour, thanks to SWA/Namibia negotiations

Nearly 2m tons of cargo and about 1 000 ships are handled annually. Fish products, ore and other minerals are being exported through the port and for shipping on the west coast it provides the best service of any harbour south of Dakar

Shortly before World War II Nationalist Socialist Germany had an eye on Walvis Bay as a foothold to former German territories. In 1938 a special force of police was hastened to Walvis Bay when there was fear of a German putsch

Some strategists still believe that, for hostile elements, Walvis Bay could be an entry port. The harbour is 10 m deep and its eight berths can all accommodate 192 m ships

A South African firm has a repair shop there, but dry dock facilities are restricted to ships of up to 2 000 tons

For many years Walvis Bay Radio, operated by the South African Post Office, was the main shortwave communication link with passenger liners in the Atlantic and for small craft coming down the west coast. Walvis Bay has always been an important stopping place for those requiring victuals

Its importance to the economy of SWA/Namibia is undisputed, but there would be concern if it were used for other than purely commercial purposes

here are no suitable fields in the immediate vicinity for large aircraft and any hostile naval power using the port for revictualing could have supplies cut off

In recent months an important container service has developed between the Republic and SWA/Namibia through Walvis Bay. The territory relies heavily on South Africa for its essential supplies. Without South African Railway links with the interior, Walvis Bay would be of small value to any administering body

NNF challenge on vote plan

From DIANA POWELL

WINDHOEK. — The Namibia National Front (NNF) yesterday challenged the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, to react publicly to reservations the NNF has about the registration of voters now taking place in the territory.

In a statement yesterday, Mr Brian O'Linn, secretary-general of the Namibia National Front, said the party had discussed its reservations with Mr Justice Steyn immediately before the start of the registration campaign

Mr Justice Steyn undertook a month ago to advise the party within a week of his reaction to its complaints, Mr O'Linn said yesterday

The NNF was unhappy about the campaign because

- the registration process was a unilateral action taken by the Administrator-General and not conducive to co-operation because he did not give the political parties an opportunity to comment of the proposed procedure,

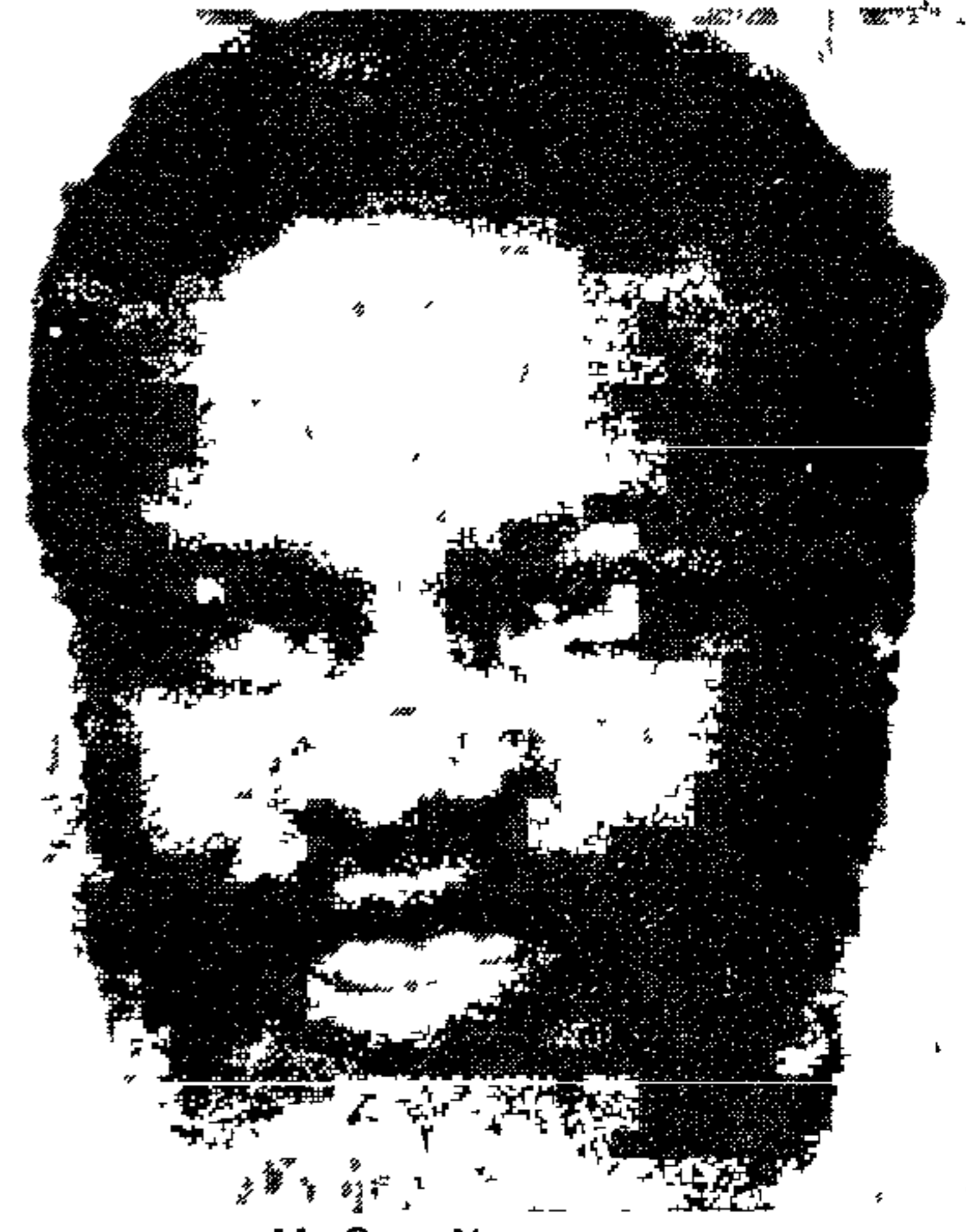
- the implementation of the campaign was ill-timed and premature because the final stage of negotiation between the Western five and Swapo had not been reached,

- the people of Walvis Bay, who regarded themselves as Namibians, should also be entitled to vote,

- domicile in Namibia or Walvis Bay should be a qualification, and not mere residence,

- it should be a criminal offence to intimidate people to register and not only an offence to intimidate them not to register

The NNF demanded that all hotel accommodation should be open to all races



Mr Sam Nujoma

Envoy is UN adviser

NEW YORK — The Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim has chosen a former Sri Lanka ambassador to Washington, Mr Neville Kanakarathne, to advise on the proposed UN operation in SWA/Namibia, it was announced yesterday.

Mr Kanakarathne has had previous experience in such operations, including a spell as a legal adviser in the Congo (now Zaire) under the late Secretary-General, Mr Dag Hammarskjöld

The Sri Lanka diplomat will join Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Dr Waldheim's special representative, as part of the group of about 50 UN officials, who are due in Windhoek on Sunday

A UN spokesman said the group had been chosen for individual expertise and without regard to race, creed or ethnic background. A number of African officials were among the party — Sapa-Reuter

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Steyn in Pretoria

PRETORIA — The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, arrived here yesterday on a "routine visit"

A spokesman for the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs said Mr Justice Steyn had come to Pretoria "on a routine visit to discuss various matters with various people"

He could not confirm that Mr Justice Steyn would meet the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, or the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, but it was very probable

Mr Justice Steyn would return to Windhoek before Sunday, when the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, is expected to arrive there — Sapa

First UN staff arrive in SWA

Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The first two UN officials arrived in SWA/Namibia yesterday to pave the way for the 50-strong pathfinder mission headed by the UN's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The two-man advance guard — Mr Milton Ridel, chief of the operation services

of the UN Security and Safety Services — immediately about making arrangements for this weekend's arrival of the UN mission

Newsmen at Windhoek's G. Strydom Airport were treated abruptly by the non-committal officials, who were ushered to an awaiting German car and whisked away by the manager of the Kalahari Sands Hotel, Mr Hor-Reiche

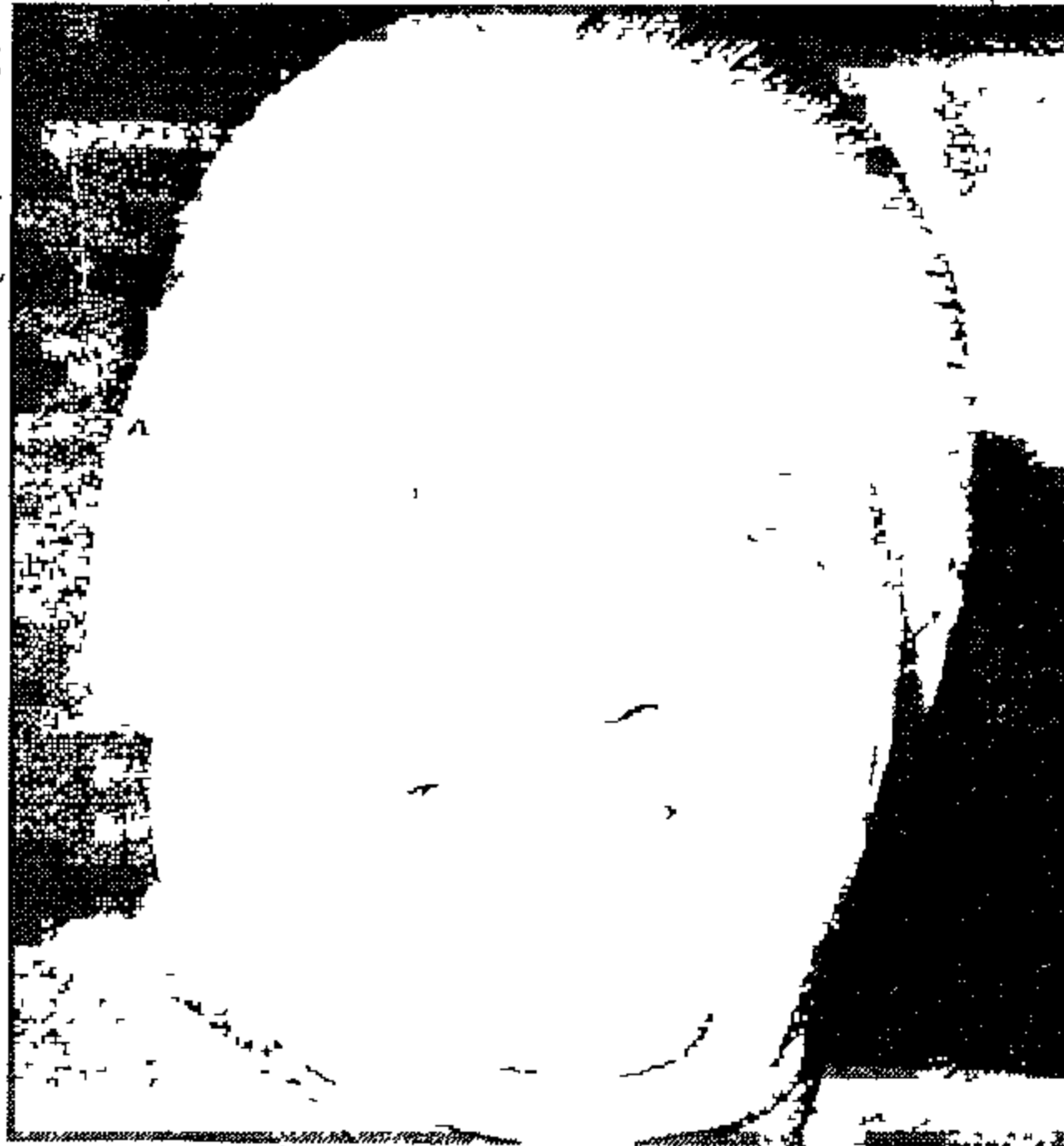
They were booked into a three-star hotel, which is the headquarters of the South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr Justice M T Steyn

All the two men would say when approached in the foyer was that they were responsible for organizing the UN mission's accommodation and transport.

The Ahtisaari mission is due to land in Windhoek on Sunday afternoon and will spend 20 days assessing the situation in the territory before reporting back to the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim

It is the first time that UN officials have been in the mandated territory since the visit by Dr Alfred Escher, Dr Waldheim's special emissary, six years ago.

A military spokesman for the SWA Command said Mr Justice Steyn would decide whether South African Air Force aircraft would be placed at the disposal of Mr Ahtisaari during his visit.



Mr Justice M T Steyn

Japanese for SWA?

TOKYO — Japanese civilians might serve alongside United Nations peacekeeping forces in SWA/Namibia under a plan being considered by the Tokyo government, the Foreign Ministry said here yesterday.

The plan was to send civilian officials to the territory to observe the general election scheduled for December, the ministry's chief spokesman, Mr Hideo Kagami, told a press conference

But Mr Kagami denied local press reports that Japan might send members of the self-defence forces to join UN troops.

He pointed out that Japan's postwar constitution prohibited the use of armed forces overseas. Defence-force laws also did not stipulate a role for troops to serve in UN peacekeeping contingents. — Sapa-Reuter

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Parties plan big turnout for UN team

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The historic arrival of Mr Martti Ahtisaari, head of the advance party of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) for SWA/Namibian independence, on Sunday could be a very rowdy event.

Two of the largest political groups in the territory, are planning demonstrations at Windhoek's J G Strijdom airport for Mr Ahtisaari and his group of 50.

The demonstrators will be the multi-ethnic Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the revolutionary movement, Swapo.

Officials of both groups were reluctant today to

discuss their plans for Sunday, except to say "We will be there."

The apparent aim of the groups is to give Mr Ahtisaari neither a pointed welcome nor a rebuff — but merely to make their presence felt as soon and as dramatically as possible.

A battery of international journalists is already assembling in Windhoek for the momentous event and the airport scene will be bathed in television spotlights and camera flash guns.

A spokesman for the moderate Namibia National Front said at this stage the front planned to have "two or three" people to meet Mr Ahtisaari.

Administrator General Mr Justice Steyn is in

Pretoria where he met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as part of his final preparations for his dealings with Mr Ahtisaari.

Scheduled to fly back to Windhoek tomorrow, he said he intended going to the airport on Sunday to meet the UN special representative.

FRIENDLY

"I feel we should meet as soon as possible on a friendly and frank basis," he said.

Mr Steyn expected Mr Ahtisaari to hold formal meetings with him on Monday and Tuesday.

A major political group has expressed "serious reservations" on Mr Ahtisaari's "impartiality and ability."

Mr Vekuni Rukoro, information secretary for the Namibia National Front, warned today the NNF would "monitor" Mr Ahtisaari's performance, and will take "appropriate action in the event of any deviation from his original terms of reference."

Mr Rukoro said Mr Ahtisaari, as Commissioner for the UN Council for Namibia, had done "tremendous damage to our cause by propounding the cause of Mr Sam Nujoma's Swapo."

UN's adviser named

NEW YORK — Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, has chosen a former Sri Lanka ambassador to Washington, Mr Neville Kanakarathne, to advise on the proposed UN operation in SWA/Namibia.

Mr Kanakarathne has previous experience, in such operations, including a spell as a legal adviser in the Congo (now Zaire) under the late Secretary-General, Mr Dag Hammarskjöld.

The Sri Lanka diplomat will join Martti Ahtisaari, Dr Waldheim's special representative, as part of the group of about 50 UN officials who are due in Windhoek on Sunday for a two or three-week stay.

A UN spokesman said the group had been chosen for individual expertise and, without regard to race, creed or ethnic background. A number of African officials was among the party. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Demonstrations await Ahtisaari at airport

SA aid will be needed

PRETORIA — South African Government aid to assist in surmounting the massive logistics problems involved in accommodating, moving and feeding the large 6 000-man United Nations peacekeeping and supervisory force will be essential, according to military sources.

The R500 000-a-day operation, if it is sanctioned by the South African Government, will be one of the most complex operations ever undertaken by the world body.

Merely to deploy the 5 000-man military UN force to strategic, isolated border points, to erect camps and to set up a communications network could take months.

The process of settling in, it is pointed out, would be further complicated if the force travelled to South West Africa by sea to disembark at Walvis Bay or Mocimedes in southern Angola.

To move so large a force by air would add a crippling cost to an already costly operation — DDC.

WINDHOEK — The UN Secretary-General's special representative for South West Africa, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and his entourage of 44, might well poke their heads into a hornet's nest when they arrive here at 2 pm tomorrow.

The three major political groups in the territory, Swapo, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the Namibian National Front, are expected to stage massive demonstrations at the G Strijdom Airport.

Officials here said the demonstrations, crowds of onlookers and a large press contingent might create a grave security problem.

However, they said, strict security measures were being planned and the demonstrators would probably not be allowed to enter the airport building.

Mr Ahtisaari and his group will be met by the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Steyn.

Mr Justice Steyn said in Pretoria yesterday he intended placing his association with Mr Ahtisaari on a "friendly and frank basis".

Mr Steyn yesterday met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as part of his final preparations for his dealings with Mr Ahtisaari.

He expected to hold formal meetings with Mr Ahtisaari on Monday and Tuesday. Further meetings would depend on when and how Mr Ahtisaari planned travelling through the territory.

He said his meeting with Mr Botha was to discuss general matters, but it could be expected that Mr Ahtisaari's arrival had been one of the topics.

The UN will be staying at one of the few hotels in Windhoek that have refused to open their doors to all races.

Only foreign and VIP blacks have been accommodated or entertained in the Safari Motel, situated on the outskirts of Windhoek.

Mr Johnny Hamman, owner of the hotel, said yesterday there would be no problems to accommodate any black members of the UN Pathfinder mission.

"We have allowed blacks into the hotel in certain circumstances," he said. "We are just very discreet about who is allowed in here."

"But the hotel is not open to every second one (black) in the streets. We are going slowly with this because we don't want to force the issue."

Mr Hamman said the two-man UN advance guard — Mr Milton Riedel, chief of the operation services in the administrative section of the UN, and Lt Mitchell Goldstein, a member of the UN security and safety services — had asked for reservations

after inspecting the premises on Thursday.

They booked 32 of the 108 rooms for accommodation and office space for the next three weeks. About 12 of the rooms are being converted into offices.

Lt Goldstein apparently visited a number of hotels in the city before a final decision was made.

It is understood one of the major considerations while choosing accommodation was the security of the UN officials.

Brig Victor Verster, Divisional Commissioner of Police in South West Africa, said yesterday he had already held preliminary discussions about Mr Ahtisaari's safety with Lt Goldstein.

"He's a very nice man, too," he added.

Brig Verster said the police would provide the same protection as was normally afforded to visiting VIPs.

"But I'm sure Mr Ahtisaari will have his own men looking after him," he added.

Meanwhile, the NNF has aired reservations about the impartiality and ability of Mr Ahtisaari

Addressing a press conference after his return from the UN sitting on South West Africa, Mr V Rukoro, the NNF secretary for publicity and information, said the UN Council for Namibia, of which Mr Ahtisaari was a commissioner, had done a great deal of harm to the cause of South West Africa by supporting Swapo.

"The NNF has serious reservations as far as the impartiality and ability of Mr Ahtisaari as the UN special representative for Namibia is concerned," Mr Rukoro said.

"The Council for Namibia has done tremendous damage to our cause by propounding the cause of Mr Nujoma's Swapo at the total exclusion of other Namibians."

It was "beyond the comprehension" of the NNF how Mr Ahtisaari and his group of officials could "change colours" overnight when they came to South West Africa.

"For the sake of progress we give him the benefit of the doubt and he can be assured that the people of Namibia and the NNF in particular will monitor his activities very closely and appropriate action will be taken in the event of any deviation from his original terms of reference," Mr Rukoro said — DDC.

'UN force in SWA will need SA help'

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

THE South African Government will have to help accommodate, move and feed the 6 000-man United Nations peacekeeping and supervisory force in South West Africa, say military sources.

The R500 000-a-day operation, if it is sanctioned by the Government, will be one of the most complex operations ever undertaken by the world body.

It could take months to get the 5 000-man military UN force to strategic bor-

der points, to erect camps, and to set up a communications network, it was stated yesterday.

To move so large a force by air would add a crippling cost to an already costly operation.

The provision of food and water to remote border points to be manned by the force would be another costly and complex operation, although camps evacuated by the South African forces would be available in some areas.

It is also estimated that at least 500 military vehicles costing up to R25 000 each will be needed to keep the overall operation flexible and viable.

Meanwhile, the settlement plan as accepted by the South African Government provides for:

- The "comprehensive" cessation of all hostile acts by all sides.

- The restrictions of South African and Swapo forces to base camps, and the phased withdrawal of South African troops.

- The reduction of the SA forces to 12 000 within six weeks, and to 9 000 within eight weeks.

- A force of no more than 1 500 SA troops by the end of 12 weeks.

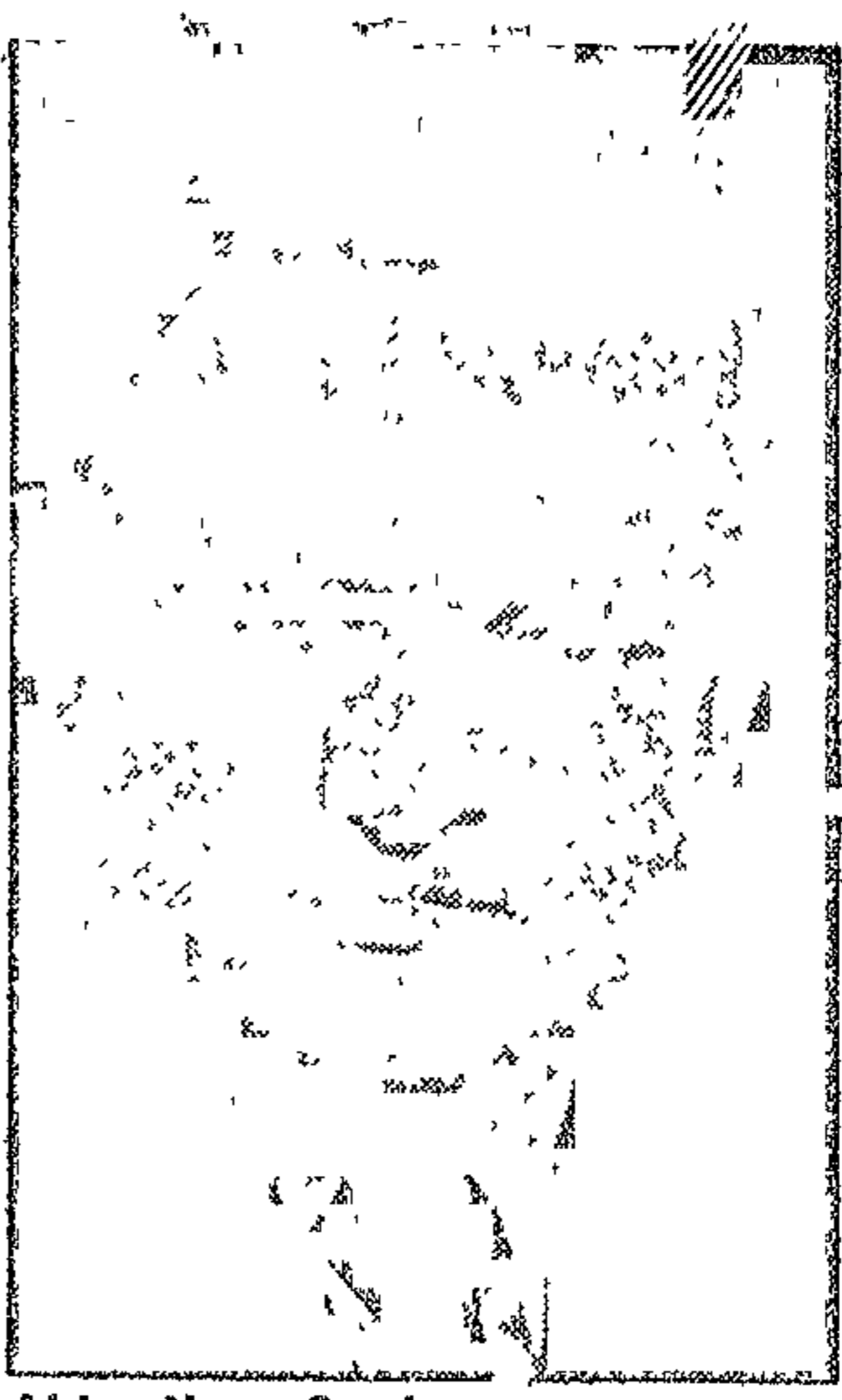
The South African force of 1 500 would be restricted to Grootfontein and Oshyello.

The programme provides, too, for the closing of all SA and Swapo bases within a week of certification of the election.

However, the SA Government has also made it clear that, if the new Namibia Government requests it, SA forces will be kept in the territory.

This is an obvious precaution against a new wave of violence from a frustrated Swapo defeated at the polls.

them respectable yeomen, many of them sturdy laborers, and many others miserable squatters dependent on casual labor, charity, and poaching.⁴⁰ In France, the hierarchy was steeper still, and the condition of the poor, worse—France's population was far larger than Britain's—about five times larger—and more rural roughly six out of every seven Frenchmen lived on the land.⁴¹ The church, which made up a vanishingly small minority of the French



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**UN'S
AHTISAARI
FLIES
IN—AFTER
30 YEARS**

SUNDAY TRIBUNE Africa News Service

but none had formal authority. In 1971 the South West African issue again came before the World Court in The Hague. South Africa defended its case. The court rejected the case of the plaintiff nations, Ethiopia and Liberia on the grounds that they had acted "ultra vires" in bringing the case. But it was recommended that South African rule over South West Africa be terminated. Pretoria refused.

A UN mission in 1972 led by Dr M. T. Escher toured the territory extensively and held talks which ended inconclusively.

Since then there have been numerous resolutions and calls for South Africa to withdraw. That Mr Ahtisaari is scheduled to arrive this afternoon is seen by many as proof that South Africa is willing to bow at last to world opinion.

The transition to independence is fraught with pitfalls, however, and internationally acceptable independence—meaning fitted to the Western-devised plan—is anything but certain.

Mr Ahtisaari and his group will have to satisfy Pretoria, the four main political groups and the conservative white South West Africans who still hold sway here that their intentions and sentiments are fair and not slanted to any one group.

Unless the portly Finn can work satisfactorily with Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, the South African appointed Administrator-General, his historic arrival could prove to be disaster for the UN.

Meticulous planning for the Ahtisaari mission seems to have overlooked one item, which could have some of the team breaking United Nations sanctions.

Unless their US-loaned aircraft carries an adequate supply of cigarettes, smokers in the mission could find themselves buying the popular South African varieties—mostly containing Rhodesian tobacco.

Mr Ahtisaari has avoided the moral dilemma "I have stopped smoking, so I will not have the problem," he said.

WHEN UNITED Nations Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari steps on to the tarmac of Windhoek's J. G. Strijdom Airport this afternoon he will be formally assuming a role the UN has been striving to take on for more than 30 years.

The Finnish diplomat will be drawing up a detailed plan for the deployment and tasks of 5 000 peace-keeping troops and 1 000 administrative personnel who will monitor the territory's path to independence.

His UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will face a plethora of practical problems, not the least of which will be talking to political groups here. Few of them prefer communicating in English.

Apart from the languages of the 10 indigenous groups, the lingua franca of the territory is Afrikaans.

Two of the main political groups, the militant South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) plan demonstrations at the airport for the UN team's arrival.

The UN has ostensibly been preparing for this day through its long-established Council for Namibia, of which Mr Ahtisaari is commissioner.

The UN has been seeking to take over since the world body was formed in 1946.

South Africa began administering South West Africa when its armed forces defeated the German colonial administration in 1915.

South African rule was formalised by a League of Nations mandate in 1920. When the league dissolved to make way for the UN in 1946, South Africa maintained that its control of the territory under a mandate did not necessarily mean it would then fall under the UN trusteeship system which virtually replaced the mandate principle.

Pretoria requested that the territory be incorporated into the then Union of South Africa. This was rejected by the UN, but a World Court decision in 1959 ruled that South Africa's mandate was still in force.

There were several UN "fact-finding" missions to Windhoek in the 1950s,

If French peasants suffered in comparison with the English yeomanry, they were at least legally better off than the peasants on Prussian, Hapsburg, or Russian lands. While about a million French peasants—less than one in

days work was sometimes scarce, and not infrequently the peasant was forced to work continuously for a considerable period in the manorial fields, while his own plot waited for seeding, or his own harvest rotted on the ground. Furthermore, it was customary to require of the forced-labor peasants certain payments in kind—poultry, eggs, meat, honey, homespun cloth, and the like

⁴⁰ See G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963).
⁴¹ For the French population of the seventeenth century see p. 291.
⁴² See Foster and Elborg Forster eds., *European Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1969), 106 ff.

⁴³ *The Hapsburg Empire, 1790-1918* (1969), 60. For the reign of Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, see p. 427 below.

SUIDWES SE WEL EN EN STEYN SE HANDE

(221) Van JOHAN VOSLOO RAPPORT 6/8/78

IN SUIDWES, Suid-Afrika en die Weste word vandag duim vasgehou dat die Administrateur-general, regter Theunie Steyn, en die VVO-gesant Martti Ahtisaari wel die week tot die werk-ooreenkoms sal kom waarna in die skikvoorstelle verwys word.

Gebeur dit nie, is die delikate skikplan gedoem. Die SA regering sal nie verdere „verraad” — soos die Walvisbaai-resolusie van verlede week — duld nie, word gesê.

Vir die herregistrasie van kiesers, waarom Swapo en die NNF vra, sal Suid-Afrika nie nou te vinde wees nie, word geglo. Ook die saak word as ’n potensiele breekpunt beskou.

* Vanmiddag om twee-uur op lughawe J. G. Strydom maak die boerseun uit die Vrystaat, regter Steyn, kennis met die goed geronde Fin Ahtisaari.

Die groot vraag is hoe die twee manne mekaar gaan vind — die dinamiese regter wat ’n jaar gelede deur die SA regering aangestel is, en mnr. Ahtisaari wat reeds ’n Swapo-etiket aan sy baadjie gekry het.

Tot nou toe was albei sleutelmannes baie versigtig in hul kommentaar. Mnr. Ahtisaari het verwys na die Westerse voorstelle wat na die letter en die gees uitgevoer word.

Regter Steyn het klem gelê op hulpvaardigheid van sy kant, en hoop uitgespreek vir „vriendelike en vertroulike vennootskap”.

Net voor sy vertrek gistermiddag na Windhoek het regter Steyn aan RAPPORT gesê. Die Eerste Minister het



MARTTI AHTISAARI

dit baie duidelik gestel. Mnr. Ahtisaari kom nie as diktator na Suidwes nie. Niemand moet dit uit die oog verloor nie. Die VVO-gesant kom hom nou op die hoogte stel van die wyse waarop die skikplanne uitgevoer kan word.

Hy kom nie om te administreer nie. Ná sy ondersoek moet hy verslag doen, waarna die Veiligheidsraad sy besluit sal neem. Suid-Afrika wag op daardie besluit, het regter Steyn gesê.

Haakplek

* Wat mnr. Ahtisaari in die uiteindelijke verslag aan dr. Kurt Waldheim sê, verneem RAPPORT, kan bepaal of Suid-Afrika verder saamwerk sonder SA samewerking gaan dit nie.

Die eerste moontlike haakplek tussen regter Steyn en mnr. Ahtisaari is die registrasie van kiesers, van wie oor die 70 persent reeds op die lys is. Swapo en die NNF wil herregistrasie onder VVO-toesig vra.

Regter Steyn „Ons het die registrasieproklamasie grootliks opgestel op grond van die prosedure wat in die verlede deur die VVO self in volkstemmings en verkiesings toegepas is. Dis belangrik dat meer as 70 persent van die bevolking reeds bereid was

om hulle te registreer.

„Ons het met al die veranderinge wat al in die gebied aangebring is, ’n nuwe samelewing geskep. Die samelewing het met die registrasie die eerste kans gehad om sy gesindheid te toon, na my mening ondubbelsinnig: dat hy tevrede is met die registrasie-metodes”.

As daar besware is, moet gekyk word of dit redelik is. Daar kan nie arbitrêr kapsie gemaak word nie.

Die oorweging is ter sake in sy samesprekinge met mnr. Ahtisaari.

Dis belangrik dat hy en mnr. Ahtisaari mekaar so gou moontlik persoonlik leer ken, sodat die samesprekinge wat Maandag begin, op ’n grondslag van wedersydse vertroue en goedgesindheid sal plaasvind. Hy hoop redelikheid sal seevier.

*Vrydag op Queenstown het min. Pik Botha gesê Suid-Afrika sal tot op die end billik wees. Maar as die verslag van mnr. Ahtisaari nie na die letter en gees aan die skik-ooreenkoms voldoen nie, sê hy by voorbaat dat Suid-Afrika geen duim verder sal saamloop nie.

Groot opruk na Martti

Van BUKS PIETERSEN

SUIDWES maak hom behoorlik reg vir die massiewe diplomatieke intog van mnr. Martti Ahtisaari en sy meer as 40 helpers. Regter Theunie Steyn, AG, sal hom omstreeks twee-uur op die lughawe J. G. Strydom, 50 km van Windhoek, kom groet.

Maar duisende andere word verwag, ondanks die bitter koue. Swapo gaan glo befoog, en so ook die DTA.

Die strengste voorsorg word getref deur die Weermag en die polisie. Betogers sal stellig nie binne die lughawegebou toegelaat word nie.

In Luukse-hotel is net buite Windhoek vir die VVO-manne ingerig, soos ’n miniatuur-VVO met konferensiesale en persgeriewe en al.

Wat oggendkoffie vir sy gaste betref, belooft mnr. Johnny Hamman, eienaar van die motel, dat dit van die beste sal wees.

SOUTH AFRICA IS PLAYING A WAITING GAME ---

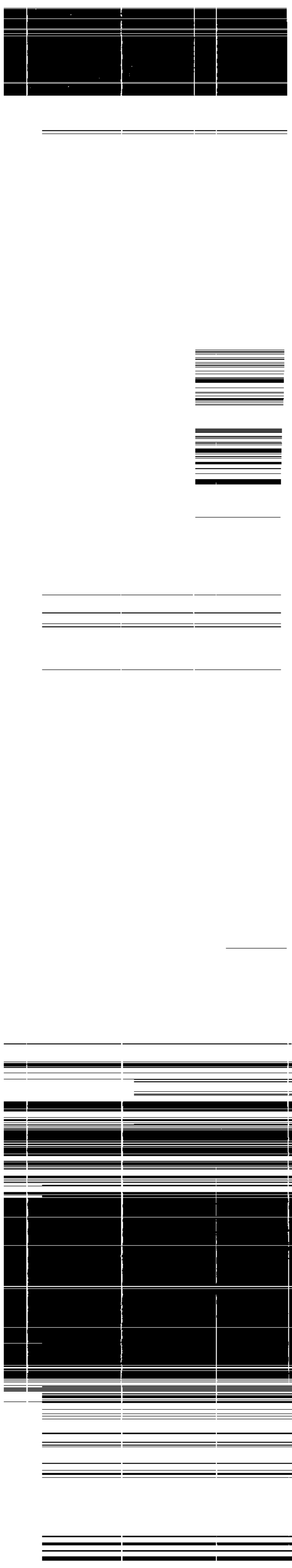
BUT NOW THE CHIPS ARE DOWN WILL APARTHEID BE THE LAST CARD?

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SUNDAY EXPRESS A

6/8/78

The real message from SWA: Look out for 1980





● Mr Martti Ahtisaari
... UN representative
SA position

These are the clashes of interpretation or areas left ambiguous or uncovered by the proposals on which the UN special representative, Mr Ahtisaari, and the Administrator General Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn will have to reach agreement — or the UN plan for South West Africa/Namibia will fail.



● Mr Justice Steyn
... Administrator General
Swapo position

"TO: Oom John. Thank you for South West Africa — from South Africa" read the telegram in a cartoon this week in Die Vaderland.

The drawing showed the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, reading that message. The caption said "Keep it up!"

Another triumph for the Government?

One can be forgiven for feeling confused about the events of the last few weeks. That cartoon implies that the Government has given South West Africa/Namibia to South Africa.

It epitomises the belief in the verligte Nationalist Press that it must disguise concessions as victories in an effort to keep Nationalists supporting the Government.

The truth, of course, is that there were concessions South Africa gave away rights in SWA, it didn't gain them. It was the only practical thing to do, considering the pressure on the country.

Last week the Government and its Press were telling the public Walvis Bay could destroy the deal, but everyone else seemed to be sure it was on. Such official smokescreens help the Government disguise its policy defeats.

As such they are understandable — but they don't help the country come to terms with the larger and much more serious issues.

The unpleasant reality is that there is very powerful pressure from overseas away from colonialism.

It is given a hefty push by world abhorrence of racism and apartheid.

That, coupled with the human and material costs of fighting a guerrilla force, have led South Africa to a settlement.

If the verligte Nationalist Press fails to tell its readers these things it is not equipping them to make the decisions necessary to cope with those pressures.

● **What concessions were made?**

That it was a reversal of the South African position over the years is obvious. South Africa tried, even under the United Party Government, to see the territory as a fifth province. South Africa came to ad-

Registration almost over.



Voter Registration

Registration must begin again

Terrorism offences are not political.



Political prisoners

All terrorism prisoners must be released.

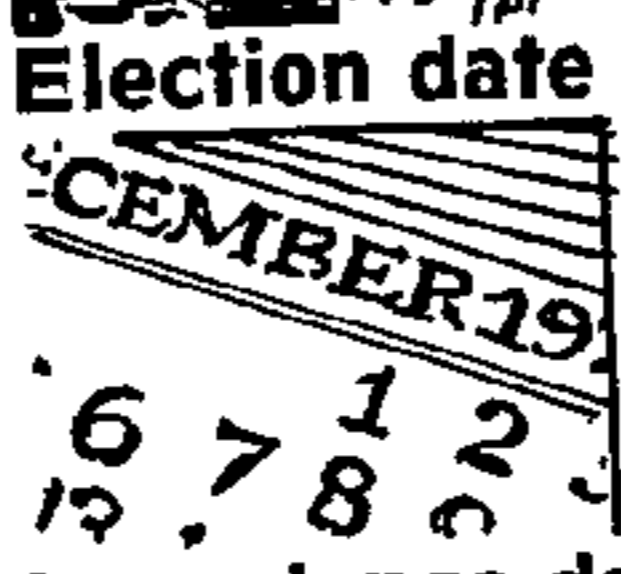
Deported SA priests excluded.



Return of exiles

Deported SA priests included.

As soon as possible. Certainly before the end of 1978.



Election date

Swapo wants time to campaign, preferably next year.

By December 31, 1978.

Independence date



Definitely not this year.

Swapo must cease all violence before SA will withdraw troops.



Violence

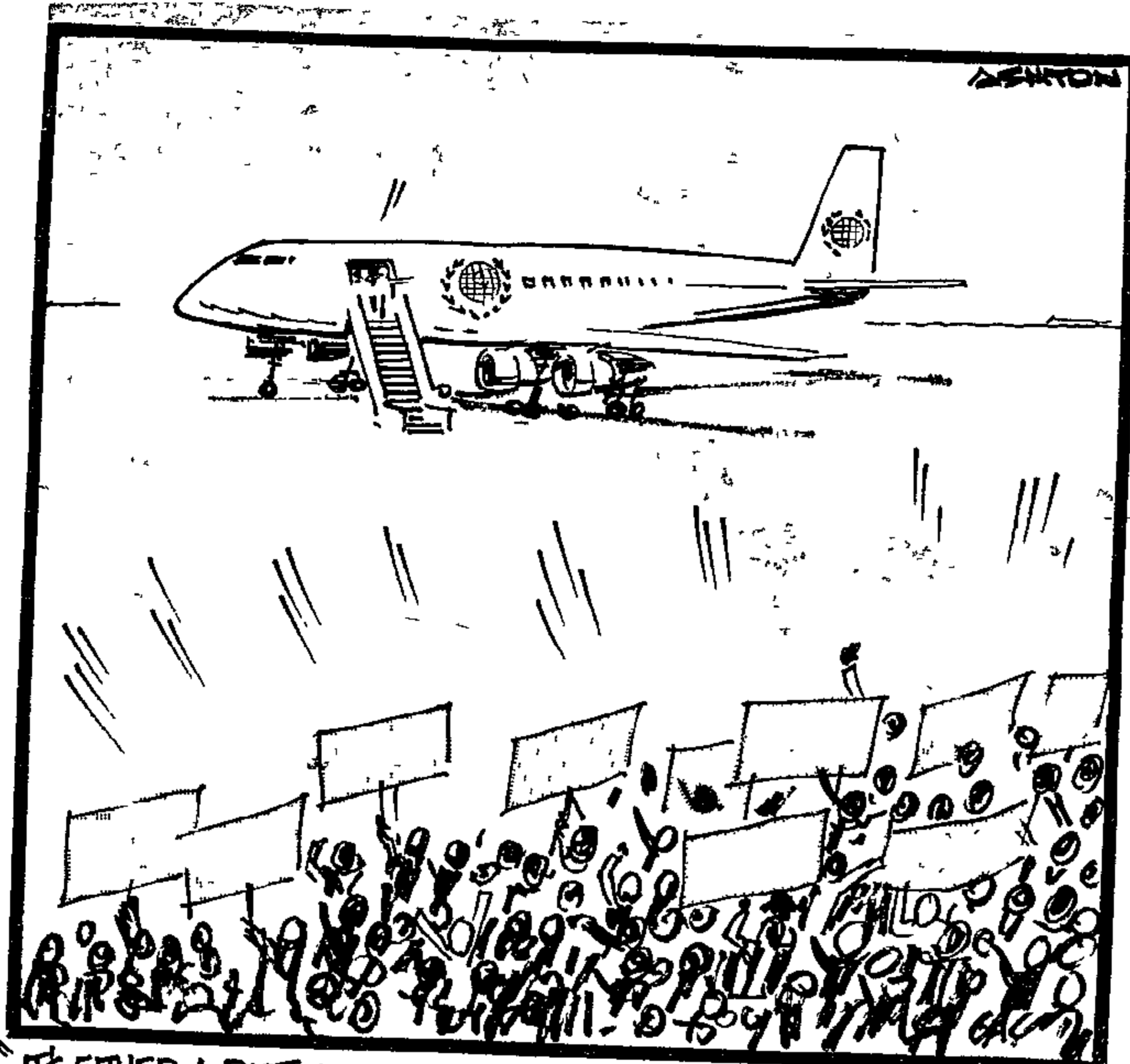
SA must sign cease-fire agreement direct with Swapo.

No need for a large force.



UN troops

Large UN force necessary.



● What has South Africa gained?

Time — but not much. If South Africa had not acted as she has there would certainly have been a range of further pressures which would probably have included selective sanctions. As is it there is no assurance they are far away

Obviously the matter is still in abeyance and the next issue in the world forum will be Walvis Bay. That is the meaning of the clause in the second resolution passed by the Security Council which said the council "remains seized of the matter" of Walvis Bay

If no progress is made in negotiations for the port the threat of sanctions will again come to the fore. While the question of Walvis Bay is pending other matters will assume less vivid proportions

But Walvis is not a long-term issue

Mr Vorster has already said he will talk about Walvis to an independent Namibian Government

● Assuming all goes well with Walvis, what next?

There is surely no doubt — next is nothing other than South Africa and her apartheid policies themselves

So South Africa has bought time. Perhaps two years. That brings us to 1980. Then the heat will be on Pretoria over her home policies

● What will the Government have done by that time to stave off the possibility of action?

In short, will South Africa have put its house sufficiently in order for one Western nation with a veto power in the Security Council to be satisfied?

Nothing less than meaningful political change inside South Africa will stop the pressure. And the present constitutional plan does not fit the bill.

do drive me daft

ing been "bitten once" on South West Africa. But weren't we supposed to have been bitten by the West before, during the Angolan invasion? Man, some of those countries have long teeth

□ □ □

THAT was an interesting admission made by Mr Vorster at Pretoria University this week that the Government had "misread the books" at times in the past — such as when it was so busy talking to other White countries that it didn't bother much with our own darkskinned kith and kin

back home Can it be? but no, I guess it's too far-fetched to read that as an admission that the donnerse Engelse Pers was actually right all the time. A true South African should bite his tongue for suggesting anything like that.

□ □ □

ANYWAY, looking at some things still happening around the place — like Mr Marais Steyn's apparent view that happiness for the Indian community is the privilege of being booted out of their traditional areas by his department —

I fear Mr Vorster is still understating the situation. I don't think the Government "misread the books" in the past. I think it is into an entirely wrong branch of literature

It's time to throw away those fantasy novels of the 40s and 50s about SuperNat and MightyWhite.

Get with the Sestigers and Sewentigers, I say. Read some social realism for a change. Move into the Theron Report, The World newspaper, inquest records, reports on deaths in detention, Fugard's Blood Knot, Le Roux's Magersfontein, and Brink's Kennis van die Aand

By JOHN MATISONN

Political Correspondent

minister it more and more as a fifth province. It sent MPs to the Cape Town Parliament, and Pretoria exercised increased control.

Then the Government came up with the Odendaal plan, an attempt to impose an apartheid solution on SWA. That plan was scrapped and the next try was the Turnhalle — the attempt to give the territory independence on ethnic lines.

This would have preserved something of the Odendaal plan although South Africa would have given up any direct control. All that is now left of that plan is the ethnicity enshrined in Mr. Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

Richard Smith



ance, whose support for the forthcoming nonethnic election is rated at between 20% and 28%, and which is showing signs of serious internal stress.

The latest fallback position South Africa is trying to create a favourable climate for the establishment of a conservative/moderate government. The hope here is that Swapo can be kept

from an overall majority. In that case, so theory goes, the DTA and the Namibia National Front can run the country in coalition.

Those who know the Black members of the NNF see this as unlikely. The NNF, people seem to forget, includes Swanu, a radical movement of Herero intellectuals.

Even the moderates in

the NNF have fundamental objections to anything that smacks of ethnicity.

It is unlikely that the DTA and NNF could unite without splits. Swapo also has its tensions, but it is unlikely to split in the face of success.

While South Africans always liked to see it as a buffer state this is no longer guaranteed as far as SWA/Namibia is concerned

We may say we cannot afford to be dictated to by the UN, but that is exactly what was done over SWA/Namibia. Smoke-screens should not be allowed to disguise that fact.

The pressures for change internally and externally are growing, and the Government is slowly beginning to look at the issues, but the pace of change by the Government in no way bears comparison with the acceleration of pressures.

The year we have to look at is 1980. And a lot of the cards we had in 1970 are

gone. By 1980 two cards will be gone — SWA/Namibia and Walvis Bay.

Will we have replaced them with the removal of apartheid — the last card in the Southern African pack?

It is apartheid that ended even traditional conservative friendships, and accelerated the slide down the slippery road towards sanctions. Can we get away from it by 1980?

Swapo terrorists kill headman

ARGUS
7/8/78
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WINDHOEK. — An Ovambo sub-headman, Mr. Jeremia Paulus, had been shot dead by seven Swapo terrorists at his village in northern South-West Africa, it was reported from Oshakati today.

The seven armed men arrived at the village between Ondangwa and Oshikango last Friday while Mr Paulus was away inspecting cattle.

When he returned, the terrorists ordered Mr Paulus's wife to leave, saying: 'We want to kill your husband'.

CARTRIDGES

She heard shots fired, turned back and found her husband lying dead.

Four AK-47 spent cartridges were found near him.

South West Africa Command announced earlier today that terrorist activity in Ovamboland had been stepped up at the weekend — Sapa.

● UN mission in Windhoek. — Page 3.

KARL MARK. 1973. PRINCE-HILL INC
 (ENGLWOOD) CLIFFS, NEW JERSEY.
 FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY
 1940. FOREIGN LANGUAGES
 MOSCOW.
 TIME 1970. FATHINDER
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- REFERENCES:
- 1) BOTTOMORE, T.
 - 2) ENGLS, F.
 - 3) TROTSKY, L.

number of late membership. This contribution deep not
 necessarily take place in the Marxist Nations only
 it is essentially international in character.
 In conclusion we might wonder how far Marx's
 analysis of capitalism has been carried into the present
 day factory situation. It has been the case
 in 1939 and we state this similar aspects
 towards the end of the century, then capitalism has
 developed separately and for a relatively long period.

Mass turnout for Ahtisaari

R.D.M.
7/18/78
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By DAVID FORRÉ
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK

TEN thousand chanting demonstrators from rival political parties yesterday welcomed Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Special Representative for South West Africa, at Windhoek's J G Strijdom Airport.

He was met on the tarmac of the airport by his South African counterpart, the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn and the commander of the SA armed forces in the territory, Major-General Jannie Geldenhuis.

At a Press conference after touching down in a United States C-141 plane, Mr Ahtisaari made it clear that the registration of voters and the whole process concerning the elections would have to be reviewed in discussions with Judge Steyn.

PW Botha goes to the border

WINDHOEK. — The Minister of Defence Mr P W Botha, had arrived in South West Africa admits to a "small" activity of the Security Forces re-arranging the fire. No one on the Security Forces side was injured and the guerrillas took to their heels when members of the Security Forces re-arranged the fire.

He said, too, that it was not part of his mandate to discuss the Walvis Bay question. Mr Ahtisaari said he had arranged to meet Judge Steyn for preliminary discussions at 10 am today and would also contact all the parties directly concerned with the implementation of the proposals. He gave the assurance that his UN survey mission would discharge its functions faithfully and in the spirit of its mandate.



Mr Daniel Tjongarero, Swapo's top official inside SWA, returns the black power salutes of his supporters at a demonstration welcoming Mr Martti Ahtisaari to Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari facing newsmen at Windhoek's J G Strijdom Airport yesterday.

RDM (221)
7/8/78

Officers would visit military bases in the northern operational area of the SWA Command, the Defence Force statement said. Mr Botha would have talks with the officer commanding the SWA Command, Major-General Jan Geldenhuis, SM, on the escalation of terrorist activity in Owambo, in northern SWA.

Meanwhile, two further terrorist incidents occurred in Owambo during the past 24 hours.

SWA Command headquarters said a landmine had been defused on Saturday after it had been discovered by a Security Force patrol.

"Several vehicles had driven over the landmine, but it failed to detonate because of a defective mechanism," the statement said.

In the other incident, shots were fired at a Security Forces convoy late on Saturday.

Water storage tower near Ondangwa in Owambo, part of the territory's vital water supply system — was severely damaged by a terrorist explosion in the early hours of Saturday, officials at Oshakati said.

Water installations surrounding the tower were also damaged, they said.

This was the latest attempt by terrorists infiltrating from Angola, to disrupt public installations used by Owambo nationals, officials said.

Last week terrorists had also damaged a vital water supply pipeline in Owambo and a key telephone system, serving hospitals and medical clinics in the north of the territory.

The SWA Command statement said Mr Botha would discuss the increase in the number of terrorist incidents, such as the sabotage of water installations and the severe damage of the water tower with Maj-Gen Geldenhuis — Sapa.

Mr Ahtisaari said it was generally appreciated that the task of the UN mission was not going to be an easy one and he appealed to all concerned to join in a concerted effort to ensure SWA's independence as soon as possible. "I have no illusions about the manifold complexities and sensitivities involved in an exercise of this nature."

"For our joint efforts to succeed, and to assist the mission to discharge the responsibility entrusted to it, we will need the goodwill and cooperation of all concerned."

He added: "If all of us are looking to the past and maintain our suspicions and doubts without realising that we are entering a new era, we have no chance of succeeding."

"My eyes are not on the past. They are on the future — that is the only way we can succeed in this exercise."

After his short Press conference, Mr Ahtisaari's convoy followed Judge Steyn's black Cadillac through a kilometre-long gauntlet of black power salutes and Churchillian-type V-signs from opposing political factions cordoned off on either side of the road.

Placard-bearing demonstrators from Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) faced each other between policemen patrolling the centre of the road with Alsatians. Some had gas masks and were armed with automatic weapons.

● In a television interview last night, Judge Steyn said the UN team might not be allowed to visit certain areas for security reasons. This was something which would have to be discussed, he said.

Carnival scene for UN men

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The arrival of Mr Martti Ahtisaari's United Nations survey mission at Windhoek's J. G. Strijdom Airport yesterday achieved the impossible.

For six hours the three major political parties in the territory were united on one issue as thousands of their supporters stood in the sun to welcome Mr Ahtisaari's 50-man squad.

They laughed, sang, chanted their parties' slogans and gave their different salutes under the guidance of cheer leaders in a jolly carnival atmosphere at the gate 400 m from the terminal

building.

And whites were also there to join in the spirit of Uhuru.

Many of them came with their children and mingled with other supporters of the Conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), whose ranks were dominated by the colourfully dressed Herero women in their floral-patterned Victorian dresses and headgear.

Across the road in another cordoned area were the Swapo supporters dressed in their movement's striking red, green and blue colours.

The only thing belying the atmosphere of an inter-varsity rugby match was the many placards.

There was almost friendly rivalry as the three parties — the small Namibian National Front (NNF) demonstration stood side by side with Swapo's — tried to drown each others' voices in song and political chanting.

It turned out to be a show of strength and Swapo's clenched black power salutes by far outnumbered the DTA's Churchillian V-signs — and the NNF's "thumbs" salute.

The demonstrators, standing about four deep for about a kilometre on either side of the road, held crudely-drawn posters.

One DTA poster read "Finni boy Martti: don't be a smarty and solve it chop-chop the Swapo way: go and see the DTA". Others were more serious, like: "Tell Nujoma to come back and fight like a man . . . remember Kapuuo" — or, on Swapo side: "Down with racist SA and her puppets".

The booby traps in Windhoek

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THE United Nations task in SWA/Namibia, says Mr Martti Ahtisaari, is not going to be an easy one. On this point, if no other, nobody at all will disagree with the judgment of the Secretary-General's special representative.

His task is to implement the agreement accepted by South Africa, the Security Council and (albeit somewhat reluctantly) by Swapo. It is a lengthy and fairly detailed document. But already certain aspects show the potential for serious conflicts of interpretation.

Free elections are to be organised and Mr Ahtisaari is required to satisfy himself (and Dr Waldheim in New York) of the "fairness and appropriateness" of the measures taken at each stage.

This includes the registration of voters. Pretoria, impatient with Swapo's delaying tactics, has already set to work in this area and claims that 70 percent-plus of voters are already registered. Swapo and some of its allies dispute the figure and the means

used to achieve it. In theory at least the UN people could veto this and order the compilation of voters rolls to begin all over again. How would Administrator-General Steyn react to such a demand?

This is but one likely area of conflict. The more general terms of the agreement suggest many more. Further aspects of the political process—such as the release of "political" prisoners on both sides, the freedom of speech, movement and assembly—could all lead to major and damaging differences.

So for all the correctness of yesterday's statements in Windhoek and for all the high hopes of fruitful co-operation expressed on both sides, the talks which started today between the officials of Pretoria and the UN are beset with booby traps. They could lead to precipitate deadlock at any time. It will take a high degree of diplomacy, goodwill and genuine give and take on both sides to keep the SWA/Namibia independence plan on track.

UN hotel 'open' but...

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Safari Motel, widely regarded as one of Windhoek's last apartheid strongholds, is re-commencing Mr Marthi Ahtisaari and his 46-strong UN advance party. The UN team includes some blacks and Asians.

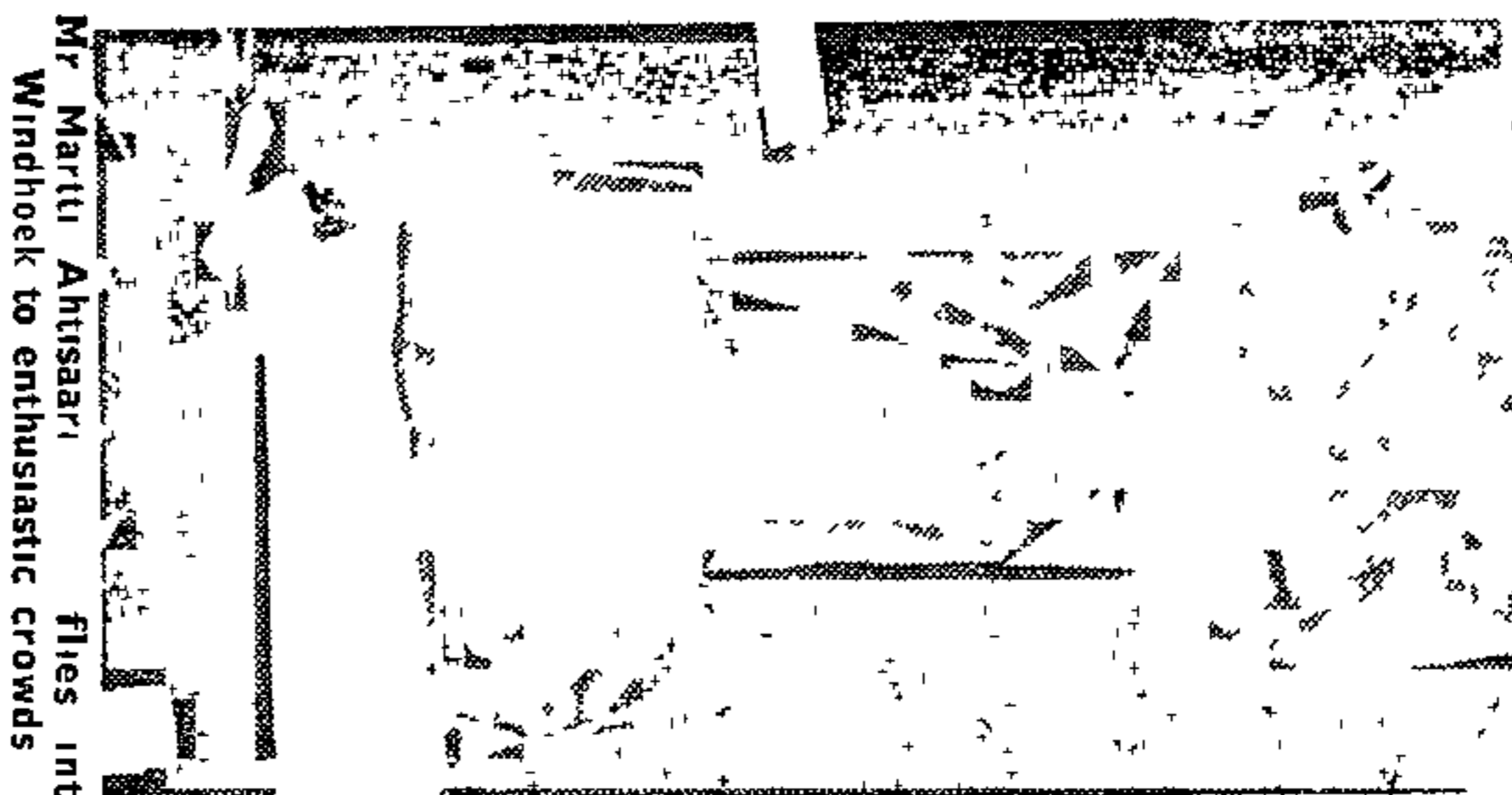
The hotel does admit blacks — but only on a "selective basis," says its owner, Mr J Hamman.

Mr Hamman said of the integration policy of the motel, "We saw that we must go slowly with these things and not throw everyone out of gear."

"That is how we did it in the past and that is how we will do it in the future."

"We have never taken a hard stand about admitting different races," he said.

Since most of Windhoek's hotels opened to all races, Blacks have regarded the Safari as out of bounds unless they were in a pre-arranged, official party.



Mr Marthi Ahtisaari flies into Windhoek to enthusiastic crowds

Peace signs, fists street Ahtisaari

STAR 7/8/78

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia's historic day — the arrival of Mr Marthi Ahtisaari and his 46-strong United Nations survey mission for the territory's independence — was reflected by a welcome of thousands. They thronged the airport entrance, lined the 40 km drive into Windhoek, and crowded the city streets.

About 10 000 mobbed the airport entrance. A small party of Railways Police with dogs and anti-riot weapons kept them from the parking ground and the concourse.

The crowds were supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Swapo, the latter far outnumbering the others.

They chanted slogans and aimed their Swapo clenched fists and DTA peace signs at each other across the road that divided them.

There were no incidents.

The road between the airport and the city was painted with slogans. When Mr Ahtisaari arrived he walked directly

The Star's Africa News Service

from his 20-hour flight to a Press conference with about 50 journalists from all over the world.

He handled it with an aplomb he is going to need to sleep through the contesting elements in SWA/Namibia's march to independence.

Mr Ahtisaari answered by walking over to the reporter and handing him the United Nations Charter.

The spirit of the day was one of electric excitement and exuberance — the territory's long-awaited and long-disputed independence had taken a major step to becoming a reality.

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA, and Swapo officials including the organisation's internal leader, Mr Daniel Tjongero, bumped into one another leaving the airport building.

SHOOK HANDS

The leaders of the two most strongly opposed forces in the territory shook hands and exchanged remarks.

Mr Mudge and Mr Tjongero met Mr Ahtisaari and senior members of his group in the airport's VIP lounge before Mr Ahtisaari left for the trip through the crowds to Windhoek.

The retinue was made up of official black cars for the Administrator, General of the territory, Mr Justice M T Steyn, and his group, and hired cars and an always bus for Mr Ahtisaari and his party.

'New era' aim of UN man

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Mr Marthi Ahtisaari's main message on arrival in Windhoek yesterday was that the future of SWA/Namibia began with his arrival, which heralded a "new era" for the territory.

The United Nations special representative for SWA/Namibia and his 46-strong UN survey mission group for the territory's independence began their official task today in a meeting with the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice M T Steyn.

The meeting marked the beginning of a three-week mission to plan the implementation of the UN-supervised independence programme.

At the end of the visit Mr Ahtisaari's plan will be submitted to the UN by the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, for approval by the Security Council and South Africa.

The nature of the mission is likely to be an exchange of information, although Mr Ahtisaari said "The fact of life is that we do not have much information."

"My eyes are not on the past, they are on the future, and I hope that all of you will share that same attitude with me. That is the only way we can succeed in this exercise."

He emphasised that this was a fact-finding mission. His three-week survey which he hoped would include travel to various parts of SWA/Namibia, would include deployment of the UN peacekeeping force, likely to be 5 000 strong. SWA/Namibia that He assured the people of SWA/Namibia that the UN mission would conduct its task "in a spirit of impartiality, goodwill and co-operation towards all."

Mr Ahtisaari said he held his present post because of his reputation for integrity and "fairness and impartiality."

He said the issue of the voter registration drive initiated by South Africa, in which more than 70 percent of the estimated number of potential voters had been registered, must be reviewed and discussed with Judge Steyn.

Mr Ahtisaari said he had "no illusions" about the difficulty of his task, and appealed for a "sustained, concerted effort" to ensure that aspirations to self-determination and independence were "honoured as soon as possible."

After Mr Ahtisaari had spoken, Swapo's secretary for information, Mr Mokganehi Thobaneilo, said the arrival of the mission signified the "end of South Africa's mandate over the territory." Among the entourage is Major General Hennes Philipe, former commander of the UN force on the Golan Heights on the border between Syria and Israel.

Martti's men will pave the way ahead

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Mr Marthi Ahtisaari has three senior aides in the United Nations fact-finding mission to SWA/Namibia.

Major-General Hennes Philipe, an Austrian career military officer, accompanies the team as head of a military planning group. He will determine the composition and requirements of a UN peacekeeping force proposed to oversee a ceasefire.

Major-General Philippe has been commander of the UN observer units on the Golan Heights.

Ambassador Neville Kankarane, who recently retired as Sri Lanka's envoy in Washington, will be responsible for planning an electoral system. He has served on UN secretariat staff in the past, and held various posts in UN missions to the Congo, the Middle East, Cyprus and Malaya.

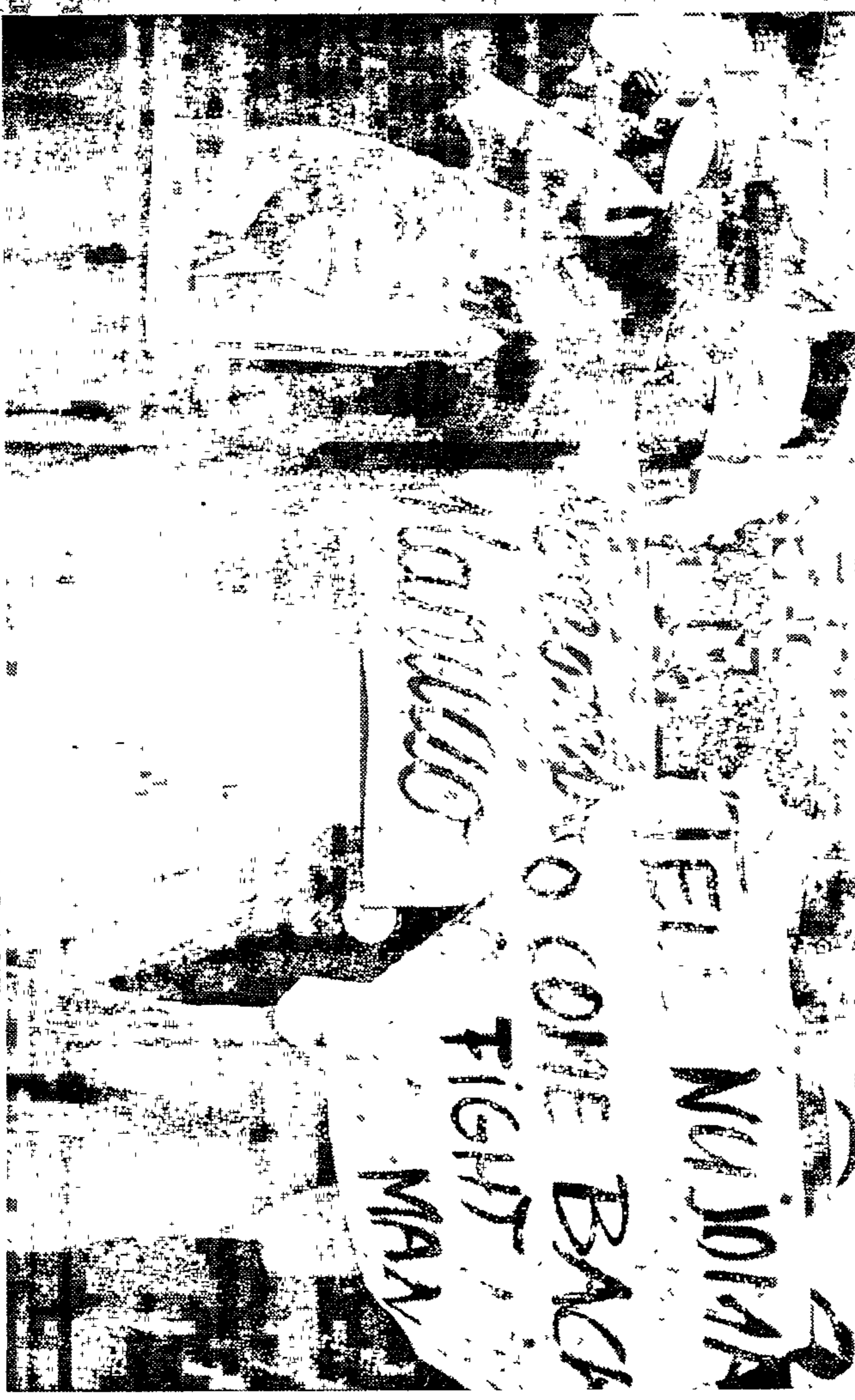
LEGAL

Mr Kanakarane, a lawyer by profession, had barely arrived in Sri Lanka after returning from the Washington diplomatic post when he was offered the SWA/Namibia task. "They dug me out," he said at UN headquarters recently. "I was about to relax in the tea gardens."

Ambassador Mark Boman of Tanzania will be in charge of the legal aspects of the operation. He is deputy director of the UN Institute for Namibia, and is a former attorney-general of Tanzania.

The bulk of the mission is drawn from departments of the UN secretariat.

Mr Ahtisaari was displeased with queries about the racial make-up of his team. At a UN Press briefing he said "My team has been collected on the basis that they have the expertise that I need for this mission. My major criterion on selecting the people, and specially those working close to me, is how they can contribute to this mission. I do not accept any other criterion."



Part of the large crowd that met the UN team on their arrival at Windhoek at the weekend.

Crew seasick as Apelila leaves

7/8/78 R.D.M.
221

WINDHOEK — The entire crew of the oil drum raft Apelila was reported seasick yesterday in a heavy swell about 30 nautical miles off the coast of South West Africa.

Strong winds were blowing and the raft was bobbing in huge waves. A tug which took Apelila out to sea from Walvis Bay yesterday morning was unhitched late in the afternoon and the raft is now on her own.

Hoarse hoots of greeting were sounded by other vessels as the raft and her crew of two women and five men were tugged out of the harbour.

On the quayside a crowd of friends, well-wishers and doubting Thomases looked on as the trans-Atlantic expedition began after four years of planning and building.

The name Apelila is Polynesian for April — the month the R130 000 raft

was supposed to have left

An early meteorological report of strong winds later in the day, and in the right direction, cheered the skipper, Mr Tony Webber.

"That's just what we need," he said

Apelila relies solely on wind and sea currents for propulsion. She steered a northerly course yesterday hoping to reach Saint Helena with the aid of the Benguela current and the

south-east trades.

The raft — kept afloat by 132 oil drums and steadied by five tons of ballast, is 13 m long and six m wide.

The crew beds down in a seven by four metre cabinet which houses the gallery and navigational instruments.

Also on board are tools for emergency repairs, flares, food and water supplies, a chemical toilet and a hip bath.

Other than skipper Webber, an anthropology lecturer, the crew comprises a marine scientist, Des Duthie, a medical doctor, Peter Hanafede, navigator Fritz van der Merwe, television reporter Bryan Duchard, nursing sister Celi Chui-Cooper, and Marianne Springer, who will act as chef and leisure-time official.

Their food will consist mainly of a breakfast cereal, dehydrated vegetables and canned food. Of course we also hope to catch a lot of fish," Tony Webber said.

The boffins expect the voyage to last about 15 weeks, but we may surprise even ourselves and do it in eight to 10 weeks," he said.

"They'll be back in five days," a local sailor said knowingly at the quayside. "With a lot of faith and a good measure of luck, they may just make it," said another, slightly less cynical, observer. — Sapa.

Namibia: pointer to peace

7/18/78 (22)

Everybody who cares about democracy, abhors violence and believes in the importance of the United Nations, should be singing hosannas for the remarkable success of the Western nations' initiative in getting both South Africa and South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) to accept their proposals for bringing Namibia to its independence by the end of the year.

Although many obstacles still stand in the way to final success, nevertheless what has already been achieved is historic. The significance of this agreement goes far beyond just possibly setting another African country on its road to independence.

It substantially improves the chances of achieving a similar success in the negotiations for Rhodesia's independence on terms acceptable to the world community.

It shows that African majority rule can be achieved by means other than an all-out violent struggle. This could substantially improve the chances of getting meaningful political

changes in South Africa itself.

- It could remove the dangerous tensions along the Namibian-Angolan border — a prerequisite for stabilising the situation in Angola as well as in Zaire. This would reduce the dependence on Russian military presence in this country, and so facilitate the withdrawal of Cuban forces.
- It re-establishes the authority of the United Nations which, for 32 years, has been made to look ridiculous by its failure to uphold its responsibility for its mandate over the territory formerly known as South West Africa.
- It demonstrates that the Vorster regime is not completely obdurate, nor as totally impermeable to collective Western pressures as it claims.
- It demonstrates in a positive way how the Western nations can face

After a period in which, in the wake of the Shaba massacre, some of the Western powers (and much western public opinion) had a rush of blood to the head, wanting to organise pan-African forces to halt what was seen as a sudden Russian and Cuban attempt to

up to the Soviet Cuban challenge in Africa by working in close cooperation with African leaders to promote their interests, as well as those of Western Europe and North America.

Finally, it is a victory for "dissidents" who courageously battled against a seemingly impregnable power system. The agreement reached in Namibia after 15 months of talks involved five Western powers, the Front Line States, South Africa and SWAPO has produced the first real glimmer of optimism about the situation in Southern Africa for a long time.

Perhaps the most important effect of the Namibian settlement is that it carried through to independence it will remove South African troops from the Angolan border.

It will also take them from the Caprivi Strip, that contentious finger of Namibia that points like an arrow between the borders of Angola, Botswana and Zambia.

If all goes to plan this is the timetable:

NAMIBIA: the calendar

AUGUST	Maatzi Ahisau (Fiml) Chief of UN operations, visits Namibia	3 months after	South African forces cut to 1 500 Military installations along Angolan border to be out of action or taken over by UN
AUGUST	Security Council to adopt Waldheim's Ahisau's survey. Immediate end of "hostile acts" by South Africa and SWAPO. UN force takes over from South African army police	13 weeks after	General election campaign opens
AUGUST	South African troops cut from 20 000-40 000 to 12 000	One week after election	South Africa withdraws totally SWAPO bases close Constituent assembly meets. Installation of new government
9 weeks after	Namibians return. Discriminatory laws repealed	DECEMBER 31 INDEPENDENCE	

paint Africa red, they have become more relaxed, they now believe all is not lost.

The approach is more constructive and Namibia is emerging as the key to future developments in the whole area. Time is very short if the December 31 deadline for independence is to be kept, to ensure success the impetus must be maintained.

The UN Security Council now has to be asked to move in troops to supervise elections before independence. About 5 000 men will be needed and one delay may come in recruitment. The UN has only recently mounted the Lebanon operation.

Perhaps the most important effect of the Namibian settlement is that it carried through to independence it will remove South African troops from the Angolan border.

It will also take them from the Caprivi Strip, that contentious finger of Namibia that points like an arrow between the borders of Angola, Botswana and Zambia.

The agreement has the support of the Angolan government of Dr Agostinho Neto. The final talks were held in Luanda, the capital, and Neto with the other Front Line Presidents (Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique) was instrumental in pressing Nu-joma, after months of hesitation to accept the agreement.

This was a crucial turning point, showing that even the most revolutionary of African leaders could be won over to support a peaceful rather than a violent solution for the problems of Southern Africa.

The lessons to be learnt from this diplomatic exercise is that the Western nations are still in a position to exercise decisive influence, provided they

act collectively, and can harmonise their own interests with African interests.

It is only when the Western powers' policies are mistutted in Africa, and lack a clear purpose that opportunities arise which the Russians are able to exploit — as in the Horn of Africa and in the Angola-Zaire conflict.

The end of the South African occupation of Namibia could also mean the end of the support of Unita, the opposition movement in Angola led by Jonas Savimbi which still holds areas in the south and which has in the past received help from South Africa and the West.

Savimbi might eventually be integrated into the Angolan government, the end of Unita would spell security for the Neto government and could lead to the phasing out of the Cuban presence in Angola. It makes sense that the

Cubans are reported to have supported the Namibia deal.

With the end of internal and border problems, Angola is likely to move into a more genuinely non-aligned situation. This could lead to a reduction of big power competition in Southern Africa, not something the Soviet Union would necessarily welcome, but much to the liking of the Front Line States, which are anxious to identify themselves as African nationalist governments leaning neither towards Russia nor America.

An important part of this new pattern emerging in Southern Africa was the recent meeting between Neto and President Eanes of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau, as a result of which a certain amount of Portuguese help is likely to be forthcoming for the ex-colony, again justifying the balance of Angola's dependence on Cuba and the Eastern

bloc.

All these developments have renewed hopes that the deadlock in the Rhodesian situation can somehow soon be broken. Dr David Owen, Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, sees the Namibian agreement as a vindication of his policy of persisting in negotiation with the Patriotic Front in the face of strong and often cruelly personal opposition with which Britain orchestrated from Salisbury.

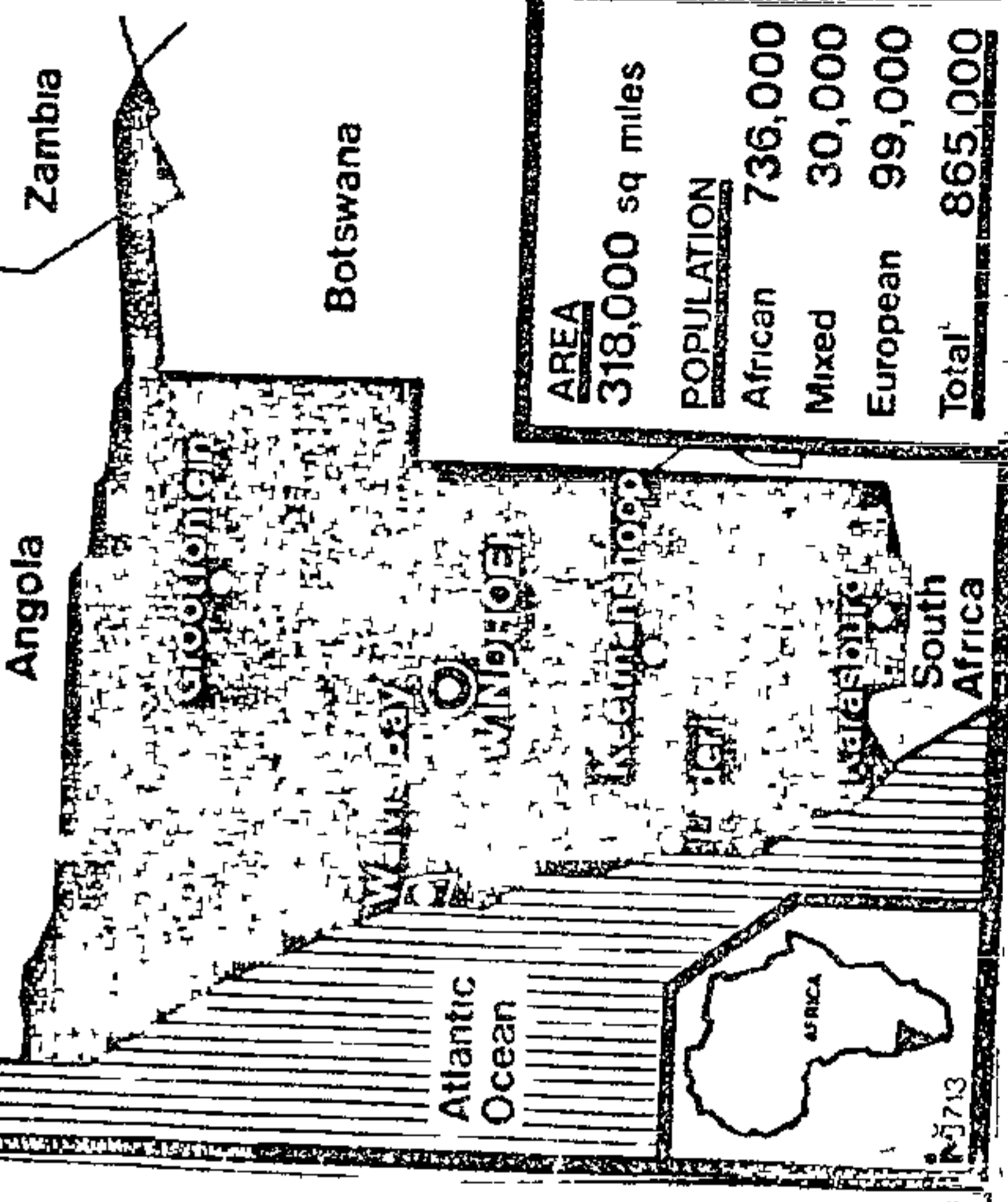
One effect of the Namibia agreement will be to focus everyone's minds more sharply on the Rhodesia problem. While the chances for a peaceful settlement in Namibia now look promising, the future is by no means yet assured. It is still possible that either South Africa or SWAPO may say or do foolish things which could reverse the gains so painfully made.

But even if this could be avoided, the real test will come during the election period which is to precede independence. SWAPO will by no means have it all its own way.

It will find itself confronted by two major opposition parties — the one multi-racial, the other a coalition of African tribal groups. Although SWAPO was able, substantially, to maintain its unity for so long as there appeared to be no alternative to a determined armed struggle, there are divisions within its ranks.

A former Swapo leader, Andreas Shipanga, has already thrown his support behind one of the parties opposed to Swapo. Mugoma remains a commanding figure. His position, though, could depend on whether he will get the support of a man who founded Swapo with him, Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, when — as is required under the terms of the agreement — he is finally released from Robben Island where he has been a prisoner for the last 10 years. He is a man to watch as much as Sam Nujoma, or any of the other Namibian leaders — GEMINI/OFNS

NAMIBIA: Independence at last on December 31?



1884 Colonised by Germans.

1920 Mandated to South Africa by League of Nations.

1946 UN trusteeship replaces mandate. South Africa later refused trusteeship.

1950 International Court upholds UN right of decision on territory.

1967 UN condemns South Africa for refusing to comply with its demands.

1978 July 12: months of talks end in independence.

12 000 at airport greet Ahtisaari

CT. 7/8/78 (221)

WINDHOEK. — A multiracial crowd which police estimated at 12 000 yesterday witnessed the initial steps of a possible solution to the SWA/Namibian dispute that has plagued the territory for 31 years.

The massive crowd converged on the J G Strijdom Airport, about 47 km east of here, in bitterly cold weather to see the arrival of Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Secretary-General's special representative in the territory.

Supporters of widely divergent political opinion intermingled outside the airport gates, but no serious incidents had been reported early last night.

A government aircraft was standing by on the apron of the airport to whisk Mr Ahtisaari to the Eros suburban airport in the city, but Mr Ahtisaari chose to drive through the cheering multitude with the Administrator-General, Mr Justice M T Steyn, and officials.

Judging by public reaction, there was a great deal of enthusiasm among people of all political convictions for Mr Ahtisaari's arrival.

Thousands of them had waited for him at vantage points in bitterly cold weather since dawn.

From the outset, at a press conference a few minutes after his United States Air Force C-141 had touched down, Mr Ahtisaari made it clear he and his group were unbiased and would attempt to obtain an objective view of the situation.

He conceded that his task and that of his mission to gather facts would not be an easy one. He had no illusions about the complexities and sensitivities of the exercise.

One of his first acts

Looking tired after a 20-hour flight with a refuelling stop in Dakar, Mr Ahtisaari appealed to everybody involved in SWA/Namibia to join him and his group to ensure that the aspirations of the people of the territory for self-determination and independence were honoured as soon as possible.

On page 2

SWA unity — for six hours

Picture on arrival

One of his first acts was to give a journalist who had asked a provocative question a booklet containing the United Nations Charter. He encouraged the reporter to read it.

A seasoned Finnish diplomat, Mr Ahtisaari is reputed to have a thorough knowledge of African affairs although this is his first visit to SWA/Namibia and Southern Africa.

He told reporters his mission would take between two and three weeks. He expected to remain in Windhoek initially and travel through the territory later if necessary.

His first appointment for formal talks with Mr Steyn is scheduled for 10 am today.

Mr Ahtisaari emphasized he would not immediately negotiate about a ceasefire between Swapo and South African security forces.

It was not within his mandate from the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to have discussions about the control of Walvis Bay.

He declined to speculate on the success of his mission but added that he had come in good faith. If everybody concerned maintained the same attitude, he could not see any reason why the mission should fail.

●Mr Steyn said on SATV last night that Mr Ahtisaari would not have a totally free hand to go wherever he wanted to in the territory. — Sapa

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8/8/78 RA

We've hit it off, says Steyn

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

THE two men who hold the key to success in the South West Africa independence plan had their first head-to-head meeting yesterday — and apparently got off to a great start.

After his first formal discussions with United Nations special representative Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, in Windhoek, the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, said the rapport they struck had boosted his optimism on a solution.

Observers are agreed that the success of the planned massive UN operation depends heavily on the working relationship that evolves between the two men.

Accompanied by some of their top aides, they spent two hours together in the conference room of a Windhoek hotel.

"I have been optimistic about a solution ever since I arrived in South West Africa last year, but my optimism received a great surge forward after the very pleasant rapport established between Mr Ahtisaari and myself," Mr Justice Steyn said.

He said the meeting was conducted in a very friendly spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding for each other's tasks and positions.

"I'm quite certain that the mutual trust that has been established on a personal basis will bear fruit later on."

He said the discussions went much further than the future working arrangements between the two teams, but he did not elaborate.

Joint working committees would be established between his office and the UN survey mission.

"The working committees will decide the field to be covered and what particular aspects will be the proper field for each particular committee.

"The two staffs will now be contacting each other to make the preliminary arrangements," he said.

Voters

Mr Justice Steyn said Mr Ahtisaari's visit was merely a fact-finding mission to decide on what steps were necessary and what material resources were required for the implementation of the peace proposals.

Asked whether the question of registration of voters was brought up, he said: "It was mentioned by me, but it wasn't discussed. This will only happen later when the working committees have had the opportunity of studying the various measures."

He added that there were no stumbling blocks at this stage and he did not want to anticipate any.

However, representatives of the three major political parties in the territory met Mr Ahtisaari today — and at least two of them will either ask the UN man to review the whole registration process or scrap it.

This, and South Africa's insistence on meeting the independence target date by the end of the year, are two delicate issues that will come under the spotlight.

Swapo and the moderate Namibian National Front (NNF) believe it is impossible to have elections before early next year, while the conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) is pushing for elections as soon as possible.

All the parties will make representations to Mr Ahtisaari except the National Party's election front, Akatur, which was not invited to send representatives to meet him.

● See Page 3

UN team on a 'spartan budget'

star 8/8/78
(22)

By Allen Pizzev and Lester Venter
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The UN survey mission to set up the transition of SWA/Namibia to independence is operating on a "spartan" budget of less than R80 000 for its proposed three-week stay.

Sources close to the mission were not certain what was to be covered by the sum, but noted that even providing for what by UN standards was a "tight" allowance looked like a difficult task for this city's business community.

Items such as duplicating machines, essential for the verbiage-prone UN, were proving difficult to find.

The survey mission is nonetheless trying to baffle the UN's reputation for largesse.

A leading car-hire company offered the UN party luxury limousines with accessories such as air conditioning, but the UN transport men plumped for run-of-the-street models.

Where 'whites only' rules

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A number of nasty apartheid shocks await the United Nations survey mission for SWA/Namibian independence which is expected to begin moving about the territory later this week.

Although obligatory apartheid in the territory has been largely scrapped, owners of public facilities have been allowed to retain the right to discriminate.

These are some of the apartheid measures the UN team, which includes many blacks from different parts of the world, and also the contingent of several thousand that may follow them, may experience.

● Many hotels in country towns outside Windhoek still do not allow blacks to drink or stay.

Local black politicians have already complained about this to the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice M T Steyn. He announced plans to make hotel integration compulsory. An outcry from hardliners resulted and the plans were never followed through.

● UN team members who need hospital treatment may balk at being sent either to a "black" or a "white" hospital. Hospitals are still segregated.

● On the road UN teams will find themselves

Those aware of normal UN spending habits are doing their best to cash in. House prices have shot up according to a Western diplomat who came to set up facilities for a "haison team." No one wanted to lease, but many people were trying to sell accommodation, often at "exorbitant" prices, he said.

It is expected that the five Western members of the Security Council will all set up teams here to monitor, but not involve themselves in, the independence process.

There are no Western diplomats known to be in the territory at present. They all apparently cleared out before the arrival of UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

"We want to give him a clear field of fire without any sign of political involvement," one of the last Western diplomats to leave said.

For the moment there does not seem to be much firing, or even aiming, going on.

JET LAG

The UN mission is trying to find its feet — and probably suffering a degree of cultural shock to accompany the jet lag from the 20-hour flight from New York.

All 48 members of the team speak English well, but none are even conversant in Afrikaans, the language of SWA/Namibia.

Mr Ahtisaari said travel around the territory would be essential, but no one seems to know how or when the fact-finding missions to outlying areas will set out.

Star

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at garages with separate toilets for blacks and whites.

● Many businesses still retain separate toilet facilities.

● In the oppressively hot summer months black members of the UN teams will not be able to go for a swim at public pools. Municipalities in the territory, largely controlled by National Party members, have made little progress to integration.

● Black UN members with a literary bent will be confronted by "whites only" town libraries.

● Residential areas are segregated and black senior UN staff may not be able to occupy houses in "white" towns if the UN decides to acquire houses for top personnel.

UN Press officer Mr Anwar Sharif said the office of Administrator-General, Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, would arrange travel facilities, but by late yesterday no known approach had been made by the UN to Judge Steyn's staff.

The SA Defence Force would have to provide mine-proof vehicles and guard patrols for travel in operational areas.

However, an informed source said Mr Hank Riedel, the UN man responsible for some of the preliminary arrangements for the Antigaari group, had made it plain they did not want to use the SADF unless absolutely necessary to avoid "compromising" the UN position of neutrality.

SWA parties enter arena

8/18/78 NIM
(22)

White-faced crew meets giant waves

Mercury Correspondent

WINDHOEK — The oil drum raft, *Apella*, on her nautical "mission impossible" had made only 35 miles under her own "steam" by last night.

Walvis Bay radio reported that she was 65 nautical miles north-west of the port, drifting slowly on the current towards St. Helena

On Saturday she was towed out 30 miles out to sea by a Walvis Bay harbour pilot tug and she set off on her 4,500-mile voyage to Montevideo in Uruguay, relying entirely on sail, currents and following winds

Dubious

One of the first comments picked up from the raft by Walvis Bay radio on Saturday was that some of the crew were "white-faced" when they saw the size of the south Atlantic waves.

None of the seven-man crew, apart from skipper, Tony Webber, is an experienced sailor.

The radio station is carrying out a caretaker operation for the full duration of the voyage, which Mr Webber estimates will take about 10 weeks.

The raft, which is 12-metres long and 6-metres wide is made out of 130 220-litre oil drums. She carries 83m² of sail.

Mr. Webber hopes to reach St. Helena by running before the south-easterly trades, then to drift south on the Brazilian current.

The expedition is probably one of the most dangerous maritime adventures since the *Kontiki*

Mercury Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Representatives of the three major political parties in South West Africa will today meet the United Nations Special Representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, for talks in Windhoek.

The talks will highlight a number of sensitive issues that still threaten to wreck the UN-endorsed Western peace plan for the territory.

It will be the first time that Mr. Ahtisaari, who is also commissioner of the UN Council for Namibia, will have formally met political leaders other than Swapo's — recognised by the world body as the sole authentic representatives of the South West African people.

All the parties will make representations to Mr. Ahtisaari except the National Party's election front, *Aktur*, which was not invited to send representatives to meet the UN man.

Mr Ahtisaari yesterday held his first formal discussions with his South African counterpart, the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Discussions

Accompanied by some of their top aides, they spent two hours together in the conference room of a local hotel

Judge Steyn said afterwards that the discussions went much further than the future working arrangements between the two teams. He did not elaborate

He said joint working committees would be established between his office and the UN survey mission

"I have been optimistic about a solution ever since I arrived in South West Africa last year, but my optimism received a great surge forward after the very pleasant rapport established between Mr. Ahtisaari and myself," Judge Steyn said.

"We have a task of integrating our respective staffs (their mutual tasks and objectives) we will be seeing each other from time to time as circumstances require."

He said yesterday's meeting was conducted in a very friendly spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding for each other's tasks and positions.

Asked whether the question of registration of voters was brought up, Judge Steyn said:

"It was mentioned by me but it wasn't discussed. This will only happen later when the working committees have had the opportunity of studying the various measures."

He added that there were no stumbling blocks at this stage and he did not want to anticipate any for the future.

However, at least two of the political parties that will be seeing Mr. Ahtisaari today will either ask the UN man to review the whole registration process or scrap it completely.

Independence

This and South Africa's insistence on meeting the independence target date by the end of the year are two delicate issues that will come under the spotlight.

Swapo and the moderate Namibian National Front believe it is impossible to have elections before early next year while the conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance is pushing for elections as soon as possible.

A UN spokesman said yesterday there were four key members in Mr. Ahtisaari's mission.

They are Major-General Hannes Philipp, the Austrian commander of UN forces on the Golan Heights, Mr Neville Kanakarathne, a former Sri Lankan ambassador who will be in charge of the electoral process, Mr. Mark Boman, a former Tanzanian attorney-general who will be responsible for legal matters and Mr. Abdou Ciss, the Senegalese director of the UN High Commission for Refugees.



THE Administrator-General, Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, is optimistic

(See also Page 6.)

Terrorist band kills Ovambo headman

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An Ovambo headman, Mr Jeremiah Konyenga, was shot dead by a band of seven terrorists at his home between Ondangwa and Oshikango, central Ovambo, South West Africa, at the weekend.

The murder took place near the scene of a recent sabotage attempt on water installations, a spokesman for SWA Command said yesterday.

Mr Konyenga returned to his home after visiting his cattle kraal and found seven terrorists in uniform carrying AK-47 automatic weapons waiting for him.

Earlier they had ordered his wife to leave and told her they were going to kill her husband.

She walked away from the house, heard shots, and returned to find her husband dead and a number of AK-47 cartridges near the body. The terrorists disappeared and no tracks could be found.

In another incident at the weekend a security force patrol clashed with guerrillas near the Angola/Ovambo border.

Shots were fired but the insurgents escaped across the border. No one was injured.

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July, 1978.

I.R. Palmsteer

ACCIDENT RATES BY INDUSTRY

1. PRICE INDEXES

(a) Has the price of food risen at the same rate, 1960-1975, as other consumer goods in the C.P.I. ? What implications does this have ?

(b) What is the spread between producers' and consumers' prices by major components like maize meal + dairy products over the same period ? This bibliography should be used in conjunction with the course outline and the introductory reading list on background and historiography.

(DR)

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QUANTITATIVE AND RESEARCH METHODS: EXERCISES

Journal of Southern African Studies

Journal of Peasant Studies

1978

S. Archer

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Africa Bureau

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Swapo brief Ahtisaari on their stand

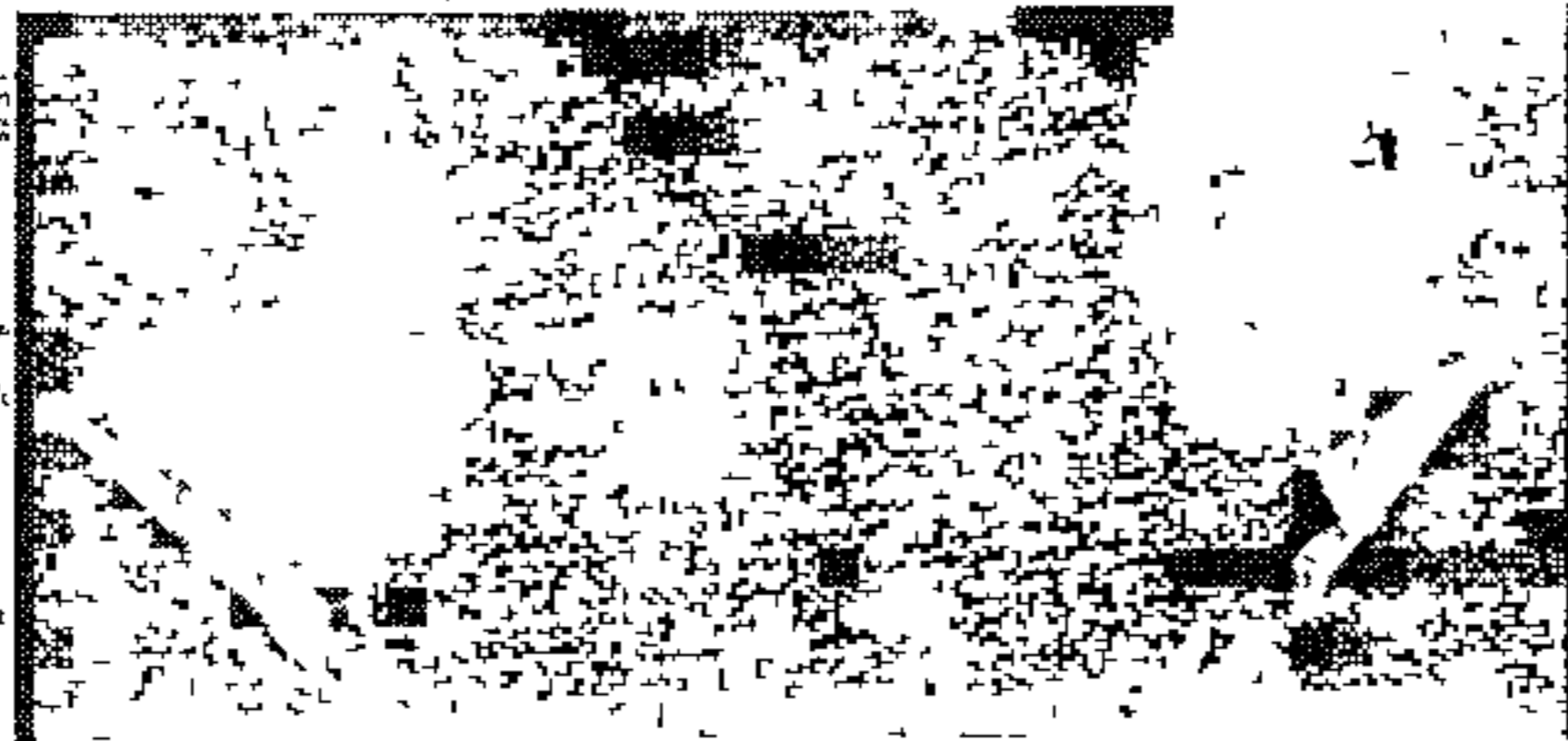
CT 9/8/78

(22)

WINDHOEK — Swapo yesterday afternoon briefed the United Nations Secretary-General's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, on their views of the SWA/Namibian situation, Mr Mokganele Tlhabanello, Swapo's secretary for publicity and information, said here.

Swapo, who claim to have freed all their political prisoners, made special representations to Mr Ahtisaari for the release of 14 Swapo supporters held in SWA/Namibia in terms of Emergency Proclamation AG 26, Mr Tlhabanello said.

"Swapo has released 11 counter-revolutionaries and we hold no more prisoners. Reports of thousands of prisoners still held



by Swapo are completely unfounded and we challenge anyone to prove the contrary," he said.

He said 37 Swapo supporters were being held by South Africa on Robben Island.

Other matters discussed were the registration of voters and free access by all political groups to broadcasting services in the territory.

Although Swapo did not ask for the registration campaign to be scrapped, the delegation told Mr Ahtisaari it considered the registration campaign "undemocratic."

"Registration officials do not ask for identity documents, and they force people to register as voters. The results are then used to feed South African and DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) propaganda," Mr Tlhabanello said.

Radio services in SWA/Namibia, he said, carried pro-South African and anti-Swapo and anti-Namibian National Front (NNF) propaganda.

Mr Tlhabanello reaffirmed that Swapo wanted the December 31 independence date for the territory, contained in the Western settlement proposals, to be changed.

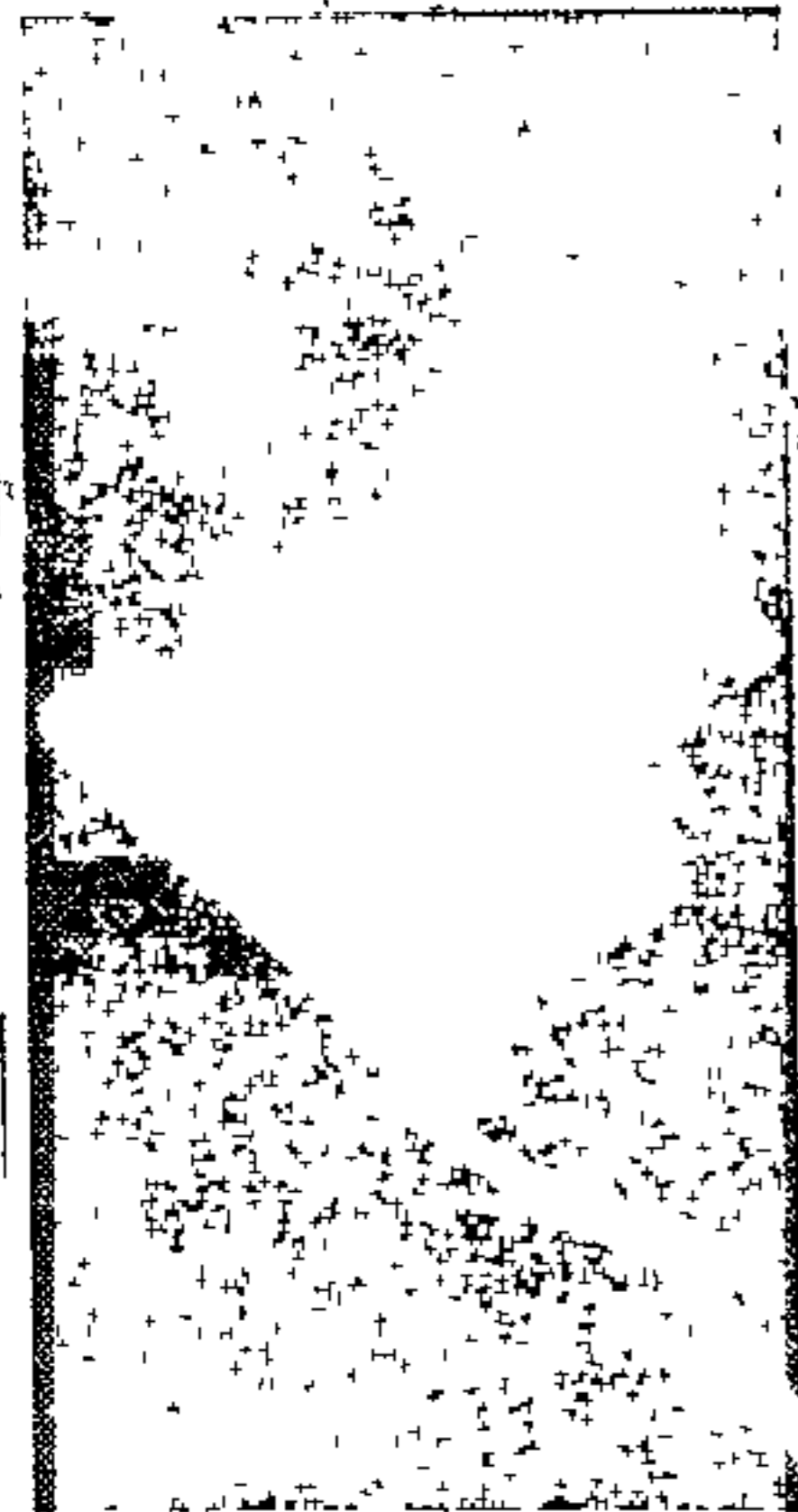
"We go along with the seven-month timetable proposed by the West. Because of various obstacles the Western plan was only recently accepted. If we are to stick to the seven-month timetable the final date for independence will have to be revised," he said.

More than 1 000 Swapo supporters dressed in blue, red and green party colours welcomed the Swapo delegation outside the motel where discussions were held.

● A number of United Nations officials would remain behind in SWA/Namibia after Mr Ahtisaari and the remainder of his group had returned to New York, Mr Anouar Cherif, a UN press officer, said in Windhoek last night — Sapa

9/8/78 (221)

Swapo press UN man



MR AHTISAARI... brushed past reporters.

WINDHOEK — Major differences that threaten to wreck the South West African peace package were put to the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, yesterday

He met separately with three major political parties — Swapo, the Namibian National Front, and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — in talks lasting more than three hours

At the same time, his Austrian military aide, Maj-Gen Hannes Philipp, also met Maj-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, commander of South African forces in the territory, for their first round of talks

Mr Ahtisaari refused to comment on his discussions as he brushed past the waiting reporters in his hotel headquarters last night

Minutes earlier, grim-faced representatives of the DTA were non-committal when they spoke to reporters.

Maj-Gen Philipp said South African officers were briefing him on how they viewed the military situation. He did not know at this stage how many UN troops would be needed to police the border areas during an election

But Mr Mokganedi Tlhabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said

they were still demanding a UN peacekeeping force of at least 5 000.

He said his delegation did not discuss ceasefire with Mr Ahtisaari because a date would eventually be fixed by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim

His delegation had emphasised that the "undemocratic" process of registering voters would have to be reviewed

He said they made special representations to Mr Ahtisaari to secure the immediate release of 14 of their supporters held under the Administrator-General's emergency security powers. — DDC.

Table 4 - Number of households, earners, earners and pensioners and known earners and pensioners, and average income per known earner and pensioner by household size.

Table 5 - Number of people by length of employment in present job. (Here the sample is restricted to employed persons).

1. Notes: Letter suffixes refer to the separate areas as follows:

- A - Kensington
- B - Welcome Estate
- C - Surrey Estate
- D - Athlone
- E - Lansdowne
- F - Retreat

2. Other tabulations carried out by Saldru, but not reproduced here are:

(i) Population by age and sex: non-household heads.

(ii) Non-employment rates by age and sex as follows:

- non-employment in each age group as a percentage of total potentially economically active (age 20-59) persons in the relevant sex group.
- non-employed in each age group as a percentage of total potentially economically active persons.
- non-employed in each age group as a percentage of potentially economically active population in that age group.

(iii) Number of households, average household size, average income of the head of the household by head of household income groups.

SWA peace package runs into snags

RAM

9/8/78

(221)

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — Major differences that threaten to wreck the South West Africa peace package were yesterday brought to the attention of the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Ahtisaari met separately with three major political parties — Swapo, the Namibian National Front, and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — in talks lasting more than three hours.

Mr Ahtisaari refused to comment on his discussions as he brushed past the waiting newsmen in his hotel last night.

Minutes earlier, grim-faced representatives of the conservative DTA were non-committal when they spoke to Pressmen.

Mr Mokganele Tshabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said his delegation did not discuss a ceasefire with Mr Ahtisaari because a date would eventually be fixed by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim. But he said Swapo still demanded a UN peacekeeping force of at least 5 000.

His delegation had stressed that the "undemocratic" process of registering

voters would have to be reviewed.

Mr Tshabanello said they made special representations to Mr Ahtisaari to secure the immediate release of 14 Swapo supporters held under emergency security powers.

Other issues brought up by Swapo and the NNF were that elections could not possibly be held this year and that all political parties should be granted equal access to the broadcasting services of SABC.

Also in Windhoek yesterday, Mr Ahtisaari's Austrian military aide, Major-General Hannes Philipp, met Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, Commander of South African forces in the territory, for their first round of talks.

In an exclusive interview, Major-General Philipp said South African officers were briefing him on how they viewed the military situation in the territory.

Asked for his views on his SA counterpart, he said: "I have a good relationship with General Geldenhuys... like two professional soldiers."

See Page 3

These dear Lord, be side me, Thy rod and staff my comfort still, Thy

Thou spread'st a Ta-ble in my sight, Thy

Thou spread'st a Ta-ble in my sight, Thy

RAM, D. KEY ALB. SOPRANO SOLO
my a little slower

And where the ver-dant pastures grow, With
 And where the ver-dant pastures grow, With

Where streams of liv-ing wa-ter flow, My
 Where streams of liv-ing wa-ter flow, My

nor-th-ing lack if I am His, And
 nor-th-ing lack if I am His, And

The King of Love my Shepherd is, Whose
 The King of Love my Shepherd is, Whose

CHORUS.
my a tempo primo

Pages, I believe, for the education of women, though only through education, though only through education, though only through education... the recognition of the traditional roles. Only at a later stage, growing out of the recognition of the traditional roles. Only at a later stage, growing out of the recognition of the traditional roles.

THE KING OF LOVE

This is a revised version of an article which appeared in *Feminist Studies* 3, no 1-2 (1975), 5-15. The article was based on papers given by the author at a panel at the Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, October 25-27, 1974, at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., and at a Sarah Lawrence College Workshop Symposium, March 15, 1975. The author has greatly benefited from discussion with co-panelists Renate Bridenthal and Joan Kelly-Gadol, and from the comments and critiques of audience participants at both conferences.

Clashes as Insurgents cross border

WINDHOEK. — Three border violations had been reported in Owambo during the past 24 hours, the officer commanding the South West Africa command of the Defence Force, Major-General Jan Geldenhuis, said yesterday.

In a statement, Gen Geldenhuis said two of the three incidents had led to contact between security forces and insurgents on the cut-line border between South West Africa and Angola.

In these two incidents the security forces had succeeded in countering the insurgents, who were coming from their camps in Angola and in driving them back across the border.

No casualties were reported.

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The United Nations' Special Representative in South West Africa, Mr Marth Ahtisaari said yesterday he had made good progress in his discussions over the last few days with the SWA Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

The UN mission's military expert, Major-General Hannes Philipp, leaves Windhoek today on his first visit to the operational area on the SWA/Angola border.

He will be accompanied by four UN military advisers and one civilian.

It is understood that the party will be joined by Major-General Jan Geldenhuis, commander of South African troops in the territory, during the two-day preliminary visit to the tense border area.

Mr Ahtisaari said that any differences that did come up between him and Mr Justice Steyn would be reflected in his report to UN Secretary-General Dr

10/9/78 R. D. M. 221

Progress Over SWA — Ahtisaari

"We have agreed to finalize our work here in Windhoek as soon as possible and then make travel plans I haven't even seen Windhoek yet, so I will see this place first and then perhaps travel north." No restrictions had been placed on his travelling through the territory.

Mr Ahtisaari would not give any details of his discussions with Mr Justice Steyn but said that he and the Administrator-General had agreed to meet for further discussions as and when the need arose.

His only comment on the talks was that a great deal of important information had been gathered that would enable his mission representative said

to advise Dr Waldheim on the implementation of the UN-endorsed Western peace proposals for South West Africa.

In reply to a question, Mr Ahtisaari said the whole matter of returning exiles would have to be tackled if and when the UN Security Council decided to approve plans for the implementation of the proposals.

"The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has vast experience in that field," he said.

Some administrative staff members of the UN mission would remain behind after he returned to New York to gather further information as it was needed.

No. 10. SOP, TENOR, AND BASS SOLOS AND CHORUS. — "THE KING OF LOVE"

mf/TENOR SOLO.

The King of Love my Shepherd is, Whose

mf/TENOR SOLO.
The King of Love my Shepherd is, Whose

mf/TENOR SOLO.
The King of Love my Shepherd is, Whose

CHORUS.
mf a tempo primo.

24

24-27

Guerilla killed in SWA clash

WINDHOEK — Two incidents in Ovambo during the past 24 hours have brought to five the number of border violations by guerillas in the past 48 hours, the SWA command of the Defence Force said in Windhoek today.

Six telephone poles were sabotaged with explosives in one incident. In the other incident, a security force patrol came across two armed guerillas just south of the border between Ovambo and Angola.

In the skirmish that followed, one of the insurgents was shot dead and the other wounded. The wounded man fled back into Angola, a Defence Force spokesman said. "This incident took place just east of Oshikango, where several border violations have been reported over the past 14 days," he said — Sapa.

4	17.	0.	0.
5	4.	16.	0.
6	1.	4.	9.
7	1.	3.	3.
8	7.	0.	1.
9	3.	4.	0.
10	1.	1.	4.
11	0.	0.	0.
12	1.	0.	0.
13	0.	3.	1.
14	0.	0.	0.
15	2.	0.	0.
16	0.	0.	0.
17	0.	0.	0.
18	0.	0.	0.
Totals	84.	84.	46.

No. of Couples

10B - METHODIST MISSION

1	17.	12.	4.
2	98.	95.	68.
3	1.	0.	0.
4	0.	0.	0.
5	0.	0.	0.
6	1.	2.	0.
7	0.	1.	0.
8	1.	0.	0.
9	0.	0.	0.
10	0.	0.	0.
11	0.	0.	0.
12	0.	0.	0.
13	0.	0.	0.
14	0.	0.	0.
15	0.	0.	0.
16	0.	0.	0.
17	0.	0.	0.
18	0.	0.	0.
Totals	110.	110.	72.

Voter registration : Steyn will listen

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice Steyn, said today he was prepared to discuss changes in voter registration in the territory with the United Nations special

representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari
He said it would have to be seen if any changes suggested by Mr Ahtisaari were "practical or desirable"
Mr Ahtisaari was asked this week by two political parties, Swapo and the

Namibia National Front, to review the process in which more than 70 per cent of the territory's estimated voters have registered
Judge Steyn said the number of people who had registered so far was something that could not

be ignored and to start the process again would be impractical

The number who had registered proved that the people were prepared to take a major step without the United Nations and that they rejected violence and earnestly desired independence by December 31.

Judge Steyn left for Pretoria today to brief the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and Cabinet Ministers on developments in the territory

In Judge Steyn's absence, Mr Ahtisaari will hold further talks in Windhoek and Major-General Hannes Phillip, in charge of military matters for the United Nations mission, will inspect South African military installations in the operational area.

He will be accompanied on his tour, scheduled to last two days, by the Chief of the Defence Force in the territory, Major-General J. J. Geldenhuys.

In the three weeks the UN mission is to spend in the territory Major-General Phillip will be responsible for drawing up proposals for the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force of about 5 000 that will monitor a ceasefire between South African and Swapo troops.

- 4 Simonstown, Soetwater, Kommetjie, Noordhoek, Perdekloof, Fish Hoek, Koggelfontein.
- 5 Hout Bay, Llandudno, Redhill.
- 6 Stellenbosch, Eerste River, Kuilsriver, Breda, Faure, Somerset West, Paarl, Wellington, Klapmuts, Kraaifontein, Strand, Blackheath
- 7 Bonnievale, Montagu, Worcester, Caledon, Bredasdorp, Riversdale, Swellendam, Smitsdal
- 8 Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, Fort Beaufort, Transkei, East London, King Williamstown, Grahamstown
- 9 Trompsburg, Rouxville, Victoria West, Riebeeck, Middelburg, Britstown, Kimberley, Colesburg
- 10 George, Knysna, Oudtshoorn, Willowmore, Uitenhage, Lerville, Prince Albert.
- 11 Vredendal, Calvinia, Clanwilliam.
- 12 Piketberg, Hopefield, Tulbagh, Mooresburg, Malmesbury, Klipheuwel, Darling, Durbanville, Melkbos.
- 13 Pietermaritzburg, Durban.
- 14 Upington, Springbok, Carnarvon, Saldanha Bay, Kakamas.
- 15 Johannesburg.
- 16 Namibia.
- 17 Langa, Nyanga.
- 18 Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Malawi.

Note: The figures next to each area should be interpreted as follows:

(a) 'Husbands' - so many husbands, whose wives were born in

Ahtisaari happy with talks

WINDHOEK — The United Nations special representative in South West Africa, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said yesterday good progress had been made in discussions with the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn.

It was also learned yesterday the UN survey mission's military expert, Maj-Gen Hannes Philipp, leaves Windhoek today for his first visit to the operational area on the South West Africa-Angola border.

The UN's press chief, Mr Anouar Cherif, said Gen Philipp would be accompanied by four UN military advisers and a civilian

They are Col R M Day and Lt-Col P D. Ledgerwood, both Canadians, Col T K. Dibuma, of Ghana, Capt R Towney, of Ireland, and Mr J. Boe, a Norwegian administrative official

It is understood they will be joined by Maj-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, commander of the South African forces in the territory.

In other SWA developments yesterday

● The Minister of Defence, Mr Botha warned South African forces would remain in the territory until a "visible peace" had been established

● Swapo pledged to do everything possible to

contribute to UN efforts for a peaceful settlement

● The moderate Namibia National Front asked Mr Ahtisaari to review and possibly scrap the current registration process in the territory

● The National Party election front, Aktur, told Mr Ahtisaari it accepted the Western settlement plan "as explained to them"

● The Coloured Labour Party complained Walvis Bay Coloureds were not being registered for a South West Africa election and said it wanted to meet Mr Ahtisaari.

● The SADF said three border violations had occurred in Owambo, with no South African casualties

● Mr Justice Steyn said he would hold talks with government officials in Pretoria today

Mr Ahtisaari said yesterday no restrictions had been placed on his travel arrangements in the territory.

He said a great deal of information had already been gathered that would be important for his mission to advise the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, on the im-

plementation of the UN-endorsed Western proposals

Mr Ahtisaari told a press conference he did not want to go into details about his discussions with Mr Steyn earlier yesterday

The impression he had gained during discussions with political representatives was that they supported the Western proposals.

"There is no difference of interpretation on the basic elements in the plan. My colleagues are studying their written representations and might contact them later for clarification," he said

Mr Ahtisaari said the differences that did exist would be reflected in his report to Dr Waldheim, but he added it was premature to predict how soon the Security Council would meet after his return to New York

He would, he said, continue with his discussions with political groups this week.

On yesterday's meeting with Mr Steyn, he said "We reviewed the progress we have made so

far and also discussed our future programme of work"

"My colleagues and his advisers have been in touch during the last few days and so far we have made good progress in collecting information.

"We have agreed to finalise our work here as soon as possible and then make travel plans. I haven't even seen Windhoek yet, so I will see this place first and then perhaps travel north."

In reply to a question, Mr Ahtisaari said the whole matter of returning exiles would have to be tackled if and when the Security Council decided to approve plans for the implementation of the peace proposals

Some of his administrative staff would remain behind at the end of his scheduled three-week stay

"They will gather further information if it is needed and will be at our disposal

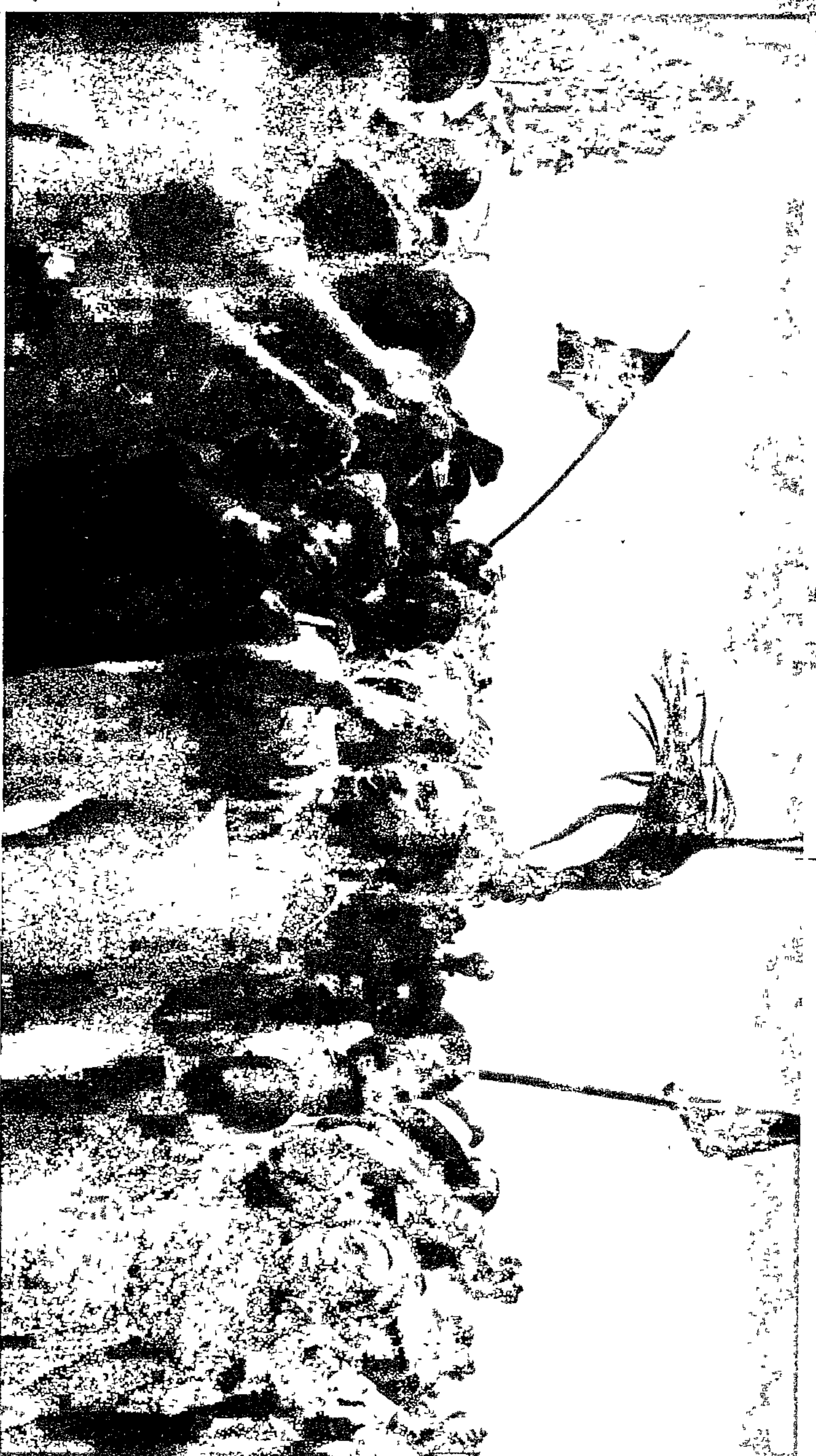
"We have to get basic information before we can draw our own conclusions," Mr Ahtisaari said — DDC

Troops to stay till peace?

22/11
Cape Times
10/8/78

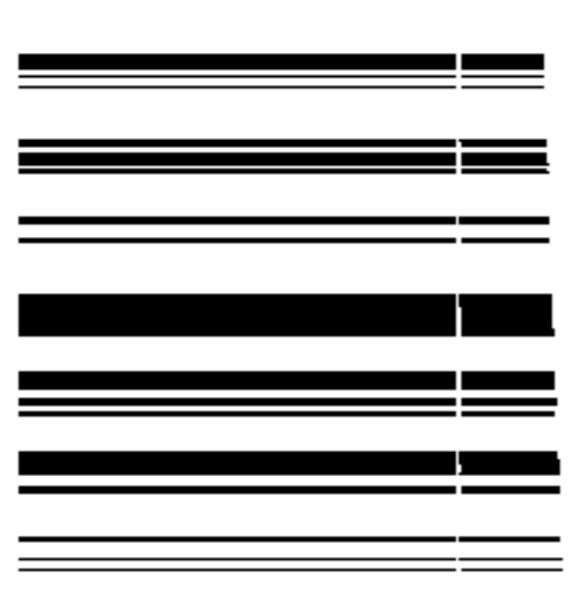
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African forces would remain in SWA/Namibia till a visible peace had been established, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said last night.



A jubilant Swapo supporter leads a crowd of about 500 demonstrators in song outside the hotel of the United Nations special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari. The crowd was greeting Swapo's leader, Winchoek as they arrived for their talks with Mr Ahtisaari.

Cape Times Newscourer Di Powell



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C. Times
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At their first meeting in Windhoek this week are (left) Mr Daniel Tjongarero, vice-chairman and leader of Swapo in SWA/Namibia till the return of Mr Sam Nujoma, and Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations special representative for Namibia

Addressing about 400 people at a public meeting in the Britz Town Hall, Mr Botha referred briefly to the situation in SWA/Namibia. He has just returned from the operational area in the north of the territory.

"The people of SWA have put their trust in us to achieve peace and to maintain it so that they can develop in an orderly fashion. For as long as there is not a visible peace, so long will the South African forces remain to maintain it", he said.

Mr Botha's statement comes at a time when South West African People's Organization (Swapo) spokesmen have said they will not agree to a ceasefire till South African forces have withdrawn.

These conflicting statements pose the possibility of a deadlock on the ceasefire issue. This follows the crisis over the United Nations Security Council resolution calling for the reintegration of Walvis Bay into an independent Namibia.

Discussing the port, Mr Botha said South Africa would negotiate on its use with a friendly new government, but would not tolerate demands by foreign powers to give it up.

In Windhoek yesterday the special representative of the UN Secretary-General, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, reported good progress in his talks with the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M.T. Steyn, and his staff, reports Sapa.

Yesterday's meeting was held to review the progress he and Mr Justice Steyn had made. Mr Ahtisaari said they had also discussed their programme and agreed that they would meet whenever necessary.

● Mr Justice Steyn will fly to Pretoria today for talks with government officials, SABC Radio reported last night.

Three border violations

WINDHOEK. — Three incidents of border violations had been reported in Ovambo during the past 24 hours, the officer commanding SWA Command Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, said here yesterday.

In a statement, General Geldenhuys said two of the three incidents had led to contact between security forces and terrorists on the cut-line border between SWA/Namibia and Angola.

In these two incidents, which had occurred about 25 km apart, the security forces had succeeded in countering the insurgents, who were coming from their camps in Angola and in driving them back across the border.

No casualties were recorded on the side of the security forces.

In the third incident, a vehicle of the security forces had struck a Russian-made landmine. The passengers were not hurt.

Here's to... definitely not Swapo

Times 11/8/78

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By DIANA POWELL

ASK ANY white Suid-Wester what would happen in the event of an early takeover by Swapo, his eyes grow glassy and he orders another drink

Press him on the subject and whoever he is — a supporter of the right-wing Aktur, the moderate DTA or the NNF which is somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum — he will launch into a diatribe about the evils of South Africa's sort of white nationalism and how South West has to get rid of the Pretoria yoke, and quickly

In short, the whites of SWA/Namibia want independence. They know it's their only chance. They differ only on how they should get it.

The pessimists believe there is a long way to go, that nothing will come of the Western proposals, that the United Nations survey mission will return to New York and that the 31-year-old chess game will continue for years to come

"When Sam Nujoma makes his triumphant ride down Kaiser Street it will be 1988 and his black beard will have turned white," was one comment I heard

Others also believe the Western settlement plan will fail, but that South Africa will grant the territory independence anyway — by December 31 1978, as promised

And this is the key to the future of SWA/Namibia. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, led by Mr Dirk Mudge and Dr Ben Africa, with the support of moderate factions of 11

ethnic groups and vast financial backing — reportedly West German sourced — is convinced of victory. In the first one-man-one-vote elections anyway. Their confidence is based on elections by the end of the year

In an interview this week Dr Jan Spies, editor of the *Republikein*, Windhoek's DTA daily, and the voice of Mudge, Africa, Ndjoba *et al* — probably of Pretoria as well — told me an internal settlement was a real possibility. If the Western plan failed to come to fruition by South Africa's December 31 deadline, SWA/Namibia would be independent under a DTA government by the end of the year

The DTA has learnt a lot from the South African-Nats. The first lesson is that a well-oiled party machine gets people to the polls and wins votes

The DTA's election campaign began last November. The territory is vast but they set out to cover every kilometre. There are 300 full time organizers in the field who have travelled 3,8 million km by road and a quarter of a million km by air. They have 80 vehicles and eight aircraft

at their disposal and the twice-weekly rally in a rural area means a jamboree with a free braai and a marquee which accommodates 2 500

And if the DTA's claims are correct, the people come — up to 5 000 at a time — to see how politics work the white man's way

"We have taken politics to the people, some of the most primitive people in the world," Dr Spies said. "Most of them had no idea how Western government worked. Our first task was a campaign of

political education. Another thing the DTA has learnt is the power of nationalism. But instead of recognizing an overall black nationalism, they firmly believe ethnic nationalism will be accepted by the people of the territory

The DTA's policy is confederal with power shared among the 11 ethnic groups, each with its own provincial council-type representative authority in the national assembly, according to the party's draft constitution. Ovambos would have 12 seats, whites, six, Damaras, Hereros, Kavangos, Coloureds, Namas and Caprivians, five each and the Bushmen, Basters and Tswanas, four each

Swapo claims to have almost the full support of the Ovambos, the biggest single group and about half the territory's one million population

The DTA's claims are different. According to Dr Spies Ovambo-land is tired of the bush war and the people want to go home instead of fighting a war which is getting them nowhere

Dr Spies is quite confident that an internal settlement will not be an obstacle to international recognition, nor to the end of the terror war

The Arab states are tired of the growing Soviet influence in Africa and would welcome a moderate government here. If they recognize us, the West has no choice but to follow

Whatever the hopes of the Suid-Westers, as the Afrikaans and German speaking whites prefer to call themselves, they cannot underestimate the power and strength of Swapo



Dr Jan Spies, editor of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) newspaper, the *Republikein*.

WINDHOEK — Ask any white Suid-Wester what would happen in the event of an early takeover by Swapo, his eyes grow glassy and he orders another drink.

Press him on the subject and whoever he is, a supporter of the right-wing Aktur, the moderate DTA or the NNF which is somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum, he will launch into a diatribe about the evils of South Africa's sort of white nationalism and how South West has to get rid of the Pretoria yoke, and quickly.

In short, the whites of South West Africa want independence. They know it's their only chance. They differ only on how they should get it.

The pessimists believe there is a long way to go that nothing will come of the Western proposals, that the United Nations survey mission will return

New York and that the year-old chess game will continue for years.

"When Sam Nujoma has his triumphant ride down Kaiser Street it will be 1988 and his black beard will have turned white," was one comment heard.

Others also believe the Western settlement plan will fail but that South Africa will grant the territory independence anyway, by December 31, 1978, as promised.

And this is the key to the future of South West Africa.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, led by Mr Dirk Mudge and Dr Ben Africa, with the support of leaders of moderate factions of 11 ethnic groups and vast financial backing, reportedly West German sourced, is convinced of victory — in the first one-

Mention Swapo to a white Suid-Wester

DA 11/8/78
(221)

By DIANA POWELL, Daily Dispatch correspondent in Windhoek.

man-one-vote elections anyway. Their confidence is based on elections by the end of the year.

In an interview this week Dr Jan Spies, the Editor of the Republikein, Windhoek's DTA daily, and the voice of Mudge, Africa, Ndjoba et al — probably of Pretoria as well — told me an internal settlement was a real possibility. If the Western plan failed to come to fruition by South Africa's December 31 deadline South West Africa would be independent under a DTA government by the end of the year.

The DTA has learnt a lot from the South African Nationalists. The first lesson is that a well-oiled party machine gets people to the polls and wins votes.

The DTA's election campaign began last November. The territory is vast but they set out to cover every kilometre. There, 300 full-time organisers in the field who have travelled 3.8 million kilometres by road and a quarter of a million kilometres by air. They have 80 vehicles and eight aircraft at their disposal and the twice-weekly rally in a rural area means a

jamboree with a free braai and a marquee which accommodates 2 500.

And if the DTA's claims are correct, the people come up to 5 000 at a time to see how politics work the white man's way.

"We have taken politics to the people, some of the most primitive people in the world," Dr Spies said. "Most of them had no idea how Western government worked. Our first task was a campaign of political education."

Another thing the DTA has learnt is the power of nationalism. But instead of recognising an overall black nationalism, they firmly believe ethnic nationalism will be accepted by the people of the territory.

The DTA's policy is confederal with power shared among the 11 ethnic groups, each with its own provincial council-type representative authority. In the National Assembly, according to the party's draft constitution, Ovambos would have 12 seats, whites, six, Damaras, Hereros, Kavangos, Coloureds, Namas and Caprivians, five each and the Bushmen, Basters and Tswanas, four each.

Swapo claims to have almost the full support of the Ovambos, the biggest single group and about half the territory's one million population.

The DTA's claims are different. According to Dr Spies, Owamboland is tired of the bush war and the people want to go home instead of fighting a war which is getting them nowhere.

"Swapo made a big mistake when they started killing their own people."

Dr Spies is quite confident that an internal settlement, will not be an obstacle to international recognition, nor to the end of the terror war.

"The Arab states are tired of the growing Soviet influence in Africa and would welcome a moderate government here. If they recognise us, the West has no choice but to follow."

However if Swapo was not forced into a ceasefire by diminishing interest in the war among the Ovambo, the DTA would probably have to seek outside military assistance.

"We would ask South Africa for help if necessary but it would probably be better not to

have South African troops here, and with Western recognition we could ask for aid from other sources."

The only fear a DTA government would have would be the next election, Dr Spies said.

Swapo would probably try to use the first five years of independence to spread its word and the DTA would have to work fast to create a strong black middle class and uplift the lower classes economically.

However, the DTA cannot rely on total white support. Many have moral misgivings about its policy of ethnicity and have turned rather to the multiracial Namibia National Front, a conglomerate of the smaller black national movements.

But the NNF has leadership problems. It was hoped that Mr Andreas Shipanga, leader of the Swapo Democrats, the Swapo pacifist splinter, would throw his weight behind the NNF when he returned to South West Africa, but this is no longer a certainty. This week Swapo refused to join the NNF delegation meeting the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in Windhoek. They sought their own meeting with him instead.

Whatever the hopes of the Suid-Westers, as the Afrikaans and German-speaking whites prefer to call themselves, they cannot underestimate the power of Swapo.

The DTA is relying on the fact that they have had neither the time nor the money to organise properly. But like Frelimo in Mozambique, the very word Swapo is synonymous with the concept of freedom and power to the black man.

- non-employed in each age group as a percentage of potentially economically active population in that age group.

(iii) Number of households, average household size, average income of the head of the household by head of household income groups.

Registration unfair says Swapo

DD 11/8/78 (221)

WINDHOEK — Swapo yesterday denounced and unequivocally rejected attempts by the South African administration to continue with its registration of voters in South West Africa.

(iii) geography:

(iv) income:

(v) general:

(2) for each family member

A declaration yesterday by the movement's publicity secretary, Mr Mokganele Tlhabanello, cast the first stone in a double-edged dispute which many observers believe will provide the major stumbling block on the road to a settlement.

South Africa and Swapo are also bound, observers believe, to clash publicly over a ceasefire.

Mr Tlhabanello said in the light of certain facts the current registration of voters in the territory should be treated with contempt.

"The colonial history of our country bears sufficient witness to the fact that malpractices are mostly, if not always, found in elections run by the racists," he said.

The current registration of voters in South West Africa was no different and it was undemocratic and unfair for certain reasons, which he outlined as

- No identification documents had been required for the registration of voters
- Namibians born in Walvis Bay had been denied the right to vote
- The four-year residence qualification determined by the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, was not adhered to
- As far as it was known, the size and population of South West Africa had not yet been properly and accurately determined.
- White employers, the police, Defence Force and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance officials had exerted their "power" on those under their authority to register

"blackmailed" into registering by refusal of medical treatment and pensions and expulsions from work, and registration receipts had become "passports" to jobs

"In the light of all these facts, we think that Mr Steyn's registration should be treated with the contempt it deserves," Mr Tlhabanello said

Before leaving for Pretoria yesterday, however, Mr Steyn warned that the high percentage of voters so far registered could not be ignored, should consideration be given later to scrapping the registration campaign.

Mr Steyn said he still had to hold in-depth discussions with the special representative of the United Nations Mr Martti Ahtisaari, at which points of difference between them would be identified and analysed

He and Mr Ahtisaari would deal with these points of difference according to how they viewed them.

Mr Steyn said he would fully inform the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, today about the discussions he had had so far with Mr Ahtisaari

He would also discuss the establishment of an independent land bank in South West Africa and the creation of a Department of Sport and Recreation

Today, a UN group headed by a Senegalese, Mr Abdou Ciss of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees office, leaves Windhoek to tour the South West Africa border to inspect possible entry points for refugees

g list

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ld

Ahtisaari warned of travel dangers

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, yesterday warned of the danger to Mr Martti Ahtisaari and his United Nations mission staff on their travels to northern South West Africa.

He was speaking at a Press conference shortly before leaving for Pretoria, where he will have talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, today.

Mr Justice Steyn said he had told Mr Ahtisaari there

was continuing violence in the border areas when they discussed the UN mission's freedom of movement in the territory.

His warning comes as the first UN officials head off to the tense border areas, where Swapo guerrillas are waging a low-intensity bush war against South African security forces.

"I would be extremely distressed if either the special representative or any member of his staff should be wounded or hurt

in any way, let alone killed," he said.

It would be wise for Mr Ahtisaari to consult with the security forces before moving around in the north, Mr Justice Steyn added.

SWA Command yesterday announced two more border violations.

Security forces made contact with two insurgents just east of Oshikango, killing one and wounding the other, who fled back into Angola.

In the other incident, about five terrorists blew up six telephone poles south of Ondangwa, the command said.

Mr Ahtisaari's military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, yesterday left for a two-day visit to the operational area with Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding SWA Command.

Mr Anouar Cherif, the UN Press chief, said another UN group headed by Mr Abdou Ciss, a Senegalese director of the UN High Commission for Refugees, would leave for the border today.

Unknown

Nil

HNP shuns UN man

WINDHOEK. — The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in South West Africa, Mr Sarel Becker, said in Windhoek yesterday his party had always been opposed to United Nations interference in the territory and he would not be seeing the UN Secretary General's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The HNP was not only opposed to independence for SWA but also to the Western proposals on the territory, Mr Becker said. "We have always been opposed to UN interference in SWA and because of this we won't stand in the queue to do any knee-bending before Mr Ahtisaari," he said. — Sapa.

15-19	0.	0.			
20-24	6.	0.	12.	19.	
25-29	8.	2.	11.	12.	
30-34	12.	2.	14.	11.	
35-39	14.	0.	15.	10.	
40-44	15.	0.	15.	16.	
45-49	4.	0.	5.	4.	
50-54	3.	0.	3.	0.	
55-59	3.	1.	3.	5.	
60+	6.	1.	6.	4.	
Totals	72.	6.	198.	187.	7.

61 - LOURDES FARM

Unknown	0.	0.	0.	0.	2.
0-4	-	-	134.	138.	1.
5-9	-	-	139.	151.	4.
10-14	-	-	119.	113.	5.
15-19	1.	0.	79.	91.	1.
20-24	36.	4.	68.	82.	2.
25-29	48.	2.	64.	86.	1.
30-34	47.	2.	53.	40.	0.
35-39	47.	6.	45.	47.	0.
40-44	27.	15.	32.	38.	0.
45-49	23.	4.	26.	19.	0.
50-54	10.	5.	10.	19.	0.
55-59	9.	4.	11.	8.	0.
60+	15.	7.	18.	20.	2.
Totals	264.	49.	798.	852.	18.

1. You are required to attend one tutorial a week at a time to be arranged. If you should be prevented from attending at the appointed time, please let us know - we will try to fit you in at another time.
2. We have tried to arrange the subjects of tutorials to encourage the maximum amount of participation, discussion and debate. The best tutorials are those in which the tutor plays a relatively inconspicuous part. Please help us by preparing for tutorials both by doing whatever reading may be suggested and, above all, by THINKING about the subject for discussion.

Swapo 'will try armed coup if...'

Present attacks on southern African territories were in the classic marxist pattern. This was the same way they operated in South Vietnam and Angola.

General Eaton suggested that Rhodesia invade Zambia and Mozambique to attack terrorist bases there. America had had the same experience in the Vietnam war, where the enemy was safe on the other side of a border and could attack across it at will.

If America had taken tougher action against these sanctuaries, the outcome of the Vietnam war might have been different, General Eaton said.

Rhodesia obviously had to do something. If not, they could be worn down in the long run.

Such invasions would be a calculated risk concerning American public opinion. "But you take the risk or wait to be nibbled to death by a duck," he said.

Swapo was likely to attempt a military takeover of SWA/Namibia if it lost the election, a retired American Air Force general said in Johannesburg today.

Major-General Robert E. L. Eaton and three other members of the American Legion are visiting Rhodesia, SWA/Namibia and South Africa as guests of the SA Freedom Foundation.

"Swapo has the military force and its tank drivers are being trained in Russia. No matter which way the election goes, they will probably be ready to move," General Eaton said.

In the case of Rhodesia, the Patriotic Front had stated plainly that it was not interested in elections and wanted to take the country with the gun.

Southern Africa was a major target of the Soviet bloc. The region was now next in line in "the communist march down the African continent".

17 April

Topic

What factors led to the spread of Islam in Africa?

- Reading: R. Hallatt: Africa to 1875, pp. 89-93
 R. Oliver & Fage: A Short History of Africa, cc. 6, 7
 G. Parrinder: Religion in Africa, pp. 171-220
 R. Oliver (ed): The Dawn of African History, c. 5
 R. Oliver (ed): The Middle Age of African History, c. 3
 J. Tringhamam: The Influence of Islam upon Africa
 I. Lewis: Islam in Tropical Africa, Intro.

MID-TERM VACATION

1 May

"The Slave Trade was better than no trade at all." Discuss.

- Reading: R. Hallatt: Africa to 1875, pp. 162-175
 R. Oliver (ed): The Middle Age of African History, c. 6
 R. Collins: Problems in African History, Problem 7
 A. G. Hopkins: Economic History of W. Africa, pp. 87-111
 J. Page: "Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the Context of African History" in Journal of African History, x, 3 (1969)

What major differences can you detect between the state of Africa and of Europe in the middle of the 19th Century? How do you account for these?

- Reading: R. Hallatt: Africa to 1875
 W. E. Moseley: Liberal Europe, c. 1
 F. L. Ford: Europe 1780-1830, c. 14

What changes took place in European attitudes to Africa between 1775 and 1875 and how did this affect the European impact on Africa?

- Reading: R. Hallatt: Changing European Attitudes to Africa" also in Cambridge History of Africa, vol. V, c. 14.
 V. G. Kiernan: "Negro" in Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911) Lords of Human Kind

What were the motives behind the European conquest of Africa?

- Reading: D. K. Fieldhouse: Theory of Capitalist Imperialism, Intro
 M. Chamberlain: The New Imperialism, pp. 19 f.
 M. Chamberlain: The Scramble for Africa
 H. Wright (ed): The New Imperialism
 R. Betts (ed): The Scramble for Africa
 G. Sanderson: "The European Partition of Africa" in Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth Hist (Oct. 1974)

What ways could Africans react to European intrusions? "Conquest Situations"

- Reading: R. Hallatt: L. H. Gann & P. Duignan Colonialism in Africa, vol. 1, cc. 6, 9 (eds)

5 June -
12 June

Simulation Exercise

M. Horton:

"Stateless Societies in the History of W. Africa" in J. F. Ajayi & Crowder (eds): History of W. Africa

What do you consider are the most significant economic changes that took place in sub-Saharan Africa before the coming of the Europeans?

- Reading: A. G. Hopkins: Economic History of W. Africa, c. 1
 R. Gray & D. Birmingham Precolonial African Trade (eds)
 R. Oliver & Page: A Short History of Africa, c. 2
 G. Murdock: Africa - its peoples and their culture history

0 April

17 April/.....

FE/YMK
15:2:78

Four obstacle issues face SWA negotiators

221

D.D. 12/8/78

PRETORIA — Four crucial issues in the path to South West Africa's independence formed the substance of the discussions yesterday between the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice Steyn, and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

After the hour-long discussion in the Prime Minister's office in the Union Buildings, Mr Steyn said he had yet to discuss the issues with his United Nations counterpart, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The success of the two men in piloting the territory to an inter-

nationally acceptable one man, one vote election rests on their ability to bring the parties together on the four "obstacle issues" on which considerable differences of opinion remain.

The issues are:

- The acceptability of the present voter registration scheme,
- A date for elections for the constituent assembly,
- A target date for the territory's independence, and
- A ceasefire.

Mr Steyn said his discussion with Mr Vorster had covered a wide range of

topics and had been "fruitful".

If could be accepted, he said, that all the major issues had been covered.

Mr Steyn indicated he had a flexible approach on at least two of the issues — a date for elections and a target date for the territory's independence.

But he expressed his disappointment at the recent statement by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, that independence for the territory could not be effected before May next year.

"In my view, the Western proposals now embodied in a Security Council resolution stipulate December 31 as the target date."

"Clearly, this is something one must approach with an open mind," but I find the statement by the Secretary-General unfortunate because these are matters which must still be discussed between myself and Mr Ahtisaari and are therefore subject to justice.

"I cannot, by my silence, allow the world to think I agree with the Secretary-General," he said.

On the subject of a ceasefire, Mr Steyn said he would ask Mr Ahtisaari to see if he could persuade the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, to call an immediate ceasefire. DDC

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring the integrity of the financial data and for facilitating audits. The text notes that without proper record-keeping, it would be difficult to identify discrepancies or errors in the accounts.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data. It describes how data is gathered from different sources, such as sales receipts, invoices, and bank statements, and how this information is then processed and analyzed to identify trends and patterns. The text also mentions the use of specialized software tools to assist in these tasks.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of management in overseeing the financial operations of the organization. It discusses how management is responsible for setting financial goals, monitoring performance, and making strategic decisions based on the available data. The text highlights the importance of clear communication and collaboration between management and the financial department.

4. The fourth part of the document addresses the challenges faced by organizations in managing their finances. It identifies common issues such as budget overruns, cash flow problems, and inefficient resource allocation. The text provides suggestions for how these challenges can be addressed, such as through improved budgeting, tighter cost control, and better financial planning.

5. The fifth and final part of the document concludes by summarizing the key points discussed and reiterating the importance of a strong financial management system. It emphasizes that effective financial management is essential for the long-term success and sustainability of any organization.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the impact of external factors on financial performance. It notes that economic conditions, market fluctuations, and changes in government policy can all have a significant effect on an organization's financial health. The text suggests that organizations should be proactive in monitoring these external factors and adjusting their financial strategies accordingly.

7. The seventh part of the document explores the role of technology in modern financial management. It discusses how advances in software and data analytics have revolutionized the way financial data is collected, analyzed, and reported. The text highlights the benefits of automation and the use of real-time data for more informed decision-making.

8. The eighth part of the document focuses on the importance of transparency and accountability in financial reporting. It discusses how organizations should ensure that their financial statements are accurate, complete, and easy to understand. The text also mentions the role of external auditors in providing an independent assessment of the organization's financial health.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the role of financial management in risk management. It notes that financial decisions often involve uncertainty and risk, and that organizations should have a clear strategy in place to identify, assess, and mitigate these risks. The text suggests that a strong financial management system can help organizations to better understand and manage their financial risks.

10. The tenth and final part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and recommendations. It reiterates the importance of a strong financial management system and provides a list of practical steps that organizations can take to improve their financial performance. The text concludes by expressing confidence in the future of financial management and the role of organizations in creating a more stable and prosperous economy.

Bonte koor by Fin

RAPPORT Van JOHAN VOSLOO

(13/8/78) (221) WINDHOEK.
DIT was 'n uiters verbaasde mnr. Marti Ahtisaari wat die week in Windhoek die stellingname van 'n magdom politieke partye en belangegroepes moes aanhoor. Elkeen het feitlik aanspraak gemaak op die „steun van die volk” . . . en tot dié week het die Fin gemeen dat Swapo die enigste verteenwoordiger van Suidwes se mense is.

As die openbare optrede van die partye 'n rigsnoer kan wees, dan lyk dit of die verdelinglyn klaar getrek is Swapo aan die een kant en hoofsaaklik die DTA aan die ander kant. Weerskante van dié pad soos Sondag by die lughawe toe mnr. Ahtisaari aangekom het.

Swapo speel nou duidelik 'n dubbelrol. Die leier, Sam Nujoma, wek die indruk dat hy net belang stel in 'n oorname van die gebied en liefdeur middel van die „loop van 'n geweer”.

Binnelands sê mnr. Mok-ganedi Thlabanello en Daniny Tjongarero dat hulle dié Westerse skikplan aanvaar en dat daar net oor 'n paar vertolkings van die uitvoering daarvan geredeneer moet word.

Dis die twee gesigte van Swapo — die bakleier tot mag in sy hande is, en die onderhandelaar. Watter kant toe dan ook al, dit lyk of Swapo steeds die steun onder die bevolking het om 'n belangrike politieke faktor in dié gebied te wees.

Sameflansing

Die oud-Swapolid en gevangene van Nujoma, Andreas Shipanga, kom glo volgens sy gesante die week in Windhoek aan.

'n Mens se indruk is dat Shipanga se invloed hopeloos oorskakel word. Dat hy alleen Swapo se krag kan verdeel, word deesdae betwyfel.

Die invloed van mnr. Bryan O'Linn se NNF is tot voor die koms van mnr. Ahtisaari heel hoog geskat. Maar dié week het dit al te duidelik geblyk dat die Front, sentlik nie veel meer as 'n losse sameflansing van politieke druk-groepes is nie.

As Swapo egter nie aan die verkiesing gaan deelneem nie, word aanvaar dat sy ondersteuners hulle by die NNF sal skaar. Om dié belangrike rede kan hy tog nie onderskat word nie.

Die bes georganiseerde groepering, is sonder twyfel die Turnhalle-Alliansie van mnr. Dirk Mudge en pastoor Cornelius Ndjoba-hulle. Die mense het die kundigheid van die Nasionale Party geerf en daarmee word druk gewoeker.

As die verkiesing binnekort gehou sal word, moet die DTA meer as 'n goeie kans gegun word. Maar soos sake nou draai, en daar sprake is van 'n verkiesing ná die reenseisoen in Mei aanstaande jaar, so begin die praatjies van 'n verdeling binne die Alliansie dikker loop.

Saamspan

Waar is Aktur? kein gevra word.

Aktur se blanke steun maak van hom 'n baie belangrike faktor. Tot dusver het die party nog bra lou teenoor die VVO-sending gestaan.

Van saamspan tussen die DTA en Aktur in hierdie stadium is daar weinig sprake. In binnekamers word daar egter reeds van 'n moontlike saamspan ná verkiesingsdag gepraat — veral as daar teen Swapo gemonster moet word.

Binne Aktur is daar stories van 'n leierstryd tussen mnr. Jannie de Wet en adv. Eben van Zijl, noudat mnr. A. H. du Plessis glo op die punt van uitrede staan. Dat dit nou in hierdie krisistyd sal gebeur, word egter deur politieke waarnemers betwyfel.

Ten laaste is daar die kerke. Hul invloed is besonder groot. Hoewel hulle gekant is teen die Marxisme, is daar baie kenners wat meen dat hulle hul steun by Swapo sal inwerp. Dit sal vir hulle makliker gemaak word as die binnelandse vleuel moontlik van Nujoma wegbreek.

'n Laaste gevolgtrekking: Nêrens ter wêreld is die politiek seker so vloeibaar soos in Suidwes nie en nêrens is die vlottende stem so groot nie. 'n Mens wil glo dat gebeurtenisse 'n dag voor verkiesingsdag die skaal nog makliker van dié een kant na die ander sal kan laat oorhel.

* Lees ook berigte op bl 2.

Bloody border clash: 8 dead

221 14/8/78

WINDHOEK — Three South African soldiers and five Swape guerillas were killed in a bloody skirmish in central Owambo near the South West Africa-Angola border at the weekend.

The soldiers were killed in a fierce fight with light machineguns and mortars after a security force patrol caught up with a group of insurgents they were following on Saturday.

The three soldiers who died in the shoot-out were Rfn C F. Nest, of Pongola, Rfn J. B. Greyling, of Bloemfontein, and L.Cpl P. J. du Bois, of Bloemfontein.

In another landmine incident yesterday, an Ovambo civilian, Mr David Ohepo, was killed when his vehicle detonated a mine near the border in central Owambo.

Maj-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, Officer Commanding SWA Command, also reported three more border violations from Angola into Owambo last night.

The stepped-up violence in the operational area comes on the eve of a visit to the tense border zone by Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations special representative on a fact-finding mission in the territory.

Gen Geldenhuys said the three South African soldiers died in a "fierce fight" with a large group of insurgents on Saturday morning.

The fight occurred when a security force patrol caught up with a gang of terrorists they were following in central Owambo.

"The terrorists opened fire with light machineguns and mortar bombs and the security forces replied with similar weapons."

Gen Geldenhuys said the bodies of five insurgents were found after the battle, which ended when the guerillas fled.

A follow-up operation was launched by the security forces, but the terrorists have so far not been traced.

Windhoek today after weekend talks with Prime Minister in Pretoria has said he fears for Ahtisaari's safety on his impending visit to northern border area.

Swapo this week rejected Judge Steyn's offer for a ceasefire and immediate end to hostilities.

Mr Ahtisaari's military adviser, Maj-Gen Hannes Philipp, is expected to accompany Gen Geldenhuys on his second visit to the operational area this week.

Meanwhile, Gen Geldenhuys said Ohepo, the only occupant of a car that detonated a landmine, died of wounds in the Oshana state hospital yesterday.

He said four Ovambo men were arrested by security forces when they were caught in the wide no-go zone on the SWA-Angola border at the weekend. They are held for questioning.

A security force patrol was also fired on from the Angolan side of the border. Nobody was injured — DDC.

Swapo No. page 7.

The UN's survey mission enters a new phase tomorrow when Mr Ahtisaari starts travelling through the territory.

Detailed travel arrangements are expected to be released today for Mr Ahtisaari's own on-the-spot assessment in various parts of the country.

It seems certain now that Mr Ahtisaari and his aides will be given South African military protection if they visit danger spots and frontline installations along the tense SWA border.

The Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, who returns to

THREE S.A. SOLDIERS DIE IN SWA

14/8/78 (22)
Mercury Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Three South African soldiers and five Swapo terrorists were killed in a bloody skirmish in central Owambo near the South West Africa/Angola border at the weekend.

In a landmine incident an Ovambo civilian was killed.

Maj-Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, Officer Commanding South West Africa Command said in a statement last night the three South Africans died in a heavy battle with a large group of terrorists.

The soldiers were Rifleman C F. Nest, of Pongola, Rifleman J. B. Greyling, of the farm Tweepan at Boesmanskop near Bloemfontein, and Lance-Corporal P. J. du Bois, of Bloemfontein, whose mother lives in Pietermaritzburg.

Goodbye

Mrs. Christina du Bois, said last night that when she spoke to her son shortly before he left for the Operational Area, he was a bit apprehensive and didn't want to say goodbye over the telephone.

"We had a long telephone conversation and I could feel that he just didn't want to say goodbye. He kept on repeating himself and didn't want to stop talking," she said.

Her son had returned home for a weekend three weeks ago.

He was one of six children and an outstanding sportsman.

While at the Natal Technical High School he was actively involved in athletics, rugby and swimming.

The Ovambo civilian killed was Mr. David Ohepo.

General Geldenhuys also reported three more border violations from Angola into Owambo last night.

The stepped-up violence in the operational area comes on the eve of a visit to the tense border zone by Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations' special representative on a fact-finding mission in the territory.

General Geldenhuys said the three South African soldiers died in a "fierce fight" with a large group of insurgents on Saturday morning.

Mission

"The fight occurred when a Security Force patrol caught up with a gang of terrorists they were following in central Owambo."

General Geldenhuys said the bodies of five insurgents were found after the battle, which ended when the terrorists fled.

"A follow-up operation was launched by the security forces, but the terrorists have so far not been traced."

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Detailed travel arrangements are expected to be released today for Mr. Ahtisaari's own on-the-spot assessment in various parts of the country.

It seems certain now that Mr. Ahtisaari and his aides will be given South African military protection if they visit danger-spots and front-line installations along the border.

The Administrator-General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn — who returns to Windhoek today after his talks with the Prime Minister in Pretoria — has said he fears for Mr. Ahtisaari's safety during his impending visit to the northern border areas.

The war

Swapo this weekend rejected Judge Steyn's call for a ceasefire and an immediate end to hostilities.

In a Sapa-Reuter message from Lusaka Swapo described the call as presumptuous and arrogant.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr. Peter Katjavini, said in a statement:

"If and when the war is to end there would have to be a clear and mutual understanding between both parties — the South African occupation regime and Swapo freedom fighters — worked out under UN auspices.

The statement also mentioned "a current South African military build-up in Namibia" — an apparent reference to unconfirmed reports by Swapo sources here of fresh South African reconnaissance activities on Namibia's borders with Zambia and Angola.

Swapo rejects plea for end to bush war

221
14818

LUSAKA — Swapo has described as presumptuous and arrogant a South African call for a ceasefire in the disputed territory.

South West Africa's Administrator - General, Mr Justice Steyn, last Friday urged Swapo to halt the bush war.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr Peter Katjavivi, said yesterday "If and when the war is to end there will have to be a clear and mutual understanding between both parties — the South African occupation regime and Swapo freedom fighters — worked out under United Nations auspices.

"Until such arrangements for a ceasefire are finalised and agreed upon it would be arrogant and presumptuous for the South African racists to think about Swapo ending

the war of liberation in Namibia," Mr Katjavivi said.

The statement also mentioned "a current South African military build-up in Namibia" — an apparent reference to unconfirmed reports by Swapo sources here of fresh South African reconnaissance activities on South West Africa's borders with Zambia and Angola.

The Secretary - General of the Namibian National Front, Mr Bryan O'Linn, said at the weekend indications were Swapo would establish a one-party state and a dictatorship in South West Africa if it came to power.

Speaking at the NNF youth congress in Windhoek, Mr O'Linn said the NNF would not wait until independence before beginning negotiations with South Africa on Walvis Bay.

"Negotiations on Walvis

Bay are to begin with South Africa the moment a Namibian government has been elected and that does not mean having to wait for independence," he said.

Mr O'Linn said the NNF unconditionally supported a multi-party state and private enterprise.

"Apart from Swapo's revolutionary vocabulary there is little else to indicate what kind of constitution Swapo has in mind for Namibia.

"The impression we have at this stage of the Swapo leadership under Mr Sam Nujoma, is that they have little respect for democracy and the electoral process.

"We suspect they are strongly committed to a one-party state dictatorship."

If a white dictatorship had to be traded for a black dictatorship there would be no meaningful independence, he said.

Outlining NNF differences with the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr O'Linn said the NNF was a non-racist movement whereas the DTA policies were aimed at retaining racism in ethnic form as the basis of government.

"If the DTA wins the election for a constituent assembly, Namibia will revert to the ethnic elections," he said.

The chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said at the weekend the December 31 target date for independence was included in the Western proposals on the territory and the DTA were sticking to this date as the independence target date.

Addressing what is believed to have been the biggest political rally ever held in Rehoboth, Mr Mudge said certain parties

and instances were now trying to delay the process by changing the independence target date.

"I just want to say that if this happens, it won't be the fault of the DTA. The DTA is not scared to fight an election — in fact, the sooner the better for us," Mr Mudge said.

"The December 31 target date for independence for South West Africa is contained in the Western proposals on the territory, and it has never been deleted from the proposals. It stands there for everyone to read.

"And, if they want to change it, let them know that they do it without the DTA's consent."

Mr Mudge said other countries and instances had tried long enough to determine the future of South West Africa — SAPA-RNS —

14/8/78

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14/8/78

Three SWA soldiers die in SWA clashes

**By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK**

THREE South African soldiers and five Swapo guerrillas have been killed in a bloody skirmish in central Owambo.

They died in a fierce fight with light machine-guns and mortars after a security force patrol caught up with a group of insurgents near the SWA/Angola border on Saturday.

In another incident yesterday an Owambo civilian was killed when his vehicle detonated a mine near the border in central Owambo.

The three soldiers who died in the shoot-out were Rifleman C F van der Nest, of Pongola Rifleman J B Greyling, of the farm Tweepan at Boesmanskop near Bloemfontein, and Lance-Corporal P J du Bois, of Bloemfontein.

Major-General Jan Nie Geldenhuys, General Officer commanding SWA Command, also reported three more border violations from Angola into Owambo last night.

The stepped-up violence in the operational area comes on the eve of a visit to the tense border zone by Mr Marth Ahitsaari, the United Nations' special representative on a fact-finding mission in the territory.

General Geldenhuys said the three South African soldiers died in a "small fight" with a large group of insurgents on Saturday morning.

"The fight occurred when a security force patrol caught up with a gang of terrorists they were following in central Owambo."

"The terrorists opened fire with light machine-guns and mortar bombs, and the security forces replied with similar weapons," he said.

General Geldenhuys said the bodies of five insurgents were found after the battle, which ended when the guerrillas fled.

"A follow-up operation was launched by the security forces, but the terrorists have so far not been traced."

The UN's survey mission enters a new phase tomorrow when Mr Ahitsaari starts travelling through the territory.

Detailed travel arrangements for Mr Ahitsaari's own on-the-spot assessment are expected to be released today.

The Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn — who returns to Windhoek today after his talks with the Prime Minister in Pretoria — has said he fears for Mr Ahitsaari's safety during his impending visit to the northern border areas.

Swapo this weekend rejected Mr Justice Steyn's call for a ceasefire and an immediate end to hostilities.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr Peter Kajjavvi, said: "If and when the war is to end there would have to be a clear and mutual understanding between both parties — the South African occupation régime and Swapo freedom fighters — worked out under UN auspices."

Mr Ahitsaari's military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, is expected to accompany General Geldenhuys on his second visit to the operational area this week.

The occupant of a car that detonated a landmine yesterday died from his injuries in the Oshakati State Hospital yesterday was Mr David Onepo.

General Geldenhuys said four Owambo men were arrested by the security forces when they were caught in the one-kilometre-wide no-go zone on the border at the weekend. They are being held for questioning.

A security force patrol was fired upon from the Angolan side of the border near the cut-line dividing Angola from Owambo yesterday. Nobody was injured.

● See Page 3 X

3 SA soldiers

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die in new

SWA violence

AFRICA BUREAU

WINDHOEK. — Three South African soldiers and five Swapo guerillas were killed in a bloody skirmish in central Ovambo near the SWA/Namibia — Angola border at the weekend.

The soldiers were killed in a fierce fight with light machine-guns and mortars after a security force patrol caught up with a group of insurgents whom they were following on Saturday.

The three soldiers who died were Rifleman C F Nest of Pongola, Rifleman J B Greyling of the farm Tweepan at Boesmanskop near Bloemfontein, and Lance-Corporal P J Du Bois of Bloemfontein.

An Ovambo civilian, Mr David Ohepo, died after his vehicle detonated a mine near the border in central Ovambo.

Major-General Janne Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding SWA Command, last night reported three more border violations from Angola into Ovambo. The stepped-up violence in the operational area comes on the eve of a visit to the border zone by Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations special representative.

General Geldenhuys said the three South African soldiers died in a "fierce fight" with a large group of insurgents on Saturday morning.

"The fight occurred when a security force patrol caught up with a gang of terrorists they were following in central Ovambo.

Soldier a champion runner

DURBAN. — Lance-Corporal Pierre du Bois, 19, — one of three South African soldiers killed in a terrorist incident on the border at the weekend — was a Natal champion cross-country runner while at school, his father said.

Speaking from his home in Bloemfontein, Mr Arthur du Bois said: "Pierre never had any fears about going up to the border. I saw him three weeks ago before he went. His idea was to save money while he was there so he could buy

a small car when he finished his national service.

"While he was at school he was a Natal champion cross-country runner and represented Natal Schools. He was a good-natured chap and was fond of sport".

SA call is arrogant — Swapo

LUSAKA. — Swapo, the main nationalist movement in SWA/Namibia, yesterday described as presumptuous and arrogant a South African call for a ceasefire in the disputed territory.

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, urged Swapo on Friday to halt the bush war it

has been fighting for over a decade against South Africa's rule in the territory.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr Peter Katjavivi, said: "If and when the war is to end there would have to be a clear and mutual understanding between both parties — the South African occupation regime and Swapo freedom

fighters — worked out under UN auspices.

"Until such arrangements for a ceasefire are finalized and agreed upon, it would be arrogant and presumptuous for the South African racists to think about Swapo ending the war of liberation in Namibia", Mr Katjavivi said. — Sapa-Reuter

Cape Times

14/8/78

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Insurgents' bodies

"The terrorists opened fire with light machine-guns and mortar bombs, and the security forces replied with similar weapons."

General Geldenhuys said the bodies of five insurgents were found after the battle, which ended when the guerillas fled.

"A follow-up operation was launched by the security forces but the terrorists have so far not been traced."

The UN survey mission enters a new phase tomorrow when Mr Ahtisaari starts travelling through the territory. Itinerary arrangements are expected to be released today for Mr Ahtisaari's own on-the-spot assessment in various parts of the country.

It seems certain that Mr Ahtisaari and his aides will be given South African military protection if they visit danger-spots and frontline installations along the tense northern border.

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, who returns to Windhoek today after talks with the Prime Minister in Pretoria, has said he fears for Mr Ahtisaari's safety during his visit to the northern border areas

Detonated landmine

Mr Ahtisaari's military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, is expected to accompany General Geldenhuys on his second visit to the operational area this week

General Geldenhuys said Mr Ohepo, the only occupant of the car that detonated the landmine, died from his wounds in the Oshakati State Hospital yesterday

He said four Ovambo men were arrested by the security forces when they were caught in the 1 km-wide no-go zone on the SWA/Namibia - Angola border at the weekend.

15/8/78 (21) R.D.M.

Guard plan for Ahtisaari border visit

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — The United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will be given special South African military protection if necessary during his three-day safari to the tense South West Africa border starting today.

It was also announced yesterday that Mr Ahtisaari's Austrian military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, would accompany Major-General

Jannie Geldenhuys, general Officer Commanding SWA Command, on a separate trip to the operational area today.

The UN men's visit to the north follow hard on the heels of the bloody skirmish — one of the worst in central Owambo in the past few months — in which three South African soldiers and five Swapo guerrillas were killed at the weekend.

Speaking after a 40-minute meeting with Mr Ahtisaari yesterday, the

Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, said the Finnish diplomat's trip would be made "as safe as possible in the light of circumstances."

"If protection is needed it will be given"

A joint communique said yesterday General Philipp's trip "will be an extensive and comprehensive visit to the area and the generals plan to issue a joint statement on their return to Windhoek."

Mr Justice Steyn said yesterday he hoped Swapo would have "a speedy change of heart" over his call for an immediate ceasefire in the territory.

Asked whether Mr Ahtisaari had reacted to Swapo's rejection of the ceasefire appeal, he said: "It would be unfair for me to comment on that at this stage, but I felt distressed at Swapo's attitude."

Mr Ahtisaari and 16 members of his UN fact-finding mission leave Windhoek today to visit three main centres and small rural areas along the border

Mr Justice Steyn said he had a pleasant, fruitful meeting with Mr Ahtisaari yesterday.

Mr Ahtisaari's top aides yesterday met for a second round of talks with a four-man Swapo delegation, and then with church leaders

It is understood the UN group wanted clarification on certain objections these two groups had about the voter registration process and the Administrator-General's emergency security legislation under which 14 Swapo members are still held and the Administrator-General's powers to deport "undesirable people" from the territory.

No split in our ranks, says DTA

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Leaders of the conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance yesterday categorically denied there was any threat of a split in their ranks

But observers believe that the suspected discord in the DTA ranks is becoming crucial to the success of the Western-initiated peace package for South West Africa.

Yesterday's DTA statement comes in the wake of speculation about whether the South African Government is prepared to postpone the December 31 independence target date if it becomes necessary to save the peace plan

A postponement would subject the creaking DTA to additional strains that could hamper its chances for victory in the proposed one man, one vote election for a constituent assembly

Informed sources in the DTA believe they stand a far better chance in elec-

tions if they are held early
Dissidents within the DTA are pressing the hierarchy to drop the ethnic divisions in the alliance and become purely a political party.

While reiterating their unity yesterday, the DTA leaders nevertheless demanded that elections be held this year

"All the leaders in the DTA worked together to get a final independence date, which was accepted by the South African Government and the Western powers and endorsed by the United Nations Security Council," the statement said

The DTA statement said the parties concerned must now stand by their word

"If the elections don't take place this year, the blame will rest squarely on the shoulders of the South African Government, the West and the UN Security Council," the statement said

Ahtisaari may go 'under guard' (22)

NW 15/8/78
Mercury Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — The United Nations special representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, will be given special South African military protection if it becomes necessary during his three-day safari to the tense South West African border beginning today.

This was said by the Administrator-General, Mr. Justice Steyn.

It was also announced yesterday that Mr. Ahtisaari's Austrian military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, will accompany Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding South West Africa Command, on a separate trip to the operational area today.

Mr. Ahtisaari and 16 members of his UN fact-finding mission, off today will speak to political leaders and churchmen during visits to Ondangwa, in Owambo, Rundu, in Kavango, and Katima Mulilo.

Judge Steyn said the independence target date of December 31 was mandatory in the sense of the wording of the Western proposals.

"But it doesn't mean that because it is mandatory, we can't discuss it."

Steyn orders two priests to quit SWA

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Deportation orders were yesterday served on two priests in South West Africa by the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

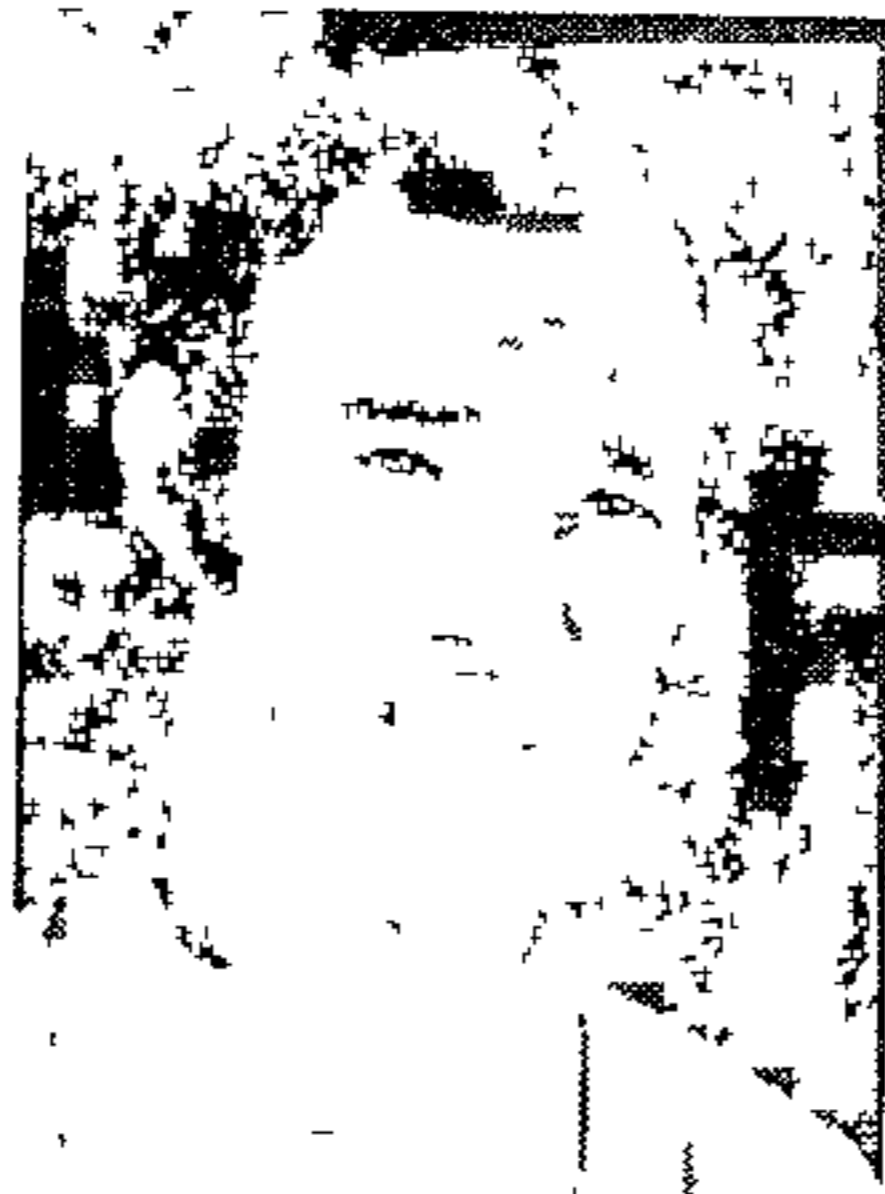
Security Police handed the deportation orders to the Rev Ed Morrow, Anglican vicar-general of the Damaraland diocese, his wife, Laurcen, and Father Heinz Hunke, a Roman Catholic Priest.

Mr Morrow and his wife, both South African citizens, were given seven days to leave the territory, while Father Hunke was told to quit within 96 hours.

The clampdown on clergymen comes at a delicate stage in international efforts for a peaceful settlement in the territory, and only a day after Mr Justice Steyn's proclamation empowering him to deport "undesirable" people from SWA.

Bishop Rudolf Koppmann, Roman Catholic Bishop in Windhoek, said the deportation of Father Hunke cast doubts on South Africa's sincerity for a peaceful settlement in the territory.

In terms of Mr Justice Steyn's proclamation,



THE REV MORROW
told to go

known as AG 50, deportation orders would apply to anyone who threatened the peace or good government of the territory.

It would include those who had inflicted or threatened to inflict hurt or damage on other people in order to attain certain objectives.

Mr Morrow's deportation order comes in the wake of a statement — issued by Anglican clergymen who met in Lesotho last week — that implicitly associated the church with Swapo's "liberation strug-

gle".

The churchmen rejected the West's SWA peace package which was accepted this week by Swapo during negotiations in Luanda.

Father Hunke, a German citizen who has lived in SWA for the past 10 years, has clashed with Mr Justice Steyn during the past few months over allegations of torture.

Father Hunke's allegations of torture against the SA security forces have been consistently rejected by Mr Justice Steyn.

Mr John Viall, chief director in the Administrator-General's office, said yesterday that no reasons were given for the deportation orders.

Mr Morrow said Mr Justice Steyn had emerged as a "dictator" and people had no recourse to parliament or courts of law.

Bishop Koppmann said "I must protest in the strongest terms against the dictatorial and undemocratic measures of the Administrator-General in deporting one of my priests."

Swapo yes pleases NNF

WINDHOEK — The Namibian National Front (NNF) yesterday welcomed Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals on South West Africa.

In a statement the NNF — a non-racial political alliance — said it regretted Swapo had taken so long to reach the present position.

"For the first time in the history of our country free elections on the basis of one man, one vote are close to becoming a reality," the statement said.

The statement called upon all South West Africans to set aside their racial or ethnic differences and prejudices and unite as a single nation.

It called on the people to participate in a peaceful and democratic electoral process to elect members to a constituent assembly.

Earlier this week in Salisbury, the former Rhodesian Front MP, Mr Alan Savory, said South Africa had adopted a course of realism by accepting the Western proposals.

He suggested the Rhodesian Government follow suit by convening an all-party conference acceptable to the Western powers and the leaders of the Patriotic Front.

Sapa

Newsmen in SWA air crash

STAR

16/8/78
(221)

The Star's Africa
News Service

Windhoek

A chartered aircraft carrying journalists covering the visit by the UN special representative, Mr Ahtisaari, crashed today on take-off from Ondangwa in Ovambo. First reports said two people were seriously injured.

The seven were taken to hospital at Oshakati in Mr Ahtisaari's aircraft.

The crashed plane had been chartered jointly by representatives of news organisations, including The Star's Africa News Service, Sapa, SABC, Rand Daily Mail, Beeld and The Citizen.

The names of the injured have not yet been released, but the names of journalists known to be covering the visit are Mr Lester Venter for the Argus Africa News Service, Mr Con Crous for Sapa; Mr Max du Preez for Beeld, Mr David Jackson for the Citizen and Mr David Forret for the Rand Daily Mail.

Hospital

The pilot, Mr Mike van Rensburg, and Mr du Preez were seriously injured and have been admitted to hospital in Oshakati.

A plane has left Windhoek for Ovambo to pick up the injured.

The party was flying in a Cessna 410.

Slightly hurt were Mr Craus of the Sapa and Mr Ossie Gibson of the SABC. Not hurt were Mr Dave Jackson of The Citizen, Mr Venter and Mr Forret.

From Pretoria The Star's political staff reports the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, reacted sharply today to reports that Mr Ahtisaari had given the Swapo hand sign during his visit to Ovambo.

In a short statement issued by his office today Mr Vorster said "The Government is greatly perturbed at reports this morning that the United Nations' special envoy, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, has given the Swapo hand sign during his visit to the north of South West Africa.

"If these reports are correct, they reflect upon Mr Ahtisaari's impartiality.

"The matter is being investigated further and after completion thereof

To Page 3, Col 1

STAR

By Allen Pizze
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, says he is willing to make changes in the registration of voters if asked to do so by the United Nations' special representative in the territory.

The voter registration issue, which has been criticised by two of the major political parties here is "obviously going to be discussed" between himself and special representative Mr Marth Ahtisaari, Judge Steyn said in an exclusive interview last night.

"We will both approach it with an open mind," he said.

"It will depend on the nature of the changes whether they can be accommodated".

More than 70 percent of the estimated number of voters in the country have been registered under a

16/8/78

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SWA poll rethink 'if UN demands it'

South African-initiated campaign

Both Swapo and the Namibia National Front (NNF) have complained that intimidation has been used by authorities to enforce registration.

"There is still more than a month to go in the campaign and that is enough time to make some changes," Judge Steyn said.

Another potential problem for the Western efforts to set up a peaceful transition to internationaly accepted independence in SWA/Namibia is the question of the release of political prisoners.

A key figure is Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, the founder of Swapo, who is

imprisoned on Robben Island.

A great guessing game here is whether Ja Toivo, if released, will throw his support back into Swapo or align himself with the breakaway Swapo Democratic Party or some other group opposing the militant leadership of Mr Sam Nujoma, who took over when Ja Toivo was imprisoned.

Coupled with this is the return of Namibia exiles, both those who support Swapo and dissidents who have been expelled or held by Swapo out of the country.

Acknowledging fears that Swapo could use the repatriation of exiles,

even under United Nations supervision, to infiltrate guerrillas, Judge Steyn said: "That of course would be a gross breach of faith".

If Swapo did try to bring in men under the guise of voters and then use them as soldiers "obviously measures will have to be taken to neutralise such efforts," Judge Steyn said.

The date for both the election of a constituent assembly and independence would also have to be discussed between himself and Mr Ahtisaari, Judge Steyn said.

As it stands now, the December 31 indepen-

dence date contained in the Western proposals cannot be met if the timetable is adhered to starting from acceptance of the Secretary-General's report on Mr Ahtisaari's mission by the Security Council.

Judge Steyn said he felt sure he and Mr Ahtisaari could reach accommodation on points of difference. Whether or not the UN, the Security Council and South Africa could be another matter.

To stop or stall the initiative now or have it lose credibility would be dangerous, Judge Steyn said.

He would do his utmost to see that he and Mr Ahtisaari could come to some mutual agreement.

The UN team was doing the same.

"I am here to aid in the implementation of the whole Western initiative," Judge Steyn said.

MR JUSTICE M T STEYN



MR AHTISAARI

ATTACKING MINERS SHOT BY POLICE

Mercury Correspondent

SALISBURY — Police shot dead four striking miners and wounded five others at the Mangula copper mine 130km north-west of Salisbury yesterday.

The strike for higher wages was into its second day and involved the entire labour force of more than 3 000 men.

A police statement said that the miners were addressed by an official of the National Industrial Council on Monday afternoon and dispersed quietly.

At 3.30 a.m. yesterday about 1 700 assembled at the mine offices some armed with iron bars, axes and knob keries

By 5.50 a.m. the crowd had swelled to about 3 000.

After failing to obey an order to disperse tear gas was used.

They broke up but re-gathered a short time later and tried to break through police barricades to the offices.

Two policemen who tried to arrest some of the strikers were pulled into the crowd and to save them their colleagues were forced to open fire.

Four of the wounded men were in a serious condition. Six others were arrested for being in possession of dangerous weapons.

A spokesman for the mine said an early return to work was expected.

He said the situation was calm by mid-afternoon with negotiations going on between the National Industrial Council and the mine workers' union.

"The mood has improved. There is no problem now. The police took over completely earlier and the mine management kept out of it. The result is that the status quo remains.

"We granted an increase three months earlier than the normal date. This was accepted at other mines but rejected at this mine.

They wanted a 100 per cent rise and this was out of the question."

16 | 8 | 18
Rim
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Ahtisaari gets a close-up of SWA battle area

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau

OSHAKATI.—The United Nations official representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, yesterday visited the South West African battle ground.

He and 16 members of his fact-finding mission arrived at the area which has been the scene of guerrilla activity in Owambo on the first leg of their three-day tour of the tense border.

They were immediately taken away for talks with the conservative Owambo cabinet.

After discussions lasting about two hours, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, Owambo's Chief Minister and President of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said he had asked Mr Ahtisaari to get Swapo to stop their violent activities in the area.

"I also handed him a memorandum from parents whose children have been abducted by Swapo."

Asked for Mr Ahtisaari's reaction to Swapo's violence, Pastor Ndjoba said: "He is very quiet and he only listens."

Pastor Ndjoba said, however, it appeared as if Mr Ahtisaari was an impartial man.

But he added that he

would carefully scrutinise Mr Ahtisaari's report to see how the United Nations planned to protect Ovambos when the South African troops are withdrawn.

"The reduction of South African troops to 1 500 is not really acceptable to me or my people, but we will wait and see what security measures the United Nations propose."

Pastor Ndjoba said the election must be held in November, but the independence target date could be postponed if there was no other choice.

Mr Ahtisaari told the Owambo Cabinet that it was essential in this "co-operative exercise" for all people to show impartiality to avoid problems.

He particularly mentioned the police, judges, the United Nations and Administrative General officials.

After lunch the team was flown by helicopter to the Onipa mission station of the Evangelical Lutheran O w a m b o-Kavango Church. There they were greeted by about 8 000 Swapo demonstrators.

The party met the leader of the church, Bishop Leonard Auala, for talks and stayed overnight.

RAM 11/18/78

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THE NATAL NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

Botha warns Swapo: We'll boost troops

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, warned yesterday that South Africa might increase the number of troops in the operational area if Swapo violence continued.

In an unscheduled statement at the Natal congress of the National Party, Mr Botha rejected outright the latest demands by Swapo's president Mr Sam Nujoma for a South African troop withdrawal.

Reacting to a radio interview in which Mr Nujoma said his organisation would

continue its campaign of violence until SA troops were reduced to 1 500 men and confined to bases, Mr Botha said. "Not one single soldier will be withdrawn as long as Swapo carries on its terrorist activities."

It was a clear condition in the Western proposals that SA troops would only be reduced after three months of "visible peace"

"If Swapo thinks it can carry on terrorising innocent people from across the border, it will find that we can increase our troops

"... we are there to see that the fires burning on the border do not blow across into South Africa, and if Mr Nujoma hasn't learnt his lesson, he may find out there is a harder lesson waiting for him.

"I don't want to sound trigger happy. South Africa's honour is at stake. The safety of people is at stake. Still more important, the honour of the army is at stake and we will not allow it to be threatened," he said.

Mr Botha also rejected a call by Mr Nujoma for 5 000 United Nations troops to be spread throughout the territory.

"There has been no agreement about 5 000 UN troops coming to South West Africa.

"If the West thinks it has a responsibility to appease Swapo, it will find South Africa is not such an easy nut to crack," he said.

Mr Botha also announced that arrangements for the transportation of national servicemen while off duty would be announced today by Major-General Webster at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

The scheme aimed to cut down the number of fatal accidents which resulted from the high incidence of hitchhiking among servicemen.

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Swapo
rebel
to visit
SWA

R.O.M 17/8/78

Ahtisaari 221 cleared of Swapo hail

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

MR Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Special Representative in South West Africa, was yesterday cleared of suspicion of having compromised his neutrality by giving the Swapo clenched fist salute to Swapo demonstrators.

The suspicion arose because of an SABC report that he had done so when he was greeted by Swapo demonstrators on arrival at Onupa in South West Africa for talks with leaders of the Owambo-Kavango Evangelical Church.

But Dr Robert du Plooy, liaison officer for Mr Justice Steyn, the Administrator-General, said yesterday: "I didn't see Mr Ahtisaari give the Swapo salute. I did see him wave."

Dr Du Plooy's account tallies with that of Ma Ahtisaari himself who yesterday denied that he had given the black Power salute to the demonstrators but conceded that he waved.

Bishop Leonard Auala, of the Owambo-Kavango

Evangelical Church, told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday. "Mr Ahtisaari did not give the salute. I wonder what those who said he did so are trying to prove."

Dr Du Plooy reported yesterday to the office of the Administrator-General on what happened at Onupa.

Earlier yesterday, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, expressed concern at the report that Mr Ahtisaari had given the Swapo salute.

Mr Vorster said: "If these reports are correct, they reflect on Mr Ahtisaari's impartiality. The matter is being investigated further and after completion thereof another statement will be issued."

Professor Michael Louw, director for strategic studies at the University of Pretoria, yesterday expressed surprise that the report had drawn the response it had from the Prime Minister, reports GERALD REILLY.

The response could have come from a lower level, Professor Louw said.

WINDHOEK. — The president and founder of the recently established Swapo Democrats Party (Swapo D), Mr Andreas Shipanga, would be returning to South West Africa for a brief visit on August 27, the party's secretary for information and finance, Dr Kenneth Abrahams, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Shipanga, a former member and co-founder of Swapo, would spend a few weeks in SWA promoting the interests of Swapo D and assisting in setting up an organisational network for the party in the territory, Dr Abrahams said.

Mr Shipanga, now living in London, was recently released from a detainee camp in Tanzania where he was imprisoned after allegedly plotting to oust Mr Sam Nujoma as leader of Swapo two years ago.

He and several other Swapo dissidents formed Swapo D two months ago. It has struck up an electoral alliance with the Namibian National Front.

Swapo D was currently campaigning to establish repatriation committees for the "great numbers" of political exiles expected to return to the territory. "The United Nations is busy with a campaign to repatriate thousands of political exiles, but this will only be enacted on full implementation of the Western proposals on Namibia."

"So we are going ahead by ourselves, and bringing back our own officials at our own expense," Dr Abrahams said. — Sapa.

UN plea for calm

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, yesterday made an urgent appeal for calm and maximum restraint in South West Africa.

He voiced deep concern over reports of increased armed activity in the northern border areas and stressed the need for a calm and peaceful atmosphere during "this vital phase".

Ovambo policeman's family abducted

Cape Times
15/8/78

By ENRICO KEMP 221

POLICE at Ohamaala in Ovambo last night feared for the lives of the wife and four minor children of a policeman who were abducted by Swapo insurgents from their rural kraal between Tuesday night and early Wednesday morning.

Official security sources told the Cape Times from Oshakati late last night that the woman, Mrs Launa Shenukalela, 37, the wife of Constable Michael Shenukalela, 35, and her four children, Nathaniel, Matues, Phillipus and Malariel — whose ages range from three to nine years — were kidnapped by three Swapo members and taken across the border into Angola.

A joint search party of South African Defence Force troops and police at Ohamaala followed the tracks of the fleeing insurgents to the Angola border, where they were forced to turn back.

Admitted

<u>Years</u>	<u>5D ATHLONE</u> Number	<u>5E LANSDOWNE</u> Number
- 1	72	8
- 2	110	9
- 3	68	4
- 4	42	4
- 5	31	1
- 6	24	1
- 7	25	1
- 8	17	2
- 9	9	1
- 10	20	1
- 11	8	0
- 12	8	2
- 13	6	0
- 14	1	0
- 15	3	1
- 16	4	0
- 17	2	0
- 18	0	0
- 19	1	0
- 20	1	2
- 21	1	0
- 22	0	-
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- 42		
- 43		
- 44		
- 45		
- 46		
- 47		
- 48	0	0
- 49	0	0
- 50	0	0
> 50	2	0
Totals	462	38

SWA/NAMIBIA FM 18/8/78
DTA blues (221)

With the imminent arrival in Windhoek of Martti Ahtisaari, the UN's overseer, the focus switches from international to internal politics in the run-up to elections for the constituent assembly (see page 391)

The most important internal development of the last few months has been the new political fluidity, with each of the three major parties or alliances — Swapo, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Namibia National Front (NNF) — experiencing internal problems to a lesser or larger degree.

Most interesting has been the fate of the DTA. During the past 10 months it has been the darling of both the SA government and most opposition newspapers. It had the sympathy of major SA business groups such as Anglo American and the opposition parties, the PFP and

the NKP

The impression was created that it was a neck-and-neck election race between Swapo and the DTA with the latter gaining ground all the time.

But recent developments and new facts that have emerged, have changed all that. The DTA has in fact been losing support both on its left, to the NNF and Swapo, and on its right, to the NP-backed Aktur.

Well-placed local observers have all along rejected glowing SA press reports about the DTA's alleged strength. It is an open question whether the DTA is actually losing large-scale support or whether it ever had it.

The majority of Ovambos — 46% of the total population — undoubtedly support Swapo. And contrary to official statements and claims, this is privately conceded by well-placed pro-government sources.

Personalities

Among the whites — at 100 000 the second biggest group — the DTA has always had minority support. But there are now clear indications that the right-wing propaganda of Aktur and the HNP is paying dividends. Some observers believe that at least 70%-80% of all whites are against the DTA.

The NNF has now also gained some of the verligte whites who originally supported the DTA because there was no alternative at the time.

And among the 70 000 Damaras it seems as if a large majority support the NNF. It is doubtful whether the DTA at any stage had more than 15% of Damara support.

Additionally, the DTA is facing serious internal problems, hence the frantic insistence of the SA government and DTA chairman Dirk Mudge that elections should be held before the end of the year.

Within the DTA an informal opposition group has emerged which includes men such as Andrew Kloppers (coloured), E Kuhlmann (Nama) and E Christie (Nama). There are indications that they are supported by K Riruake, the new Herero leader who succeeded Chief Clemens Kapuuo.

Although the differences might partly involve personalities, these men are opposed to over-emphasised ethnicity. Several of them, including Riruake, have called for the disbanding of the alliance and the formation of one party — an idea rejected by Mudge and the others.

The DTA's cautiously diplomatic support of SA's stance on Walvis Bay will not help it in the elections. If elections are

held only in March next year, the internal differences and tensions in the DTA are bound to come into the open.

It is most likely that some of the DTA members — both leaders and rank-and-file — may in the near future defect to the NNF. Some may even end up with Swapo.

Shipanga plans return to SWA

LONDON — Mr Andreas Shipanga, leader of the newly-formed Swapo Democrats (Swapo-D), is returning to South West Africa on August 27 to launch his election campaign

Mr Shipanga, who was detained first in Zambia and then in Tanzania after a clash with Swapo's leadership, will immediately call on the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in Windhoek and ask him to secure the release from detention camps in northern Zambia of more than 1 000 former Swapo members who, he alleges, have been detained there since the 1976 Swapo revolt.

Mr Shipanga will be accompanied to Windhoek by a dozen Swapo dissidents who were detained with him in Zambia and Tanzania. They will join an advance party which reached Windhoek three

weeks ago to set up Swapo-D headquarters

Offices will be opened in Owambo, Kavangoland, Walvis Bay, Tsumeb, and Oranjemund

In alliance with the Namibia National Front, Swapo-D will campaign to persuade Swapo supporters to switch their allegiance to the NNF-Swapo-D alliance

Mr Shipanga will also campaign for the release from Robben Island of Swapo's founder, Mr Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, who has been imprisoned there for 10 years.

Mr Shipanga, formerly Swapo's executive member in charge of information, went into exile from South West Africa 10 years ago

In 1976 he clashed with Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, and was detained

He and other top detainees were released in May — DDC

Ahtisaari makes a low-profile start

WINDHOEK — In diplomatic language it is referred to as "keeping a low profile" for a man of the physical bulk of UN special representative Mr Marthi Ahtisaari that is no mean feat — yet it is precisely what the Finnish diplomat has managed to do for more than 10 days in SWA/Namibia.

A rotund, jowly man with a penchant for dark suits and striped ties, Mr Ahtisaari has proved almost elusive to a score of pressmen dogging his heels and cooling theirs for seemingly endless hours outside his meetings in a vain attempt to "doorstop".

On the one occasion other than his formal Press conference on arrival, when Mr Ahtisaari did face Press questions, he fielded them with a dexterity and aplomb born of long practice.

His pale blue eyes flash authority. There are no "yes men" trailing along. People who have seen the UN man at work describe him as "impressive" and "a

Allen Pizey of The Star's Africa News Service, who is covering the UN's Mr Martti Ahtisaari as he holds meetings throughout SWA/Namibia, reports from Windhoek.

suave and hard worker",

Formerly UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Ahtisaari is said to have a comprehensive knowledge of the territory, although he had not seen it until he stepped off a US Air Force plane a week ago last Sunday.

If the South African Government had any worries that the UN representative would use his presence here to create a platform for UN views on how SWA/Namibia should be run, they must have been dispelled by now.

Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, described his relationship with the man with whom he will have to work if the UN plan

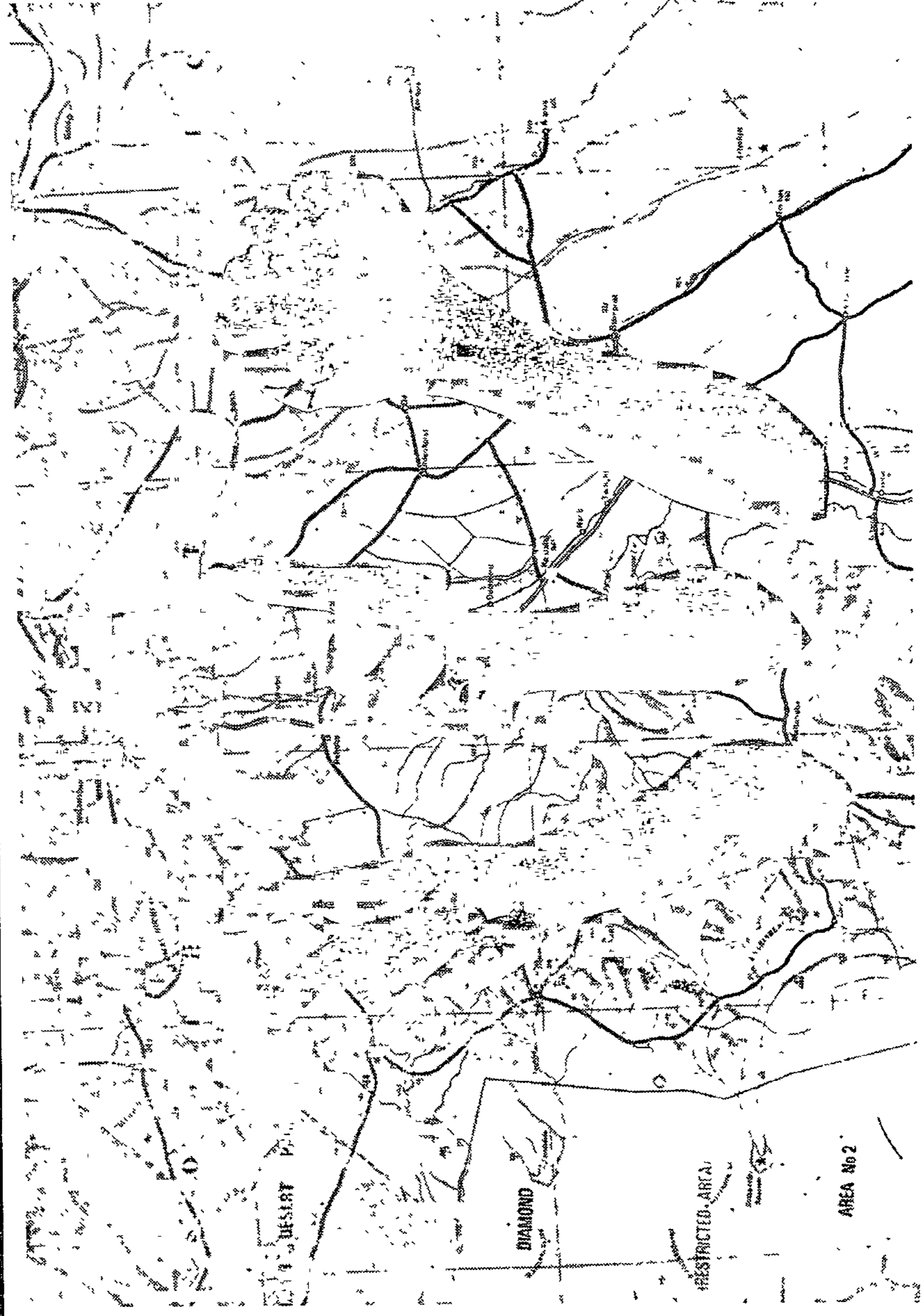
for independence is accepted, as "pleasant."

The UN staff keep tight-lipped about it position and the workings are working out. "We are all under the whip, a very heavy whip, to keep our mouths shut," on team member said.

Many of the staff 47 were at one time or another open supporters of Swapo in its one-time UN-annointed role as "sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people."

They and their bosses are fully aware that suspicions run deep and they are doing their best to assume a role of neutrality.

So far they have managed to do it in a impressive if unobtrusive way.



Salute to Swapo

You have to be careful how you wave in South West Africa/Namibia these days, especially if you are United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari or the territory's administrator-general Mr Justice M T Steyn. Earlier this week Mr Ahtisaari was accused — wrongly — of giving the Swapo salute (on the right in the picture) and now people are pointing a finger at Mr Steyn for allegedly giving the salute of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (on the left). The salute in the centre is that of the Namibia National Front.

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The Impact of the I

An Economic and Social Discussion about the Residential Component in the
Mill Street/Orange Street Area of Cape Town.

An Evaluation of the O'Okiep Copper Company in the Namaqualand Copper District -
A consideration of the effect on the area if the copper mines were to close down.

The Transport System of a Bottling Industry in Lilongwe, Malawi.

A Study into the Effects of Seasonal Winds and Sea Temperature on the Catching
of Yellowtail at Fish Hoek Beach by Seine-Net Fishermen.

Factors Determining the Ecological Environment of the Cape of Good Hope Nature
Reserve, with Regard to the Alien Vegetation.

A Study in Coloured Shopping in Athlone and Claremont.

Models of Rural Land Reform - The Tanzanian Case.

The Way in which Perceived Distances Differ from Actual Distances Within an
Urban Area.

Examination of the Importance of the Variable, "Length of Residence" on Local
Imagery.

Transkei : An Illustration of its Potential.

Cape Town Electoral Districts.

Perceptions of the Cape Peninsula Landscape 1900 - 1977.

Jan ar
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sitional period of SA troop withdrawal
and free elections. The mere physical pre-
sence of the expected 5 000 blue berets
and the disappearance of SA's military
might from the scene could mean a signi-
ficant swing of public opinion in favour
of Swapo — because Swapo will have a
psychological advantage, having been
actively engaged in a military
confrontation with SA.

It is even being said that some of those
blacks who now support the Democratic
Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), because of its
backing by the political and military
power of Pretoria, will switch sides when
that power is seen to have withdrawn.

Swapo supporters were certainly in the
majority among the tens of thousands
who welcomed the UN team outside the
airport and who stood in groups on the
50 km road to Windhoek. A police
officer said Swapo outnumbered DTA
supporters three to one.

Significantly, the middle-of-the-road
Namibia National Front (NNF) which
has been tipped in certain circles to pre-
sent a serious challenge to the other two
parties, hardly had any supporters
among the crowds. And those present
joined the Swapo side of the road oppos-
ing the DTA.

Another event that will have a big
impact will be the return of Swapo exiles,
who could number at least 15 000

Among them will be the group
leadership.

Privately, a leading DTA supporter
admitted last week that the DTA was
facing serious internal problems, and that
Swapo would get at least 55% of the
votes

Meanwhile, the FM was told in Wind-
hoek last week that some more diploma-
tic arm-twisting will be needed to
"ensure" that SA and Swapo — the two
main opposing parties in the dispute —
do not renege on the proposals to be sub-
mitted by Ahtisaari.

The West rules

Ahtisaari, it is understood, will in no
way deviate from the original Western
proposals, and will stick to them in letter
and in spirit

But this means there can be no elec-
tions before May next year, with indepen-
dence to follow several months later. Yet
SA and the DTA are adamant that elec-
tions must be held before the end of the
year as indeed the Western proposals say
they will

It is believed that the West, with the
approval of the front-line states, will be
prepared to give SA some new
"assurances." These it is claimed, may
even include guarantees that the West
will veto economic sanctions against
SA's internal policies

..... on Swakopmund.

SWA/NAMIBIA

Beret blues?

12/8/78

Blue berets in Windhoek? A year ago, unthinkable, today, reality. Nothing symbolised more the dramatic change in the affairs of SWA/Namibia than the appearance in the streets of Windhoek last week of the few uniformed soldiers accompanying the UN fact-finding mission of Martti Ahtisaari.

To the ordinary South West African, immune to international pressure after the protracted 32-year dispute with the UN, these soldiers visibly demonstrated that the era of control was inexorably coming to an end.

The astonished reaction of whites, and the enthusiasm with which blacks responded to the presence of the soldiers, focused attention on an important aspect of the whole UN involvement in the tran-

Financial Mail August 18 1978

Each to his own

221

Get a load of this the crisis in SA is permanent; the illegal outflow of capital is assuming "significant proportions", the authorities have driven black protest off the streets and muffled its public expres-

Table 39. Total empl

REGION
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T O T A L S

tion, but "just as organisation has continued against all the odds in the factories of SA over the decades, so wider political organisation will continue in the schools and factories, in the townships and ban-

tustans." These are some of the conclusions of a report, *Buying time in South Africa*, by Counter Information Services, to be published shortly in London. One of the most curious items in it concerns British policy regarding RTZ's Rossing Mines in SWA. After Labour was returned to power in 1974, the issue was reviewed by a cabinet sub-committee on southern Africa chaired by Harold Wilson, with Jim Callaghan (then foreign secretary) and Eric Varley (then minister of energy).

"Varley presented a report which suggested that there was no alternative source of supply (for Britain) but it is alleged that the clinching argument was a statement by Callaghan that Swapo had told him privately during a visit to Dar es Salaam that they preferred to have investment in uranium mining continued, and that they supported the contract between the UK government and Rossing.

"Callaghan also claimed that he had been told that whatever Swapo might say publicly about the deal, this does not represent their true position." When Sean Macbride the former UN Commissioner for Namibia, obtained a UK foreign office transcript of the Callaghan/Swapo discussion he found "no evidence in the transcript of any approval of the deal."

There is some detail in the report about the plans of various South American countries to accommodate white refugees from southern Africa. The West German government is said to have offered \$150m worth of credit to any country willing to accept large numbers of white southern African immigrants of German and Dutch origin. In this connection an HNP delegation from SA visited Bolivia and Brazil last March, and one member of the group, Jan Foley, is quoted as saying that he did not foresee difficulties for settlement in either of the two countries, "because, like us, they practise discrimination."

Advertisements placed by the Anglo-Bolivian Land and Cattle Company in the US press a few weeks ago, offering large tracts of land for sale, state that "the Bolivian government has indicated a willingness to accept European farmers from Rhodesia, Namibia and SA to settle in its unpopulated areas."

oyees in the s with some basis ous table.

by region and race.

	Americans	Totals
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	4 643	20 997
	3 819	55 375
	3 315	4 046
	3 168	46 098
	2 578	169 318

I. Generalisation f

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4. DISCUSSION OF THE

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th an idea of what however, our answers in which could be taken as

NM 18/8/78

Terror attack kills son, leaves father injured

(221)

SALISBURY — A shoot-out between a gang of terrorists and a White father and son will, in all likelihood, be the kiss of death to a long established lowveld ranch only a few kilometres away from the Rhodesian border with South Africa.

The shooting — ironically at a cattle ranch called Battlefield — left Adrian Stander (28) dead and his father, Ben (58), seriously wounded.

The terrorist attack on the Stander family was the eighth attack on the ranch in three years and reports yesterday said the entire Black labour force had quit the ranch.

Ben's wife, Gerda, said the family did not know

what to do. "We have been on the ranch for 18 years and everything we have has been put into the place."

The attack took place in broad daylight on Tuesday.

The two men were travelling on gravel roads around the ranch in separate vehicles with about 100m between them when they were ambushed by a 20-strong gang.

In the gunfight Adrian, driving a pick-up van carrying five Black labourers, was shot in the chest. He died instantly.

Ben, driving behind in a mine-and ambush-protected vehicle, leaped to his son's aid. The labourers had fled. Ben found his son, motionless, under his van from where he had returned terrorist fire.

Having run out of his own ammunition, Ben then grabbed another magazine from his son's body and continued the battle. He killed one terrorist and wounded another before being hit himself, in the chest and arms — (Sapa.)

Terrorists die in skirmishes

NM 19/8/78 (22)

WINDHOEK — At least two terrorists were known to have died in skirmishes with security forces in the northern operational area during the past 48 hours, SWA Command reported yesterday.

In a statement, it said several border violations, including the abduction of six people in Kavango, had also taken place.

In an incident on Thursday afternoon, a band of terrorists had abducted six employees of the Kavango Works Department after attacking a workers' camp along the Owambo-

Kavango border.

The workers had been loaded on to a stolen vehicle and had been taken into Owambo. A follow-up operation had been launched.

In a separate incident late on Thursday night, a patrol encountered a group of terrorists who crossed the border into Owambo from Angola. The patrol had opened fire on the terrorists and in the ensuing battle one of the terrorists had been killed.

The rest of the gang had fled into Angola. — (Sapa.)

UN force in SWA 'could be changed'

star 19/8/78 (22)

WINDHOEK — The size of the UN Transition Assistance Group could be substantially different from the 1 000 civilian personnel and 5 000 troops originally mentioned in discussions according to UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari

In an exclusive interview he said final figures would have to be based on physical conditions and the tasks required, which had been investigated by his 48-member mission.

Mr Ahtisaari stressed step-by-step adherence to the Western proposals for SWA/Namibian independence was absolutely important for the success of the exercise.

"If we want to talk about free and fair elections certain steps will have to take place before we can create that sort of climate"

The Finnish diplomat, who has been here for almost two weeks on a fact-finding mission on which UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim will base a report to the Security Council, said he understood the impatience of some people in the territory who have tried to work out an internal independence solution

Asked if he thought there were steps in the Western plan which could be contracted or speeded up, he said "I doubt it. We must be realistic about how long it could take"

Ahtisaari junior

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The impact the United Nations mission led by Mr Martti Ahtisaari has made on SWA/Namibia now has a living tribute — a four-day-old Owambo baby boy called Ahtisaari.

Mr Ahtisaari said he had been told that when he landed at the Swapo-stronghold of Onipa in a South African Air Force helicopter on Tuesday a baby boy was born in the nearby village

While Swapo supporters at the mission station gave Mr Ahtisaari a tumultuous welcome, the baby's mother decided her baby would be named "Ahtisaari"

By

Lester Venter and Allen Pizey of The Star's Africa News Service

The plan, which has already been accepted by the Security Council, calls for a three-month phased reduction of the number of South African troops in the territory to 1 500, and a four-month election campaign to follow

This schedule makes independence this year unattainable although Mr Ahtisaari would not commit himself to saying the target date of December 31 — written into the Western plan earlier this year — would have to be abandoned

DRAMATIC

Mr Ahtisaari said his stay in Windhoek, and especially his three day trip to the northern areas this week, had been "absolutely essential" to begin detailing the transition process

Of his meetings with political and other groups, Mr Ahtisaari said "I didn't really expect to hear anything new or dra-

matic from people here. We just needed to meet them and have them meet us

"For some people it really seems impossible to believe we can be honest, sincere and impartial," he said

He noted that in the past there had been biased views from both sides

A successful transition to independence would require impartiality on both sides, Mr Ahtisaari said

"I can see that there is a period of time required before everything can calm down and a new political climate be created"

Almost half his fact-finding team would be left behind when he returned to New York next week, Mr Ahtisaari said

NO OBJECTIONS

So far, he had not had any objections from South Africa about leaving people behind, he said

The members staying behind would continue gathering information and would be geared for action if the initiative passed through the Security Council, Mr Ahtisaari said

He thought he would need a week in New York to complete his report to Dr Waldheim

Mr Ahtisaari would not be pinned down on his assessment of the chances for success of the Western initiative, but the impression gained throughout the interview was one of restrained optimism

Border poser for military group

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The complexity of the military situation on SWA/Namibia's northern border will require more visits by the United Nations military group that must plan the deployment of a peace-keeping force there

This was contained in a joint communique issued last night by the UN military chief visiting the territory, Major General Hannes Philipp, and the chief of the South African forces in the territory, Major General J J Geidenhuy. The generals, just returned from a tour of the operational area, said they were satisfied with what they had seen

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Adherence to Western proposals 'absolutely essential' says UN man

WINDHOEK Step by step adherence to the Western proposals for Namibian independence is "absolutely important" for the success of the exercise, according to UN Special Representative Mr. Martti Ahtisaari.

"If we want to talk about free and fair elections certain steps will have to take place before we can create that sort of climate," Mr. Ahtisaari said on Friday.

The Finnish diplomat, who has been here for almost two weeks on a fact-finding mission on which UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim will base a report to the Security Council, said he understood the impatience of some people in the territory who have tried to work out an "internal" independence solution.

Asked if he thought there were steps in the Western plan which could be contracted or speeded up, he said "I doubt it

We must be realistic about how long it could take."

The plan, which has already been accepted by the Security Council, calls for a three-month phased reduction of the number of South African troops in the territory to 1,500 and a four-month election campaign to follow.

This schedule makes independence this year unattainable although Mr. Ahtisaari would not commit himself to saying the

target date of December 31 — written into the Western plan earlier this year — would have to be abandoned.

Mr. Ahtisaari said his stay in Windhoek and especially his three day trip to the northern areas this week, had been "absolutely essential" to begin detailing the transition process.

Of his meetings with political and other groups Mr. Ahtisaari said "I

didn't really expect to hear anything new or dramatic from people here. We just needed to meet them and have them meet us.

"For some people it really seems impossible to believe we can be honest, sincere and impartial," he said.

He noted that in the past there had been "biased views" from both sides.

A successful transition to independence would

"require impartiality on both sides," Mr. Ahtisaari said.

"I can see that there is a period of time required before everything can calm down and a new political climate be created."

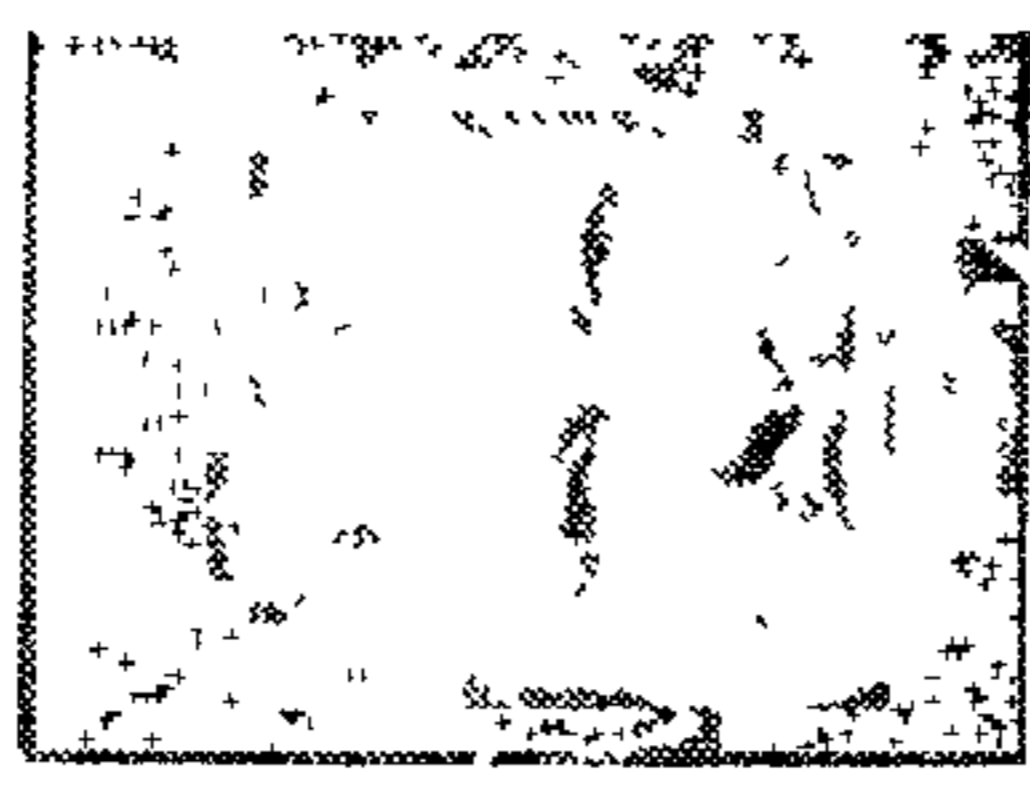
Mr. Ahtisaari associated himself with Dr. Waldheim's expression of concern over continuing violence in the north of the territory.

He indicated that the size of the UN Transition

Assistance Group could be substantially different from the 1,000 civilian personnel and 5,000 troops originally mentioned in discussions.

Final figures would have to be based on physical conditions and the tasks required which had been investigated by his 48-member mission.

"For someone to put any artificial boundaries that there can be this or that, then one is not taking this situation very seriously," Mr. Ahtisaari said.



Mr. Martti Ahtisaari

HEAVILY-ARMED FEMALE TERRORISTS GO INTO ACTION AS SWAPO LAUNCHES A BIG OFFENSIVE

By PATRICK TAYLOR

HEAVILY-armed women terrorists have been sent into action against South African troops in Ovambo as Swapo commits all available resources in an attempt to create an impression of strength in the field during the UN delegation's visit to Namibia.

A South African army patrol killed one woman during a skirmish with a band of 10 guerrillas in central Ovambo on Wednesday. Another woman escaped with the terrorists.

The South African patrol spotted the terrorist group during a routine mission and saw that two uniformed women carrying Russian-made AK 47 carbines were part of it.

boots and berets took part in a raid on a mission school in Ovambo.

They were not armed and apparently accompanied the men to assist in the control of more than 100 children who were abducted from the school.

A reliable source in Windhoek said that the women now taking an active part in the bush war activities were probably former schoolgirls who took part in the "great march" across the border into Angola three years ago.

They have received training in camps near Luanda similar to the training given to men.

SWAPO WOMEN TERRORISTS JOIN TERROR GAMING

Suffered

The move by Swapo towards the use of women in the field comes as a result of the heavy losses suffered by Swapo during the attacks on base camps inside Angola by South African forces in May

Some intelligence sources estimate that close to 2000 Swapo guerrillas were killed in the attack, leaving few battle-ried men available for significant operations inside Namibia

And the visit by the United Nations delegation made it important for Swapo to make a show of force in the territory. To achieve this women have been absorbed into small bands of terrorists.

Swapo's stepped-up activities have, according to South West Africa Command, resulted in several border violations this week. Two guerrillas — including the woman — were killed and six people abducted in Kavango

Last Sunday terrorists murdered an Ovambo interpreter, Mr Mattheus Paulus

The patrol engaged the terrorist group and during the fire-fight one of the women was badly wounded. She died while being transported for emergency medical treatment

Defensive

Until Wednesday's incident it was understood that the women members of Swapo's external wing were being used in a support and defensive role in terrorist camps in Angola

They fought alongside the men in trenches when South African paratroopers stormed a Swapo stronghold inside Angola in May this year but had not been committed to terrorist operations inside Namibia

First indications of a more active role for women in the terrorist war were reported by the Sunday Tribune last year. Six women wearing khaki dresses,

Shipanga in from the cold

By RORY LYNKY

LONDON Black nationalist leader Andreas Shipanga is returning to South West Africa confident that he has gone a long way towards establishing a firm electoral power base inside the country

The leader of the breakaway Swapo-Democrats has spent 15 years abroad — two of them languishing in Zambian and Tanzanian prison camps — in his quest for independence for South West Africa and its people

"To carry out a campaign from 10,000 kilometres away is not all that good," Mr Shipanga said here in an interview. "Since there is a new era we must go and live with the people and try to see their feelings."

Crucial

He flies into Windhoek next Sunday at a crucial stage in the territory's future

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations special envoy, will have completed his mission as part of the South African agreement with the Western powers. At the same time the political parties inside South West Africa are continuing their pre-election campaigns

The former Swapo publicity secretary is confident that he can achieve much in what he considers "a new era". He said the Swapo-Democrats could boast of having

● Persuaded Mr Solomon Mifima, a former Swapo secretary for labour and fellow dissident, to

TIME TO END MY YEARS OF EXILE SAYS CO-FOUNDER OF SWAPO

join the new splinter party

Mr Shipanga confirmed that he had talks with Mr Mifima and other South West African exiles in Athens last week. There had been reports that Mr Mifima was undecided about his political future

"They are now all Swapo-Democrats. Mr Mifima is an official in the party although he did not attend another meeting held in Sweden.

"Once we are in Namibia we intend holding a congress to formulate our policies for elections. Mr Mifima will follow us when he finishes his mission here."

Nucleus

● Secured the return from exile of 17 SDP members who will form the nucleus of the party's internal organisation

● Strengthened the alliance with Mr Bryan O'Linn's multiracial Namibia National Front grouping

"There are no obstacles to the alliance. Although we feel that we are not ready to join as full members, we have already agreed on a joint campaign and the har-

monisation of our internal and external policies."

Mr Shipanga told me he would welcome the support of his Swapo co-founder, Mr Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, now serving a prison sentence on Robben Island

"I want to see Herman, but I do not want to see him in prison," he said. "I want to see him released unconditionally. He must be allowed to return to his own country."

"We want to put our point of view to him, and others must also be allowed to do so." He denied reports that he had intended going to Cape Town to see the former Swapo leader

Bolster

Mr Shipanga said he believed his new party enjoyed considerable internal support. "I'm prepared to discuss matters concerning the country with any Namibian of any political party."

It was put to him that to release an estimated 1,800 Swapo dissidents from Zambian detention camps would bolster his internal support

"We want to get them out of that hell before very long. For us the important thing is that these people must be freed."

He said the secretary-general of the Swapo-Democrats had raised the matter with the UN envoy on his arrival in Windhoek. They were awaiting further developments

"At present I am outside the country. I want to go there and assess the situation inside Namibia," he said

Cries for help as veld fire kills nine

STAR
21/8/78

221

STRUCTURE

(a)

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Farmers fighting a big veld fire near Windhoek at the weekend heard cries from a gully where nine men burned to death. The farmers were cut off from the gully by flames and could not help the trapped men.

Mrs Ella Reinhardt, a farmer's wife helping in the struggle to keep flames reaching farmhouses on the slopes of the Auas Mountains 20 km south of Windhoek, said: "We heard the calls from the gully. At first they didn't sound like cries of pain."

"It was something like 'Come here, come here,' but we couldn't reach them. There were rivers of fire running down the mountainside."

The dead and injured were found when the fire had burned out at the spot by Mr Dieter Voigts, father of one of the dead and one of the injured.

STUDENT FRIEND

The dead are Mr Helmut Voigts (30), who married recently and lived on the farm Krumbak, and Mr Peter Borchardt (19), a student friend of Mr Voigts from West Germany.

Seven farmworkers died with them. They are Mr Johannes April (47), Mr Joseph Schneiders (24), Mr Jan Losper (30), Mr Jonas van der Bijl (48), Mr Jackson Kariseb (31), Mr Mattheus Johannes (28) and Mr Anthony Kanjambo (50).

The injured are Mr Voigt's brother, Mr Karl-Heinz Voigts, and Rifleman M H du Plessis of Sasolburg. They are in hospital.

Rifleman du Plessis is a Defence Force firefighter.

The fire still burned today about 30 km west of where it started, leaving behind a band of destroyed veld and farmland.

Brigadier Victor Verster, Divisional Commissioner of Police in SWA/Namibia, said the wind had changed from west to east giving the firefighters a better

FUNCTIONS OF SALES departments. Use methods as aids to of company image.

- (iv) Brief details of persons (Note: This is handled by the sales department)
- (v) Office administrative material, accounting, etc.

OFFICE SYSTEMS

- (a) (i) Broad outlines of accounts, materials, purchases, stores organisation
- (ii) Filing and recording of availability of references to current and tender documents
- (b) Office mechanical dictating and recording copying and reproduction

FINANCE

- (a) A typical balance sheet and an account of getting the fire under control.
- (b) One firefighter, Mr Hans Reinhardt, manager of Windhoek's theatre, said the party of men who died and the two injured went into a gully to stop a ribbon of fire reaching a farmhouse near his. "They must have got trapped by the swirling winds created in the gullies," he said.

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Nine detained Swapo officials released

WINDHOEK — Nine Swapo officials have been released from detention from various prisons in South West Africa.

Half of the 14 Swapo detainees who have been held for four months under the Administrator-General's emergency security regulations have been released

Police also confirmed yesterday that two other senior Swapo office-bearers — Mr Emmanuel Ngatjizako, deputy administrative secretary, and Mr Silas Emvula, acting transport secretary — have been freed

A Swapo spokesman said the two men had been held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act for the past two months

Significantly, the releases follow strong representations made to the United Nations' special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, by political parties and church leaders in the territory

The seven people released from Mr Justice Steyn's detention without trial proclamation are Mr Skinny Hilundua, Swapo's regional chairman in Owambo, Mr Engelhard Gariseb, Mr Edward Hueve, Mr Adolf Kaure, Mr Dawid Shikwambi, Mr Erastus Shiimi and Mr Johannes Itope

But Swapo officials last night boycotted a farewell cocktail party hosted by Judge Steyn for the United Nations survey mission in the territory

Mr Mokganedi Tihabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said Swapo officials could not "share a cup of tea with the South Africans" while so many of the movement's supporters were still in detention

Swapo was invited by Judge Steyn to send representatives to the par-

ty at the UN mission's Windhoek hotel headquarters

Mr Ahtisaari rounds off his crucial fact-finding mission today with a plenary session with Judge Steyn

Two delicate issues that are expected to be discussed are the target dates for elections and independence, and the voter registration campaign initiated by Judge Steyn

It will be the last meeting between the two strongmen before Mr Ahtisaari reports back to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, on the implementation of the Western-sponsored peace package

Mr Ahtisaari will address a press conference shortly before his departure from Windhoek's J G Strydom

Airport for New York tonight

Mr Anouar Cherif, the UN mission's press chief, said 21 of the 50-strong UN survey mission would remain behind in South West Africa while Mr Ahtisaari returned to New York

He said most of them were administrative personnel who could continue gathering information and be at Mr Ahtisaari's disposal if it became necessary

Mr Ahtisaari's recommendations to Dr Waldheim will be crucial for a peaceful settlement in the territory

The South African Government has warned that its final co-operation in the peace exercise depends entirely on Dr Waldheim's report to the UN Security Council — DDC

materials, purchasing, stock control and general stores organisation work.

- (ii) Filing and recording systems. The importance of availability of records for costing comparisons, references to current and previous correspondence and tender documentation.
- (b) Office mechanical aids, e.g. modern typewriters, dictating and recording machines, calculating aids, copying and reproduction equipment, microfilming etc.

FINANCE

- (a) A typical balance sheet and stock control system examined and discussed.
- (b) Company amalgamations, "take-over" and other re-organisation methods discussed from the point of view of their impact upon finance, consumer interests, employee changes and redundancy, etc.



Administrator-General Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, left, with UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari... yesterday's picture.

RDM 22/8/78

(221)

Ahtisaari set to fly out after final session with Steyn today

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the United Nations Special Representative to South West Africa, rounds off his crucial fact-finding mission today with a full session with the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

The meeting will involve the staffs of both men. Two delicate issues that are expected to be discussed are the target

dates for elections and independence, and the voter registration campaign initiated by Mr Justice Steyn.

It will be the last meeting between the two key figures before Mr Ahtisaari reports back to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, on the implementation of the Western-sponsored peace package.

Mr Ahtisaari said yesterday he would address a Press conference shortly

before his departure from Windhoek's J G Strijdom Airport for New York tonight.

Mr Anouar Cherif, the UN mission's Press chief, said that 21 of the 50-strong survey mission would remain behind in SWA.

He said most of them were administrative personnel who could continue gathering information and be at Mr Ahtisaari's disposal if it became necessary.

The Special Representative's recommendations to Dr Waldheim will be crucial to a peaceful settlement in the territory.

The South African Government has warned that its final cooperation in the peace exercise depends entirely on Dr Waldheim's report to the UN Security Council.

South Africa has said that there can be no deviation from the Western proposals, which have been accepted by all parties.

A major stumbling block, however, is the interpretation of the proposals by South Africa and Swapo particularly on the dates for an election and finally independence.

Another sensitive issue is the registration campaign, which most political parties want reviewed.

Mr Justice Steyn last night threw a farewell cocktail party for the UN team. Representatives of political parties and churchmen were also invited.

SWA election rumours discounted

WINDHOEK. — The Western proposals clearly stated that the independence process in South West Africa would be implemented over seven months, so rumours about independence by the end of the year were untrue, the information and publicity secretary for the Namibian National Front, Mr R V Rukoro, has said.

Addressing about 900 people at a meeting at Otjiwarongo north of Wind-

hoek, Mr Rukoro said only people interested in a "far-cical" independence, "like South Africa and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance", could become independent "in their own way" at the end of the year.

"The Western proposals clearly stipulate that the entire independence process must be implemented over a timetable of seven months, which means that we can only expect elec-

tions round about next April or May."

The United Nations Special Representative to the territory, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, would have to submit a report to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, who would add his recommendations to the report and submit it to the UN Security Council for approval.

Only then would the Western proposals be implemented — Sapa.

2 injured as Windhoek's fire rages on

WINDHOEK — The veld fire which has so far claimed the lives of nine people about 20 km south of Windhoek broke out again yesterday afternoon only hours after it had been reported that firemen and members of the South African De-

fence Force had managed to bring it under control.

A police spokesman said the firefighters had a good chance of bringing the fire under control again before it caused more devastation since the wind had changed direction.

The fire, which started in the Aus mountains on Saturday afternoon, has spread over about 40 km.

The dead are: Mr H Voights, 30, Mr Pieter Borchardt, 19, Mr Johannes April, 47, Mr Joseph Schneiders, 26, Mr Jan

Losper, 30, Mr Jonas van der Bijl, 48, Mr Jackson Kariseb, 31, Mr Mattheus Jonas, 28, and Mr Anthony Kanjambo 50.

So far two people have been admitted to the State hospital in Windhoek with severe burns — Sapa.

single-minded pleasure in the flesh that was wholly alien to the Christian view of man. The Renaissance was a new life, a new ideal, a new way of thinking and feeling. It was a movement that sought to liberate man from the shackles of medieval dogma and superstition. It was a movement that sought to rediscover the values of ancient Greece and Rome, and to apply them to the life of the modern world. It was a movement that sought to create a new culture, a new art, a new literature, and a new way of life. It was a movement that sought to make man the center of the universe, and to give him a sense of purpose and meaning in his life.

Verrocchio's statue of the young Hercules is a masterpiece of Renaissance sculpture. It shows a young Hercules, strong and confident, holding a lion's skin. The statue is a perfect example of the Renaissance ideal of man as a heroic figure. It is a statue that is both beautiful and powerful, and that has inspired generations of artists and thinkers. It is a statue that is a testament to the power of the human spirit, and to the ability of man to overcome adversity and achieve greatness.

of nature, of the human mind, and of the world around us. It is a science that seeks to understand the laws of nature, and to use that knowledge to improve the human condition. It is a science that is based on observation and experimentation, and that is constantly evolving and expanding. It is a science that has led to many of the great discoveries of the modern world, and that has changed the way we live and think. It is a science that is the foundation of all modern science and technology.

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(2)

Ahtisaari's final meeting

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK.—The United Nations special representative to South West Africa, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, rounded off his two-week fact-finding mission yesterday with talks with the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, in Windhoek.

The two discussed stumbling blocks to the peace initiative, including the timing for elections and the target date for independence.

Mr Justice Steyn said afterwards Mr Ahtisaari's mission had been very successful and the Finnish diplomat now had a clearer insight into the great tasks facing the country.

But he refused to reveal whether any issues were still unresolved.

"That is a disguised sixty-four thousand dollar question and I think I have already answered it," he said.

He remained optimistic about a settlement, particularly because of the warm and friendly relationship that he had established with Mr Ahtisaari.

He would report back to the South African Government within the next few days while Mr Ahtisaari briefed the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

All the factors important for the implementation of the UN-endorsed Western proposals were discussed in depth, Mr Justice Steyn said.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance yesterday handed a memorandum to Mr Ahtisaari demanding that all UN support for Swapo be stopped immediately. If this was not done, all the other political parties in SWA should be given the same facilities, the memorandum said. They also requested a hearing before the forthcoming UN Security Council meeting on SWA.

Handwritten notes and signatures on the right side of the page, including "Ahtisaari's final meeting" and "191-200".

Handwritten notes and signatures on the left side of the page, including "The Renaissance in Italy" and "191-200".

Humanists, and philosophical notions propagated by humanists Botticelli's two most celebrated paintings, the Primavera and Pallas and the Centaurs, which are now in the Louvre. The Primavera, painted in 1477, is a masterpiece of Renaissance art. It depicts a group of figures in a lush, garden-like setting, and is a perfect example of the Renaissance ideal of man as a heroic figure. It is a painting that is both beautiful and powerful, and that has inspired generations of artists and thinkers. It is a painting that is a testament to the power of the human spirit, and to the ability of man to overcome adversity and achieve greatness.

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Swapo and Zambians attack towns - SA acts

Argus 23/8/78 (221)

WINDHOEK. — The east Caprivi capital of Katima Mulilo and the town of Wenela were bombarded from Zambia early today.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, told the National Party congress in East London that South African forces had taken 'appropriate steps' following the 'cowardly' attack.

He said there was evidence that Zambian forces had taken part in the attack.

The attack, in which rockets and heavy artillery were used, took place from Zambian territory.

Appeal

'I have repeatedly appealed to these people not to allow their territory to be used as bases for attacks on South Africa. Evidently these appeals have fallen on deaf ears.

'This morning early we accordingly took appropriate steps after the attack,' the Minister said to loud applause from the congress.

When approached at the congress Mr Botha declined to elaborate on the term 'appropriate action' which he used when he spoke earlier.

It is understood that whatever action the South African Defence Force is carrying out is still in progress today.

Artillery

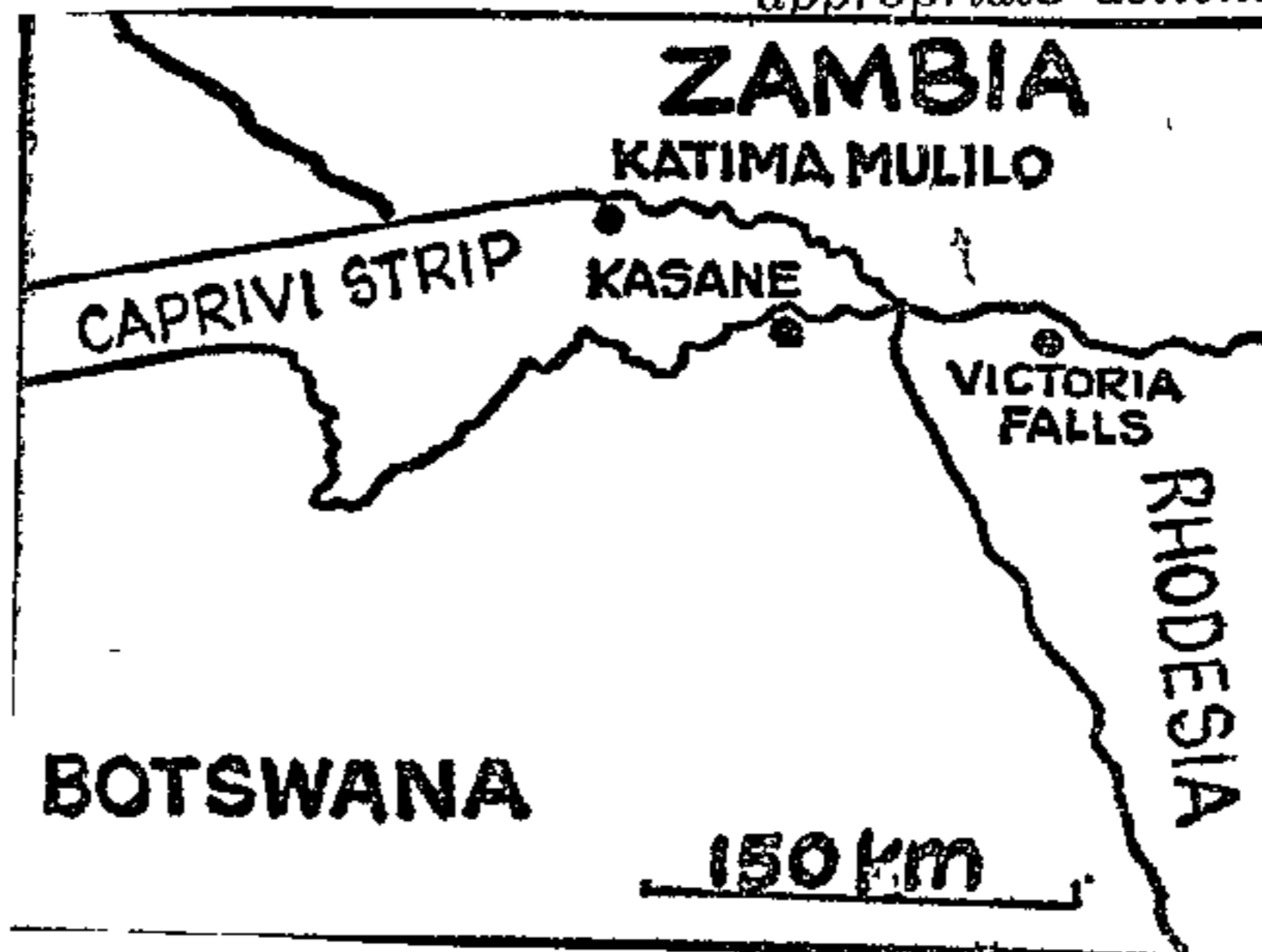
The heavy artillery attack started from Swapo bases in Zambia about 1 am, according to the Chief of the South African Defence Force in South West Africa, Major General J J Geldenhuys.

The Zambian Army took part in the attack.

The Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, left for Katima Mulilo today to inspect the damage.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F (Pik) Botha, said the artillery attack from Zambia was treacherous.

SABC reported Mr Botha as saying the attack was illuminating as it had occurred a few hours after the United Nations special representative in SWA, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, had left the territory for New York.



Damage

Mr Botha said the ambassadors of the five western nations were told today and the matter was being discussed with them.

The SABC reported that the former United States Treasury Secretary, Mr John Connally, was to have visited Katima Mulilo today. He was told of the attack.

Government and other buildings were severely damaged in the attack on Katima Mulilo, according to one report reaching

[[Continued on Page 3, col.1]]

Mr P W Botha . . .
'appropriate action.'

Mr R F Botha . . .
a 'treacherous attack.'

Caprivi

(Continued from Page 1)

Pretoria and quoting an eye-witness

The witness said 122 mm artillery and mortars were used from within Zambia.

'The South African forces were clearly prepared and immediately returned fire,' the witness said.

A report from Windhoek says that prominent political leaders and churchmen in SWA have expressed shock and condemnation at the attack.

The chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Mr Dirk Mudge, said 'All this is creating an impossible situation here and if Swapo continues with its violence, there will have to be some form of retaliation against them and this could lead to a very difficult situation.' — The Argus Africa News Service, Political Correspondent and Sapa.

Future of SWA will be known in weeks

Star
23/8/78
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The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK—Uncertainty over SWA/Namibia's future could be resolved in the next couple of weeks — bringing either international recognition or increased violence and economic boycotts.

The head of the United Nations delegation, Mr Ahtisaari, said he would need about a week to finalise his report for the Secretary General, Dr Waldheim, and he estimated that Dr Waldheim's recommendations on implementing the peace plan for SWA/Namibia would be ready in another two weeks or so.

IMPARTIALITY

Mr Ahtisaari, who left Windhoek last night after a 17-day fact-finding mission, promised to report faithfully to Dr Waldheim on the situation in the territory and provide him with all relevant information.

"In this connection I would like to think that my mission has made a positive contribution in dispelling initial misgivings expressed about our impartiality by parties not familiar with operations of this nature by the United Nations secretariat," he said.

Mr Ahtisaari's departure for New York was somewhat of an anti-climax after the tumultuous welcome he received.

Not a single political leader was there to bid him goodbye. Nor were there any demonstrations, apart from a handful of chanting supporters of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

VIOLENCE

During his stay in SWA/Namibia, Mr Ahtisaari met representatives of all political parties, local authorities, churches, the defence force and police.

Side-stepping prickly questions by the Press, Mr Ahtisaari pointed out that he had come to Namibia on a fact-finding mission — and that he had no other mandate.

This was his stock reply to questions such as why he had not sided with the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, in calling on Swapo to halt its campaign of terror.

He was adamant, though, that all violence would have to stop before free and fair elections could take place in the territory.

Asked whether elections would still take place this year, he said "I think we must give everybody time to settle down. I don't think anything in this exercise can be won by trying to rush unnecessarily."

Ahtisaari: Violence ^{CAPL} must stop ^{TIMES} before poll ^{23/8/78}

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WINDHOEK - The United Nations special representative to SWA/Namibia left here for New York last night amid strict security precautions

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who is to report to the UN secretary-general, Dr Kurt Waldheim, on his fact-finding mission, told an airport press conference: "All violence must be stopped in Namibia before a free election can take place"

Earlier he said he had been greatly impressed by the seriousness attached to the work of his mission "This has considerably facilitated my work and given me a clear indication of the importance the people of Namibia attach to the role envisaged for the UN"

"I am particularly heartened by the fact that all the people I contacted acknowledged the cardinal importance of our mandate within the context of the Security Council resolution"

"In this connection I should like to thank that my mission has made a positive contribution in dispelling the initial misgivings expressed about our impartiality by parties who are not familiar with operations of this nature by the United Nations secretariat," Mr Ahtisaari said

He and a 47-member UN team arrived in Windhoek on August 6 to assess the SWA/Namibia independence question and to survey arrangements for implementing Security Council resolution 431

"I shall report faithfully to the secretary-general on the situation as I have seen it and provide him with all relevant information. It will then be left to the secretary-general, on the basis of the findings of my mission, to submit to the Security Council at the earliest date, a report containing his recommendations for the implementation of the proposal"

During his stay Mr Ahtisaari met the Administrator-General, Mr Justice M T Steyn, political parties, local authorities, churches and leaders of public opinion. His consultations covered public opinion and the administration including the military and police. Members of his mission travelled widely within the territory, including the operational areas

"It is no secret that the key issues raised at my meeting with political parties relate to the current registration of voters, the date of the elections and independence, as well as the overall timetable for a settlement of the Namibian situation. In this connection a number of views were expressed which will be reflected in my report to the secretary-general for his consideration and appropriate action"

Yesterday Mr Ahtisaari met Judge Steyn twice at a Windhoek hotel

Judge Steyn said afterwards that Mr Ahtisaari's mission had been very successful and he had a clearer insight into the great tasks facing the country. He remained optimistic about a settlement particularly in view of the friendly relationship he and Mr Ahtisaari had established

He would report to the South African Government in the next few days while Mr Ahtisaari faced Dr Waldheim. He made it clear that Mr Ahtisaari's return would depend on SA's reaction to the report he submitted

Asked whether any issues were still unresolved Judge Steyn remained non-committal and quipped "That is a disguised 261000 question and I think I have already answered it"

"The ultimate decision doesn't lie with us but with powers beyond our jurisdiction - his principal and mine" Own Correspondent Cape Point

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16 Swapo terrorists die

SA victims

in SA reprisal attack

From Colleen Hendricks of The Argus Africa News Service

KATIMA MULILO. — South African forces have killed at least 16 Swapo terrorists in an attack into Zambia in retaliation for the bombardment of the Katima Mulilo base in the Caprivi Strip that killed nine South African soldiers early yesterday.

I saw the torn and burned bodies being laid out last night on the ground in front of the headquarters at Katima Mulilo base.

Major-General J Geldenhuys, the Commanding Officer South West Africa command, said the South African forces had gone into Zambia on foot and in vehicles.

He refused to give details of the strength of the South African thrust into Zambia or of the depth to which it had penetrated, or the targets.

General Geldenhuys said the Swapo fire had come from north-west of Katima Mulilo.

Argus Group Reporter Neil Jacobsohn writes from Katima Mulilo I was one of the first newspapermen yesterday to see the shattered, awful remains of the bungalow in which nine South African soldiers were killed when mortar and rocket fire shattered the night at this lonely border outpost.

A Russian-built 122 mm 'Red Eye' rocket burst through the roof of the bungalow where the men were sleeping. The hut was wrecked.

Pieces of mattresses lay in shreds among the wreckage.

All that was left of beds and cupboards were bits of mangled, twisted steel and scorched wood, peppered with shrapnel holes.

Silent men

South African soldiers picked through the remains, silent and cold-faced. In the shade of a few sparse trees some bags, uniforms and other remnants of equipment lay heaped on beds that had survived.

At the Katima Mulilo Training School, another rocket had fallen just beyond a classroom.

General Geldenhuys said yesterday the attack started about 1.15 am.

Within about 15 minutes firing positions in

Trooper G Smit

Trooper J J R Schutte

Trooper L J Lesch

Trooper A D v d Merwe



SOUTH AFRICAN troops gaze at the broken remains of a hut in which nine of their comrades died when a Russian-made rocket burst through the roof and exploded in the early hours of yesterday. (Another picture on page 3)

Fired back

The South Africans went into Zambia after a rocket and artillery bombardment of Katima Mulilo and the military base there which they said was initiated by Swapo from their bases in Zambia. Nine South African soldiers were killed and 10 were injured.

General Geldenhuys said his forces fired back and later Zambian artillery joined in the action.

The South Africans thrust across the defoliated strip along the border between the Caprivi Strip and Zambia.

Pinpointed

General Geldenhuys said the Swapo fire had come from north-west of Katima Mulilo.

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- The South Africans who died — Page 3
- Picture — Page 3
- UN must act now — Basson — Page 10
- A soldier's Bible among the rubble — Page 25.

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Detained Swapo men refuse food

The Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Eight Swapo members held under detention-without-trial legislation in South West Africa are in their sixth day of a hunger strike in Gobabis prison.

This was announced to more than 3 000 people at a Swapo meeting here yesterday by Swapo's leader in the territory, Mr Daniel Tjongarero.

The strike was confirmed last night by the Regional Commissioner of Prisons for SWA, Colonel J B Botes.

Mr Tjongarero said the detainees were demanding

to be brought to trial or be released

Colonel Botes said 14 people held under Proclamation AG26 began a 'hunger strike' on July 19. Six of the detainees had since begun eating.

The detainees are all being provided with food and water as usual and are visited daily by a medical practitioner, he said.

South West Africa

accord

ARGUS 24/7/78 (221)

is near

collapse

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — The South West Africa agreement is close to collapse today, on the eve of a Security Council meeting that would set the territory on the road to independence.

Botha cancels

trip to UN

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. F. (Pik) Botha, has cancelled plans to attend the United Nations Security Council meeting on South West Africa following the wording of the Council resolution being made known.

He said 'A very serious situation has developed.'

Other sources said that in all the negotiations South Africa has had with

the West it has been accepted by both sides that the question of Walvis Bay would not be introduced directly or indirectly into the terms of settlement.

WEST VIEW
Western diplomatic sources in Pretoria, however, today rejected accusations of bad faith and took a more optimistic view of what might occur in the Security Council tomorrow.

Within sight of the first phase of its objective, the independence plan was all but 'off the tracks,' according to a United Nations source, following 11th-hour communication between the South African Government and the five Western members of the Security Council.

The Western contact group's deal with Swapo to include Walvis Bay in the broad political ambit of the plan has infuriated South Africa, and sources here believe the Government delivered a forceful denunciation of the move at the weekend.

West told

It is believed the Western Five have been told that South Africa cannot stand by its side of the agreement in the face of what is seen as last-minute renegeing by the self-appointed Western arbitrators.

The Western Security Council members are believed to have met urgently at the weekend after a South African statement was relayed to them.

Resolution

The Pretoria communication is understood to have been transmitted after the contact group's representatives at the UN showed South Africa the resolution it plans to support at a council meeting this week.

From the start of its formal contact with the West's voluntary mid-dlemen, the South African Government has left no one in doubt that any attempt to prescribe the future status of Walvis Bay would mark the end of South Africa's participation in the diplomatic manoeuvre.

● Swapo hunger strike.— Page 3.

Three of the dead men were from the Cape

Shots fired at

Steyn's helicopter

WINDHOEK — The helicopter carrying the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, was fired on from the Zambian side of the border near Katima Mulilo yesterday, SABC radio reported last night. The report said though the firing was intense, the helicopter was not hit — Sapa

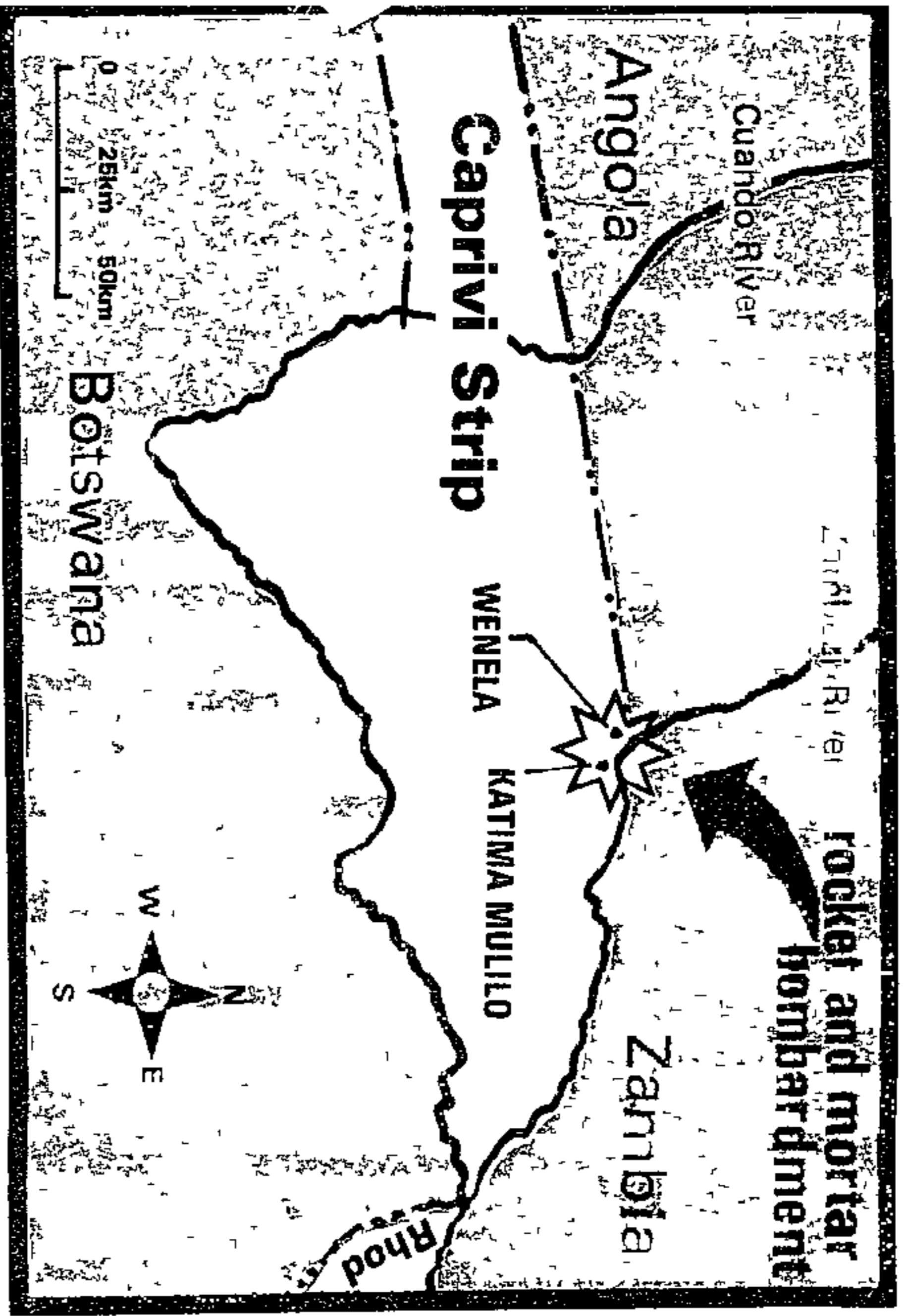
By ENRICO KEMP and JOHN VAN DER LINDEN
HREE of the nine South African soldiers killed in yesterday's attack at Katima Mulilo — and at least one of the 10 injured others — were from the Cape.
● Trooper Abraham Daniel van der Merwe, 18, of Muller tree, Villiersdorp, is survived by his parents and a sister, aged 3.
His mother, Mrs Maria van der Merwe, told the Cape Times last night her son had been stationed near Grootfontein. He had joined the army at Tempe, Bloemfontein, in January last

year after completing school and was sent to the operational area on August 18.
"It was a hard blow to hear such news about one's only son. He was a good boy — very fond of farm life," Mrs van der Merwe said.
Her husband, Daniel, is a pensioner and their daughter, Susan, works at the Stellenbosch post office.
She said the family had been informed of Abraham's death by a local clergyman who was contacted by military officials at the Castle

● Trooper Kevin Biggs, 18, of the farm Cypress Grove in the Middelburg district in the Cape is survived by his parents and a school-going sister.
His mother was informed of the death of her son at 1.15 am yesterday by their parish priest, the Rev R J Ingoldby.
Mr John Biggs, who was on a business visit to Port Elizabeth, was informed of the death and made immediate preparations to return home.
Kevin left school last year and had been home on leave three

weeks ago from the Defence Force before leaving for the operational area.
● Trooper Laurie Johannes Lesch, 19, of the farm Elin, Malmesbury, is survived by his parents and a brother who is also serving in the operational area.
An aunt, Mrs Anna Lesch, told the Cape Times last night that Trooper Lesch's parents were too distraught to speak to the press.
She said Trooper Lesch and his twin brother, Dirk, had

Continued on page 2



The Cape Times map shows where the early-hours of bombardment which killed nine South African soldiers took place. South African soldiers have been stationed for years at both Katima Mulilo and Wenela to guard the Caprivi border against terrorist incursions

9 SA SOLDIERS die in attack

Cape Times 24/8/78 221

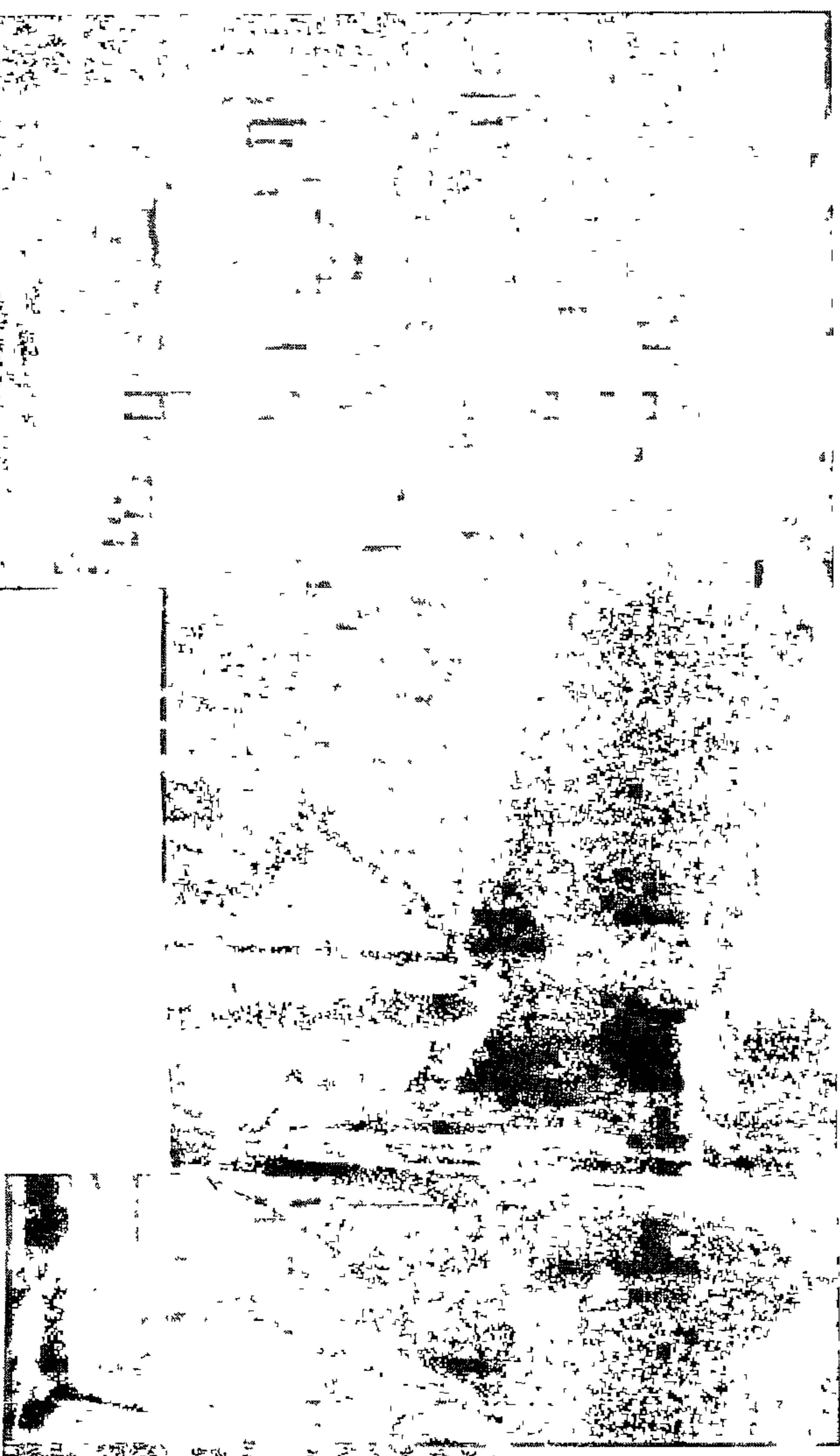
KILLED:



Trooper Abraham van der Merwe, 18, of Villiersdorp



Trooper Laurie Lesch, 19, of Malmesbury



The messroom at K

Own Correspondent

NINE South African servicemen were killed and 10 others wounded in the heavy artillery attack on Katima Mulilo on the SWA/Namibia-Zambia border yesterday.

The men died when their post was hit directly by a shell fired from Zambia by SWAPO forces, a spokesman for SWAPO Command confirmed last night.

The 10 other servicemen were injured in a long-range artillery battle with SWAPO forces that lasted for about two hours early yesterday morning. They were in a satisfactory condition at the Voortrekkershoogte military hospital in Pretoria last night.

Major-General Jan Geldenhuis, officer commanding SWAPO Command, said the bombardment lasted for about two hours despite immediate heavy retaliatory fire from security forces. "The attack by heavy artillery came from well-known SWAPO bases in Zambia soon after one o'clock this morning," he said. General Geldenhuis said there were indications that the attack was planned to coincide with the latest political

24/8/78

(221)

PRETORIA. — The South African Government had learnt through diplomatic channels that the Zambian Government had indicated it had no knowledge of the Swapo action against Katima Mulilo, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told Sapa here last night. He also said the chief of the UN administrative group, which remained in SWA/Namibia after the departure on Tuesday night of Mr Martti Ahtisaari for New York, had indicated that it was not possible for him to visit Katima Mulilo.

developments, such as the visit to SWA/Namibia by the United Nations special representative, Mr Ahtisaari, and the pending UN Security Council meetings.

He said it would appear that Swapo leaders decided on some dramatic incident to draw world attention to their organization. He said it was known that Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, visited Swapo bases on the border between Zambia and Caprivi earlier this month "This visit can be seen as part the preparation for the attacks"

General Geldenhuys said that although Mr Ahtisaari's UN refugee committee had not been shown everything during their recent visit to the border, the UN military adviser, Major-General Hannes Philipp, had been shown all the preparations made for such an attack

The attack was expected

He said the Defence Force had been expecting an attack from Zambian territory and that they had taken necessary precautions such as the construction of bomb shelters. General Philipp had also been briefed on the impending Swapo attack, and, according to General Geldenhuys, the UN military group had kept informed of the latest developments right up until they departed for New York.

General Geldenhuys and the Administrator-General, Mr Justice M T Steyn, flew to Katima Mulilo, to survey the damage yesterday

They had not returned by early last night.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) yesterday called on the Defence Force to protect the people of SWA against "these murders and atrocities" They said the "senseless act of aggression" by Swapo once again pointed out the blatant and reckless disrespect the movement had for the Western peace initiative and the aspirations of the UN Security Council

"We are indignant that Swapo can function as a political party and their leaders are unthreatened in a peaceful process, while their terrorists invade the country and attack innocent supporters of other political parties."

The DTA said the attack on Katimo Mulilo had given the FN's credibility a severe knock "We expect the Security Council to state their point of view regarding this violence. The credibility of Mr Ahtisaari is in doubt."

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9 SA Soldiers die

AMM 24/8/78

(221)

By DAVID FORRET
and HELEN ZILLE

NINE South African servicemen were killed and 10 wounded in the heavy artillery attack on Katima Mulilo on the South West Africa-Zambia border yesterday.

The men died in a direct hit on their post by a shell fired from Zambia by Swapo forces a spokesman for SWA Command confirmed last night.

The other 10 servicemen were injured in a long-range two-hour artillery battle with Swapo and Zambian forces early yesterday morning. They were in a satisfactory condition at the Voortrekkerhoogte Military Hospital in Pretoria last night.

Swapo wants violence — Pik

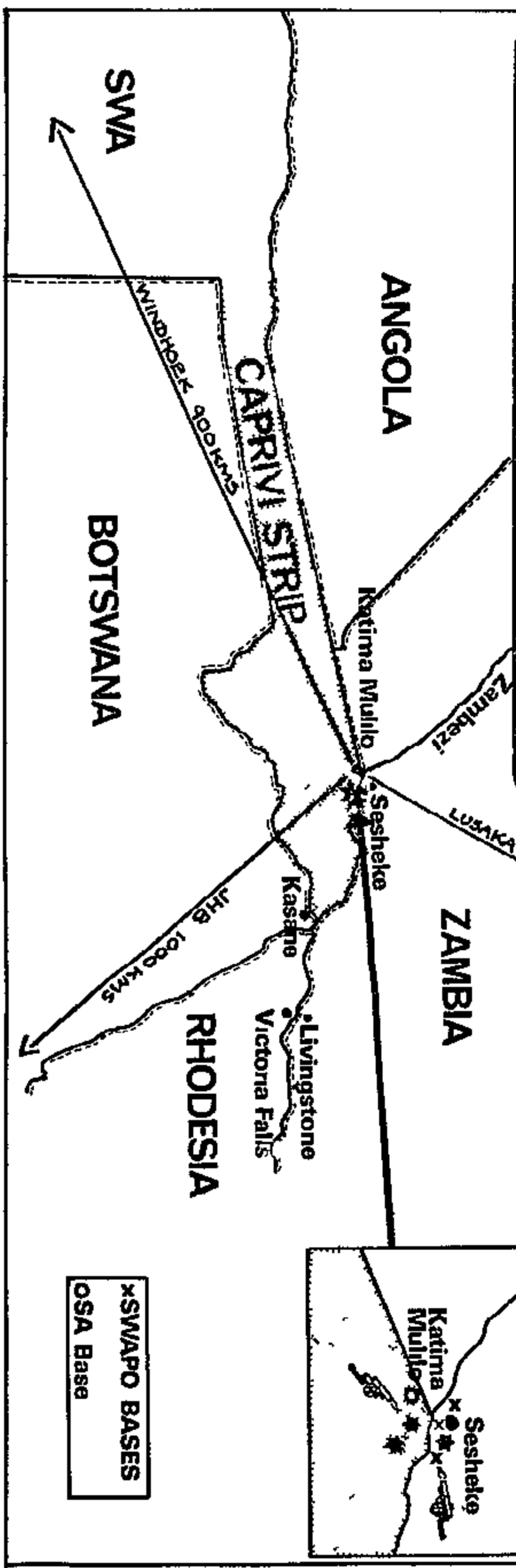
By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — The bombardment of Katima Mulilo was a clear indication that Swapo was determined to solve the South West African issue through the barrel of

The dead men were: Trooper G J Smit, 18, of Roodepoort, Trooper A D van der Merwe, 18, of Muller St, Vilhensdorp, Trooper L J Lesch, 19, of Malmesbury, Trooper W S Smuts, 19, of Hester St, Fontainbleau, Randburg, Rifleman W H C Britz, 20, of Coetzee St, Ventersburg, Trooper H W de Lange, 18, of Welkom, Trooper J J R Schutte, 20, of Somerset St, Geduld Extension, Springs, Trooper G P Erasmus, 18, of Alwal North, Trooper K J Biggs, 18, of Middelburg, Cape.

The names of the injured men were not released, but a Defence Force spokesman said last night that their next of kin had been informed.

The Defence Force is believed to have undertaken a hot pursuit action against Swapo bases in Zam

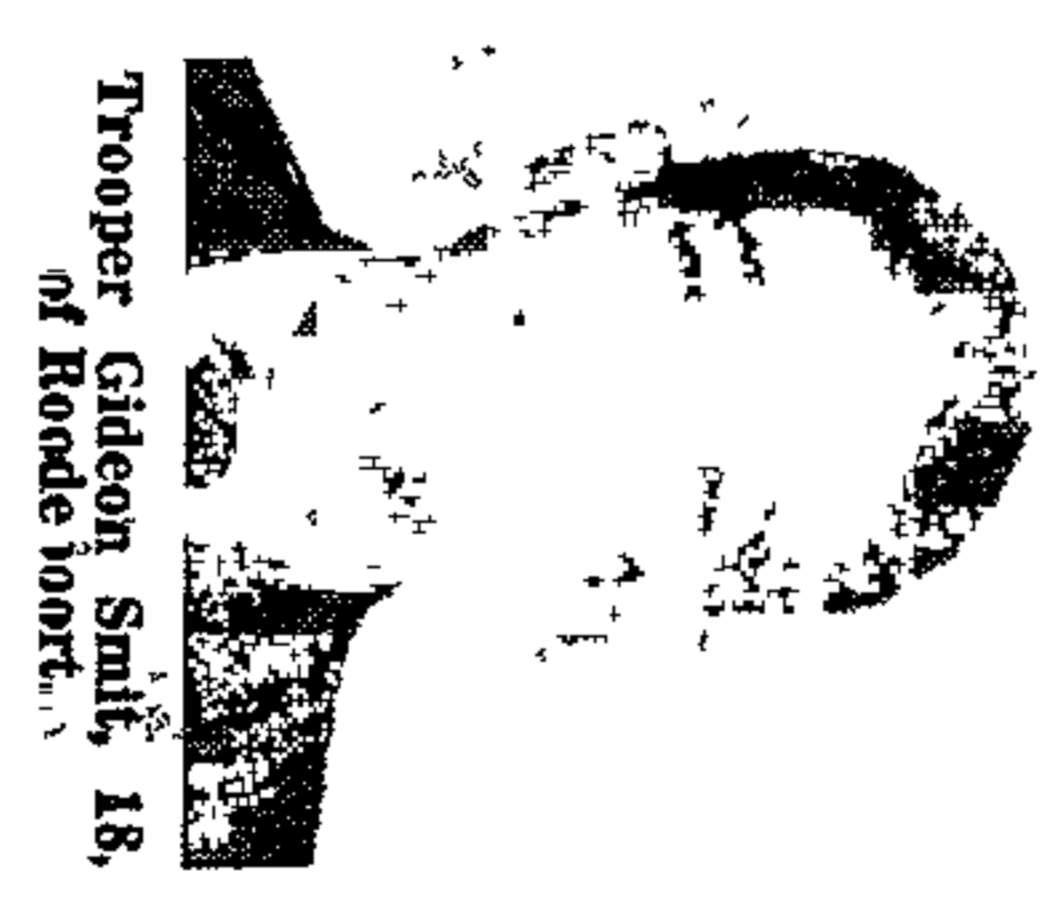
BORDER ATTACK



The area of the attack. The South African Defence Force is believed to have crossed the South West Africa-Zambia border near Katima Mulilo in hot pursuit yesterday.



Joking soldier killed



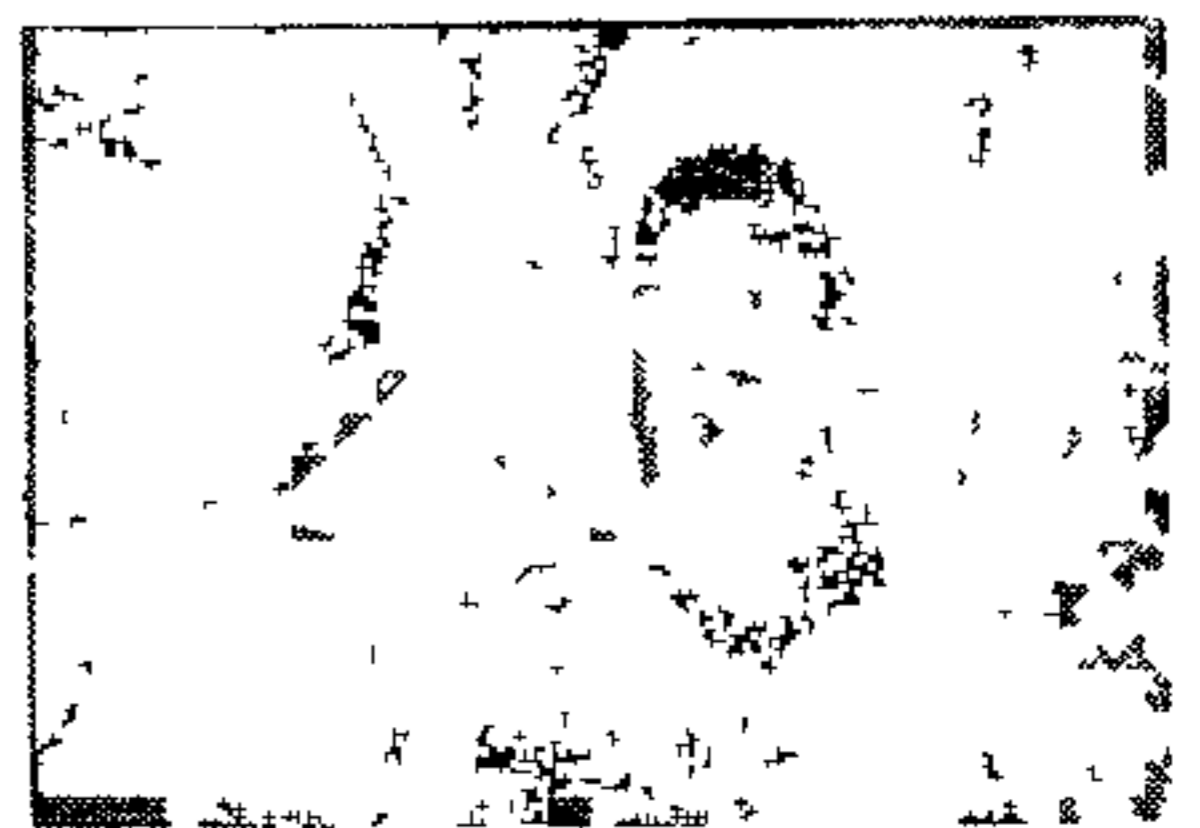
Trooper Gideon Smit, 18, of Roodepoort.

A letter mother can no longer write

By JAYNE LA MONT
A RANDBURG mother spent yesterday rushing through her housework so that she would have the evening free to write an encouraging letter to her son on the border.

At 2.30 pm she received the news he was dead. Trooper Willem Stephanus Smuts, 19, of Fontainbleau, had written his first letter home to his mother on Tuesday, giving her his address. He was killed yesterday in a mortar attack on Katima Mulilo in South West Africa.

Mrs Anna Grending said yesterday her son had been proud to go to the army, but it was the first time he had been so far from



TROOPER WILLEM SMUTS
... first letter home.

to do something for this country. He was so close to it — there was nothing he loved better than to walk through the country side looking at everything," she said.

After he had left school in 1976, Willem had joined the Railways — a job he had taken to pass the time. "At school he was a fine athlete but now all we have are a few photographs and the cups he won for running," she said.

"We are a close family and he loved my second husband like a father. He always came home on his weekends so we could be together."

Mrs Grendin

said yesterday.
"Mentioning on the latest Swapo attack which occurred shortly after the departure of the United Nations representative, Mr. Martha Ahuisaari, from the territory, Mr. Botha said he regarded the incident as a challenge to the five Western powers to put pressure on Swapo to cease its acts of violence as having failed.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Brand Fourie, had summoned the representatives of the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada to inform them of South Africa's view of the matter.

"In view of Mr. Ahuisaari's recent departure I regard this attack as a particularly blatant indication of Swapo's unwillingness to work for peace. It is a direct challenge to the settlement proposals," Mr. Botha said.

"The attack is an indication of Swapo's determination not to participate in elections but to solve the problem of South West Africa through the barrel of a gun as was the case in Angola."

Asked whether South Africa would take steps to wipe out Swapo bases in Zambia — from where the attack was launched — Mr. Botha said:

"I cannot comment on that. They fired from across the border with heavy shells and bombs with the intention of destroying the prospects of a peaceful process. You have to act. What else can you do?"

Stopping the violence was a central point in the proposals and South Africa would continue to protect people in South West Africa, Mr. Botha said.

Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, would not confirm this in East London last night.

However, this was the interpretation placed on his statement at the National Party's Cape congress yesterday that South Africa had taken "appropriate action" following the Swapo attack.

Mr. Botha said it was "deplorable" that a neighbouring territory had provided bases for "terrorists to cross the border and attack peaceful people. We have given instructions for appropriate action to be taken," he told the cheering and clapping congress. His statement was immediately interpreted as meaning that South African forces had crossed into Zambia.

Asked to confirm this, Mr. Botha said: "I have no further comment. All further information will come from Defence Headquarters in Windhoek."

In Lusaka, Zambia categorically denied complicity in the attack, reports the "Mail" Africa Bureau.

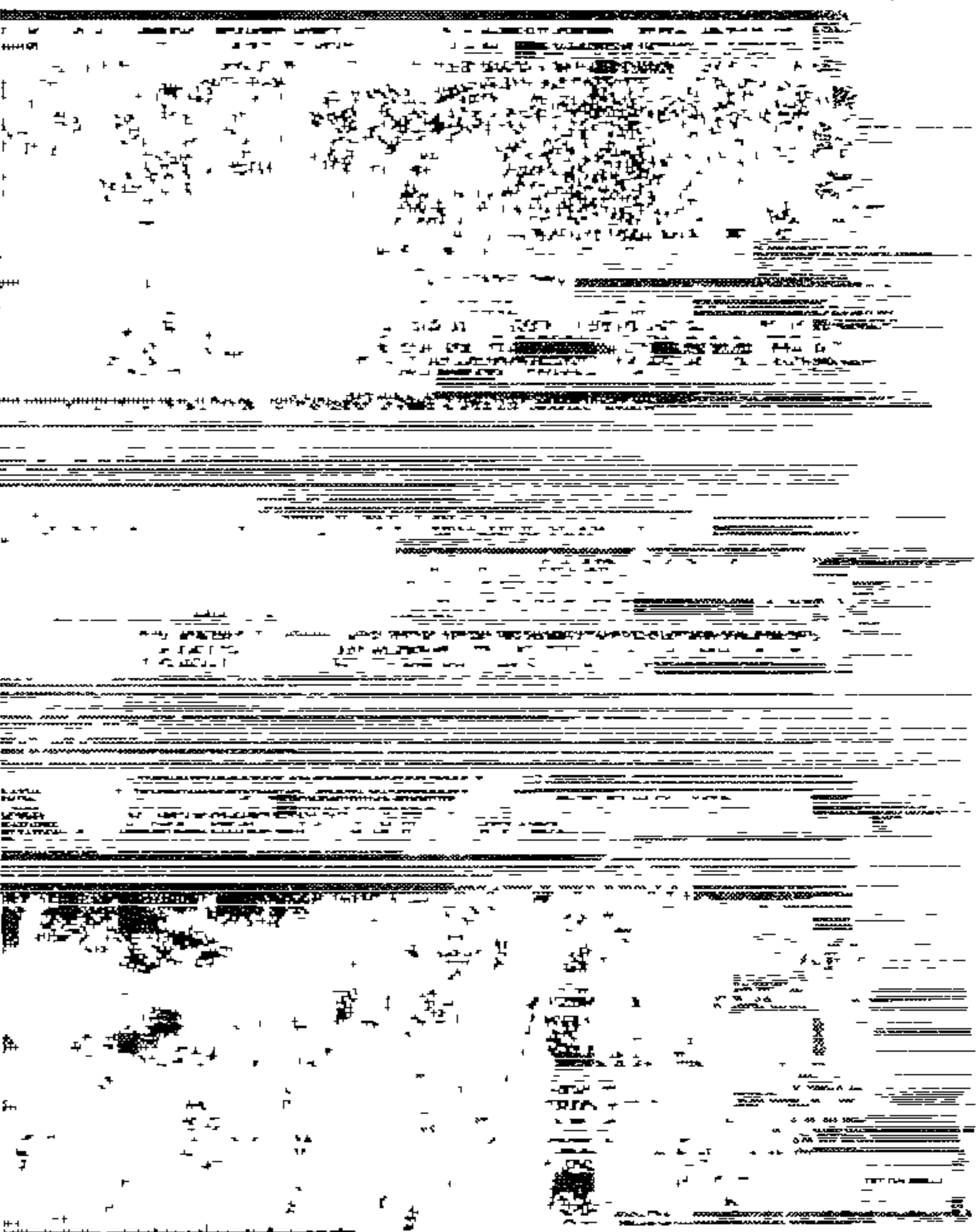
The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Strike Mwaale, said "While determined to defend her sovereignty and territorial integrity, Zambia has no intention of attacking South African troops in Namibia or anywhere else."

He summoned ambassadors of the Western SVA peace plan and alleged South Africa was "merely seeking an excuse not only for launching another attack on Zambia, but also of frustrating current efforts by the UN to achieve a peaceful solution in Namibia."

Mr. Mwaale reminded the diplomats that Zambia had only recently drawn the attention of the international community to the "threat of another attack on Zambia" when South Africa had started massing troops in the Caprivi strip in June and July.

Major General Janjie Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding SWA Command, said yesterday the bombardment lasted for about two hours despite immediate heavy retaliatory fire from SA security forces.

"The attack by heavy ar-



General Janjie Geldenhuys, Officer Commanding SWA Command, at a mortar position at Katima Mulilo, similar to the one attacked yesterday when shells from Zambia killed nine servicemen.

known Swapo bases in Zambia shortly after, one o'clock this morning," he said.

He claimed the attack followed a pattern that had been experienced in the eastern Caprivi before "Swapo initiates a bombardment and the Zambian defence force then joins in."

Gen. Geldenhuys said there were indications that the attack was planned to coincide with the latest political developments, including the visit to SWA by the United Nations special representative, Mr. Martii Ahuisaari, and the pending UN Security Council meetings on the peace proposals.

He said it appeared that Swapo leaders had decided on some dramatic incident to draw world attention to their organisation.

It was known that Swapo's President Sam Nujoma visited Swapo bases on the border between Zambia and Caprivi earlier this month. "This visit can be seen as part of the preparation for the attacks," he said.

Staff Reporter
THE last words Mrs Mimi Smit spoke to her son Gideon, were to playfully chastise him for teasing her about being worried about his border duty. Gideon Johann Smit, 18, was one of the nine soldiers killed yesterday.

Mrs Smit, of Durban Deep Mine, Roodoepoort, said last night her son had been eager to join the army as his two elder brothers were both doing their period of service.

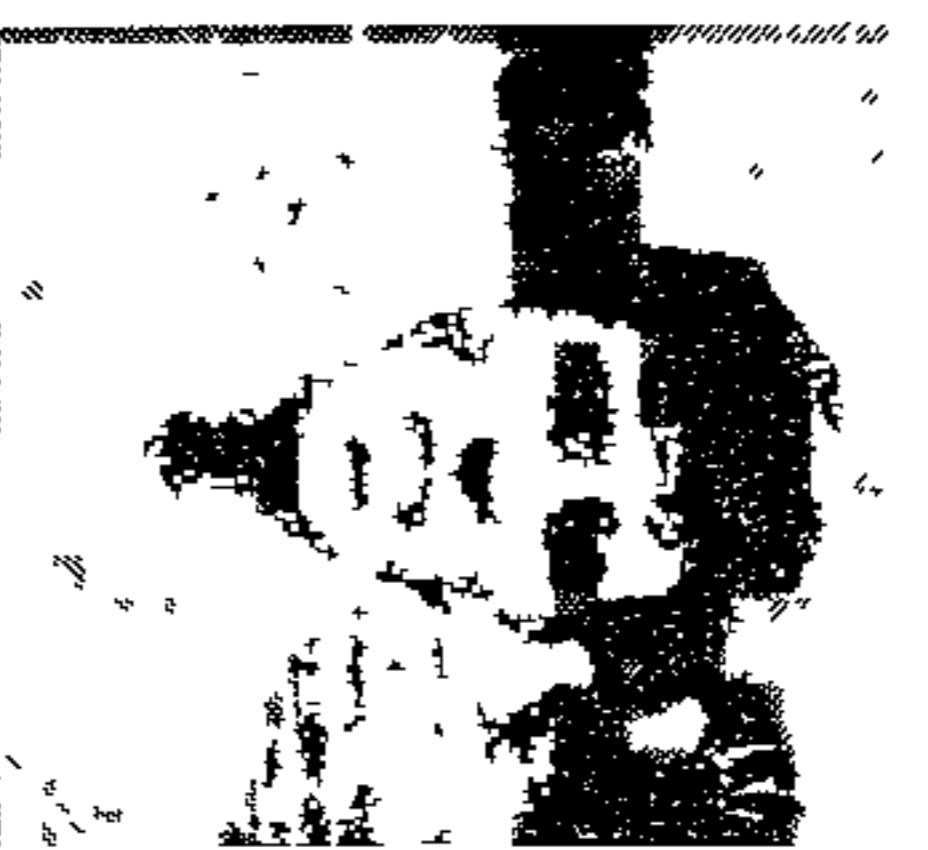
"He was the third eldest of 11 children and as soon as Kosie and Willem were in the army he began talking about the time when his chance would come."

Mrs Smit described her son as full of jokes and always quick to turn a serious situation into a light-hearted tease.

letter was aimed at making him feel his family were still with him. She had planned to tell him about his friends and family gossip.

"I rushed through everything I had to do and all the time I was composing what I would say to him in the letter, in my mind. I got the news early in the afternoon," she said.

"He was the youngest child by more than 10 years and still my baby even though they put him in a man's uniform," she said.



Jurgie ... killed.

SIX days after celebrating his 20th birthday, Mr Jurgie Schutte, a Springs apprentice diesel mechanic, was one of the nine men killed in the attack on Katima Mulilo in South West Africa.

Mr Schutte's father, Mr S J B Schutte, sobbed uncontrollably yesterday afternoon when he was informed of his son's death, and said: "I am proud that my son had an opportunity to serve his country." Mr Jurgie Schutte was 19 years old.

It said the "senseless act of aggression" by Swapo again underlined the "blatant and reckless disrespect" the movement had for the Western peace initiative and the aspirations of the UN Security Council.

"We expect the Security Council to state their point of view regarding this violence. The credibility of Mr Ahuisaari is in doubt," the DPA said.

Bishop Rudolf Koppmann of the Roman Catholic Church said the attack was a severe setback for a peaceful settlement "I'm badly shocked. It's awful," he said.

Mr Justus Garoeb, president of the Namibian National Front, also slammed the attack and appealed to all parties to cooperate in the implementation of the Western proposals.

"The proposals call for a cessation of all hostile acts by all parties, and the sooner this occurs the greater are the prospects of a peaceful solution," he said.

Dad sobs for son

Willem, Mrs Grending's youngest son, had joined the army at the beginning of the year.

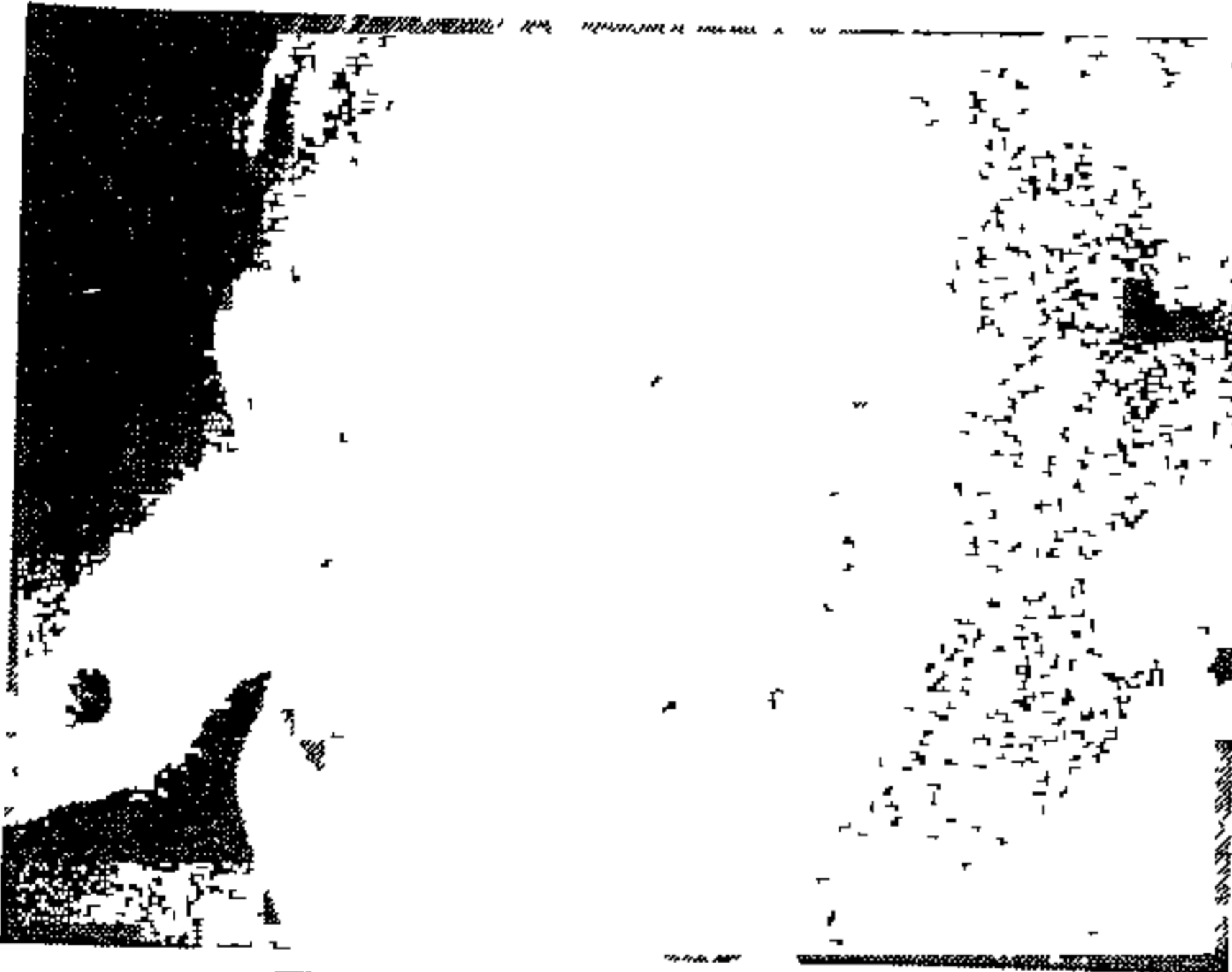
"He had been so proud

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Katima: Zambia accuses SA

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Cape Times 25/8/78



The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster

Swapo must be told to choose — Vorster

PRETORIA. — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said in a statement here last night that the Swapo attack from Zambia once again emphasized the urgent necessity for the Secretary-General of the UN, the Security Council and particularly the five Western powers now to finally insist upon Swapo making a swift choice between a peaceful solution and violence

The Prime Minister said "Swapo cannot be allowed to continue, upon the basis of its half-hearted and ostensibly conditional acceptance of the Five's plan, to continue its political campaign within South West Africa on an equal footing will all the other parties on the one hand, and on the other, to commit atrocities such as those we have

witnessed recently

"A responsibility also rests upon those countries which make their territory available to Swapo for its operations. These operations lead to casualties amongst their own people as well. Presumably these countries also wish to have peace on their borders

"There are indications that it may be possible that the Zambian Government was not officially involved in the latest incident. This, however, does not solve the problem and the government, therefore, have no other option but to act in such a way in future that such acts cannot easily be repeated and that all peoples of South West Africa be given the best protection against such acts of violence"

— Sapa

Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

A BARRAGE of official and semi-official Zambian statements released in the wake of the Katima Mulilo-Wenela bombardment yesterday accused "racist" and "fascist" South African troops in Caprivi of provocation, wanton aggression and the massacre of civilians.

Late yesterday the Zambian Government released a statement claiming that fighting was still going on, although it did not say where or describe the nature of the clashes. It denied having had any hand in the bombardment, and accused South Africa of attempting to wreck the chances of a peaceful settlement in SWA/Namibia and to oust Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda

Nine South African soldiers died in the bombardment, and in the South African counter-attack 16 Swapo members are known to have died

Yesterday's claims centred around Sesheke village — just over the Zambezi River from Katima Mulilo — from where, according to South Africa, fire was directed by Zambian soldiers after the initial Swapo bombardment began on Wednesday morning

One Zambian statement announced that "racist South African troops violated Zambian territory and attacked the civilian population at Sesheke killing 12 civilians and wounding six others

"The trigger-happy fascist troops also shelled Sesheke Secondary School, causing extensive damage to buildings and property. The wanton and unprovoked attack was aimed at frustrating current efforts by the United Nations of achieving a peaceful settlement in Namibia"

The official Zambian News Agency (Zana) claimed yesterday that South African jets bombed and damaged the Sesheke School and nearby buildings

Zambians hit

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria commented: "It is on record that South Africa launched a counter-bombardment in the early hours of yesterday, following the unwarranted long-distance bombardment by Swapo terrorists."

In Lusaka, Zambia's Foreign Minister, Dr Siteke Mwale, yesterday denied that the Zambian Army was involved in the attack on Katima Mulilo, telling United States, British, French, West German and Canadian envoys that South Africa was using its claim that Zambia was involved as an excuse to attack Zambia

Cape Times

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The Times of Zambia, owned by President Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party, has said, meanwhile, that Zambia reserved the right to call on her allies in the struggle to defend her territorial integrity against what it called "racist tyranny".

The government-owned Zambia Daily Mail said South Africa wanted to use its attack to create confusion and turn the people against Unip and the government. At Katima Mulilo, however, Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, GOC South West Africa Command, told newsmen yesterday it could be safely assumed that the security forces had inflicted damage on the Zambian Defence Force only.

Outlining the events preceding the bombardment of Katima Mulilo, General Geldenhuys said the South African Defence Force had had prior knowledge of an impending attack from Zambia.

Safe assumption

"At 1,15 in the morning mortars and 122 mm rockets struck", he said "Within 15 minutes the final positions from where the missiles were being launched had been established". The security forces then "successfully engaged" those positions with counter-bombardment fire.

After a brief lull the firing was resumed from Sesheke, while Swapo fire was directed from the west of Sesheke.

"In other words the attack was continued by the Zambian Army", he added "This resulted in bombardment and counter-bombardment which stopped at 3 am."

He said Swapo and Zambia mounted a combined operation to launch the attack. It followed an established pattern, where one started the attack and the other joined in. The Zambians used 60mm mortars, a 75 mm recoilless gun, 82 mm mortars and an unknown number of 122 mm rocket-launchers.

There were no civilian casualties and the damage caused to the town of Katima Mulilo was minimal.

Newsmen counted 16 uniformed Swapo bodies brought back by South African soldiers returning from Zambia, but saw no prisoners in South African hands. General Geldenhuys said only that "a few terrorist corpses" had been retrieved. He is expected to return to Windhoek today.

By DAVID FORRET
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK.—The corpses of Swapo terrorists were brought back across the border yesterday by South African troops who went into Zambia to mop up after the artillery bombardment in which nine SADF servicemen died.

The South African forces crossed into Zambia on Wednesday after a heavy artillery duel with Swapo forces sparked by the shelling of Katima Mulilo and Wenela.

Eyewitnesses said the bodies of at least 16 Swapo terrorists were brought out of Zambia.

Meanwhile an eyewitness on the Zambian side of the border claimed yesterday that Sesheke villagers fled into the bush as South African shells hit a school and a Zambia Airways building, the "Mail" Africa Bureau reports from Lusaka.

The Zambian Government claimed that the South African troops who crossed the border had killed 12 civilians at Sesheke and wounded six others.

A Zambian spokesman said yesterday the fighting was continuing, but Zambian forces were "keeping the situation under control."

An expatriate teacher, Briton Mr Paul White, who fled the heavy firing at Sesheke and drove to

SADF hits enemy hard

RDM

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nearby Livingstone with friends, said. "Sesheke Secondary School and a Zambia Airways building were extensively damaged in the firing".

He said only teachers were at the school as the pupils had gone on holiday two weeks ago.

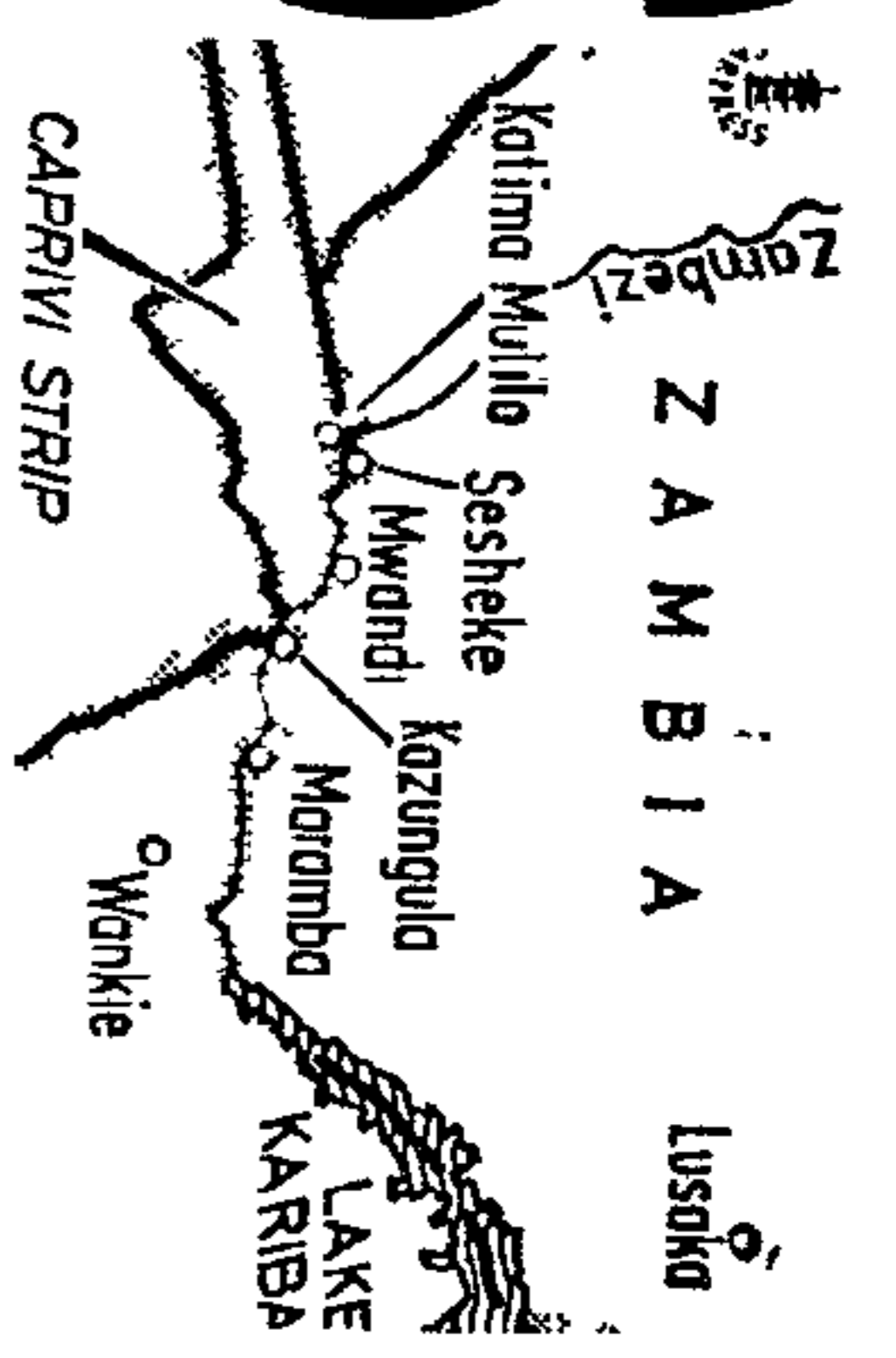
"I have no intention of returning to this school, for fear of my life," he said.

Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding SWA Command, who was still at the tense border last night, issued a brief statement yesterday.

Immediately after the artillery attack on Katima Mulilo from Zambian territory, the SA forces replied with a counter bombardment, he said.

During the clearing-up operation of enemy gun positions, "a few terrorist corpses" were brought out.

SWAPO FLEES AS FAST FOR KILL



W/E Africa's 26/8/78

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Fast strike units in chase

By Patrick Taylor

JOHANNESBURG. — South African troops have split up into groups and are hunting large bands of fleeing Swapo terrorists inside Zambia in the most severe act of retaliation since the May attack on Swapo base camps in Angola.

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UN meeting is off

NEW YORK—The Security Council called off a scheduled private meeting on an African group request for an urgent meeting on charges of South African aggression against Zambia, a UN spokesman announced today.

No new date was set for the meeting arranged yesterday to decide on the timing of a public session.

The spokesman said the Zambian UN mission informed council president Chen Chu of China today that its Government had decided not to press for a debate now since it needed

more time to assess the situation.

In their request yesterday, the African group of states called for an urgent meeting to deal with the aggression by South Africa against the Republic of Zambia, which is still continuing.

South Africa, in a letter to the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim charged that 10 South African soldiers were killed and eight wounded by rocket and mortar fire into SWA from Zambian territory — Sapa-Reuters.

According to informed sources in Pretoria South African forces have been involved in limited engagements with Zambian National Defence Force units. He said casualties occurred on both sides but could give no details.

A Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria today declined to comment on the situation. He reiterated that the Defence Force had retaliated after the deaths of 10 South African soldiers at Katima Mulilo early on Wednesday.

He would not elaborate on earlier statements that 16 dead Swapo men had been brought back from Zambia after the South African strike earlier this week.

Panic

Neither the South African nor the Zambian Governments have commented on the alleged kidnapping of two busloads of Zambian civilians, apparently caught in a roadblock in the Zambian border town of Sesheke.

The Government-controlled Times of Zambia said yesterday that fighting between South African forces and Zambian troops had stopped, but a source in Pretoria said this news had been released to dispel panic among the civilian population of the country.

Another source said the South Africans were using small, fast, motorised units in the hunt for the Swapo terrorists who abandoned two base camps near the Caprivi border with Zambia.

Light arms

SA forces have been engaged in running battles with the Swapo terrorists but are attempting to avoid contact with Zambian troops. Fighting so far has been confined to the use of light weapons such as mortars, sub-machine guns and carbines.

The sources regard South Africa's retaliatory raid as the most concentrated since paratroopers stormed the Swapo base-camp Moscow in Angola.

More than 800 Swapo terrorists were killed in fierce fighting.

The shelling of Katima Mulilo may have played right into the hands of South Africa's military strategists. It gave a reason to retaliate at a stage when Swapo was building up its forces in Zambia after the huge losses the organisation suffered in Angola.

There is still no indication of when the SA troops will be withdrawn but it is now believed they have instructions to track down the Swapo terrorists and kill them.

RBM 26/8/78

Swapo drops plan to fly in top exile

By DAVID FORRET
Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A secret plan to fly one of Swapo's top exiled leaders to Windhoek for today's "Namibia Day" rally was cancelled at the last minute following death threats to Swapo officials inside the territory.

Tragic end to party plans

Staff Reporter

TO have her soldier son home for her birthday was the best present Mrs Stella Elworthy, of Florida, Transvaal, could ask for. But Trooper Denis Michael Elworthy was killed at Katima Mulilo on Wednesday.

His father, Mr David Elworthy, 51, of Shamrock Street, Florida, said last night that a party had been planned to celebrate his son's safe return from the border and his wife's 52nd birthday.

"We were all very excited to be seeing him again, although he has written regularly since he went to the border in April," Mr Elworthy said. Denis, a top cricketer and a Southern Transvaal Junior cross-country runner, had hoped to become a horticulturist when he finished his training.

"He loved the animals of the veld and nature itself. He was a rebel at school, but a gentle one who would patiently tend sick animals," his father said.

He believed it was the duty of every man to fight for his country. "He wasn't afraid to do his border training and accepted it as part of being South African."

TROOPER ELWORTHY
died in attack

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Allister Sparks and Benjamin Pogrod. Newsbills by Chris Day, headlines and sub-editing by Colin Thompson, cartoons by Bob Connolly, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

Mr Mokgamedi Tlhapanello, Swapo's publicity secretary in Windhoek, revealed yesterday initial plans were made to fly in Mr Peter Katjavivi, Swapo's publicity and information secretary in Lusaka, to address the rally.

It would have been the

Call for in-depth inquiry

CAPE TOWN — Public morale would be reinforced if an in-depth investigation were carried out into the deaths of 10 National Servicemen at Katima Mulilo, an Opposition spokesman on defence said here today.

Mr P A Myburgh, Progressive Federal Party MP for Wynberg, said in a statement: "The question must be asked how it is possible for a group of soldiers to be quartered within firing range, from beyond the border, in what appeared to be unfortified quarters."

Mr Myburgh's statement said:

"At a time of national sorrow the nation's grief is intensified by the tragic killing of 10 young soldiers at Katima Mulilo.

"No doubt young South Africans are prepared to serve their country in a military capacity fully aware of the possibility of injury and death.

"However, with the scant amount of information available the question must be asked how it is possible for a group of soldiers to be quartered within firing range from beyond the border in what appeared to be unfortified quarters."

"The loss of the 10 young men in one tragic instant has brought the risks involved forcefully to our attention.

"It certainly would reinforce public morale were the military to announce that an in-depth investigation is to be carried out by experienced senior personnel.

"The public needs to know that, while taking circumstances on the border into account, all possible steps are being taken to ensure the safety of our young men at all times". — Sapa.

first time an exiled Swapo leader had returned to the territory since the start of the low-intensity bush war about 12 years ago.

Mr Tlhapanello said he and other Swapo leaders in Windhoek had received anonymous death threats since the heavy artillery battle at Katima Mulilo on the South West African-Zambian border on Wednesday.

They had received threats from anonymous callers and in unsigned telegrams, he said.

They decided to drop the plan to bring Mr Katjavivi to Windhoek because they feared for his safety.

Swapo officials and exiles would only return to the territory when there was a United Nations presence in SWA, Mr Tlhapanello said.

Meanwhile, Mr Andreas Shipanga, the Swapo dissident leader, is expected to arrive in Windhoek on Monday.

There are also fears for the security of Mr Shipanga, a former Swapo publicity secretary who spent two years in detention in Zambia and then Tanzania after challenging Mr Sam Nujoma's leadership of Swapo.

Mr Shipanga's newly-formed Swapo Democrats (Swapo-D) is to start intensive campaigning in SWA in an effort to draw support from Mr Nujoma.

Swapo-D has announced its intention of joining the moderate Namibian National Front (NNF).

Thousands of Swapo supporters are expected to attend the mass "Namibia Day" rally in Windhoek's Katutura township today.

There could be trouble in the township at the weekend because "Namibia Day" coincides with the arrival of several hundred Hereros who have travelled to Katutura from the reserves for tomorrow's "Herero Day."

They will be holding a memorial service for their late chief and former president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who was assassinated earlier this year.

Shipanga due next week

WINDHOEK — The President and founder of the recently established Swapo Democrats (Swapo-D), Mr Andreas Shipanga, has been delayed in London and will only arrive in SWA some time next week.

He was originally expected to return on Sunday to help promote the interests of Swapo-D and in setting up an organisational network for the party in the territory. — Sapa.

SA in forceful protest at UN

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From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — Peace in the entire Southern African region is endangered, South Africa's UN mission chief, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, said after he emerged from a 25-minute session with the Under Secretary General, Mr Rafeuddin Ahmed, yesterday. Mr Ahmed is currently in charge at UN headquarters.

In a forceful protest to the Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, who is on holiday, South Africa accused the Zambian military of complicity in Wednesday's rocket and mortar attack across the Caprivi border and catalogued seven other communications covering more than 70 incidents involving Swapo elements on the Angolan border since May 23.

The protest said Zambian forces came close to killing the Administrator General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, when they first fired

on his helicopter — then almost mortared him when he landed and crouched for half an hour in a bunker.

Mr Eksteen further suggested that the Cubans in Angola were supporting Swapo units to dig in close to the border so as to be in a strong position as possible before they are confined to base according to the conditions of the UN-backed independence process.

He called on the UN as well as Swapo to make "a swift choice between a peaceful solution and violence" and pointed out that as late as

May, the General Assembly had voted full support for "armed struggle" under Swapo's leadership.

Not even the Western powers had voted negatively in this 119-0 vote, he pointed out. He predicted a repeat when the Assembly meets again next month.

"We have not declared war on anybody," Mr Eksteen stressed. "But we will not tol-

NEW YORK. — The African Group at the United Nations last night requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to take up charges of South African aggression against Zambia. A UN spokesman said the council president was consulting members to set a date and time. — Sapa Reuter

Katima: MP calls for inquiry



Mr Myburgh

THE Progressive Federal Party MP for Wynberg, Mr Philip Myburgh, asked yesterday why the 10 South African soldiers who died in the Katima Mulilo attack on Wednesday had been quartered within firing range from beyond the border "in what appeared to be unfortified quarters."

Mr Myburgh said it would reinforce public morale if military authorities were to launch an in-depth investigation into the death of the soldiers.

The national servicemen lost their lives in the early hours of Wednesday during a mortar and rocket attack on the Caprivi border town from behind the Zambian border.

"Young South Africans are no doubt prepared to serve their country in a military capacity, fully aware of the possibility of injury and death. However, with the scant information available, the question must be asked how it is possible for a group of soldiers to be quartered within firing range from beyond the border in what appeared to be unfortified quarters", said Mr Myburgh.

"The loss of 10 young men in one tragic instant has brought the risks involved forcefully to our attention. It certainly would reinforce public morale were the military to announce that an in-depth investigation is to be carried out by experienced senior personnel", said Mr Myburgh.

"The public needs to know that, while taking the circumstances of the border into account, all possible steps are being taken to ensure the safety of our young men at all times", he said.

A military spokesman said last night that he did not wish to comment on Mr Myburgh's statement.

erate indiscriminate acts of violence across the border." South Africa had accepted the Western peace plan for SWA/Namibia and was determined to provide security and maintain law and order until that peace was secured.

"There will be no imposed solution from outside no matter what this organization says," he told UN correspondents.

Questioned on the reported death of civilians in the South African counter-strike, Mr Eksteen countered. "If that happens, the Zambians have only themselves to blame."

In his letter to Dr Waldheim, he stated that South Africa had "confirmed information that the Zambian military authorities, both at Sesheke and in Lusaka, were fully aware of the nature, timing and extent of the attack" in the early hours of Wednesday, when 10 South African soldiers were killed and eight injured.

More than 600 Swapo terrorists were in the and around Sesheke at the time, he stated, and there were "massive movements" of transport, personnel and equipment to firing positions.

Release Ja Toivo

Plea by Shipanga in SWA

1416 Kikus 26/8/78

221

WINDHOEK. — The leader of Swapo D (the Swapo Democrats), Mr Andreas Shipanga, said today that everybody regretted the kind of action taken by Swapo in its attack on Katima Mulilo, especially at a time when South West Africa was passing through 'a very promising period.'

Mr Shipanga was addressing his first Press conference since his return to South West Africa yesterday after 15 years in exile. Such attacks, he said, served no purpose at all. There was a time to fight and a time to talk. Now was the time to talk.

'I think we are all aware that Sam Nujoma is not in the mood for coming to this country and subjecting himself to democratic elections. He will do everything possible to create

situations where the whole thing will collapse,' Mr Shipanga said.

Mr Shipanga expressed the hope that the South African authorities would release his former colleague, Hermann Toivo Ja Toivo, a prisoner on Robben Island.

'I do hope that Toivo and others in Namibian prisons and in South Africa will be released through a crucial stage in its history and if needs all men of goodwill,' he said.

Mr Shipanga said that from his experience in Zambian and Tanzanian jails he knew what detention without trial was like.

'I feel I want to see Hermann Ja Toivo, but I cannot go and see him on Robben Island and then leave him there.

'I do hope the South African authorities will release him unconditionally. He must be completely free to decide whether he wants to join the internal wing of Swapo or the external wing of Mr Sam Nujoma.'

Mr Shipanga expressed concern about the 1 800 Swapo members who, he said, were still in concentration camps in Zambia.

'Reports reaching me during the last three weeks indicate that they are in very real danger. Sam Nujoma seems to be asking the Zambian Government

to carry out some sinister action against these people.

'He does not want them to come to Namibia because he is aware that if they do come back that they will have a serious impact on opinion in this country.'

His party had made certain arrangements with legal firms in Western Europe to tell Zambia's President Kaunda that whatever happened to detainees, the blame would rest on him personally as well as his Government.

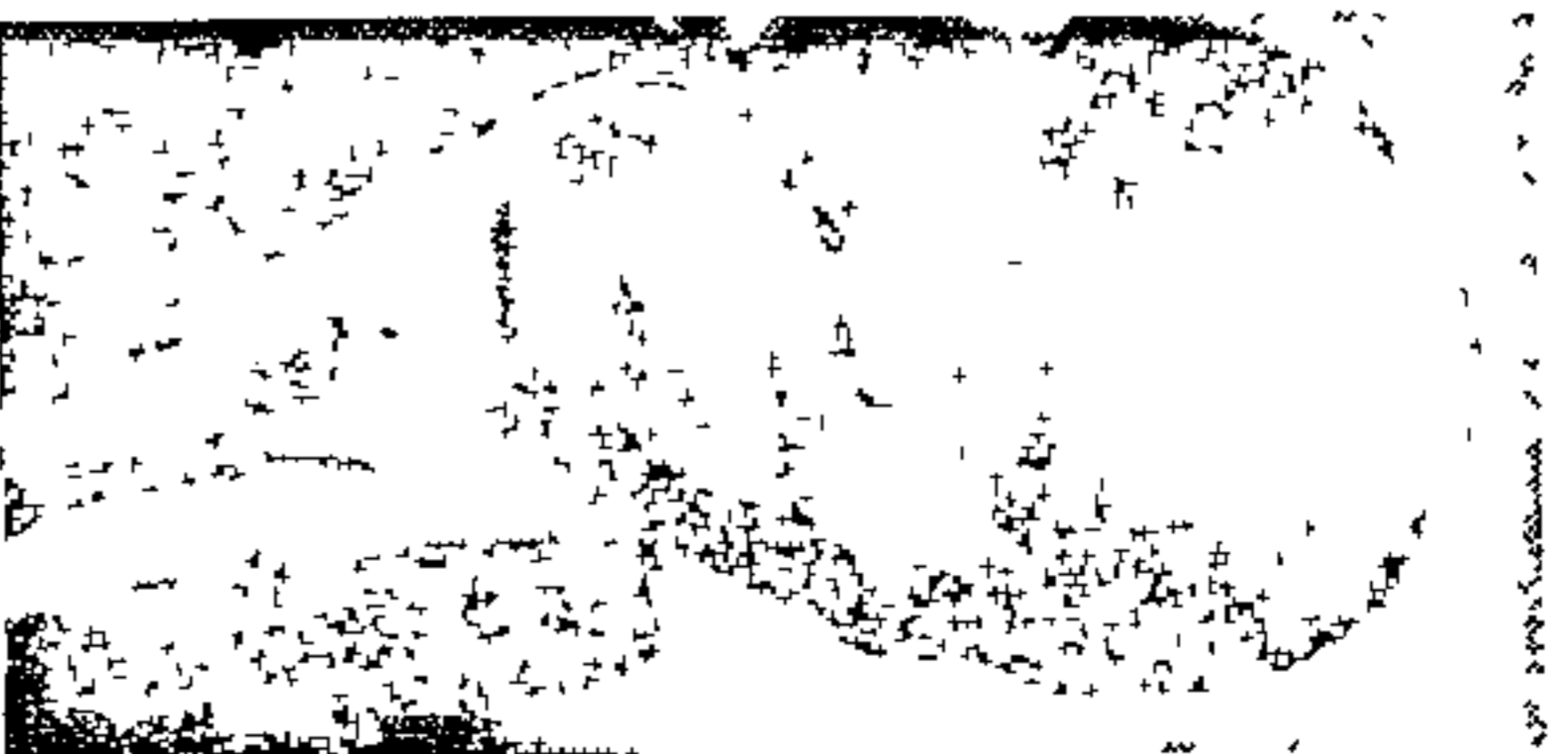
Mr Shipanga said he and his colleagues had returned to Namibia after deciding they had a part to play in shaping the future of their country.

His party would soon be releasing its manifesto explaining what it stood for and what kind of freedom it envisaged.

'We do not want a dictatorship, concentration camps and a country ruled by sheer jealousy. We hope to co-operate with the Namibia National Front and other groups in this country.'

'I believe this country can become an exemplary state where the basic rights of people are not only respected but protected under the law.'

The Swapo Democrats intend contesting seats in the proposed election. — Sapa



ANDREAS SHIPANGA
founder of the
Swapo Democrats.

Los Ja Toivo! Val Shipanga mee in

WINDHOEK

ALMAL betreur Swapo se aanval op Katimo Mulilo, het mnr. Andreas Shipanga, leier van die Swapo Democrats, gister hier gesê op sy eerste perskonferensie sedert sy terugkeer tot Suidwes-Afrika.

Daar is 'n tyd om te veg en 'n tyd om te praat. Dis nou tyd om te praat. Maar almal weet dat Sam Nujoma van Swapo nie na Suidwes-Afrika wil kom en hom aan 'n demokratiese verkiesing onderwerp nie.

Mnr Shipanga het die hoop uitgespreek dat die Suid-Afrikaanse regering Herman ja Toivo, wat op Robbeneiland aangehou word, sal vrylaat.

Mnr Shipanga, wat vyftien jaar van bannelingskap agter die rug het, het gesê hy het nie aansoek gedoen om Ja Toivo te besoek nie. „Behalwe dat hy vir 'n lang tyd 'n kollega van my was, is hy 'n persoonlike vriend.

„Ek voel dat ek hom nie kan gaan besoek en dan weer

daar agterlaat nie. Ek hoop dat hy vrygelaat sal word sodat hy na sy land en sy mense kan terugkeer. Hy moet vry wees om te doen wat hy wil — om hom by Swapo se binnelandse vleuel aan te sluit as hy dit verkies, of by Swapo se buitelandse vleuel as hy dit verkies.”

Mnr Shipanga het bygevoeg dat dinge in Suidwes-Afrika aansienlik verander het in die tyd dat hy weg was. „Toe ek laas hier was, kon wit en swart nie saam tee drink as hulle wou nie. Nou, is dit moontlik.”

Op 'n vraag of hy gereed is om 'n verkiesing voor die einde van die jaar te veg, het hy gesê hy dink nie dat 'n verkiesing so gou sal kan plaasvind nie. „Ek is nie seker of dit praktiese politiek is nie.” — (Sapa)

SA wraak: honderde

RAPPORT 27/8/78
dood (221)

Van **BUKS PIETERSEN**

WINDHOEK.

SWAPO is kapot geslaan in die suidweste van Zambië. Honderde van sy terroriste het omgekom in die Suid-Afrikaanse aksie ná die aanval op Katima Mulilo, word uit Zambiese bronne verneem. Basisse is uitgewis wat 'n aanvakklike mag van sowat 750 man gehuisves het.

Die opruimingsaksie deur die SA Veiligheidsmagte het tot die naweek voortgeduur en die Zambiese bronne sê dit was groter as die Cassinga-operasie — toe die Suid-Afrikaners oor die Angolese grens op die basisse Vietnam en Moskou toegeslaan het.

Oor die getalle praat Suid-Afrika nie. Min. P. W. Botha het gisteraand in 'n bondige verklaring die volgende gesê:

„Kort ná Swapo se verraderlike aanval op die dorp Katima Mulilo het ek aangedui dat gepaste stappe gedoen sou word.

„Ek kan nou aankondig dat daardie stappe tot ons bevrediging afgehandel is. Ek wil ons buurstate weer ernstig waarsku om op geen manier voort te gaan met steun aan terroriste-aanvalle op die grense waarvoor ons verantwoordelik is nie. Hulle sal die gevolge moet dra van daardie stappe wat ons as 'n selfrespekterende land moet doen.

Min. Botha het gesê hy vertrou dat sy waarskuwing die keer nie op dowe ore sal val nie. Hy betuig sy diepste waardering en die van Suid-Afrika, aan die offisiere en manne van die SA Weermag wat op soveel terreine so baie vir die land doen.

In Windhoek sê genl-maj Jannie Geldenhuys In die

suksesvolle hakkejag-operasie is Zambiese stellings wat nie op die SA troepe gevuur het nie, nie aangeval nie.

„Ondanks die doeltreffende teen-bombardement wat die Swapo-aanval gou geneutraliseer het, het sporadiese vuur nog 'n paar uur geduur, waarvan die meeste van verskanste Zambiese stellings gekom het.

„Ons was verplig om die terroriste se grofgeskut-stellings te gaan opruim.”

**AANVAL OP
KATIMA—
VOLLEDIGE
BERIG EN
FOTO'S OP BL. 15**

Verskeie terroristebasisse is uitgewis. Groot hoeveelhede wapens en ammunisie is gekonfiskeer. Hy is tevrede dat die bende van die Nujomafaksie wat die aanval gedoen het, uitgewis is, en dat voorsorg getref word om die plaaslike bevolking teen 'n herhaling van sulke voorvalle te beskerm,” sê die generaal.

Die aksie volg op Woensdagoggend se vuurpyl- en mortieraanval deur Swapo-terroriste, bygestaan deur Zambiese

* **VERVOLG OP BL. 23** *

Wraakdood vir honderde

* **VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN** *

soldate, op Katima Mulilo in Oos-Capri.

Binne vyftien minute het die Suid-Afrikaanse troepe dit met kanonvuur beantwoord, want hulle staan al maande lank reg vir so iets. Die VVO se spesiale afvaardiging is voor hul vertrek attent gemaak op Swapo se aanvalplanne.

Swapo wou Katima Mulilo tydelik beset om die Suid-Afrikaanse aanval op Moskou en Vietnam te wreek. Dit berigte uit Lusaka. Sowat 750 Swapo-terroriste is vir „Operation Revenge” in die suidweste van Zambië saamgetrek.

Hulle wou die veiligheidsmagte se aandag aflei na die militêre vliegveld net buite Katima Mulilo. Die plan is deur die blitsige teenaanval verongeluk.

* Die Zambiese minister van buitelandse sake dr. Siteke Mwale, het onlangs nog die versekering gegee dat

sy regering sy grondgebied aan Swapo beskikbaar stel vir die bou van basisse. Sam Nujoma was daardie tyd op besoek in die suidweste van Zambië.

Aanvanklik het Zambië betrokkeheid by die aanval ontken, en toe erken dat die dorpie Sesheke erg verniel is. Hy beweer twaalf burgerlikes het omgekom.

(Die Suid-Afrikaanse troepe het vuur uit Sesheke beantwoord.)

Zambië sê Suid-Afrika het beweerde deelname deur Zambiese troepe as verskoning gebruik om die land by te kom. Sy regering het geen belang daarby om Suid-Afrika aan te val nie sê dr. Mwale. Hy wil bloot sy soewereiniteit en gebiedsintegriteit beskerm.

* Zambië se reaksie word in diplomatieke kringe vertolk as 'n teken van magtelosheid, en bewys daarvan dat die Zambiese regering nie meer beheer het oor die Swapo-magte en sy gebied nie.

Ook sê Zambië verleentheid vir die Westerse lande wat 'n Suidwes-skikking probeer bewerkstellig. Die Westerse lande het pres Kaunda aansienlike ekonomiese hulp gegee as teenprestasie vir sy deelname aan die vredesplan.

Die gevaar bestaan dat Zambiese betrokkeheid by die aanval die hele plan kan verongeluk.

Regter Theunie Steyn, Administrateur-generaal, het die week gewaarsku die aanval op Katima Mulilo kan die doodsteek wees. Hy vra ingrypende stappe deur die VVO, die Westerse moondhede en die frontliniestate.

Die jongste reeks Swapo-aanvalle is amptelik onder die aandag van dr. Kurt Waldheim gebring.

Mnr. Don McHenry, Amerikaanse verteenwoordiger in die Westerse kontakgroep, het erken dat sy land waarskuwings van die Suid-Afrikaanse regering ontvang het dat 'n aanval uit Zambië verwag word.

Oorlogse afstryse

221

sak oor

Katima

Van BUKS PIETERSEN

HET hulle nog nie van die nuwe, vrye Namibië gehoor nie? Was alles wat in die voorafgaande dae gesê, beplan en geprobeer was, heeltemal vergeefs?

KATIMA MULILO

Sulke gedagtes warrel by my toe ek Woensdagnmiddag saam met ander koerantmanne en regter Th en i e Steyn, Administrateur-generaal van Suidwes in 'n bomkruising sit, tussen die jesse en stof van Katima Fullo.

En jy dink Dis dan oorlog? Buite daver kanonne en ander wapens!
Ek was een van die groep at enkele ure ná die dood an tien jong Suid-frikaanse soldate Woensdig na die toneel van die 'rwoesting' gebring is nos dikwels voorheen, is s met 'n Dakota van die jeermag voort van die Eros-shawe buite Windhoek gter Steyn en hoe leerof-tere het kort lewre trek

vif terroriste. Nou die dag nog seuns in die veld. Geeneen van hulle lyk 'n dag ouer as sê vyftien, sesien nie. Maar hulle het bloed gesoek. En dit gekry. Om jou werk en werskat jong soldate, sweet op die gesig, ongeloflik selfbeheers. Dis kort voor sonnder. Nog 'n nag lê voor

**Hier het
bomme
gerynt**



DIE binnekant van die verwoeste kaserne waar die tien soldate Woensdagoggend vroeg in 'n mortar- en vuurpylaanval uit Zambie dood is.

MET die oorblyfsels van 'n vuurpyl in sy hand



Daardie on

bloot op my gesig te lees was nie Ek was bang vir my lewe, en vir dié van 'n groot en belangrike man soos regter Steyn

Later lê die bree en oenskynlik vreedsame Zambezi onder ons vliegtuig Die vredigheid verskerp die gevoel van onheil wat dreig

Toe sien jy dit Blou kruiddampe slaan op aan ons kant van die rivier Aan die oorkant krul swart rook boontoe

'n Rukkie later by die basis word ons — regter Steyn inkluis — holderstebolder by 'n bomskuiling ingeboende Die sersant-majoor met die weglêsnor is moeg en ongeduldig En jy hoor buite is die hel los

So terloops, asof hy in sy voorkamer sit, merk regter Steyn in die bomskuiling op Kartese het gebars om die helikopter wat hom en die offisiere van die landingstrook by Mapacha na Katima gebring het

Afgryse

Later verduidelik genl-maj Jannie Geldenhuys dat die Suid-Afrikaanse soldate na die aanslag op die helikopter weer begin skiet het Dit was die gedawer wat ons gehoor het

Die generaal vertel ook van die angure van ons jong soldate in die vorige nag Hy het 'n rustige manier van praat, maar die afgryse van dit alles dring tot jou deur

Ons word na buite gebring en staan op 'n Unimog en kyk na die gebroke liggame van seuns — kinders van jou land Ure tevore besef jy het hulle nog in die kaserne lê en slaap, voordat dit deur vyandelike mortiere stukkend geruk is

Daik oor die mense tuis "redroom" Die gedagte, en dit wat daar rondlê stuktes klere skryfblokke leesstof 'n kitaar en 'n veerpyltjebord dit is pure knop-in-die-keelgoed Hulle was nog so jonk Blote kinders Daar is ook die lyke van

gesaai

by 'n gat wat deur die geweld van die vuurpyl in die grond geruk is 'n Groot boom is ontwortel



'n VRAGMOTOR met soldate wat die lyke van terroriste in Zambie gaan haal het, keer terug na die militêre basis op Katima Mulilo



SUID-AFRIKAANSE soldate staan by die vragmotor met die lyke van die terroriste wat in die teenaanval dood is

Walvisbaai

Van ROELOF VORSTER
KAAPSTAD

Leegloop

WALVISBAAI loop leeg. Honderde mense verlaat dié woestyn-hawedorp weens 'n slapte in die ekonomie en gaan soek elders 'n heenkome, baie in Suid-Afrika. Van die groot nywerhede besnoei ernstig aan personeel.

As die Suid-Afrikaanse regering nie gou geld in Walvisbaai belê nie, gaan ons moelikheid kry," sê mnr. Jan van der Merwe, voorsitter van die Afrikaanse Sakekamer op die dorp.

Vir baie mense is die Suid-Afrikaanse belasting wat daar gehef word, ook een te veel. Hulle verhuis na ander dele van Suidwes 'n Man met vier kinders wat in die verlede R40 op 'n bepaalde bedrag belasting betaal het, betaal nou R101.

Die witvisbome moet ook ontwikkel word. Daar word jaarliks ongeveer R200 miljoen aan witsvis deur die Russe en ander volke soos die Spanjaarde geneem. Dit is alles geld wat ons behoort te kry.

Maar dit is veral die beperking op die viskwota wat veroorsaak dat die bedryf jaarliks miljoene rande verloor, sê mnr. Van der Merwe.

Ons het verlede seisoen geprobeer om die kwota verhoog te kry en die seisoen te verleng, maar dit het nie gehelp nie. Ons probeer die vis in die see bewaar, maar dan kom die Russiese vistrelers en plunder dit. Vir hulle is daar nou 'n beperking nie.

Die witvisbome moet ook ontwikkel word. Daar word jaarliks ongeveer R200 miljoen aan witsvis deur die Russe en ander volke soos die Spanjaarde geneem. Dit is alles geld wat ons behoort te kry.

Maar hulle is nie bereid om 'n bietjie op te offer en te help om die wa deur die drif te trek nie. Hulle dank eenvoudig net mense af —

Oor die hoe belasting wat die mense moet betaal, sê mnr. Van der Merwe dit is onregverdig dat hulle dieselfde belasting as by-

voorbeeld die mense in die Kaap moet betaal.

"Ek het niks teen die feit dat ons deur die Kaapse Provinsiale Administrasie geadmistreer word nie, intendeel ons waardeer die belangstelling van hul kant af. Maar julle het daar universiteite en baie ander geriewe, soos die res van Suid-Afrika, wat ons nie het nie. Waarom moet ons dan dieselfde belasting betaal?" vra hy.

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RBM 28/8/78

(221)

War goes on, Swapo vows in wake of strike

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — South African Security Forces mopped up Swapo bases and seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition during their hot-pursuit operation into Zambia, a Defence Force spokesman announced at the weekend.

Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, General Officer Commanding South West Africa command, added that the operation which followed the Swapo attack on Katima Mulilo had been "successfully completed."

The SADF was last night still refusing to reveal the extent of enemy casualties, though informed sources have said the SA reprisals were greater than the Government is admitting.

And the President of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, vowed in Luanda that the armed struggle would continue until there was peace and total equality in the territory.

Gen Geldenhuys said in a summary that South African

troops were forced to mop up guerrilla artillery emplacements in Zambia after the heavy artillery attack last Wednesday that killed 10 South African soldiers.

After the "treacherous" bombardment of the black and white townships at Katima Mulilo, the security forces immediately took counter-measures, he said.

Gen Geldenhuys said most of the subsequent firing came from entrenched Zambian emplacements. No physical attacks or bombardments were made on Zambian emplacements that did not fire upon South African forces, he said.

"I'm also satisfied that the troops of Nujoma's faction, who were responsible for the attack, were wiped out and that the necessary counter-measures have been taken to defend the local population."

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said in a Press statement:

"I want to again issue a

serious warning to our neighbouring states not to continue in any way to support terrorists in their attacks on the borders for which we are responsible." They would have to bear the consequences.

Mr Nujoma's message from Luanda said Swapo would not participate in any election in the territory until the South African forces had withdrawn from the territory, reports Sapa.

The message was read out by the Swapo deputy chairman, Mr Daniel Tjongarero, at a Namibia Day celebration attended by about 4 000 Swapo supporters in Windhoek.

At the United Nations, the Security Council postponed at Zambia's request a scheduled private meeting on an African group request for an urgent meeting on charges of South African aggression against Zambia, a UN spokesman announced at the weekend.

No new date was set for the meeting

Vorster: Walvis to stay in SA

Argus 28/8/78

221



MR Martii Ahtisaari—
UN representative in
SWA — may delay his
visit to the territory.

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — No decision by the United Nations could take Walvis Bay away from South Africa, the Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, said here today.

Cabinet meeting

The Cabinet meets on Tuesday, after Foreign Minister Mr R F Pik Botha's return from New York, to discuss the security Council go-ahead on the territory and its declaration on Walvis Bay.

The Prime Minister said Walvis Bay was South African territory.

He went on 'The decision of the Security Council, therefore, has no legal force and the Government cannot allow anyone to dictate what it should do with its possession or, how the Government should control and administer it.

'To negotiate with a foreign government in SWA over the harbour and its use is one thing and is self-evident, but to make demands and tie them to a settlement in SWA is another matter which is rejected unconditionally by the Government.'

The Prime Minister said Mr Botha would return to South Africa at the weekend and the whole matter would be discussed by the Cabinet during its meeting on Tuesday.

But he indicated that South Africa would be prepared to

negotiate the fate of Walvis Bay with a 'foreign government' in South West Africa

Only a decision by the South African Parliament could change the 'status and possession' of the harbour enclave, Mr Vorster said in a strongly worded reaction to the Security Council declaration yesterday that Walvis Bay should be reintegrated into SWA.

No reason

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Windhoek that the people in SWA and political leaders here waited anxiously today to see whether South Africa would go ahead with the West's independence plan for the territory.

Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary general of the Namibia National Front, a moderate black and white coalition, said South Africa had 'no reason' not to participate in the Western Plan.

'Resolution one (the West's plan) is an agreement with the people and political instances of Namibia.

'Even if resolution two (the inclusion of Walvis Bay) is an embarrassment to South Africa, it has no reason not to implement resolution one.

● Page 3: Rejection of Walvis Bay motion correct — Basson; Owen thinks SA will accept.

21ar 28/8/78

No lives lost in raids on Swapo bases

(221)

Military Correspondent

South African forces suffered no loss of life in the operation following the Swapo attack on Katima Mulilo, according to a spokesman for Defence Headquarters in Pretoria today

SA soldiers 'must stay in bases'

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK—Swapo guerrillas and exiles wouldn't be prepared to return to SWA/Namibia until all South African soldiers remaining in the territory were confined to base, says Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma

This was Mr Nujoma's message to about 3 000 people in Windhoek's black township of Katutura at the weekend. His message was passed on by Swapo's leader in the territory, Mr Daniel Tjongarero, during the commemoration of Swapo's "Namibia day"

Mr Tjongarero said Mr Nujoma wanted Swapo followers to know "the struggle continues" and wouldn't end with independence.

Asked about Swapo casualties in the operation, he said. "The Defence Force is on the border to protect the local inhabitants from the deeds of terrorists and therefore to combat terrorism."

"We are not there to count the numbers we have to kill in our efforts to destroy terrorist activities"

The spokesman also declined to comment when asked whether Swapo bases in Zambia had been as effectively eliminated as the Swapo bases in Angola

The tacit suggestion in statements at the weekend by the officer commanding South West Africa Command, Major General Jannie Geldenhuys, is that similar damage has been inflicted on Swapo's capabilities in Zambia

● The 10 soldiers killed in the Swapo attack are to be buried with military honours tomorrow and on Wednesday

A spokesman for Witwatersrand Command said military funerals were being arranged for four of the victims who came from the Rand

The spokesman said Trooper Willem Smuts of Randburg would be buried with full military honours, but a date for the funeral had not yet been finalised.

ELWORTHY

The funeral of Trooper Denis Michael Elworthy of Florida, will take place at St Gabriel's Anglican Church, Goldman Street, Florida at 4.30 tomorrow.

Mr D P de Lange, father of Trooper Hennie de Lange (18), said his son's funeral would be held at the Apostolic Faith Mission, Welkom, at 11 am tomorrow

Military funerals are expected to be held at Springs, Roodepoort, and Ventersburg on Tuesday, and a fifth on Wednesday

Raid on Swapo bases 'complete'

CAP T. M. 18
28/8/78

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Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — South African security forces have “successfully completed” the clearing-up of Swapo bases and seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition during a hot-pursuit operation inside Zambia, Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, GOC South West Africa Command, announced at the weekend.

General Geldenhuys said his men were forced to mop up terrorist artillery emplacements in Zambia after the heavy artillery attack on Katima Mulilo last Wednesday in which 10 South Africans died.

Most of the firing came from entrenched Zambian emplacements and “we were compelled to mop up terrorists’ artillery emplacements to ensure the safety of the local population and other civilians” No physical attacks or bombardments were carried out on Zambian emplacements which had not fired on South African forces.

General Geldenhuys said he was “satisfied that the troops of Nujoma’s (Swapo) faction, who were responsible for the attack, were wiped out and that the necessary counter-measures have been taken to defend the local population.”

In Pretoria last night the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, told Sapa: “I want to issue again a serious warning to our neighbouring states not to continue to support terrorists in their attacks on the borders for which we are responsible, because they will have to bear the consequences of the steps which we must take as a self-respecting country.”

'Free these people' call

NMM 28/6/78 (221)

Mercury Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Mr. Andreas Shipanga, the Swapo dissident leader who returned to South West Africa at the weekend, claims that 1 800 refugees are being held against their will in three Zambian "concentration camps."



Andreas Shipanga

LT??

Addressing his first Press conference hours after his arrival, Mr. Shipanga said the dissidents would have a "serious impact" on Mr. Sam Nujoma's support inside the territory.

"Their lives are in danger and we won't be fooled by any manoeuvre if they are killed or simply disappear."

He accused Mr. Nujoma, Swapo's president, of trying to get President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to prevent the refugees returning to South West Africa and said the UN special representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, had a responsibility to get in touch with President Kaunda "to release our people."

Mr. Shipanga said "quite a major part of Namibians in exile" supported his newly-formed party, the Swapo Democrats.

Answering questions, he said he was convinced that the attack on Katima Mulilo was an attempt by Mr. Nujoma to wreck the chances for a peaceful settlement.

"He does not want to come back and subject himself to an election. We all know Sam."

SADF denies bombing claim

Own Correspondent

221

JOHANNESBURG. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said in a Lusaka interview last night that South African warplanes were still bombing parts of Zambia's western province.

Mr Nujoma also said SA troops had used arms, tanks and Mirage aircraft to strafe Esheke district and that the fighting was still continuing in the western province.

Last night an SA Defence Force spokesman said: "It must have been a case of mistaken identity on Mr Nujoma's part. As the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, announced over the weekend, South Africa has completed its follow-up operations after Swapo's cowardly night assault with mortars and rockets on Katima Mulilo."

Mr Nujoma also said that in the "Caprivi Strip battle" Swapo's casualties had been small "since our guerillas fight in small groups".

The SADF spokesman said no war or battle had been fought. "With Swapo it's a matter of hit-and-run tactics directed against SA soldiers and especially the local population. Once they have attacked they are always on the run," he said.

GENERAL STUDIES T2B

STRUCTURE OF

1 am flash: *Capt Timit*
30/8/78

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MPLA fire

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WINDHOEK. - MPLA soldiers opened fire from Angola at a youth camp at Rundu, in Kavango, northern SWA/Namibia last night, General Jannie Geldenhuys, officer commanding SWA Command, said in a statement here.

id control.
T3C).

(v)

In another incident shortly after sunset, terrorists opened fire at a group of people on their way to a camp in the vicinity of Oshivello

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OFFICE SYSTEMS

(a) (i)

No casualties were reported in the Rundu incident, but three people were wounded in the Oshivello incident, General Geldenhuys said.

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(ii)

"At 6 pm members of the military personnel of the MPLA government in Angola fired at the town of Rundu shortly after they had occupied the Angolan town of Calai on the banks of the Kavango River

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"These acts were unprovoked by the SWA side, nor was any resistance offered on the Angolan side which could have caused the incident.

"The MPLA soldiers used small arms and several tents in a youth camp in Rundu were damaged," General Geldenhuys said.

There was no loss of life

In the other incident, shortly after sunset, three people were injured by terrorist fire in Ovambo. They were travelling to their camp in the vicinity of Oshivello.

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FINANCE

(a) A typical
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"There were six people, among them two whites, in the vehicle, when they were fired at by a band of terrorists

"The two whites, one a soldier, were performing civilian duties, and a black man sustained serious injuries

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(b)

Company amalgamations, "take-over" and other re-organisation methods discussed from the point of view of their impact upon finance, consumer interests, employee changes and redundancy, etc.

Fleet of fear sails to SWA

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The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek

Four hundred refugees fled across the Kavango River in dugout canoes to safety in SWA/Namibia as MPLA troops, backed by Cubans and East Germans, occupied the Angolan border town of Calais.

And in southern Ovambo, two whites and a black were seriously injured when terrorists opened fire on a truck near Oshivello.

Angolans fleeing from the MPLA advance also crowded on board the primitive ferry, which operates between Calais and the Kavango capital of Rundu. At times it was so overloaded that some of the refugees fell off and had to be hauled out of the river. Others swam across the 150-m wide river to escape the MPLA soldiers.

It is the second time since the MPLA came to power that it has occupied Calais, which is situated in territory traditionally held by the Unita rebels of Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Shooting could be heard as the soldiers entered Calais, according to sources in Rundu. The MPLA soldiers also fired across the river at a youth camp at Rundu.

Nobody was hurt in the attack and the fire was not returned.

Soldier hurt

One of the three men wounded in the attack on a truck near Oshivello was a soldier.

The Chief of the Defence Force in SWA/Namibia, Major General J J Geldenhuys said the incident occurred just after nightfall yesterday.

The injured, two whites and a black, were taken to a local hospital for treatment. Three other passengers were unhurt.

General Geldenhuys said a follow-up operation against the terrorists was in progress.

Robbery

The Chief Minister of Ovambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, said a shop owner, Mr Sakeis Nambodi, was robbed of R1700 by terrorists at his kraal near Ondangwa at the weekend.

The terrorists accused Mr Nambodi of "working in cahoots with the Boere," and threatened to kill him.

30/8/78 A.S.M.

UN set to unveil SWA plans today

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK
THE detailed plan for United Nations-supervised independence in South West Africa is expected to be released today — but the South African Government was still kept ignorant of its contents by late yesterday.

UN special representative for the territory, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, flew back to New York from Vienna yesterday with the closely-guarded report, approved by UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and ready for presentation to a showdown Security Council meeting.

Meanwhile, a four-man delegation of the Namibian National Front left for New York last night in a bid to gain a hearing at the Security Council meeting.

Dr Waldheim, at present in Buenos Aires, is due back at the UN on Friday, but could be recalled earlier if the Council decides to meet immediately, his spokesman said.

Private Council consultations could begin as early as today.

Yesterday UN officials were inking in some final details, including the thorny question of financing the formidable undertaking.

The West expects to be asked to contribute outside specialists and to play an important role in logistical backup, such as air transport, which will be a crucial element in the uniquely complex operation.

Alarmed by the SWA-Zambia border fighting, most Western powers are pressing hard for swift implementation of the plan and the speediest possible dispatch of UN forces.

Diplomats at the UN point to the limited Zambian reaction to South Africa's forays as final and dramatic proof of the determination of Frontline states to back the plan all the way.

DAVID FORRET of the "Mail" Africa Bureau reports from Windhoek that three Swapo officials left SWA last night for a meeting with churchmen in Switzerland and the chances were that they would also travel on to New York.

Leaders of the other two major political alliances — the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Aktur, the National Party's election front — were watching the situation to see if a UN hearing was a possibility.

A timetable for independence elections not earlier than April next year is anticipated. Swapo has been pressing for a July date.

At the least, a close review of the existing voter registration operation is expected to be ordered with the process extended over many more weeks.

The civil wing of the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) is also expected to be set larger than the 1 000 first contemplated.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, is due in New York by the end of the week, his UN office reported, and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, may arrive later this week.

Officials hinted that Mr Botha plans no comment until the council meets. But they warned that problems could arise if South Africa is again kept in the dark, as it was last time, over the explosive Walvis Bay issue. That led to a bitter confrontation.

Unprecedented secrecy has surrounded the preparation of the Ahtisaari-Waldheim report. Security guards were stationed at Mr Ahtisaari's office and rough drafts were burned.

But informed sources say a UN peacekeeping force of up to 8 000 will be requested, drawn from several countries.

UN plan for SWA expected today

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From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The detailed plan for United Nations-policed independence in South West Africa is expected to be released today — with the South African Government by late yesterday still kept ignorant of its contents.

The UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, flew back from Vilnius yesterday with the closely-guarded report approved by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim and ready for presentation to a showdown Security Council meeting.

Dr Waldheim, now in Buenos Aires, was due back here on Friday but could be recalled earlier if the council decided to meet immediately, his spokesman said. Private council consultations could begin as early as today.

UN officials were meanwhile inking in some final details, including the thorny question of financing the formidable undertaking. The UN has used up almost all its emergency funds with the Lebanon operation and the Ahtisaari fact-finding mission.

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, is due here by the end of the week, his UN office reported, and the South African Foreign Minister, Mr R. F. Botha, could arrive late tomorrow, after a Frankfurt stop-over.

Mr Botha planned no comment until the council met, officials hinted. But they warned that problems could arise if South Africa was again kept in the dark as it was last time over the explosive Walvis Bay issue. That led to a bitter confrontation.

Unprecedented secrecy has surrounded the preparation of the Ahtisaari-Waldheim report. Security guards were placed at Mr Ahtisaari's office and rough drafts were burned.

But informed sources say a UN peace-keeping force of up to 8 000 will be requested, drawn from about seven nations.

Zambians shot at Steyn's copter — SADF

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PRETORIA. — Shots fired last week at the helicopter carrying Mr Justice M T Steyn, Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, after the Swapo attack on Katima Mulilo probably came from Zambian soldiers.

This was said yesterday at a military conference in Pretoria when Major-General I R Gleeson, Chief of Staff, Army Operations, briefed pressmen on last week's attack on Katima Mulilo, in which 10 South African soldiers were killed and 11 wounded.

General Gleeson dismissed criticism that SA soldiers had not been trained thoroughly enough for border duty and

that the attack on Katima Mulilo rated an investigation into the Defence Force's safety measures in the Caprivi.

"Our men train for eight months before we send them up for border duty," he said. "They are all equipped to face border situations. The fact that 10 men were killed in the attack on Katima does not reflect poor precautionary measures on the part of the SADF. The 122 mm rocket that landed was a fluke hit and fired in the first salvo, when the men were heading for their trenches."

Asked about the civilian population of Katima Mulilo, General Gleeson said bunkers had been built for all civilians and a special alarm drill prepared.

After the attack and when relative quiet had returned, Mr Justice Steyn flew in to view the damage. His arrival by helicopter was greeted by small arms fire.

"The source of that firing came from Zambian soldiers," said General Gleeson. "It was definitely not from Swapo."

There had also been the possibility that, had the bombardment succeeded, Swapo units would have struck into

the eastern Caprivi.

"We were expecting some kind of retaliatory attack after our operations against Swapo in June," General Gleeson said. "Especially as how August 26 was highlighted as Swapo's 'Namibia Day'."

"We knew it was going to happen, but not where the strike would be aimed at. The first salvo hit at 1,15 am. They fired 122 mm rockets and mortars and the measure of our safety drill was proved when, a scant 15 minutes later, we had pinpointed the enemy's firing positions."

Within 30 minutes the initial Swapo positions had been "neutralized" by fire from the South African positions.

"Theoretically, our headquarters base at Katima was the safest," said General Gleeson. "The 122 mm rocket that hit one of the barracks was the only damaging explosive fired by Swapo."

"It was a fluke — it went through the roof and the actual explosion, not the shrapnel, killed the 10 soldiers inside and wounded 11 others. The rocket was fired in the first salvo and the soldiers inside the barracks were preparing to move out into their trench positions."

Ed Morrow and Heinz Hunke are rather untypical Southern African clerics. One is an Anglican and the other a Catholic and both have spent years ministering to, and dealing with, the ordinary black people of South West Africa, and both have been expelled from the territory for their efforts.

They gave a press conference in London the other day, and what they had to say could scarcely be of much comfort to Pretoria — or the Western powers which have engineered the UN-sanctioned transition to independence for the disputed territory. Father Morrow put it bluntly: "South Africa, true to form, will create every conceivable obstacle to impede the peaceful process to self-rule in Namibia."

Why? "South Africa feels it needs time to adjust to the new situation and it feels this strange need always to be boss of any particular situation."

The unilateral registration of voters in the territory was an example of how the ruling power had tried to thwart free and independent elections anybody speaking against it was liable to a maximum fine of R3 000 or three months imprisonment, added Father Hunke.

The South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, had removed "all credibility and even the appearance of neutrality which he had emphasised himself so much from the beginning," the German-born missionary added. Mr Steyn had specifically changed the governing proclamations to say that "no court shall have jurisdiction in respect of any order or warrant of the Administrator-General".

"Today the AG holds and uses the power to decide which person may enjoy his personal freedom, which person must disappear in detention for political reasons which are exclusively in his discretion, which persons may be released, which persons must leave Namibia."

Some of the people ordered to leave Namibia were there at the press conference. Ed Morrow, Heinz Hunke and Bishop Colin Winter. Father Morrow appeared concerned at the blow his reputation had suffered by his deportation. "Any suggestion that either my wife or I were a threat or danger to any individual

or orderly progress to independence is an infamous lie. Likewise any allegation that I at any time engaged in unlawful acts will be challenged in what remains in the courts of law in Namibia."

Father Morrow recalled, to the amusement of Bishop Winter, how he has been told to stay out of trouble. The bishop, he said, had named him Vicar-General of the Namibian diocese just as Suffragan Bishop Richard Wood was being expelled from the South African authorities. The Anglican Church, the bishop had said, had had enough problems. Father Morrow was to keep his head down.

"It was impossible" the reverend father said. "From the first few hours I was harassed by the Special Branch and asked by the people of Namibia to show compassion for their sufferings. My Christian conscience had to dictate my actions."

Father Morrow looks as if he could be the captain of a first-team hockey side: lean, with short hair, he uses his hands expressively as he talks simply and slowly about

whether it had committed murders in the territory, whether it would establish a dictatorship if and when it took power, and whether — the ultimate question of the sceptics — there was any democratic, black-ruled African State.

Father Morrow remained polite, although it was obvious he had not attended the press conference to answer simplistic questions like that "In Botswana and Zambia people seem free to express themselves — unlike South Africa," he replied mildly. The man from the BBC left shortly afterwards.

Bishop Winter grew restless with indignation as the BBC man was putting his questions. The bishop, exiled from the territory since 1972, has lent his clerical weight to Swapo — for which he was criticised the other day by a fellow writer of Letters to the Editor in the Guardian.

The bishop repeated again that he wishes to pay the highest tribute to Swapo, and the reverend fathers in front of the assembled press nodded their support. Neither had any evidence that Swapo was the epitome of

darkness and death prostrated by Mr Vorster and the Administrator-General.

Father Morrow pointed out in his mild way, there had been reports of Swapo murdering black civilians, but when people had been charged, the courts in Windhoek or the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein had acquitted them.

Both spoke of torture. Father Hunke said about 250 people had been detained at Oshakati in the north of the territory and of those he had spoken to, only a woman of 80 said she had not been tortured.

The Administrator-General had claimed he had spoken to the detainees about the allegations Father Hunke had made of torture, but none of those who had been released could remember speaking to him. On their release, they had been taken back to their tribal areas and ordered not to discuss their treatment in jail — "not with me, not with anybody else," Father Hunke said.

"I wrote to the Administrator-General about the torture," Father

Hunke added "Two weeks later I was deported — and I hadn't had a reply from him."

Both were uncertain about the future of Namibia "I am confident that the end is in sight," said Father Morrow, "but both felt they had made a limited contribution to alleviating the plight of the ordinary blacks. "We didn't stop one policeman from beating up a suspect," Father Morrow said.

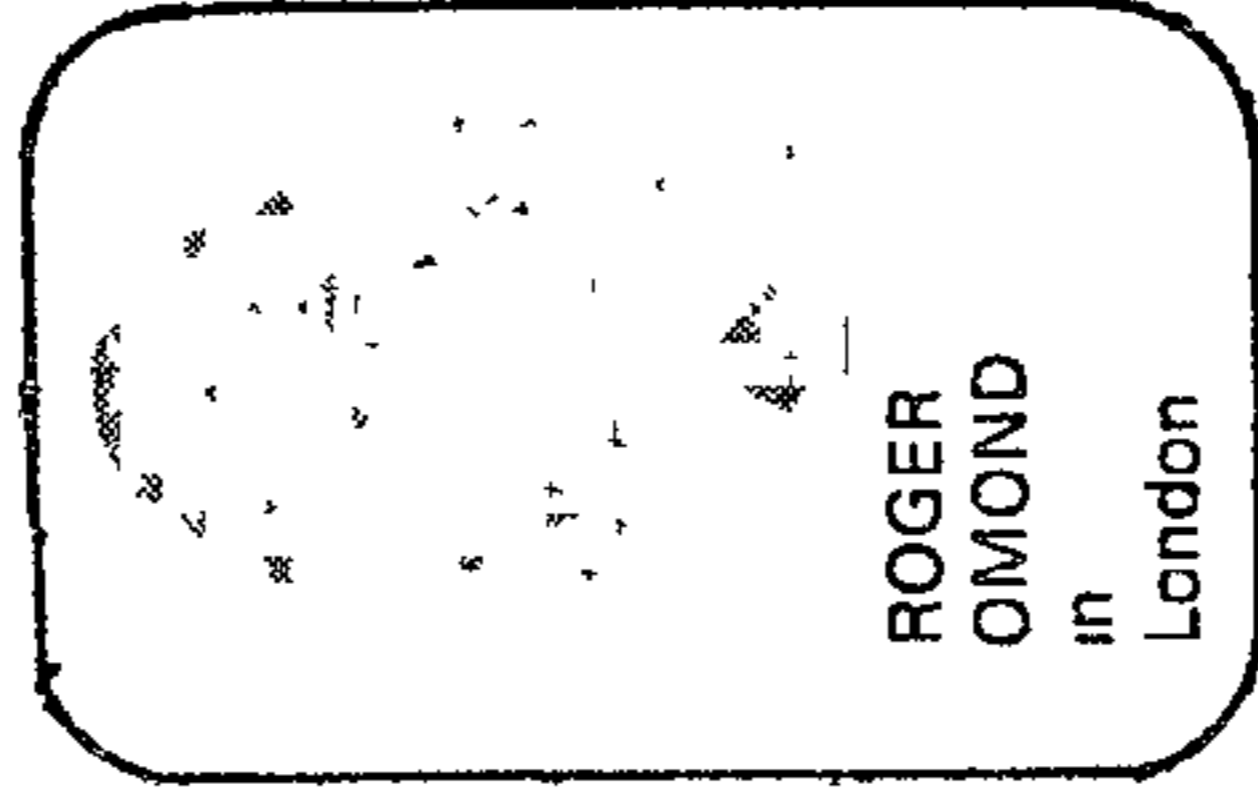
And both had faith that the gap left by their deportations would be filled "Is the church finished in Namibia?" asked Bishop Winter somewhat rhetorically.

Father Morrow fell into self-consciously uneasy mod-jargon "No way — as they say," he replied quickly. "Our expulsions will encourage the churches to make a stronger stand," said Father Hunke.

Both were sceptical of the Western churches, and angry that they were not doing more for the people of Namibia. "The church should get back to the Gospel," said Father Morrow.

Neither of the reverend fathers — disposed, uneasy exiles that they are — are likely to ask for the VIP lounge at Heathrow when they next fly off to spread the word on Namibia.

Clerics look at Namibia



ROGER OMOND in London

women being tortured. Father Hunke, blonde and with a strong German accent, appears the more emotional of the two.

But then Father Morrow is a native South African, who worked as a draughtsman and quantity surveyor in the building industry before going into the church. He is more used to a repressive society than Father Hunke.

The man from the BBC at the press conference asked some sharp questions about Swapo;

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Excerpts from the SW

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NEW YORK — Following are excerpts from the report of the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to the Security Council on the implementation of a proposed independence plan for SWA/Namibia

“The implementation of the proposal will require the establishment of a UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) in the territory, consisting of a civilian component and a military component. Because of the unique character of the operation and the need for close co-operation between them, both components will be under the overall direction of the special representative of the secretary-general

“In performing its functions, Untag will act with complete impartiality. In order that the proposal may be effectively implemented, it is expected that the administrator-general and all other officials from within the territory will exhibit the same impartiality.

“For Untag to carry out all its tasks effectively, three essential conditions must be met

“First, it must, at all times, have the full support and backing of the Security Council

“Second, it must operate with the full co-operation of all the parties concerned, particularly with regard to the comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts.

“Third, it must be able to operate as a combined United Nations operation, of which the military component will constitute an integrated, efficient formation within the wider framework of Untag.

“To monitor the cessation of hostilities effectively, to maintain surveillance of the territory's vast borders and to monitor the restriction to base of the armed forces of the parties concerned, the co-operation and support of the neighbouring countries will be necessary. Such co-operation will be most important, particularly during the early stages

“Implementation of the proposal, and thus the work of Untag, will have to proceed in successive stages. These stages can be grouped as follows:

“A Cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and the withdrawal, restriction or demobilization of the various armed forces,

“B Conduct of free and fair elections to the Constituent Assembly, for which the pre-conditions include the repeal of discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations or administrative measures, the release of political prisoners and detainees and voluntary return of exiles, the establishment of effective monitoring by the UN and an adequate period for electoral campaigning;

“C The formulation and adoption of a constitution for Namibia by the Constituent Assembly;

“D The entry into force of the constitution and the consequent achievement of independence for Namibia

“In his discussions with the special representative, the administrator-general said that the South African authorities, having previously established December 3, 1978 as the date of independence, felt that they were committed thereto and that, consequently, the elections should take place as scheduled, regardless of the fact that it would necessitate substantially reducing the time-table necessary for completion of the preparatory plans

“A majority of the political parties was of the opinion, however, that it was essential to maintain the orderly phasing of the preparatory stages and to allow sufficient time for electoral campaigning in order to ensure free and fair elections. Further, it was pointed out that the actual date of independence would fall within the competence of the Constituent Assembly.

“It will be recalled, however, that the time the proposal was first formulated, the date of December 31, 1978 was consistent with completion of these steps. The delay in reaching agreement among the parties now makes completion by this date impossible.

“It is therefore recommended that the transitional period

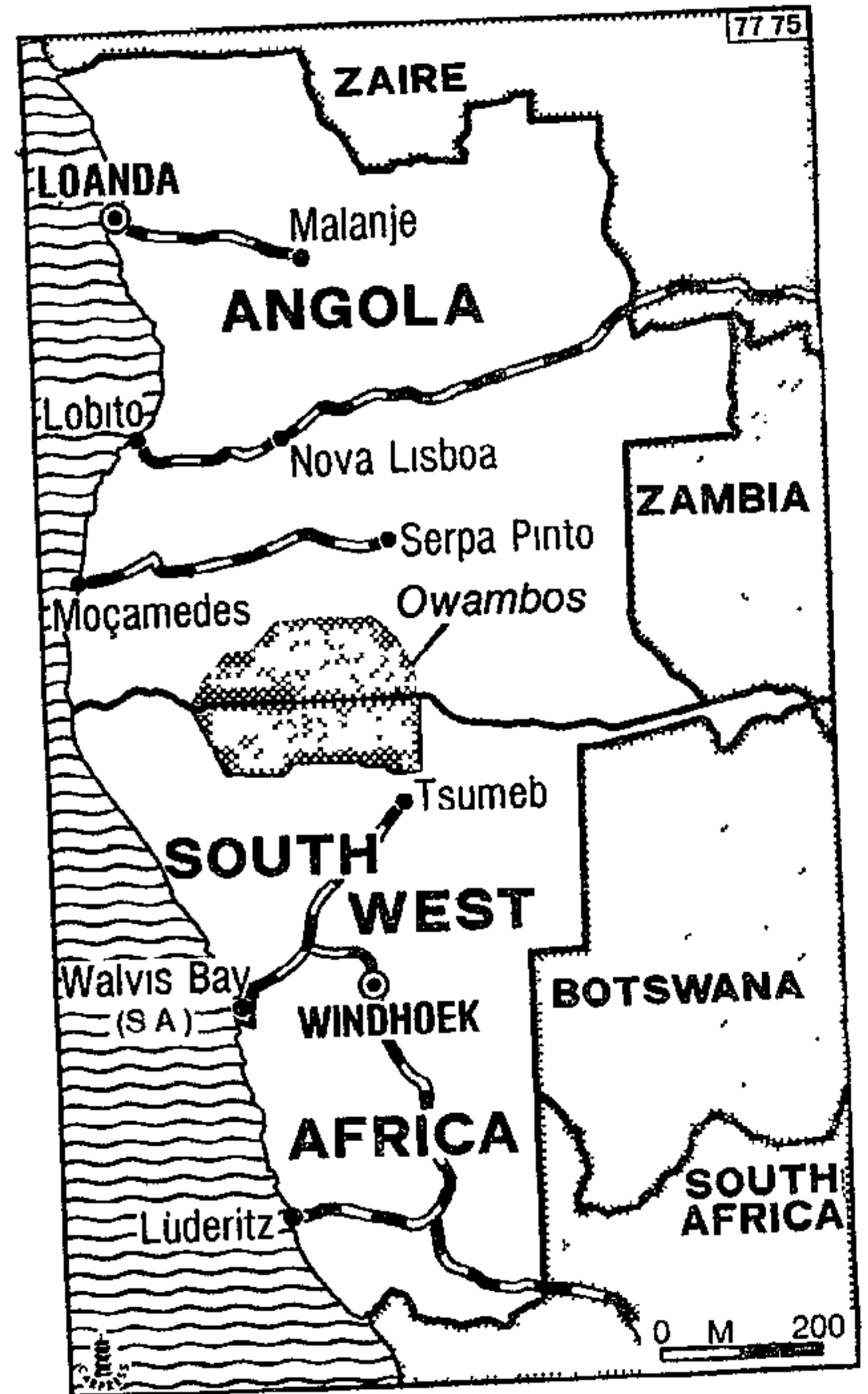
begin on the date of approval of the present report by the Security Council. Using the same time-table that earlier provided the December 31, 1978 date, an appropriate date for elections would be approximately seven months from the date of the approval of the present report.

“It is expected that the duration of Untag would be one year, depending on the date of independence to be decided by the Constituent Assembly

“The military component of Untag will not use force except in self-defence. Self-defence will include resistance to attempts to prevent it from discharging its duties under the mandate of the Security Council

“The functions which will be performed by the military component of Untag include in particular:

“A Monitoring the cessation of hostile acts by all parties, the restriction of South African and Swapo armed forces to base, the phased withdrawal of all except the



specified number of South African forces and the restriction of the remainder to specified locations

“B Filtration as well as surveillance of the borders of the territory.

“C Monitoring the demobilization of citizen forces, commandos and ethnic forces, and the dismantling of their command structure

“The military component will be comprised of a number of contingents to be provided by member countries upon the request of the secretary-general. The contingents will be selected in consultation with the Security Council and with the parties concerned, bearing in mind the accepted principle of equitable geographical representation. In addition a body of selected officers to act as monitors will form an integral part of the military component

“In order that the military component might fulfil its responsibilities, it is considered that it should have a strength of the order of seven infantry battalions, totalling,

A report

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approximately 5 000, plus 200 monitors, and in addition, command, communications, engineer, logistic and air support elements totalling approximately 2 300. The infantry battalions should be fully self-sufficient.

"The civilian component will consist of two elements. One of these elements will be the civil police.

"The duties of the civil police element of Untag will include taking measures against any intimidation or interference with the electoral process from whatsoever quarter, accompanying the existing police forces, when appropriate, in the discharge of their duties and assisting in the realization of the function to be discharged by the administrator-general to the satisfaction of the special representative of ensuring the good conduct of the existing police forces.

"In order that the Untag police may fulfil their responsibilities as described above, it is considered, as a preliminary estimate, that approximately 360 experienced police officers will be required.

"The non-police element of the civilian component of Untag will have the function of assisting the special representative. These tasks will consist, in particular, of the following:

"A. Supervising and controlling all aspects of the electoral process, considering the fairness and appropriateness of the electoral procedures, monitoring the balloting and the counting of votes, in order to ensure that all procedures are strictly complied with, and receiving and investigating complaints of fraud or challenges relating to the electoral process.

"B. Advising the special representative as to the repeal of discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations or administrative measures which may abridge or inhibit the objective of free and fair elections.

"C. Ensuring the absence of, or investigating complaints of, intimidation, coercion or restrictions on freedom of speech, movement or peaceful political assembly which may impede the objective of free and fair elections.

"D. Assisting in the arrangements for the release of all Namibian political prisoners or detainees and for the peaceful, voluntary return of Namibian refugees or Namibians detained or otherwise outside the territory.

"E. Assisting in any arrangements which may be proposed by the special representative to the administrator-general and implemented by the administrator-general to the special representative's satisfaction intended to perform and instruct the electorate as to the significance of the election and the procedures for voting.

"Bearing in mind the vast size of the territory, the dispersal of the population and the lack of adequate communications, it is considered, as a preliminary estimate, that approximately 300 professional officers, as well as the necessary supporting staff, will be required initially until the cessation of hostile acts has been achieved.

"Thereafter about 1 000 professional and 200 field service and general staff will be required during the electoral campaign and the period of balloting in order to cover all the polling stations.

"It is my intention to appoint as commander of the military component of Untag Major-General Hannes Philipp, who has extensive experience of UN peacekeeping operations and is already familiar with the situation in Namibia.

"At present there are too many unknown factors to permit an accurate assessment of the cost of Untag. Based on the numbers of personnel specified in this report and the envisaged duration of 12 months, and taking into account the magnitudes and elements of the financial requirements experienced in other peacekeeping operations, the indications are that the financial requirements for Untag could be as high as \$300m (R255m). Of this, approximately \$33m (R28m) will be required to finance the return of refugees and exiles.

"The costs of Untag shall be considered expenses of the organization to be borne by the member states in accordance with article 17, paragraph 2 of the charter" — Sapa-
Reuter

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Namibian future: potentials and perils

By ROBERT I ROTBERG, professor of history and political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a specialist in African affairs. This is an extract from a paper read at the Grahamstown conference.

TO the victor in the Namibian elections will go both the spoils and the problems of a new country emerging from decades of economic as well as political colonialism

Until this year, Namibia, as a part of the South African empire, supplied raw materials, purchased consumer goods, and was powerless to influence the investment decisions of its suzerain. Industrially it could hide behind no tariff walls nor compete, in the crucial mining sector, with regard to wages or conditions of employment. Nor, since the structure of apartheid was applied to Namibia in all its complexity, could Namibia compete in terms of quality of life or employment. The territory received costly rail and harbour services and was integrated into South Africa's air and rail networks. It remained isolated from the Republic's power grid, and from its water supplies, but it had access to South African technical knowledge and skills. Educationally the provision of funds and services to Namibia lagged far behind the Republic, and, although Namibia drew upon the bureaucratic depth of its neighbour, it also had to endure the style and South African orientation of the members of that bureaucracy who were responsible for the affairs of the fifth province.

Grazing lands

Namibia's future lies less with its plateau grazing lands — although the success of Botswana's beef belies such an assertion — and little with its long and supposedly strategic if craggy, dry and inhospitable South Atlantic coastline. Fishing will contribute substantially to the economy, especially if Walvis Bay becomes Namibian, and there is potential for the development of agricultural self-sufficiency in the north. But it is the mineral prospects of Namibia which provide the most promise. In 1976 the total value of all mining output was about \$360-million, about half of the total, by value, was in diamonds. The deposits at Oranjemund in the extreme and arid south west are the largest in the world. They are mined from vast alluvial deposits by Consolidated Diamond Mines, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the De Beers Corporation. Production has been about 1.6 million carats in recent years (two million in 1977). Oranjemund contributed about 21 percent of the profits of De Beers, a South African concern, in 1977.

For about 50 years, Namibia has also supplied copper from mines at or near Tsumeb

in the north central section of the territory Tsumeb, which because of the low world price of copper was barely breaking even in 1977, made a profit of \$17-million in 1974, when copper prices were high. Tsumeb also produces cadmium, lead and zinc. It is owned by Newmont Mining of New York, Amax Incorporated, Selection Trust of London, and the O'Kiep Copper Corporation, Union Corporation, and South West African Co, all of South Africa.

Uranium mine

By the end of this year the Rossing Uranium mine near Walvis Bay is expected, two years behind schedule, to be fully operational. If it then produces to capacity it will be the largest single uranium producer in the world at a projected level of 5 000 metric tons a year. Rio Tinto Zinc, a British corporation, holds 47 percent of the \$300 million equity and manages the mine. French and South African interests are the other primary shareholders.

Namibia's base metal potential is judged significant, dependent as it must remain on world prices. (Two relatively new copper producers shut down their operations in 1977 and 1978.) It is the second largest vanadium producer (after South Africa) in the world, and contributes zinc, lead and tin. But the extent to which Namibia's future is based upon the exploitation of its mineral wealth will depend to a large extent upon the attitude of any new government to foreign investment, mineral producers, and mineral and oil prospectors. Botswana and Zambia provide neighbouring and dissimilar patterns, the first by its policies encouraging new development, the latter not.

Swapo, for its part, promises a radical approach to the development and reorganization of Namibia. The pronouncements of its leaders repeat hoary promises to deprive foreign investors of their mineral rights and, at a minimum, to renegotiate those rights on terms more favourable to the state. Some, if not all, existing mines are scheduled to be nationalized (not necessarily with compensation), and there is a generally accepted idea within the Swapo hierarchy that large agricultural and grazing holdings (cattle and sheep) in white hands shall also be transferred to the state.

As usually set out, these and similar expectations by the present leaders. Swapo seem more repetitious of rigid formulae than parts of a well-thought-out programme.

There is little differentiation between multinational investors and local *kafakul* raisers. Swapo may not have thought sufficiently thoroughly about how, if and when it governs, it will differentiate between various alternate economic ideas in order to maximize post-independence productivity while retaining control of national resources and their allocation. Even so, Swapo seems to have a wise awareness of how arbitrary and illusory were the economic and social goals set by Frelimo for Mozambique. Swapo wants to stop short of the economic anarchy which (whether or not in fact true) was perceived as being the motivating force behind the flight of the Portuguese in Mozambique in 1975-76. Swapo expects and wants whites to stay, obviously on its terms, but to stay nevertheless. There also seems a tendency to welcome new investors even if wholesale nationalization of extractive industries proves to be the ruling dogma.

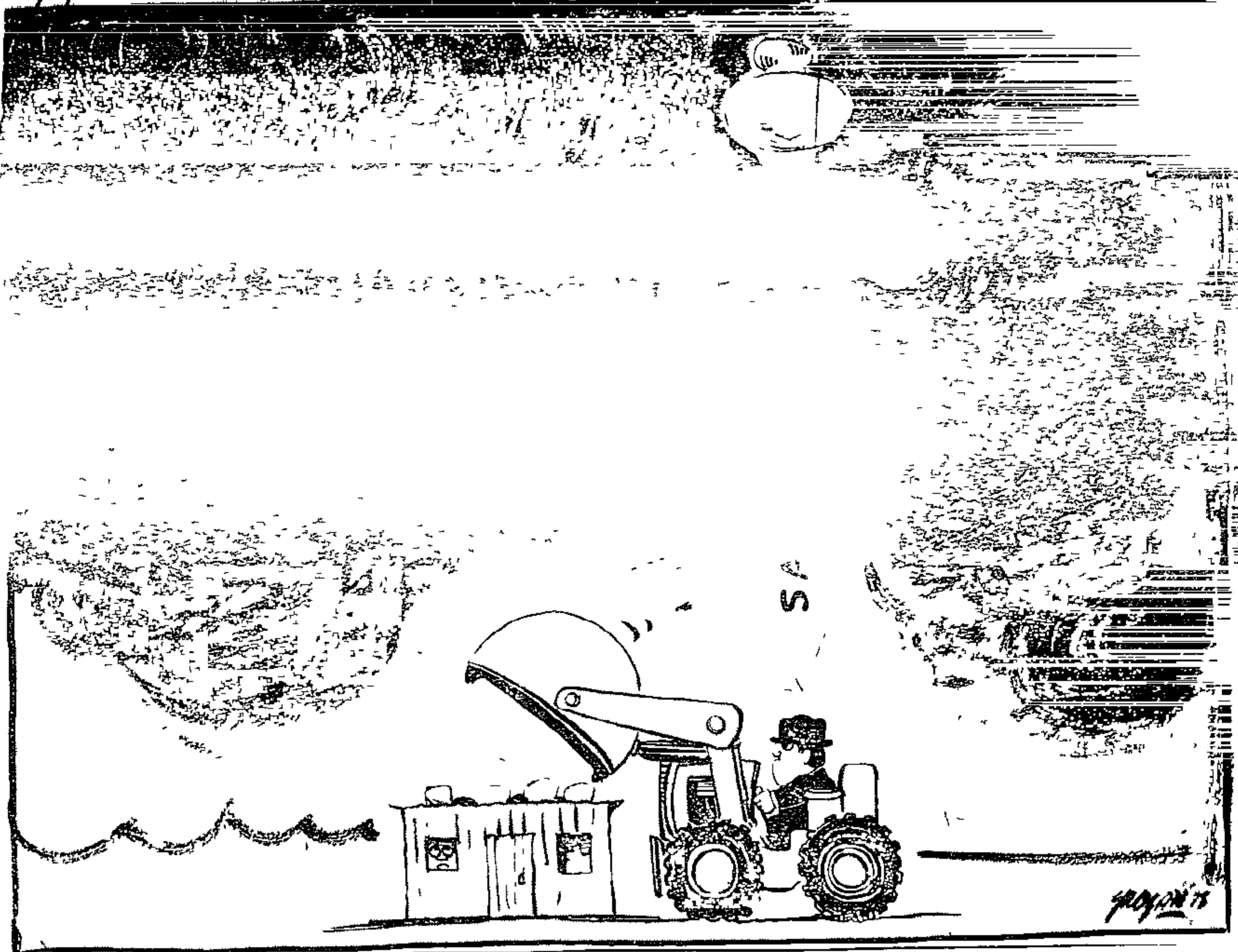
Socialistic

Inherent contradictions are either brushed aside, at this stage, or rationalized. It is possible to suspect that the economic and social attitudes of the Swapo leadership are not yet well thought out or as yet shaped for a Namibian election and for the assumption of rule. Furthermore, the history of Swapo as an organization reminds us that it is only comparatively recently that it assumed a pro-Soviet, rather radical-sounding posture. For a long time it was bourgeois in rhetoric while militant in action. Only since 1970 has it followed an avowedly socialistic approach. Should we question Swapo's dedication to socialism as we question Joshua Nkomo's recent espousal of similar Soviet models?

None of the contenders for power in Namibia appears adequately to have thought through how each will organize a government. Each has leaders of ability sufficient to fill a cabinet and make policy for the country, at the same time there is a dearth of educated Namibians capable at this point of staffing the middle levels of the bureaucracy (until now filled exclusively by South Africans) or the middle and upper levels of the technical establishment.

There is little doubt that any discussion of the reconstruction of post-independence Namibia must begin with the reality of South African economic and administrative involvement. Clearly with independence South Africa's all-pervasive domination

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(through integration) of the economy of the territory will have to cease. But the process of disentanglement will not be easy, nor will the mere substitution of foreign technocrats for South Africans prove sufficient unless and until a new government wishes to begin afresh or to decree a radical restructuring of the economic basis of the territory. As presently organized for growth (and Namibia stands ready to absorb investment from outside), a new Namibia's first problem is how to transfer South African infrastructural organization and administration to local hands without disrupting a well-run economy. How to replace South African subsidies (especially on the railway and airways accounts) to Namibia will also be a crucial question.

Given these problems, Namibia, if it is to manage any economy and society arranged roughly as at present and cope with the usual post-independence pressures felt by any country, may for a few years want to rely on assistance from overseas or from South Africa. It will want to decide the extent to which South Africans will be asked to continue to administer and perform technical tasks, it will — of necessity — think of contracting infrastructural services to foreign managers or finding ways by which it can work with South Africans. Even raising such questions is anathema, but the highly developed level of modern Namibia, the aspirations of Swapo and others for growth from this modern base, the sheer size and small population of the country, and its rich potential, all suggest that post-independence Namibia will either be organized imaginatively — with a flair similar in inspiration to Botswana — or become a zone of stress and internecine conflict.

Certainly economic and social dislocation, stemming, *inter alia*, from plummeting productivity, mismanagement of the infrastructure (and the ports) and conceptual rigidities could — given the length of time Namibians have been a part of South Africa and the implicit economic expectations which that association has raised — encourage political disagreement and, if political control (patronage and so on) follows ethnic lines, engender resentment rooted in ethnicity.

Namibia is too heterogeneous to adapt a Botswanan pattern, something akin to Kikuyu domination is apt to be Namibia's lot. But if that domination results in the perceived repression of minority opportunity, any chance for Namibia to become integrated and truly multiracial will become more and more unlikely. Even absent any overt persecution, tension between black groups could lead to a premature white exodus and to a lack of co-operation between South Africa and the West. Thinking positively is easier, the black leaders of the Alliance, the Front, and Swapo all have a vision of a free Namibia which dampens inter-ethnic tension and provides conditions for optimum national growth.

First elections

The future of Namibia will to a large extent be determined by the process of attaining independence. If the first elections to a constituent assembly demonstrate overwhelming support for one of the contenders, and if that show of strength is accepted by the resultant minorities (especially if one contender is South African-backed), then there may be less need than usual to integrate the nation, forcibly, to continue battling for primacy during a bitter

second election, and to transform the economy overnight in accord with some abstract, imported model. However, any gradualist strategy could only follow a thumping victory. It could be furthered by UN involvement and assistance beyond the first and into the second (and final?) election. If Walvis Bay has not been transferred earlier, the presence of the UN and South African acquiescence in a clear victory would make such retrocession easy and natural. So would the disbanding of ethnic armies and the articulation of a Botswana-type programme for growth (Should Namibia remain for a time within the rand monetary zone and/or the customs union?)

A narrow but clear victory might, on the other hand, prove the least desirable of results. It could lead to a variety of initiatives capable of destabilizing Namibia as the government attempted to ensure greater success in a succeeding election. The kind of result which shows no victor and results in a coalition rule and perpetual jockeying for power may call for a different and lengthier role for the UN than is now envisaged. It is easier to see Mudge as a Michael Blundell than a Harry Nkumbula, but both patterns are possible. Either, or even an unexpected victory by a Mudge-led coalition, would require unrivalled political finesse, and generosity of an unrivalled kind. It would also demand South African skill of a quality which cannot now

be predicted with any confidence.

Only if all goes well can an outsider hope to see Namibia transformed into a multiracial nation where the political pulls of ethnicity are unimportant. It is more likely that Namibia, for all the usual reasons revolving around the difficulty of sharing power easily in a small-scale society with limited spoils, will ignore the lessons of Botswana and attempt to concentrate power after independence in ethnically specific and thus limited hands. The potential for post-independence conflict is therefore great, especially if intra-Ovambo rivalry becomes prominent. In contrast, avoiding such destabilization, and making a number of other choices in the period between the first elections and independence, as well as immediately after independence, could provide Namibia with the opportunity to rival Gabon, Zaire and Botswana for per capita levels of personal income.

Like Botswana, Namibia is blessed with diverse, as well as less than fully exploited mineral riches, unrealized live stock wealth and a sparse population. In addition, Namibia, more than Botswana could become agriculturally self-sufficient. It only takes sensitive and popular management to realize Namibia's potential. Equally, a government with a limited vision could easily squander Namibia's human and material patrimony. The ultimate result will reflect decisions taken in 1978 and 1979.

not be more sensible for Namibians to import their vehicles from Japan, the US or Europe instead of buying expensive SA models?

Unlike Swaziland and Lesotho, Namibia, with its balance of payments surplus, is unlikely to need handouts from Pretoria in terms of the customs agreement's revenue-sharing formula

As for the monetary union, SWA/Namibia is in some respects in a similar position to Botswana, which withdrew from the pact two years ago.

Its balance of payments is improving. But because of dependence on SA for its imports, it is also importing SA's relatively high inflation rate. Would it not be in Namibia's best interests to have its

own currency, which, on present indications, could be pegged at a higher value than the rand against major foreign currencies?

A facet of SA-SWA/Namibia relations which many South Westers find particularly riling is their link to SA's price control and farm marketing systems. Each South West cattle farmer is at present restricted to selling only a few dozen cattle a week, thanks to quotas laid down by the South African Meat Board. What's more, farmers are not allowed to export to other (they claim, more lucrative) markets without Meat Board permission.

Much the same applies to fishmeal, whose local price is about half that ruling on world markets. And South Westers

also argue that the SAR's rail tariff structure inhibits the territory's development.

In some cases, on the other hand, price control benefits SWA/Namibia. The most obvious example is coal, 1 000 t of which is imported every day to fire the territory's power stations.

Clearly it would not be in Namibia's interest to cut all ties with SA. There is still much to be gained from the connection. Chances are there will be some tough bargaining between Windhoek and Pretoria. As Thomas puts it:

"Namibia's manoeuvring space between self-assertion without direct confrontation (with SA) and outright confrontation is relatively limited in the short run, though expanding with time."

Namibia shapes up

The path to political independence in SWA is well mapped. Here's a route to economic independence

Whichever government eventually assumes power in Namibia, a key issue facing it will be the future of economic ties with SA.

Pretoria has for years encouraged the view that an independent Namibia would be foolish to sever the bonds that tie the two economies so tightly together. With some justification, politicians and civil

servants have pointed out the many advantages the territory has derived from its SA connection.

SA generously subsidises SWA's budget deficit — to the tune of around R60m in 1977/78. It provides indispensable services, like postal and transport facilities, at a sizeable loss. SAR and GPO losses alone are estimated at R50m a year.

Most of Namibia's imports, including 90% of consumer goods purchases, come from the south. Cheap loans from SA have paved the way for several of the territory's ambitious infrastructural projects, for instance, nothing has yet been paid back on the R250m loans for construction of the Ruacana hydro-electric project. Nor has any interest been

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charged

There is a growing feeling in Windhoek however that the SWA/Namibian economy is fast reaching the stage where it will be in the territory's best interests to loosen at least some of its ties with SA

For Swapo, such views are not new. The organisation has always maintained that SA has systematically plundered Namibia's resources. Nonetheless Swapo's publicity secretary Milner Thabanello, insists that while "no progressive government would like to have permanent economic relations with SA we can't cut off everything"

There are others who are now questioning many aspects of the SA link. In a recently compiled critique of the SWA/Namibian economy, Sue Collett, a post graduate researcher at Natal University, agrees that many of Pretoria's policies towards Namibia have been "paternalistic". She argues that close ties between Namibia and states such as Angola, Botswana, Zambia and an independent Zimbabwe may in the long run be preferable to the existing situation.

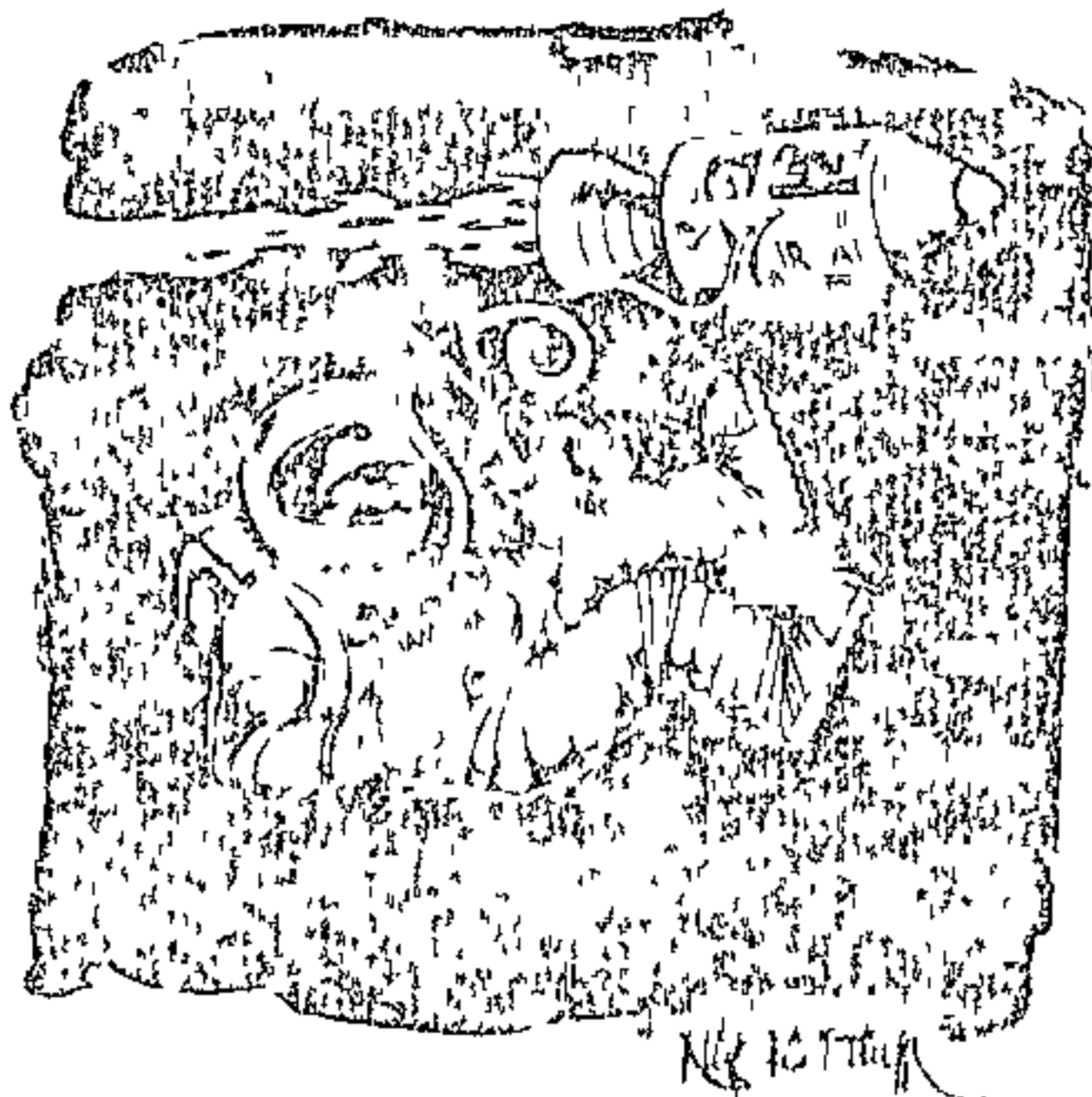
Even Charles Truebody, the Administrator General's director of development, observes that the SWA/Namibian economy "is getting strong enough for it to begin to stand on its own"

A glance at the territory's balance of payments gives a clue to this growing strength. The current account has swung from small deficits in the early Seventies to a healthy surplus.

Thanks to last rising earnings from diamonds (about R190m in 1977) and uranium (R150m) last year's positive trade balance was probably about R250m, according to Collett. This is about 25% of GDP. (In a recently

published book a well known SWA/Namibia watcher, Wolfgang Thomas gives a lower figure of R120m). On the higher figure, and taking net service payments of R225m into account, a small current account surplus would remain.

What's more, despite the collapse of the fishing industry (whose exports have dropped from R100m in 1976 to R65m last year), the trade surplus is likely to



increase in the years ahead - depending, like virtually everything else in the territory, on political developments.

With the Rossing uranium mine due to reach full production early next year, uranium export earnings could jump to around R220m this year and close to R250m in 1979. Higher diamond prices and rumours of still climbing output at CDM should push revenues from this source to around the R250m mark.

Despite his relatively conservative tones for 1977, Thomas estimates that

the trade surplus will reach R250m by 1980.

Collett estimates current long term capital inflows (including government transfers) at R150m-R200m a year, though against this must be balanced the continuing drain of bank money and loan repayments. Thomas reckons net capital movements last year were zero, but that an inflow of R100m could be reached by 1980.

Should the regime in independent Namibia encourage foreign investment, the balance of payments picture may become even rosier. Talk is that the go-ahead for General Mining's Langer Heinrich uranium project is being delayed only by political uncertainties. Finance for the proposed mine has apparently already been arranged. In the longer term, there are hopes of finding more uranium in the Karoo veld, in the north west of the country, while geological surveys give hope for offshore oil.

An acceptable political settlement would also spur industrial development. In the short term, this would mean a higher import bill but it would also bring in foreign capital and encourage import substitution. One such project is a R42m joint venture by Anglo Alpha and Pretoria Portland Cement to build a cement factory near Karibib. "We're ready to get moving," says Anglo Alpha MD Dave Baker.

In some respects, SWA/Namibia's present links with SA are actually to the former's detriment. The southern African customs union obliges the territory to levy the same high customs duties as SA on industrial products, most of which SWA/Namibia is unlikely to produce for many years. Cars for instance. Would it

SCARED OF SWAPO

Only 50 houses were built in the whole of SWA/Namibia last year. Car sales remain depressed. Farm prices are about a quarter of SA levels.

There is already a trickle of white civil servants back to SA, and some firms — among them, Rossing — report a higher turnover among their white staff. Virtually the only new private sector investment in the territory is a R500 000 retreading plant being built by Barlows.

"The recovery has passed us by", says Barlows SWA MD Merrill Pike. Adds Karlheinz Schneider MD of Standard Bank SWA. "Corporate planning and three year budgets are an impossible exercise."

Not are conditions likely to improve until businessmen have an idea of what life will be like in an independent Namibia. In other words they are waiting to see how the new government treats private enterprise.

In particular, they are worried about the consequences of a Swapo takeover.

"If they run the show, it will be difficult to work with them", predicts one Windhoek businessman. Adds a top mining man. "We accept there will be changes under a Swapo government."

That may be an understatement. On the other hand, the worst fears of those who foresee wholesale nationalisation by Swapo may not be realised.

"There is not going to be outright nationalisation", says Swapo's publicity secretary Milner Thabanello. He also asserts that there will be no expropriation without compensation. "We need the white man", he says.

Though Thabanello concedes that Swapo has not yet drawn up an economic blueprint (businessmen who have met Swapo leaders complain that different answers are given to different audiences) it is clear that land redistribution will be high on the list of a

Swapo government's priorities.

"There will have to be some agreement between those who have land and those who don't" explains Thabanello. He notes, however, that no talks have yet taken place with white farmers because they regard us as terrorists. But, he insists, "we want to talk to businessmen."

Mining companies can expect tough demands from a Swapo government. Thabanello says the state will insist on majority shares in the mining companies (Equity stakes of 70-80% have been mentioned).

Taxes will undoubtedly rise and as Thabanello puts it it will be the state's responsibility to see that every employer is forced to pay a minimum wage. In reply to the argument that high minimum wages might fuel unemployment, Thabanello asserts that "our economy will have to be man b used and not profit based."

Even after independence Namibia unlikely to cut ties with SA

Star 19/8/78

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By Anne Colley

As Namibia struggles over the hurdles towards political independence, attention is finally being given to the economy of the embryonic state — so often labelled South Africa's fifth province — Namibia, with a population smaller than Johannesburg's has a wealth of natural resources — enough for it to become economically self-supporting. But will it ever be more than a satellite economy of South Africa?

Wolfgang Thomas, well-known observer of SWA/Namibia and until last year director of the Social Development Institute at the University of the Western Cape deals with the question in his new book "Economic Development in Namibia".

He kicks off by saying that "One of the most important determinants of Namibia's future development will be the nature of its political and economic ties with the RSA after independence."

Apron strings

Right now, these ties are holding SWA firmly to South Africa's apron strings.

According to Thomas's observations — official information and figures are sadly lacking —

● The mining industry, which earns over 30 percent of Namibia's yearly production, is at least 40 percent owned by South Africans, who also supply most of the capital equipment, managers and nearly all the technical know-how.

● In the agricultural sector — SWA's second largest income generator — most of the fishing and processing industries are concentrated around

Walvis Bay, which remains a South African enclave.

● Nearly all the banks, insurance companies, retailers, construction companies and manufacturers are South African subsidiaries or branches.

● The sophisticated transport and communications networks were built by South Africa to its own specifications. And the public sector's deficit is financed by the South African government.

Returns go out

Namibia's economy is also heavily dependent on exports for its income, which leads to the criticism that "the economy is totally orientated towards the needs of other countries — the raw materials importers and South Africa."

In short "virtually all the returns on capital, mining resources and entrepreneurship, and on most of the land, accrues to either South Africans or foreigners — not Namibians."

And Thomas believes these ties with South Africa are unlikely to be cut in the short-term, unless of course a radical black government evicts most of the whites or nationalises their property.

And as Thomas points out "In the light of South Africa's actual presence in all sectors of Namibia's economy and the latter's short-term dependence on South Africa, such a break in the ties seems almost suicidal for any future government, including a SWAPO government."

And the military presence of South Africa in Walvis Bay adds weight to this view.

But what about the long-term prospects? Thomas firmly believes that Namibia must lessen its dependence on the "mother country."

He quotes from another recent report on SWA "It would seem however that this (economic) potential can only be exploited for the good of the Namibian population when the (independent Namibian) government is prepared and in a position to call into question the close ties with the RSA and to eliminate or in part modify these ties."

But before Namibia can cut these ties and start negotiating for things like the inclusion of Walvis Bay and control of the transport and communications networks, it needs to strengthen the base and its hold over the economy.

Water shortage

It can be done, says Thomas. The country has vast mining deposits — the most lucrative being those of diamonds and uranium — and expansion projects, new mines, like the Rossing uranium mine, are in the pipeline.

There is room also for growth in the agricultural sector, particularly for crop farming, although this sector is held back by the shortage of water in the semi-desert climate, and by the threatening soil erosion and the running down of the fishing shoals.

"Economic Development in Namibia Towards acceptable development strategies for independent Namibia." By Wolfgang H Thomas-Kaiser Grunewald, 1978.

F/A 11/5/75
SWA/NAMIBIA POWER 221
Lines to the south

While it ponders the political future of SWA/Namibia, the Cabinet will also have to find time to decide on the future of the territory's power supplies

Swawek, the territory's power authority, has proposed to Pretoria that it approve the construction of a R50m high-voltage transmission line linking the country to SA's electricity grid. If SWA/Namibia is not to face a serious power shortage, the 100 MW-120 MW line will have to be built — or alternative arrangements made — within the next 12-18 months.

The present crisis stems from Swawek's inability to start up the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme on the SWA/Namibia-Angola border.

Ruacana's first 80 MW turbine was due to be switched on in 1977. All three turbines have now been installed, and the construction of the entire R250m project is virtually complete. But the Angolan government under President Neto won't allow Swawek to close the weir gates (situated 1 km inside Angola), which would divert water from the Kunene River through the power plant. The

Angolans have threatened to blow up the weir if the diversion is attempted.

In addition, the Calueque Dam (about 40 km inside Angola) has been left three-quarters complete. Work there stopped in September 1976. Pumping capacity at the dam would have been sufficient to provide water for the immediate needs of Owamboland as well as parts of Damaraland and the coastal desert.

As a stop-gap measure, construction has already started on a R22m fourth generator at the coal-fired Van Eck power station outside Windhoek.

Assuming Ruacana will remain in mothballs for the foreseeable future, Swawek has two alternatives: build a new power station or link the territory to the Eskom grid. The former was rejected as being too expensive. The power station would have to have around 75% imported content, compared with only about 5% in the case of the transmission line. More important is the fact that the station would have to be coal-fired, and SWA/Namibia has to import all its coal (at present costing nearly R11m a year). Adds Swawek GM J P Brand: "I don't know of any coal deposits in the territory which can be used commercially."

ensioner by earner and pensioner income

families and shacks).

of family (and shack) heads, sex of

shack) head, average income per family

per person, per earner and pensioner

and shack) size.

shacks, average number of earners and

pensioners and of known earners and pensioners,

average income per earner and pensioner by shack

size.

- (vii) Number of people not employed and not receiving a pension/grant/alimony by age (20-59) and sex: family heads and totals.

Note: The tabulations not published here have not been checked in detail and may contain errors of various kinds. They are available for inspection in Saldru, School of Economics, University of Cape Town.

UN edges to the big decision on SWA

Star 31/1/78
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By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK — The Security Council meets privately today to assess plans for guiding SWA/Namibia to independence, edging the world body closer to its most portentous political decision on southern Africa since it blockaded Rhodesia after UDI.

Lone critic pans SWA blueprint

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Only one of the major election fronts in SWA/Namibia — the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — has voiced serious objection to the detailed independence recommendations of UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim.

The DTA plans to send a delegation to New York to make "strongest objection" to the recommendation that independence elections be held next year.

The target date for independence in the Western independence proposals, written early this year, was December 31.

Dr Waldheim has recommended the three-month phased reduction of South African troops and four-month election campaign schedule in the plan be adhered to.

National Party's election front, said all parties needed enough time to prepare for the elections.

No Swapo objections to Dr Waldheim's recommendations are expected.

Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary-general of the Namibia National Front, said the seven-month build-up to elections was in compliance with the proposals, and a "simple deduction based on logic".

The exchange of prisoners of war announced last night is being seen by observers in Pretoria as one of the most hopeful signs yet of diplomatic progress towards a peaceful solution of the SWA/Namibia question, Hugh Leggatt reports.

A source with knowledge of the Western five's talks with Swapo on the settlement plan earlier this year said the Western five had no active part in negotiations which led to the exchange of prisoners.

Even if Dr Waldheim had recommended a UN force of 7300 there was no certainty that the UN could recruit that many troops. So it was hoped that such a proposal would not be turned down in advance.

FUSS

Mr Japie Basson, MP, the Opposition chief spokesman on foreign affairs, urged acceptance of the plan.

"The fuss over the independence day of December 31 is artificial," he said.

Mr Basson, it was reported by our Cape Town Correspondent, said.

The UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, has cut short an official visit to Argentina to return to UN headquarters today, reinforcing a hope that the Security Council could meet formally tomorrow to endorse UN supervision in SWA/Namibia.

"The seven-month period now suggested for all the preliminary arrangements and the election is consistent with the Western proposals and not unreasonable."

The plans will probably require some units of an international military force to move into the territory within three weeks.

"What is important is that it has the support of the majority of the parties in South West Africa and this is of prime importance."

PRESSURE

But South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha arrives here today too — and the proposed strength of a UN peacekeeping force of 7300 infantry is one of two major recommendations abrasive to the South African Government.

The other is Dr Waldheim's conviction that the independence process cannot be attained on December 31, but must be delayed to around August or September next year.

Mr Botha is expected to meet representatives of the "Big Five" Western states in the Security Council, and perhaps Dr Waldheim, to press for an earlier election.

Sources at the UN have pointed out that the Western plan and timetable — the foundation for proposed UN participation — projected December 31 for independence on the basis of a seven-month preparation. South Africa accepted the plan and the incorporated timetable.

● R250-million plan under SA fire — Page 25.

MORALE

The DTA said the delay would have serious effects on the economy and political morale.

Observers say the DTA has been campaigning since the beginning of the year and an early election would catch its major opponent, Swapo, on the wrong foot.

Mr A H du Plessis, chairman of Akur, the

Botha orders Geldenhuys: ²²⁷¹ Stay in SWA

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, has ordered the Officer Commanding South West Africa, Major General J Geldenhuys, not to go to New York as part of the SWA mission because the situation in the area is "so delicate." In a statement in Pretoria last night the Minister said General Geldenhuys would stay in SWA so that the South African Government and others involved could be kept posted on Swapo's aggression from Zambia and Angola.

The timing of the latest border incidents in the operational area were too coincidental not to have political significance. Particularly remarkable was that on the night the United Nations representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari left for the United States, Katumo Mulilo was attacked "in a cowardly manner by terrorists with mortar and rockets," the statement said.

"And yesterday the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim announced that his report to the Security Council on South West Africa was ready — and this was followed by firing from Angola on a youth camp at Rundu and an attack on a vehicle near Oshavello."

These incidents had happened against a background of the agreement that all hostilities must be stopped before SWA could have a peaceful election and independence.

The South African army was committed to ensuring the safety of the local population.

The terrorist attacks were aimed at innocent people and in an apparent desperate effort to show its strength there was now irresponsible firing across the border.

"South Africa will ensure that the integrity of the area is protected at all times — and this is the costly lesson that those who bombarded Katumo Mulilo from Zambia have learnt."

Vorster watches SWA

THE Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, was forced to watch crucial SWA/Namibia independence developments from his bed in Tygerberg Hospital yesterday.

The day he expected to see the results of one of the most important political efforts of his career — the United Nations report on the implementation of the Western proposals for Namibian independence — he was confined to bed by his personal physician, Professor A J. Brink.

Mr Vorster booked into Tygerberg on Tuesday for his annual medical check-up. In September last year Mr Vorster underwent routine

laboratory and clinical tests and was pronounced fit and discharged after 48 hours.

However, yesterday Professor Brink, Dean of the faculty of medicine at the University of Stellenbosch, found the Prime Minister was suffering from physical exhaustion and a degree of bronchitis and ordered him to remain in hospital for at least a week.

Mr Vorster was last seen in public on Saturday at the funeral of the State President, Dr Diederichs, in Bloemfontein. Thousands of people who attended the funeral and who saw the TV broadcast were concerned at the tired appearance of the Prime Minister. At one stage he stood unprotected in the rain.

The past year has been one of the most taxing and difficult of Mr Vorster's 12-year premierships.

It started with a General Election late last year and continued with a busy parliamentary session during which he had to face and deal with the Department of Information affair.

The big issue of the past 12 months was SWA/Namibia and the government's promise of independence for the territory by December 31.

Fighting opposition, which is known to have existed within the Nationalist caucus and the Cabinet, Mr Vorster persuaded his colleagues to accept the Western proposals and

from bed

get the territory on the road to internationally recognized independence well before the new year deadline.

It was a major achievement in the career of the 62-year-old premier which effectively ended 31 years of international deadlock over South Africa's presence in SWA/Namibia.

Mr Vorster faces another sensitive year politically which will see independence and black majority rule in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

All his official duties for the next seven days — including the opening of the new Settlers Freeway in Port Elizabeth next Monday — have been cancelled.

Waldheim blocks 1978 independence for SWA

By RICHARD WALKER

New York Bureau
UNITED NATIONS —
South West Africa will not
be independent by the end
of this year.

Yesterday the UN
Secretary General, Dr
Kurt Waldheim, put a
seven-month timetable to
elections before the
Security Council.

Dr Waldheim's plan
calls for the dispatch of a
UN task force close to
9 000 strong — including
7 500 troops — to see
South West Africa
through to independence
within a year.

He warned the mam-
moth operation could cost
as much as R260 million
but informed UN sources
put it much higher than
that.

He proposed a seven-
month timetable to elec-
tions, with transition
starting the moment the
Security Council
authorises the plan. The
council begins private con-
sultations today and could
act by tomorrow.

First troop contingents
are to be deployed within
three weeks, with the full
military complement of
seven infantry battalions

and thousands of back-up
and air support elements
on the ground within 12
weeks.

His long-awaited report
unveils at last the precise
form of the incredibly
complex military-civil
organisation to be known
as the United Nations
Transition Assistance
Group (Untag).

As anticipated, the
force is larger than the
5 000 troops and 1 000
civilians first con-
templated and in-
dependence by the end of
the year is ruled out.

Dr Waldheim suggests
no independence date —
leaving that to the duly
elected constituent
assembly — but puts the
expected duration of the
UN operation at a year.

His report spells out a
precise chain of command
— built around his special
representative, Mr Martti
Ahtisaari, who could be
back in Windhoek within a
week to set up Untag
headquarters if the Coun-
cil acts promptly.

The UN field com-
mander, Gen Hannes
Philipp, and civilian units
— including a special 360-

strong UN police unit —
all come under Mr
Ahtisaari, who reports to
Dr Waldheim, who in turn
keeps the Security Coun-
cil "fully informed."

The report stresses that
the UN must have total
freedom of movement in
the territory and makes it
clear UN Forces will be
authorised to use force
against attempts to pre-
vent them discharging
their duties. These in-
clude the monitoring of a
ceasefire, the restriction
of South African forces
and Swapo guerrillas to
base, the demobilisation
of citizen and commando
force units and border sur-
veillance.

Sapa reports the
Minister of Foreign Af-
fairs, Mr Pik Botha, said
last night the proposed
7 500 man military force
and the proposed in-
dependence target date
could create serious ob-
stacles.

Mr Botha said he was
flying to New York to ob-
tain clarity on the
situation. South Africa's
reaction to the plan would
be stated in the Security
Council debate, he said.

Mr Botha said South
Africa had a certain
number in mind for the
UN military force and that
this was "very much less"
than the proposed 7 500
men.

Mr Botha also said there
would have to be an elec-
tion this year. If a con-
stituent assembly in South
West Africa decided to
postpone the in-
dependence date, he said
"I think my government
would accept that."

"We must get on with
the job I don't want a se-
cond Rhodesian situation
developing. It was not an
arbitrary date and was
known for two years."

There had been an 80
per cent registration of
voters, he said, and it was
important to show that
everyone involved was
sincere in moving the
territory towards in-
dependence. Dr
Waldheim's report did not
mention the thorny
registration issue.

In South West Africa
itself, there was mixed
reaction to the UN plan.

The Administrator-
General, Mr Justice Steyn,
declined comment.

The leader of the
National Party election
front, Ahtar, Mr A H du
Plessis, said his party
neither rejected nor
willingly accepted the
proposals.

"As far as the announce-
ment that the in-
dependence process in
South West Africa will be
delayed is concerned, all I
can say is that we want
ample time to prepare for
an election in an orderly
way after the announce-
ment of an election date,"
he said.

The secretary-general
of the Namibia National
Front, Mr Bryan O'Linn,
said Dr Waldheim's an-
nouncement was very sen-
sible and the NNF
accepted it.

The DTA objected to the
announcement, saying a
delay in the independence
process would have a
serious effect on the
country's economy and
"political morale."

Swapo was not im-
mediately available for
comment on the proposals
last night — SAPA

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R255m exercise, / 500-man force

Huge SWA peace plan

CAP TINES
31/8/78

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NEW YORK. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, yesterday proposed the formation of a 7 500-man United Nations military force to help SWA/Namibia during its transition to independence.

He also proposed the establishment of a civilian operation of about 1 200 professionals and additional support staff to advise elections.

In his report to the Security Council Dr Waldheim said the cost of the operation, the biggest of its kind since the UN's famed involvement in the Congo in the 1960s, could be as high as R255m.

The Security Council is expected to meet by the weekend early next week to consider the recommendations based on a 17-day tour of the territory earlier this month by Dr Waldheim's special representative, Mr Martin Ahtisaari.

Dr Waldheim said the delay in reaching agreement on a settlement plan proposed by the council's five Western members made it impossible for the territory to attain independence by December 31, as was originally hoped for and which Africa wants.

Appropriate date for elections

An appropriate date for elections would be about 18 months from the date of the council's approval, Dr Waldheim added.

He said South Africa felt it was committed to the December 31 independence date and that the election of a constituent assembly could take place sooner, regardless of the date. This would necessitate a substantial reduction of the cost for completing the preparatory arrangements.

A majority of the political parties was of the opinion, however, that it was essential to maintain the orderly nature of the preparatory stages and to allow sufficient time for an electoral campaign in order to ensure free and fair elections, the Secretary-General went on.

Further, it was pointed out that the actual date of independence would fall within the competence of the constituent assembly.

In his report on what will be known as the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), Dr Waldheim envisaged a four-stage operation: (a) Cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and withdrawal, restriction or demobilization of the various armed forces; (b) free and fair elections, preceded by the repeal of discriminatory and restrictive laws, release of political detainees and the return of exiles; (c) formulation and adoption of a constitution by the constituent assembly and (d) the bringing into force of the constitution and consequent attainment of SWA/Namibia's independence.

"The length of time required for these stages is directly related to the complexity of the tasks to be performed and

Continued on page 2

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Peace plan

Continued from page 1

the overriding consideration that certain steps are necessary before it can be said that elections have been held under free and fair conditions," Dr Waldheim said

The Secretary-General stressed that Untag would have to have freedom of movement and communication and other facilities and must have diplomatic immunity. The military component would not use force except in self-defence, which would include resistance to attempts to prevent it from discharging its duties under the council's mandate.

Its functions would include monitoring the ceasefire restriction of the South African and Swapo armed forces to base, phased withdrawal of all except 1 500 South African forces and the restriction of the remainder to specified camps.

It would also prevent infiltration, as well as surveying the borders of the territory and monitor the demobilization of citizen forces, commandos and ethnic troops and the dismantling of their command structure.

The force would be under UN command, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council. Dr Waldheim proposed Major-General Hannes Philipp, of Austria, as force commander.

Dr Waldheim said the military component of Untag should have a strength of about seven fully self-sufficient infantry battalions, numbering approximately 5 000 men, plus 200 monitors, as well as command, communications, engineer, logistic and air support elements totalling approximately 2 300.

The contingents would be selected in consultation with the Security Council and with the parties concerned, bearing in mind the principle of equitable geographical representation.

An adequate logistic and command system would have to be established at the very outset of the operation and it would therefore be necessary to obtain urgently from governments the elements of such a system.

It might be necessary to use also the services of civilian contractors for some logistic functions, while Untag might have to rely to a considerable extent on existing military facilities and installations in SWA/Namibia.

Police, electoral officers

Regarding the civilian component of Untag, Dr Waldheim said about 300 professionals, as well as necessary support staff, would be required initially until the cessation of hostile acts had been achieved.

After that, about 1 000 professionals and 200 field service and general service staff would be required during the electoral campaign and the period of balloting to cover all the polling stations.

The Secretary-General said some 360 experienced police officers would be needed and it was hoped they would be made available by governments on a secondment basis, bearing in mind equitable geographical representation as well as language and other requirements.

"At present there are too many unknown factors to permit an accurate assessment of the cost of Untag," he said.

"Based on the numbers of personnel specified in this report and the envisaged duration of 12 months and taking into account the magnitudes and elements of the financial requirements experienced in other peace-keeping operations, the indications are that the financial requirements for Untag could be as high as \$300m (R255m)," he added.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia abstained in July when the Security Council endorsed the Western independence plan for SWA/Namibia. China was among the 13 members of the 15-nation Council which approved the plan. — Sapa-Reuter

to exchange war prisoners

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African and Angolan governments are to exchange prisoners-of-war under the supervision of the International Red Cross. The POW swap is to take place "in the very near future" — probably this week.

This was announced last night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, before leaving Jan Smuts Airport for New York to attend the United Nations Security Council meeting on the proposals for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha's statement said: "The Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of Angola have mutually decided to proceed with the exchange of war prisoners."

"The exchange, as mutually agreed, is to take place under the auspices of the international committee of the Red Cross."

The statement did not say how many prisoners would be involved in the exchange, nor did it say when the exchange would take place.

Last night the South African Defence Force would not comment on the exchange of prisoners with Angola.

"The exchange is being handled entirely by the Department of Foreign Affairs", a Defence Force spokesman said. "The Defence Force has nothing to say at this stage on the matter."

But in the statement from Geneva, a spokesman for the international committee of the Red Cross said the three Cubans held in South Africa would be exchanged soon for all South Africans held in Angola, Sapa-AP reported last night. No time or place was given.

Of the nine South Africans being held in a Luanda jail, seven were captured more than two years ago. They are Corporal G Terblanche of Settlers, Rifleman H Wiehahn of Cape Town, Rifleman Robert Wilson of Welkom and Rifleman Graham Denne of Krugersdorp. All four were captured in December 1975.

Three others were captured
Continued on page 2



Private Kitshoff



Private Groenewald

POWs

Continued from page 1

a month later. They are Rifleman P J G Groenewald of Riviersonderend, Rifleman J C Kitshoff of Moorreesburg and Rifleman A H Potgieter of Johannesburg.

In September 1976 Rifleman Eugene de Lange, 18, of Germiston was captured when he apparently drove accidentally across the SWA/Angolan border.

A ninth South African, 22-year-old Sapper Johan van der Mescht of Kuruman, disappeared in the operational area in February this year. Later it was announced by Swapo that he had been captured.

The South African authorities have never admitted holding any Angolan prisoners. They have conceded only that they hold three Cubans in Pretoria. They are: Carlos Alberto Maru Mesa, Roberto Morales Bellma and Esequiel David Garces Mustelier.

Asked whether the inter-

tional committee of the Red Cross had been involved in arranging the exchange, the organization's press chief, Mr Alain Moudoux, said the committee had played no role in this.

The head of the South African Red Cross, Mr Kelsey Stuart, said the exchange represented the end of two anxious years — particularly for the families of the prisoners-of-war. "They have borne this trying period very stoically and have had to be content with very little information," Mr Stuart said.

SA Army doctors run clinic in the bush

ARCUS

26/7/78

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The Argus Africa News Service

MPACHA (Eastern Caprivi). — About 30 patients waited patiently in the shade of the big tree beside the dirt road to the airfield. They were young mothers with children clinging to their skirts and a few old folk more in need of an encouraging word than any medicament.

Soon an Army truck pulled up. Out climbed Lieutenant, Bons Burger, a doctor doing his national service, and a Caprivian interpreter.

Within a few minutes a makeshift dispensary was set up. A blanket, serving as an examination table, was spread on the grass.

The weekly bush clinic at Mpacha, in East Caprivi, only a hop from the border with Zambia, is part of the South African military's efforts to foster goodwill in this isolated part of South West Africa.

The first patient, a woman who had heard about the clinic via the bush telegraph, complained of a sore throat.

SAY AAH

"Say aah," said the doctor.

"Bulela aah," the Caprivian soldier repeated in Lozi, the language spoken by the 30 000 inhabitants in this elongated province, bordering on Botswana, Rhodesia and Zambia.

None of the patients is charged for the treatment or the medicine.

Dr Burger turned to the next patient, a child with a nasty sore on his right leg. It had turned septic and was clearly painful.

MALARIA

Another young boy had a bad dose of malaria, which is still widespread in this part of the world despite preventive measures at schools.

Several others had diarrhoea — 'Because they don't boil their drinking water,' Dr Burger explained.

After a while Dr Burger was joined at the roadside clinic by Lieutenant Pete Houghton, another of the seven soldier doctors in the Eastern Caprivi. Six of them, just out of medical school, are doing their national service.

CAESAREAN

That night Doctor Houghton was one of a three-man team, which performed a tricky caesarean in the hospital at Katima Mulilo, the East Caprivian capital.

There are no civilian doctors in the Eastern Caprivi. Skilled whites, it appears, are reluctant to settle in this desolate part of the world, while no locals have yet been trained for the job.

The soldier doctors work in the 200-bed civilian hospital, visit 21 permanent clinics and hold regular bush clinics, besides attending to military patients.

MANUFACTURERS SEEK ALTERNATIVE WORK

B

(22) 11/6/78 Red Ed

By Alan Peat
Finance Editor

THE COLLAPSE of South West Africa's pilchard catch last year has cost the industrial groups involved millions of rands.

And it has also led to an urgent search for alternatives to replace the huge canned pilchard loss.

This is necessary because experts do not forecast any return of the valuable pilchard in 1978/79.

Scientists believe last year's severe drop to below the 200 000 tons quota may be repeated this year.

They do not think the 1978 quota, expected to be about 125 000 tons will be met.

The expected fall-off to about a quarter of the 12-million cases canned in 1976 has hammered a number of areas.

- Four major South African owned fishing groups have shown massive profit losses both at the fish catch total level and in pilchard canning. For example, one of the group of four (Oceana Holdings, Federal Foods, Overstone Holdings and Kaap Kunene) dropped

Pilchard crisis but — no shut-downs

and avoid the danger of closing down

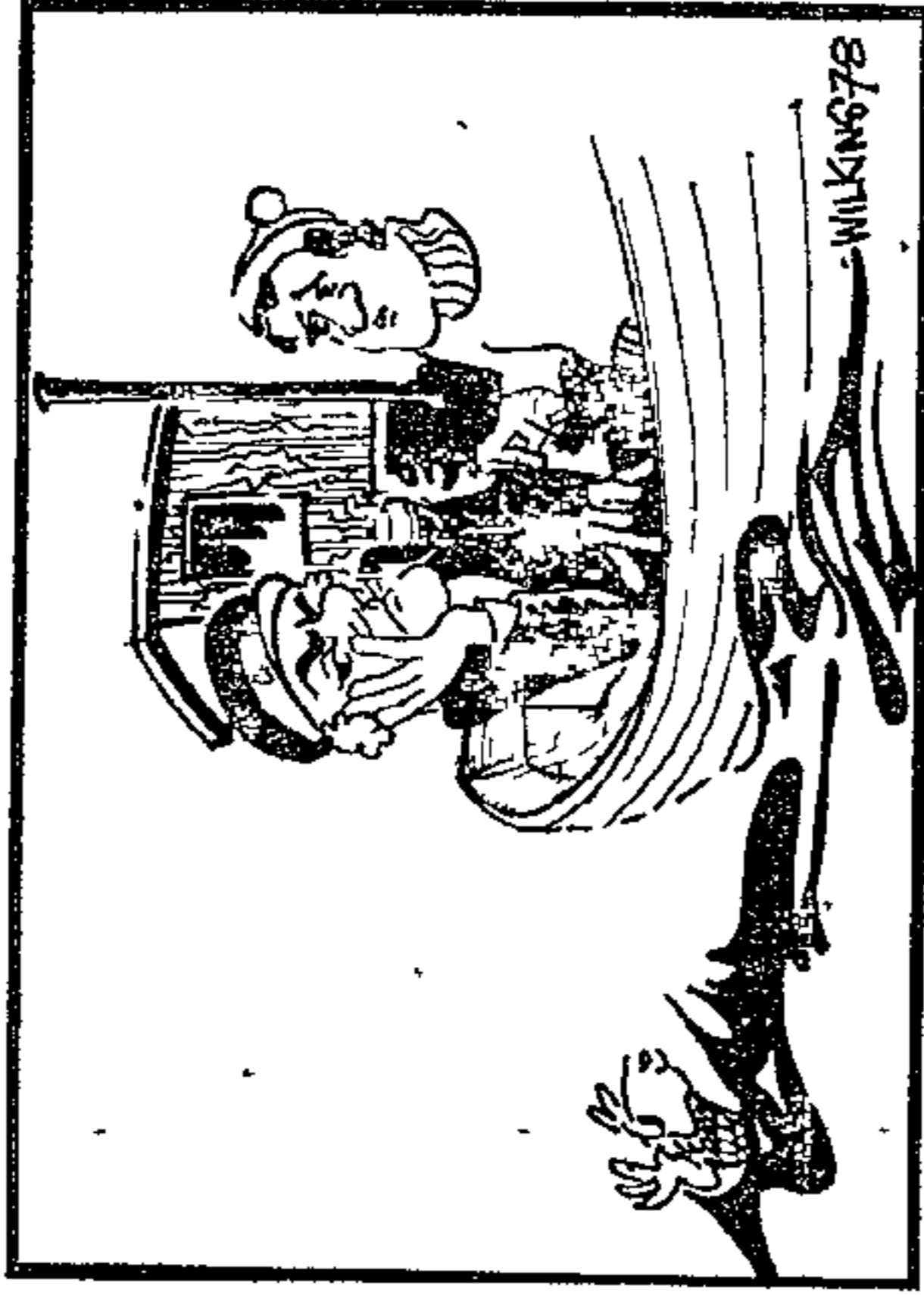
On the fish catching side all the companies have pursued other fish breeds, such as the mid water maasbanker and the easily available anchovy

Although the maasbanker is cannable it does not have the acceptance of the pilchard, and the anchovy is purely on the fishmeal side.

The fleets are now using refrigerated sea-water to carry fish. And this has boosted the catchable yield from any pilchard caught to about double the rate 10 years ago.

But the five canning plants at Walvis Bay are facing a hard time. Maasbanker will only provide the industry with about 1,5 to two million cases of canned fish to replace the huge pilchard loss.

As one company ex-



about R1-million in profits.

- Metal Box, the large fish can manufacturers in Walvis Bay, lost R700 000 in their plant — designed primarily for pilchard can production.

- The Walvis Bay municipality has lost revenue on many fronts

- An eight-million case

a-year pilchard export market has virtually been knocked out.

- Local low-cost protein foods have been depleted by the virtual disappearance from shop shelves of the canned pilchard

But the operators in the badly threatened fishing area have been going flat out to get through the bad period

ecutive said: "It's a question of us tightening our belts for a while."

Metal Box, which has more or less produced a sufficient supply for this year's need is instituting alternative production.

According to marketing director John Hewitt the group is already planning the production of general line cans (such as those for paint) and meat cans. Hewitt stresses that there is no intention of closing the plant.

The companies have been given Government agreement on bringing the low local price nearer the overseas price. And this will see the companies with a better cash return against capital in a depressed catching time.

On the quotas, the catchers and the processors fully accept the important need for the low limit which they insist they will stand by

(c) Animus tranquillus homini sapienti est.
(i) Animus tranquillus homini sapienti est.
(ii) Animus tranquillus homini sapienti est.

Qualis oratio movit regem?

Quis motus est?

Drastic cut in terrorism says general

Mercury Correspondent

1/7/78

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WINDHOEK — Terrorist activity along the South West Africa-Angola border has dropped drastically since South Africa's raid on two Swapo bases inside Angola at the beginning of May.

Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, of South West African Command, said there were only 27 incidents in the Operational Area during the 56-day period since the raid.

Security forces had initiated contact with 14 enemy groups which led to the killing of six terrorists.

Rejecting claims that the South Africans had attacked refugee camps in Angola, General Geldenhuys said documents captured during the raid proved beyond doubt they were Swapo bases.

He showed reporters documents captured at Swapo's "Moscow" base, an aerial photograph of the base 250km inside Angola, and pictures developed from a colour film taken from a camera seized at the base.

He also revealed that the South African soldiers had "dealt with" a Cuban armoured column that came to the defence of "Moscow" during the raid.

The Cubans, who were based 20km south of the camp at Pechamutete, were defeated, he added.

Vorster must shift says Japie

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

A SHOWDOWN was clearly looming in both South West Africa and Rhodesia, and the Government should seek an accommodation with the Western powers over South Africa's own future position, Mr. Japie Basson, Opposition foreign affairs chief spokesman, said yesterday.

He was reacting in an interview to the statement this week by Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, officer commanding SWA Command, that Russian-backed action in Africa could turn the terrorist war in the territory into conventional warfare.

It was "satisfying" in the present circumstances to note that the German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, had said that he would continue to support the Western proposals on SWA independence.

But Mr. Basson was critical of the Government's

"go it alone" attitude. "South Africa is in crying need of imaginative statesmanship from the Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster," he said.

Showdown

"Our top general in charge of border defence in SWA has just warned us that Russia and its satellites are preparing to engage us in conventional war over SWA. Clearly a showdown is coming in both SWA and Rhodesia.

"In the face of this threat to our survival, the Government persists in taking a shallow view of the West's position in Africa and an exaggerated view of our own potential in a lone struggle against forces involving a super power."

The Government's "go it alone" policy did not serve the interests of South Africa and its peoples or of southern Africa as a whole. It was an admission of failure in national and international politics.

Threats

"The Prime Minister should move himself for a change and seek an accommodation with the Western powers on South Africa's future if the present threats mean anything to him," said Mr. Basson.

"It should be obvious that we cannot expect the West's assistance while our policies remain what they are."

Mr. Basson said he did not want to comment in detail on recent statements by the German Chancellor without having the full text. However, he welcomed his statement that Germany would continue to support the Western proposals on SWA.

He did not believe that there was any need to "rush" the independence process through by the end of this year.

SA swartes soos helde aan grens

RAPPORT 2/7/78

Deur STEPHAN TERBLANCHE 221

SUID-AFRIKA het 'n gedugte nuwe vuus — die eerste kompanie swart soldate, wat die afgelope klompie weke met skitterende welslae grensdiens in die oostelike operasionele gebied verrig het.

Die kompanie het Vrydag na hul tuisbasis, 21 Bataljon by Lenz, net buite Johannesburg, teruggekeer. Hulle is terugverwelkom deur brig Cameron Germishuizen, en ander offisiere van die Kommandement Witwatersrand, 'n blaasorkes, vroue, kinders en talle medesoldate van hul tuisbasis.

Brig Germishuizen, bevelvoerende offisier van die kommandement, het die manne vir hul diens bedank en geprys, en vertel hoe hulle kort ná hul aankoms in die operasionele gebied deur Swapo-terroriste aangeval is.

Volgens brig Germishuizen is die manne van 21 Bataljon se grensbasis 'n minute lank deur Swapo met mortiere, geweervuur en vuurpyle aangeval. In die opvolgoperasie was van die swart soldate in 'n landmynvoerval betrokke. Die ergste beserings was 'n stukkende oortrom en kneusplekke.

Weerman John Thobela, 24, 'n Zoeloe van Nigel, vertel verder. „Ek was lid van 'n reaksiemag wat ná die Swapo-aanval aan die opvolgoperasies deelgeneem het. Swapo het een van ons basisse omstreeks 3 vm. aangeval. Teen 6 vm. was die reaksiemag op die terroriste se spoor.

„Ons het hulle heelpad teruggejaag na Zambie. Hulle het-soos ou vroue weggehardloop. 'n Paar van hulle is dood of gewond. Ons was goed Aggressief, oraat! Ons het hulle gesoek. Hulle sal

nie gou weer aanval nie,” vertel hy opgewonde.

Weerman Thobela sê hy wil graag weer grensdiens doen. Voordat hy hom 'n bietjie meer as 'n jaar gelede by die Weermag aangesluit het, was hy verbonde aan die Gevangenisdiens. Maar hy verkies die lewe van 'n soldaat elke dag bo dié van bewaarder, sê hy.

Hy vertel dat hy en sy makkers baie vriende onder die plaaslike bevolking in die Caprivi gemaak het, ook onder lede van die Kaapse Kleurlingkorps wat in die operasionele gebied was.

„Al wat hulle nie daar bo vir ons gehad het nie, was meisies. Maar andersins sal ons die mense wat daar woon, nooit vergeet nie.

„Ek wens net die Tsotsi's van Soweto kon ons gesien het. As hulle net ons gesien het! Dan sal hulle verstaan hoekom ons bereid was om te sterf vir ons land, vir al die mense van ons land,” sê hy.

Nog 'n swart Suid-Afrikaanse soldaat, weerman E. P. Ngcongwane, vertel dat hy so gou moontlik na die operasionele gebied wil terugkeer.

Hy vertel dat hy agterop 'n voertuig gesit het toe dit oor 'n landmyn ry. Net die bestuurder is beseer.

Eintlik was dit weerman Ngcongwane se derde termyn in die operasionele gebied. Hy was voorheen polsieman en was toe reeds twee keer vir diens daar.

Chiefs no to Nats in SWA

RDM

4/7/78

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By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Members of the National Party in South West Africa are no longer welcome in Caprivi, the Chief Minister of Caprivi, Chief M T R Mamili, said yesterday.

Chief Mamili is also a senior official of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, DTA.

The DTA chose Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, Owambo's Chief Minister, as its president yesterday.

The snub to SWA Nationalists was given to Mr Jannie de Wet, former commissioner-general of the indigenous peoples of SWA, when he asked the Caprivians for permission to visit the border area.

Mr De Wet, the South African-appointed official who once ruled supreme

in the Caprivi and other homeland areas, was planning to visit the area.

Since his position became redundant last year, with the appointment of the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, Mr De Wet has become a leading official of the National Party's election front, Aktur.

Chief Mamili said yesterday Mr De Wet was visibly uneasy when he asked for permission to visit Caprivi.

"As representatives of all the people in the Caprivi, we Caprivians in the DTA want to state categorically that Mr De Wet, or any other member of his party, is not welcome in Caprivi," Chief Mamili added.

He gave no reasons for

his statement, which is likely to cause bitterness in the ranks of Nationalists in the territory.

However, a spokesman for the Administrator-General said there was freedom of movement for all people in SWA. Nobody had the right to deny people permission to visit the Caprivi.

Mr De Wet was not available for comment.

The new DTA leader, Pastor Ndjoba, succeeds the former Herero leader, Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who was gunned down in Windhoek's Katutura township earlier this year.

Chief Kapuuo's successor as the Herero chief, Mr Kuaima Riruako, has been elected leader of the National Unity Democratic Organisation, Nudo.

Mr Riruako was welcomed to the DTA executive committee at its meeting yesterday as representative of Nudo.

Dr Ben Africa, leader of the Rehoboth Basters, was elected vice-president of the DTA—the position formerly held by Pastor Ndjoba.

Mr Dirk Mudge remains chairman of the DTA with Mr "Barney" Barnes as vice-chairman.

More than 13% of the estimated 440 000 people entitled to vote in South West Africa's one man, one vote election registered as voters during the first week of the registra-

Swapo surrenders 'can be expected'

WINDHOEK. — A "hardened" guerrilla, Mr Paulus Christiaan, told authorities in northern South West Africa that many guerrillas could be expected to surrender soon because of conditions in Swapo camps in Angola, a statement from SWA Command of the Defence Force said yesterday.

Mr Christiaan was a

continue with the "liberation struggle"

Meanwhile in London, the released Swapo dissident, Mr Andreas Shipanga, is to meet the leader of the Namibia National Front, Mr Brian O'Linn, in Western Europe next week — possibly in London — to set the seal on their new alliance to contest the independence elections in

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small arms instructor at the guerrilla camp at Lubango, in Angola. He surrendered to the South African Police at Okakuyu last month.

He told the police that after the limited defence force strike against Angolan Swapo bases in May, many of his colleagues in Angola had lost the will to

SWA.

Mr Shipanga, who is based in London, said yesterday he would be prepared to return to SWA to contest the forthcoming elections, provided South African troops in the territory were confined to their camps. — Sapa and Own Correspondent.

tion. Campaign

Mr L V de Kock, the national registration officer, said yesterday that about 58,000 people had registered.

The highest number had registered in Hereroland, the traditional area of the fourth largest ethnic group in the territory.

Invasion reports are ominous, says Steyn

WINDHOEK. — Reports of a conventional military attack on South West Africa being planned in Angola were ominous, the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, said yesterday.

Justice Steyn said certain forces were apparently concerned that a new, fair dispensation would become a reality in SWA and wanted to stifle it before it became firmly established.

The Western powers should immediately establish whether the attack

was planned. The anxiety could prompt people in SWA to behave irrationally, he warned.

The South African Defence Force's officer commanding SWA Command, Major-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said he stood by his views on Cuban and Soviet involvement in military plans against SWA.

He had said Soviet-backed action could result in the 10-year-old low-profile terrorist war in SWA taking on the characteristics of full conventional warfare.

Meanwhile, British and

American intelligence sources in London are not taking seriously reports in the London Sunday Times of a Soviet and East German-led military invasion of SWA.

One British official, who totally discounted the claims in the articles, pointed to the variety of vague sources named by the reporter.

"The reports are not being taken seriously here," he said. "East German protestations of innocence about military involvement in Angola seem convincing." — Sapa

Shipanga to meet O'Linn on party alliance

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FROM STANLEY UYS
London Editor

LONDON. — The released Swapo dissident, Mr Andreas Shipanga, will meet the leader of the Namibia National Front, Mr Brian O'Linn, in Western Europe next week, possibly in London, to set the seal on their new alliance to contest independence elections in SWA/Namibia.

Mr Shipanga, who is based here, told me in an exclusive interview yesterday, he would be prepared to return to SWA/Namibia to contest the forthcoming elections, provided South African troops in the territory were confined to their camps.

Mr Shipanga said he did not share Swapo's view that the troops should be withdrawn to a camp south of Windhoek. It was irrelevant where they were stationed.

The important factor was to confine them to their camps and to bring in United Nations troops to help supervise the elections.

He said that, as far as Walvis Bay was concerned, he would accept the Western approach that this matter should be held over until an independent government was installed in SWA/Namibia. Pressure could then be exerted for the port's incorporation into the territory.

Received assurance

Mr Shipanga said although he was not prepared to return to SWA/Namibia at present — his return might be construed as indicating acceptance of Mr Vorster's "unilateral" plans for independence — he was urging Swapo exiles in Europe to return.

He had received an assurance from the Administrator-General, Mr Justice M T Steyn, that no returning exiles would be prosecuted if they confined their activities to peaceful electioneering.

Mr Shipanga said he hoped the supporters, who were putting pressure on him to return to SWA/Namibia immediately, would understand his reasons for delaying his return.

He declared his full support for the West's proposals on the territory, but said it would be difficult for him to return if Mr Vorster decided to "go it alone".

Mr Shipanga's new party, Swapo Democrats, was formed on June 10 with Mr Shipanga as leader and Mrs Otilie Ahrahams

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as secretary-general, and Dr. Kenneth-Abrahams as secretary for information and finance

Mr. Shipanga has rejected co-operation with Mr. Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), which sent a deputation to see him in Stockholm immediately after his release from prison in Tanzania.

He told the deputation the DTA was completely unacceptable to him, because of its emphasis on ethnicity and the kind of constitutional structure it envisaged in SWA/Namibia. The discussions were "friendly, but frank".

Mr. Shipanga had talks in Utrecht, Holland, with a deputation from the NNF, headed by a Windhoek advocate, Mr John Kirkpatrick

"We read their political manifesto, and we found ourselves to be in almost total agreement with it. Now we will have another meeting - this time with Mr O'Linn. We told the NNF we needed a little time to consider our position thoroughly.

"Meanwhile, we will send as many exiles as possible back to SWA. We wrote to Judge Steyn informing him it was our intention to return and to take part in the political affairs of the territory within the limits of the law."

'Stick to the principles'

Mr Shipanga said the 13 detainees released with him were at present in Norway, Sweden and Greece. He would be joined by other Swapo exiles living in Europe.

"We realize we must organize ourselves - we cannot work as separate individuals. We will stick to the original principles of Swapo, as we founded the organization in 1958. We will continue as Swapo, but as Swapo Democrats, not like the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, who does not want democratic consultation with the rank and file

"Nujoma does not want a peaceful solution in SWA - in fact, he does not seem to know what he wants. He is dilly-dallying"

The formation of Mr Shipanga's Swapo Democrats, and its alliance with the NNF, comes at a time when Mr Mudge's DTA is running into trouble.

Mr Shipanga is confident the link-up between his new party and the NNF can displace both the DTA and Swapo as the strongest party and become the first government of an independent SWA/Namibia.

West in deal to get Swapo to the polls ²²¹

Own Correspondent ^{APR TIMES 4/7/78}

LONDON. — A major Western move is afoot to offer President Agostinho Neto of Angola a "package deal" that would stabilize a large area of Southern Africa.

Caprivi chief snubs

De Wet

WINDHOEK — Members of the National Party in South West Africa were no longer welcome to visit Caprivi, Chief M T R Mamil, Chief Minister of Caprivi, said yesterday.

This shock snub was given to Mr Jannie de Wet, former Commissioner-General of the Indigenous Peoples of SWA/Namibia, when he asked the Caprivians for permission to visit the border area.

Chief Mamil is now a leading official in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

In a statement yesterday, Chief Mamil said: "As representatives of all the people in the Caprivi, we (Caprivians in the DTA) want to state categorically that Mr De Wet or any other member of his party are not welcome in Caprivi."

However, a spokesman for the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, emphasized yesterday that there was freedom of movement for all people in SWA/Namibia. Nobody had the right to deny people permission to visit the Caprivi.

The basic ingredients are that President Neto should crack down on the Katangese rebels, to prevent further invasions of Zaire, and also redouble the pressure on Swapo to fight the coming independence elections in South West Africa/Namibia.

In return, the West would force President Mobutu of Zaire to withdraw support from Holden Roberto, leader of the rebel FNLA movement in Angola, and from Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel Unita.

The first moves towards putting together such a package came from the United States Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, who in a recent speech held out an olive branch to President Neto. This was followed by a visit to Angola by Mr Don McHenry, deputy to Mr Andrew Young at the United Nations.

Tougher job

President Neto has indicated his willingness to disarm the Katangese rebels, and President Mobutu is already under pressure to withdraw support from the FNLA's incursions into MPLA territory. Forcing Swapo to accept the present settlement in SWA will be a tougher job, but if Swapo were to win the election, South African support for Unita would then have to wither — a Swapo government would order the withdrawal of South African troops from SWA.

A key to the new deal is President Neto's economic problems and his urgent need for stability in Angola.

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● A "hardened" terrorist, Paulus Christiaan, told authorities in northern SWA/Namibia that many terrorists could be expected to surrender soon because of appalling conditions in Swapo camps in Angola, the SWA/Namibia command of the Defence Force said yesterday

● About 58 600 people — more than 13 percent of the estimated 440 000 people entitled to vote in SWA/Namibia's one-man, one-vote election — registered as voters during the first week of the registration campaign

● The Chief Minister of Ovambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, has been elected the new president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a spokesman for the alliance said yesterday

Meanwhile, Russia has been pouring more military aid into Angola, partly to support the MPLA government but also apparently to support a new Swapo offensive into SWA.

The East Germans are reported to be contributing to this new build-up, but reports that a Soviet-East German "invasion" of SWA is being mounted are dismissed as nonsense by Western diplomatic sources

One theory is that the rumours are being put out by Unita to encourage South Africa to keep its forces in SWA

Another is that the French are putting out the rumours to support their campaign for a pan-African "strike" force

● Shipanga to meet O'Linn — page 7

RDM 5/7/78

5 held after train smash

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WINDHOEK. — Five people have been arrested in connection with the derailment of a mixed train at Usakos last month.

The train was derailed after part of the line was allegedly blown up at a low-water bridge.

Major De Jager of the Windhoek Railway Police said yesterday that five blacks had been arrested in northern SWA in connection with the incident.

In Lusaka, Zambia's permanent representative at the United Nations, Miss Gwendoline Konie, said yesterday South Africa must terminate its occupation of SWA now and go by the settlement proposals made by the five Western powers.

Speaking on her arrival from New York, Miss Konie, who is president of the UN Council for Namibia, said the move by South Africa to register voters in SWA was illegal.

"The council sees this move by South Africa as designed to promote the political interests of its puppets and its quislings in Namibia," she said.

About 58 600 of a possible 444 000 SWA voters, more than 13%, registered in the first five days of the registration campaign, Mr L V de Kock, chief registration officer in the territory, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Provision has been made for registration to carry on for three months. — Sapa.

Pressure mounts on Swapo to accept

STAR 6/17/78

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By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK — The search for an acceptable independence for SWA/Namibia has led to the tentative scheduling of a meeting in Luanda early next week between Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma and Western negotiators.

If the meeting takes place it will be the first full contact between the Western group and Swapo's leadership on the issue since Mr Nujoma left New York in the wake of the Cassinga assault.

It could indicate Angolan pressure on the guerillas after the recent visit to Luanda by Mr Don McHenry, Deputy United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

Swapo must endorse the independence formula proposed by the contact group to guarantee its passage through the Security Council without Soviet obstruction.

The sooner the guerillas subscribe to the plan —

already approved by South Africa — the sooner the Western Five can ask for Security Council implementation of the ceasefire and election.

But diplomats from the US, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada have yet to talk Mr Nujoma away from his insistence on substantive changes.

A meeting in Luanda, in spite of the West's failure to gain any South African concession recently on the agreed location of residual troops, could indicate confidence that Agostinho Neto's Government is pushing Swapo towards acceptance.

Under pressure from "front-line" leaders, Swapo has gradually softened.

The status of Walvis Bay is publicly unresolved. The contact group is thought to have agreed in principle to state formally their commitment to the port area's legal inclusion in Namibia.

Hopes rise for SWA talks soon

NAM 6/2/78
(221)

LONDON — Diplomatic sources here confirmed last night that the five Western members of the UN Security Council were hoping to resume settlement talks on South West Africa with Swapo in Luanda next weekend.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office spokesman would not comment on these reports here and at the United Nations.

"I can say nothing at this stage," the spokesman said. Whitehall sources, however, indicated that the meeting was being planned.

Swapo's spokesman here, Mr. Shapuua Kaukungua, said he had not heard about the meeting, "but anything is possible." He confirmed that Swapo's president, Mr. Sam Nujoma, was now in Luanda.

Diplomatic sources at the United Nations said if the proposed talks with the five Western members of the Security Council took place, as appeared probable, representatives of the front-line States would join Mr. Nujoma in the discussions, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Delegates of the U S, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada had hoped to meet Mr. Nujoma last month, but there was a last-minute hitch.

Talks will centre on the problem of the deployment of the 1 500 South African troops permitted to remain in South West Africa during a pre-independence election campaign.

Mr. Nujoma was to have met the Western five in New York on May 7, but he called off the conference after South African troops launched an incursion into Angola.

Since then the Western side has been trying to bring him back to the conference table, having received the South Africans' acceptance of the settlement plan on April 25.

• See also Page 4

Urgent plea for a SWA polling date

Mercury Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) yesterday called on South West Africa's Administrator-General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn, to announce an election date as soon as possible.

The DTA's executive committee decided unanimously to make urgent representations to Judge Steyn to finalise this issue.

Judge Steyn is already on record as saying the registration of voters would be completed by the end of September so that an election for a constituent assembly could be held before the rainy season, which normally begins in the middle of October.

But the five Western powers have still not been successful in persuading Swapo to accept their peace package and take part in an election.

The DTA executive said yesterday that their patience had been tried "to the very limit" during the past few months.

"Our election machinery is operating in top gear and the election authorities must now give us an election date," a statement said.

Yesterday the Nationalist-controlled South West African Executive Committee gave the go-ahead for integrated school sport on a limited scale in the territory.

Mr. Kosié Pretorius,

MEC in charge of education, said pupils in White schools could in future take part in sports competitions against children of other races.

He emphasised, however, that this would be done on a friendly "voluntary extramural" basis and "local circumstances" would be taken into account at all times.

Mr. Justice Steyn's office announced yesterday that people of all races would in future be entitled to belong to trade unions in South West Africa, reports Sapa.

(221) 6/7/78 Rion

Unions in SWA now nonracial

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Workers of all races in South West Africa would in future be allowed to join trade unions, the Administrator General Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, announced yesterday.

The announcement was welcomed by Mr Hans Schoeman, Secretary General of the SWA Municipal Staff Association, the largest white trade union in the territory.

The move highlights the rapid changes taking

place in labour practices in SWA and follows the recent scrapping of wage discrimination in the civil service.

The Windhoek City Council recently also scrapped the practice of job reservation and decided to apply equal pay for equal work for municipal workers.

In the Wage and Industrial Conciliation Amendment proclamation issued yesterday, Judge Steyn scrapped the Clause in the Industrial Ordinance of 1952 which barred "natives" from belonging to

trade unions.

A spokesman for Judge Steyn said the move was in line with his stated policy of repealing discriminatory legislation in the run-up to independence.

Mr Schoeman said the step was inevitable and a good thing because SWA would now move into line with the high standards of the International Labour Organisation.

He said SWAMSA had anticipated Judge Steyn's move and had already decided in principle to admit blacks.

"We had no other choice," he said. "If we did not admit them they would have been entitled to form their own trade union."

Mr Schoeman said the 1 000 white members of SWAMSA would be outnumbered by two to one by blacks.

However, a special formula had been worked out to safeguard white representation in SWAMSA.

In another break with tradition, the Nationalist-controlled SWA Executive Committee yesterday gave the go-ahead for integrated school sport on a limited scale.

Mr Kosie Pretorius, MEC in charge of education, said pupils in white schools could in future take part in sports competitions against children of other races.

He emphasised, however, that this would be done on a friendly, voluntary and extramural basis and local circumstances would be taken into account at all times.

Mr Pretorius ruled out the possibility of multi-racial school leagues or sports days on a knock-out competition basis.

Announce poll day, says DTA

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance will hand an urgent written request this week to the Administrator General of South West Africa Mr Justice M T Steyn, asking that an election date be announced in the territory as soon as possible.

"After thorough negotiations with the South African Government we have decided to accept the Western settlement proposals. We have bent over backwards to expedite and pave the way to independence in the territory," the DTA executive said in a statement yesterday.

Any further delay in the announcement of an election date could only have an extremely adverse effect on the economic situation in the territory and the political uncer-

tainty prevailing there, the DTA executive said.

The announcement of the registration of voters for a constituent assembly had resulted in renewed activity in SWA.

"But we wish to point out at the same time that a registration campaign without a set target would be meaningless," the executive said.

"Our election machinery is operating in top gear and the election authorities must now give us an election date."

● An apparent attempt to steal voters' registration certificates from the magistrates buildings at Rehoboth on Tuesday night had failed, the Rehoboth magistrate said yesterday. The would-be thieves failed to open the safe in which the certificates were kept. — Sapa.

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SWA POLITICAL FIGHT TURNS BITTER

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — As the pace of South West Africa's march to independence quickens, the struggle among political contenders in the electoral stakes is becoming more frantic — and, increasingly, more bitter.

The struggle has thrown into sharp relief the hard-line Nationalists in the territory, who are being seen by everyone else in the field as the resistors of change.

The white political monolith that was the National Party has passed its watershed.

Nine months ago it was stripped of those who believed that a new dispensation could be entered only hand-in-hand with black South West Africans.

This was when Mr Dirk Mudge left to form the opposition Republican Party and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a multiracial coalition

BITTER FIGHT

Those left in the National Party have been fighting a bitter campaign to maintain white privileges in what they call the traditional way of life.

They are a powerful force, spearheaded by party leader Mr A H du Plessis and the 30-year-old National Party administration of the territory.

But in the irrevocable march to a new future they have been pitted against equally powerful forces — mainly the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice M T Steyn, who is paving the way for independence, and the Turnhalle Alliance, which has the support of nearly all big-money interests in the territory.

DESPERATION

The political rub lies in the one-man-one-vote election that is scheduled before the end of the year

Even if the Nationalists

by the liberal in his lounge, but left after a cup of tea with no more than a 'sixpence.'

The Afrikaner received the man at the back door, but he got what he came for

Mr Mudge's point was that there is no longer a back door for black men in South West African politics — but the people remain the same

The hard-liners, though, find it difficult to go along with this.

'These things must come slowly,' said Mrs Mara de Wet, wife of a platteland farmer and staunch National Party supporter. 'These people,' she said, indicating her farm-workers, 'will vote for us.

They have nothing against us'

The National Party, too, has recognised the need for black fellow travellers. Recently, three coloured men, previously unheard of in political circles, announced they had joined

Aktur, the National Party election front

The National Party newspaper, Suidwe... triumphantly announced that a 'brown wave' was sweeping across the territory in the direction of Aktur

are joined together in units of about 8, depending upon the

the block which of the total population — they will still have only a minority of seats

on the special he double room This has brought a note of desperation to the Nationalist campaign.

rooms has a c It culminated this week in Mr du Plessis's ominous warning to Judge Steyn not to 'place the last straw on the camel's back'

, with a grea In turn, this has led to much bar-room speculation — most of it outrageous — over exactly what the camel will do if and when its back snaps.

VOTE PROVISIO

supplied and wall bed bein Mr du Plessis's complaint was over what he called the 'disenfranchisement' of a substantial number of white voters here.

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public bath 'baths' de

He said white privileges were being eroded.

The whites who have accepted the coming of a new deal have a different attitude.

This was articulated by Mr Mudge in a private conversation.

The Afrikaners' inherent sense of fair play has merely been brought into the open by events, he said

A black man who needed money for an education, for example, was received

position of other buildings both single rooms and double le rooms measure 9'x 14'

ever, have all put in their of expertise. The roofs have

The men buy their own beds, or cramped space.

them either with lino or 1'x 3'. Double rooms have lights. In fact there is no

ngle quarters in Langa have Barracks. The only difference in electric light but there

ga. Two are in the married he zones. They are surrounded

(b) in paragraaf 6 van die Bylae tot Goewermentskennisgewing R 841 van 21 Mei 1971 na die woord 'Wynberg' die woorde 'en die hawe en nedersetting Walvisbaai' geag word voor te kom,

(c) in Bylae A tot Goewermentskennisgewing 123 van 25 Januarie 1974 na die woord 'Wynberg' die woorde 'en die hawe en nedersetting Walvisbaai' geag word voor te kom."

Hierdie Proklamasie tree op 1 Augustus 1978 in werking

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Drie-en-twintigste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Agt-en-sewentig

N DIEDERICHS, Staatspresident
Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade
S. P. BOTHA

(b) the words 'and the port and settlement of Walvis Bay' shall be deemed to occur after the word 'Wynberg' in paragraph 6 of the Schedule to Government Notice R 841 of 21 May 1971,

(c) the words 'and the port and settlement of Walvis Bay' shall be deemed to occur after the word 'Wynberg' in Schedule A to Government Notice 123 of 25 January 1974."

This Proclamation shall come into operation on 1 August 1978

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-third day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Seventy-eight.

N DIEDERICHS, State President
By Order of the State President-in-Council
S. P. BOTHA.

No. R 179, 1978

ADMINISTRASIE VAN WALVISBAAI -- TOEPASSING EN WYSIGING VAN WETGEWING

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 38 van die Wet op die Konstitusie van Suid-Afrika 1968 (Wet 39 van 1968) wysig ek hierby Proklamasie R 226 van 1977--

(a) deur paragraaf (3) te skrap,
(b) deur in Bylae B die volgende paragraaf by te voeg

"(8) Werkloosheidsversekeringswet, 1966 (Wet 30 van 1966) Met dien verstande dat--

(a) by die toepassing van die regulasies by Goewermentskennisgewing R 1938 van 9 Desember 1966 uitgevaardig--

(i) in paragraaf (f) van die omskrywing van 'afdelingsinspekteur' in regulasie 1 na die woord 'Wynberg' die woorde 'en die hawe en nedersetting Walvisbaai' geag word voor te kom

(ii) in regulasie 15 (1) die woorde 'binne die gebied van die hawe en nedersetting Walvisbaai of' geag word nie voor te kom nie,

No R 179, 1978

ADMINISTRATION OF WALVIS BAY -- APPLICATION AND AMENDMENT OF LEGISLATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 38 of the South West Africa Constitution Act, 1968 (Act 39 of 1968), I hereby amend Proclamation R 226 of 1977--

(a) by the deletion of paragraph (3);
(b) by the addition in Annexure B of the following paragraph

"(8) Unemployment Insurance Act, 1966 (Act 30 of 1966) Provided that--

(a) for the purposes of the regulations promulgated by Government Notice R 1938 of 9 December 1966--

(i) the words 'and the port and settlement of Walvis Bay' shall be deemed to occur after the word 'Wynberg' in paragraph (f) of the definition of 'divisional inspector' in regulation 1,

(ii) the words 'within the area of the port and settlement of Walvis Bay or' shall be deemed not to occur in regulation 15 (1).

221 RDM

Crew safe as ship sinks off SWA coast

WINDHOEK — The Panamanian freighter, Jal Sea Condor, sank off Cape Fria on the South West African Skeleton Coast yesterday afternoon.

The crew who went back on board the leaking ship before a towing operation began yesterday, were reported safe, by maritime authorities at Walvis Bay.

The freighter, which sprang leaks off the southern Angola coast, was being towed to Walvis Bay when it sank.

The crew was taken

aboard two Russian vessels in the vicinity, before the Jal Sea Condor went down.

About 40 cargo containers of motorcycles, television sets and cars were floating in the busy sea lanes off the Skeleton Coast after the sinking, officials said.

The master of the Cape Town tug, the Causeway Adventurer, which was towing the freighter, reported by radio to Walvis Bay that there was no dis-

cernible oil pollution.

A spokesman for the ship's agents at Walvis Bay said earlier yesterday that the Russian tug Stoykiy, jointly responsible for the salvage operation, had been slightly damaged after it "nudged the Jal Sea Condor too hard."

Earlier reports said the Soviet-South African partnership in the salvage operation was not working too well because the Russian tug was unable to keep up with the tow.

The Stoykiy, which was sharing the salvage responsibility, was later reported to have given up because it could not keep up with the tow.

The Jal Sea Condor was first abandoned by her 64 Taiwanese crew on Monday, when she started leaking.

The crew reboarded after the Cape Town tug and the Russian vessel arrived on the scene and pumping operations could start.

Another tug, the Agulhas, had earlier been sent from Cape Town to help pump water from the holds and engine room of the freighter once she arrived in Walvis Bay — Sapa

West goes to Angola to lean on Swapo

STAR 8/7/78

(22)

By Kevin Jacobs, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — With South African Government patience wearing thin over Swapo's holdup of an independence programme for SWA/Namibia, Western negotiators are heading for a meeting in Luanda that could signal a breakthrough or further hopeless delay

In talks scheduled tentatively for Monday to Wednesday, contact group diplomats will be urging Swapo acceptance of independence proposals that would have smooth passage through the UN Security Council only with Mr Sam Nujoma's endorsement

There seems little chance of success without a great deal of concession by Swapo. Expedient pressure from the Angolan government could be significant.

A Western source said: "This is one more in that long series of things we have been doing for so long. Hopefully, each one of them makes some progress, and eventually gets the whole thing settled."

SA TROOPS

Sources emphasise that concessions by the West are out of the question as South Africa has already approved the set of independence principles that were offered simultaneously to Swapo.

Swapo is holding up the plan by not accepting the provision for a residual South African force at Grootfontein and Oshana.

The Luanda conference will be the first discussions between the Western contact group and Swapo's leadership since Mr Nujoma and his advisers broke off talks in New York following South Africa's attack on the Cassinga base in Angola.

A top-level delegation of the

... the Namibia National Front will meet the Swapo dissident leader, Mr Andreas Shipanga in Bonn, West Germany, next week. Mr Shipanga's Swapo Democratic Party, a breakaway faction of the revolutionary Swapo, is expected to become the sixth member of the NNF and would make the centrist coalition a much stronger contender in elections for a constituent assembly, will draw up an independence constitution for the territory.

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Swapo men for talks

SOUTH AFRICA yesterday released two top Swapo detainees to enable them to attend the crucial conference in Luanda tomorrow on the Western settlement plan for South West Africa.

The detainees, held under Proclamation AG26, were released by Mr Justice Steyn, the Administrator-General, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, accompanied by top Defence Force officers, flew in for consultations with Mr Steyn.

The move, undertaken at the request of the British and United States embassies in South Africa, is seen in diplomatic circles as a positive act by South Africa which could create a helpful climate in Luanda, where the frontline states and the Western contact group will be making a final bid to persuade Swapo to accept the Western settlement.

Herman Toivo

There are also growing indications that South Africa will allow Andreas Shipanga, leader of the Swapo Democrats, and a Nujoma rival recently released from detention in Tanzania, to visit detained Swapo leader Herman Toivo Ja Toivo on Robben Island when Shipanga returns to South West Africa later this month.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Steyn told me that such a meeting could "possibly be arranged".

The detainees released yesterday are Festus Noholo and Frans Kabungula, two executive members of Swapo's internal wing, who have been held since the murder of Herero leader Chief Clemens Kapuuo.

A third detainee, Hendrik



Fleur de Villiers

in Windhoek

Witbooi, released last week and now confined to the Gibeon area of South West Africa, has also been given permission to travel to Luanda with Lucy Hamutenya, Swapo's legal secretary. Noholo and Kabungula were released on condition that they return to detention after the Luanda conference.

In another positive move yesterday, the Administrator-General disclosed in an interview that he was considering abolishing the last vestiges of hotel apartheid in South West Africa and taking action against hotels which still refused to admit blacks.

Other developments as the Western settlement plan for South West Africa moves into its final make or break stage are:

● Indications that Zambia may be prepared to release about 1 500 Swapo dissidents detained at the request of Swapo president Sam Nujoma

● Signs of a growing rift between Nujoma and the Zambian Government, and speculation that Nujoma may soon move his headquarters from Lusaka to Luanda

● The possibility that political parties in South West Africa will approach moderate African states for an

OAU presence in the territory during elections for a constituent assembly, should the Western settlement plan fail.

Hopes, however, are high in Western diplomatic circles that pressure by the frontline presidents in Luanda next week will finally persuade Swapo to accept the plan.

These hopes are based on a "package deal" which US negotiator Mr Donald McHenry is understood to have put together during his visit to President Neto of Angola in Luanda last month, and a belief that President Kaunda of Zambia will support the Western plan in exchange for aid.

The McHenry-Neto package is believed to include promises of US economic aid, diplomatic recognition for Angola — if the Cubans leave — and US help with Neto's most persistent problem: The war against Jonas Savimba and his Unita forces.

Persists

Western sources indicated this week that if the Luanda meeting failed, the five-nation contact group would nevertheless take the settlement plan — which South Africa accepted in April — to the UN Security Council.

In an interview, the Administrator-General said he was considering removing the last elements of racial discrimination in the territory.

High on the list is that though most of the hotels and restaurants in Windhoek are open to all races,

Released

Mr Steyn said he was considering making liquor licences conditional on hotels being open to all races.

Another major move next week will be the creation of the National Development Corporation of SWA, with a multi-racial board, which will replace the Corporation for Economic Development, an offshoot of the old Bantu Investment Corporation.

Mr Steyn also said he hoped that black and brown employees in the public service would receive their first equal-pay salaries at the end of this month.

West in bid to persuade Swapo

CAPL Times 10/7/78

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Political Correspondent

REPRESENTATIVES of the five Western members of the United Nations Security Council may make a final bid this week to persuade Swapo to accept the Western independence proposals for SWA/Namibia.

The prospects of success at the talks scheduled to begin in Luanda, Angola, today have been boosted by release of two Swapo detainees in the territory and Western sources appear hopeful that an accord is within reach.

This assessment is strengthened by indications that the Frontline states, notably Angola and Zambia, might now be prepared to put considerable pressure on Swapo to accept the Western plan.

The detainees, Pastor Festus Noholo and Mr Frans Cabungulo, executive members of Swapo's internal wing, were released temporarily on Saturday by Mr Justice M T Steyn, the Administrator-General, to enable them to attend the Luanda conference.

Their release, which was apparently necessary

Swapo president, SWA JAMB Nujoma, is viewed by Western diplomats as a positive step which could create a helpful atmosphere for the talks.

However, a senior Western source said yesterday that the two main stumbling blocks to Swapo acceptance of the plan — Walvis Bay and the positioning of 1500 South African troops in the territory during the run-in to independence — remained.

Changes

An agreement would require Swapo backing down on its demands on these issues, since South Africa had made it clear that it will not consider changes to the Western plan which it accepted in April.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Windhoek on Saturday that there was "no possibility that the South African Government would even consider an amendment to the Western proposals".

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, stated categorically that the Western proposals were "final and definitive" when he accepted the package in the House of Assembly more than two months ago.

Mr Botha skirted a question on whether the five Western powers had asked South Africa to reconsider the proposals.

It is believed in diplomatic circles that the "accommodation" reached last week between the United States negotiator, Mr Don McHenry, and President Neto of Angola, could be a crucial factor in negotiations.

There is also a feeling among Western negotiators that if the Luanda talks fail, the settlement plan should be taken to the UN Security Council, where it could be approved without a Soviet veto provided it has the backing of African states.

● The negotiators from the five Western powers arrived in Luanda yesterday for their talks with Swapo.

's credibility on trial over SWA

10/2/78

(221)



WINDHOEK - Western negotiators face a serious dilemma when they resume their crucial talks with Swapo leaders in Luanda today.

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At stake is not only the political independence of South West Africa, but also Western credibility in White-ruled southern Africa and their prestige as intermediaries in African disputes.

The situation was highlighted in Windhoek at the weekend by the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, who said that under no circumstances would the South African Government accept any changes to the Western settlement proposals.

But Swapo, backed by the front-line African States, is expected to press the Western negotiators in Luanda to make substantial changes to the proposals accepted by South Africa more than two months ago.

The militant movement wants the West to back its claim for Walvis Bay, and is also demanding that the 1500 remaining South African troops be stationed south of Windhoek during the run-up to elections.

Observers believe that if the West reaches an agreement with Swapo which differs from their proposals, South Africa could be placed in an unenviable position.

Any African-backed plan would probably be accepted by the United Nations and, if endorsed by the Security Council, South Africa would either have to accept it or face the possibility of international action.

"Final"

Mr. Botha, who held talks with the Administrator-General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn, and General Magnus Malan, Chief of the Defence Force, in Windhoek on Saturday - said there was no possibility that South Africa would ac-

1. Para 41.31

10/7/78
221
ate the pressure on grazing. As should rise, forcing a higher off-take the advent of drought or a decline in beef between the rental price and the market could rise quickly. A law which allowed reductions of grazing rentals might be worth a price for grazing to keep pace with un-

the share held by each household could accept any changes to the package.

He pointed out that the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, had stated categorically that the Western proposals were "final and definitive" when he accepted them in the House of Assembly more than two months ago.

Mr Botha, however, skirted the question on whether the five Western powers had asked South Africa to reconsider any part of the proposals.

"This is a matter I will be discussing with the Administrator-General," he said.

He said South Africa would have been justified in asking for a revision of the Western proposals since the Government had accepted them.

Although Swapo had doubled its violent activities since the acceptance, South Africa had not asked for a revision because the Government did not want to make the task of the Western negotiators more difficult.

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RD-M 10/7/78

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 to accept the revised
 plan to face the possibility
 of international action
 Mr Botha held talks
 with the Administrator-
 General Mr Justice M
 thias Steyn, and Gen
 eral Magnus Malan, Chief of the
 Defence Force, in Wind
 hoek on Saturday
 During any conversation
 between his SWA visit and
 the agenda meeting, Mr
 Botha and his trip was
 part of an ongoing process
 of consultation with Mr
 Justice Steyn
 Meanwhile, two Swapo
 executives - Mr Festus
 Mungo, secretary for for
 eign affairs, and Mr Frans
 Louw, secretary for
 internal - have been re
 leased from detention to
 join the Swapo delegation
 at the Namibia talks

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The National Development Plan 1976-81 has little say on the management of the rural economy during periods of drought or, which could occur simultaneously, if beef prices should collapse. It does discuss the implications for revenue, for trade, for formal employment creation and for plan implementation. That is not the same as the considerations that would emerge from a serious interest as to how the state can minimise the cost and the hardship in the countryside should the weather and beef prices turn perverse.

Drought management requires either a standby or, preferably, an inbuilt relief machinery. There should be a simple mechanism which allows relief to flow where it is needed when it is needed without the encumbrance of major national political and financial decisions. An analogy is that regions need their own thermometers with which to take their temperatures

West makes late bid to bring Swapo into line

The Star's Africa News Service

The contact group of five Western countries today started talks with Swapo in an attempt to persuade them to take part in what could be the last elections in SWA/Namibia

And on the eve of the talks in Luanda, South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, made it clear that South Africa would not accept any changes to the Western Settlement proposals

The Western Group, headed by the United States deputy ambassador at the United Nations, Mr Don McHenry, is desperately trying to end the SWA/Namibia stalemate and to avert a situation in which South Africa goes it alone with independence elections in the disputed territory later this year without Swapo participation.

Against the background of the three-day meeting in Luanda today come unconfirmed reports of a build-up of Russian mili-

tary activity in Angola — Swapo's main base

Representatives of the frontline countries — Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana — are attending the talks as observers and the key to Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals appears to lie in what pressure these states are prepared to put on Swapo

Mr Pik Botha has returned home after weekend discussions with the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Steyn

One of the reasons for his unexpected visit to Windhoek was to brief the judge on recent discussions with the Western powers

This led to speculation that South Africa might be prepared to accept changes to the Western proposals

But Mr Botha was adamant that no changes would be considered to the proposals in an attempt to accommodate Swapo

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said today that he had not been consulted on any possible changes in the settlement plan

Clerics' (221) children died

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Two teenage children of SWA/Namibian church leaders were among those who died in the South African attack on Swapo camps in southern Angola earlier this year.

They are Katrina Kanunu, foster daughter of Bishop Leonard Auala, leader of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church, and Josia Dumeni, eldest son of Pastor Cleopas Dumeni, the bishop's assistant

They fled the country several weeks before the South African raid Josia Dumeni was a pupil at the Oshigambo High School and Katrina Kanunu attended the secondary school at Oshikati, in Ovambo

"It is not known whether they were members or supporters of the revolutionary South West Africa People's Organisation or simply rebels against the system"

Sources close to the bishop say he is reluctant to discuss the matter as "he does not want to stress his own grief, but that of the Ovambo people"

About 1 000 people, mostly Owambos, are believed to have died in the raid

Swapo team drops 'moderate' leader

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Swapo delegation from within SWA/Namibia that is attending the Luanda summit today between Swapo, the five Western powers and African frontline states has one notable exclusion — the leader of Swapo in the territory, Mr Daniel Tjongarero

He is widely regarded as having fallen from

grace with Swapo. His leadership problems began when he was detained by security forces in Ovambo seven months ago and signed a statement saying he would resign from Swapo.

Later in Windhoek, he said he was "intimidated" into signing it.

He is also thought to have been too conciliatory in seeking to end tribal and political violence

Mixing for SWA hotels under discussion

STAR

10/7/78

221

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK—The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice Martinus Steyn, is considering the enforced desegregation of hotels and has asked the SWA/Namibia Administration to investigate

Judge Steyn said today

the matter was "under discussion" and had been referred to the executive committee of the National Party-controlled Administration

Hotels do not fall under Judge Steyn's jurisdiction, but under the Administration's Department of Nature Conservation and Tourism

A move to enforced desegregation is certain to meet fierce resistance on the platteland, where many hotels have exercised the discretionary provision of opening to only one race

Judge Steyn said "all affected parties" would be consulted

He said he contemplated the move after complaints from political groups that black politicians were often refused accommodation in platteland towns. They said this hampered the political process

Judge Steyn appealed to hoteliers in the territory to help make the electoral process as "easy as possible" and to give its critics as little as possible "for criticism."

By STANLEY UYS

LONDON — Swapo is closer to reaching a settlement with the five Western powers over South West Africa than it has ever been.

This report came from Luanda yesterday, where the two sides were due to meet for a possibly decisive round of talks.

Two factors are pushing Swapo towards a settlement. One is formidable pressure from the front-line presidents, particularly President Agostinho Neto of Angola, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Samora Machel of Mozambique. The other factor is dissension in Swapo's upper ranks and the formation of pro and anti-settlement groups.

The Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, appears to favour towards the pro-settlement camp.

Western diplomatic sources are clearly excited over yesterday's Luanda meeting as they try to see which way the wind will blow.

They are also keeping a cautious eye on the South African Government which, although it has accepted the Western proposals over SWA, is making it as difficult as possible within that agree-

RDM 11/7/78 (221)
Swapo may go for a settlement

ment for Swapo to accept the settlement.

The South African raid on the Swapo camp at Kassinga in May was an example—the effect of the raid was to cause Swapo to back off from the settlement.

Another example of South Africa's tactics was the statement issued in Windhoek at the weekend by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who warned: "There is no possibility that the South African Government will even consider any amendment to the Western proposals." The Luanda talks there-

for, have become a real cliffhanger. The West feels that success is within its grasp. It is touch-and-go now whether Swapo will yield on the two issues on which it has been stalling: The location of the 1 500 South African troops who will remain in SWA over the election period, and the future of the Bay.

Sapa-Reuters reports from Lusaka that Swapo said the latest round of talks in Luanda would be crucial in determining whether Western peace efforts would come to a dead end.

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The Senate has approved:

- (a) Your candidature:
- (b) Your field of study/proposed thesis title:
- (c) The appointment of as your Supervisor.

You are reminded that all registration annually.

candidates are required to renew their

Yours sincerely,

O. METCALF
for REGISTRAR

The Star

Tuesday July 11 1978

Time to lean on Swapo now

THE characters and setting are familiar; the script shows disturbing signs of being repetitive too. In Luanda the five-nation Western contact group is meeting Swapo in a new attempt to reach agreement on an independence programme for SWA/Namibia.

The negotiations have been hanging in the air since late April. South Africa has made sweeping concessions to meet Swapo and Western demands. Then, just as the Five were on the point of putting the peace package to Swapo's Sam Nujoma, came the South African raid on Angolan bases; it served as a convenient stalling point. With the talks at last reactivated, reports suggest that the nationalist movement will attempt yet again to raise the stakes. The handover of Walvis Bay and a further pull-back of South African troops before independence are likely to become the new issues.

At this point the West faces a clear choice between expediency and its moral commitment

to the path of peace. The Five must not yield to further Swapo blackmail. They have pushed South Africa a long way already. Under the threat of sanctions, Pretoria has agreed to an independence date, universal franchise and a big military cutback. The West accepted all this as final: a reasonable programme for the orderly transfer of power.

On Swapo's side it has been all "take" and no "give." Increasingly the impression grows that the movement is interested in a guerilla-backed grab for total power, not in elections or an orderly transfer. Only if the Five are prepared to countenance that kind of political thuggery can they yield any further on their proposals.

With options running out, it is time now for Swapo to be leant on (and hopefully recent Western overtures to Angola may bear some fruit in this regard). Should Swapo still prove obdurate, then the West must be prepared to safeguard the peaceful Namibia which it has been working so hard to create.

22 11/21/78

Voters roll gets off to good start

The Star's Africa News
Service

WINDHOEK — About 30 percent of South West Africa's eligible voters have registered after two weeks of the 13-week registration campaign in the territory.

The chief registration officer of the territory, Mr L V De Kock, said today the registration of 134 654 of the 450 000 people eligible for the vote was satisfactory, "although we are geared up to handle twice that number."

Voters are being registered for a one-man-one-vote election for a constituent assembly later this year to design an independence constitution for the territory.

In Owambo, home of 47 percent of the territory's population and Swapo's strongest support, 54 000 voters of an estimated 180 000 have been registered.

In the northern province of Kavango, the figure is 11 000, out of an estimated 30 000.

A weak spot is Damaraland, where most of the people support the Namibia National Front, a black and white coalition that has criticised the authorities for the "unilateral move" to registration.

At the end of last week only 836 of an estimated 12 500 voters had registered.

Mr de Kock said it was impossible to prove that applicants met all the registration qualifications, particularly the one requiring at least four years of residence.

But making the applications open for inspection were a safeguard against this.

Mr de Kock said there was no way of stopping a person registering several times in various places.

It is understood, though, there is a procedure to prevent people voting more than once.

The registration campaign, which involves more than 400 officials, many in mobile teams, is to last until September 22.

Hopes run high for SWA breakthrough

The Star's Africa News Service

All sides in the South West Africa dispute appeared optimistic today that Swapo would be persuaded to take part in elections that would lead to the territory's independence.

The "contact group" of five Western nations today were meeting Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma and other top officials in Luanda in what has been described as a make-or-break effort to draw Swapo into elections.

And indications from Western diplomatic sources suggested that Swapo was closer to reaching agreement with the Western nations than ever before.

CONCESSIONS

The US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, said yesterday that a final breakthrough might be near in the talks.

"It may be possible to go forward in the United Nations," he added.

Swapo sources say the movement might now be prepared to make concessions on the key issues of South African troop

placement in SWA/Namibia during the election build-up and the status of Walvis Bay.

Reports from Lusaka quote Swapo sources as saying the only difference that now has to be resolved is the size of the UN force during elections and the question of its powers.

The frontline countries, according to the sources, have pressured Swapo into accepting the Western proposals, pointing out that the South African Government had already made major concessions.

Shipanga calls for finality

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo dissident Mr Andreas Shipanga has urged the five Western nations seeking a peaceful settlement in SWA/Namibia to "come to the end of the road" in their talks with Mr Sam Nujoma's Swapo and other parties involved.

The leader of the newly formed Swapo Democratic Party was addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs yesterday.

"If there is a chance for a peaceful solution, we are for it," he said, "and we are convinced that the proposals under discussion here are worthy of being given a chance to succeed."

Mr Shipanga castigated Mr Nujoma and the Swapo leadership for "playing games with the lives and future of our people."

"The future of the whole Namibian nation is being held to ransom by a small group of men who are clearly and resolutely opposed to any peaceful and democratic solutions to the problems of our country," he said.

In turn, it is believed the Western governments had put pressure on the Frontline presidents of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana which are heavily dependent on Western economic aid, to use their influence on Swapo.

The Luanda talks are taking place against a background of division in Swapo ranks which has seen a former Swapo executive member, Mr Andreas Shipanga, form his own wing of the movement, the Swapo Democrats.

RAM 12/2/78 (221)

SWA bars may go mixed

By DAVID FORRET
'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK. — Moves are afoot to drop racial barriers in all licensed hotels in South West Africa.

The Administrator General, Mr Justice M T Steyn, is considering making liquor licences conditional on hotels being open to all races.

However, the final decision apparently rests with the Nationalist-controlled Executive Committee of SWA Administration, and

there was still confusion yesterday about whether present licencees would retain the right to refuse admission on racial grounds.

Though a number of hotels in the territory have been granted multi-racial status on the South African permit system, most rural hotels maintain the whites-only ruling.

Politicians have made representations to Judge Steyn to break down the racial barriers in hotels —

seen as an impediment to a free and fair election campaign in the territory.

A spokesman for the Administrator General's office said the matter was still under discussion and that Judge Steyn was waiting to hear from the executive committee.

All interested parties would have to be consulted before any steps were taken to desegregate hotels, the spokesman said.

Mr Adoif Brinkman, MEC in charge of SWA na-

ture conservation and tourism, said there would be objections to a change in the law compelling hotel owners to admit people of all races.

He had no objection, however, to the scrapping of the provision which forced hotel owners to apply for international status before going multiracial.

Mr Gert van Vuuren, chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Windhoek, said yesterday he had written to Judge Steyn and the executive committee asking for the permit system to be scrapped.

Mr Van Vuuren who is in charge of issuing permits granting international status to hotels, said: "I want to get rid of the permit system because it is not really being used anyway."

Church alarmed by 'SA troop build-up in SWA'

WINDHOEK — The Anglican Church of South West Africa yesterday said in Windhoek it viewed with alarm the systematic increase of South African troops and the build-up of weapons in SWA, as well as the continued presence of the SA regime in the territory. "We wish to see South Africa's immediate withdrawal," the statement said.

The statement was issued by the Most Rev J H Kauluma, the newly-elected Anglican Bishop of Damaraland.

But the officer commanding the SWA Command of the Defence Force, Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, yesterday denied there had been a build-up of troops or arms in SWA.

He said the political

leaders in South Africa had repeatedly said everything would be done to ensure the safety of SWA and the people until the Western proposals had been implemented.

Once a settlement had become a reality, and the Western proposals had been honoured, there would no longer be a danger in SWA and the dispute about troops would no longer be relevant.

Gen Geldenhuys said he regarded the criticism of the presence of South African troops in SWA as premature.

This was one of the matters which would be decided by the acceptance, by all parties, of the Western proposals — and their implementation, he said.

Meanwhile in Windhoek yesterday, the vice-chairman of Swapo in SWA, Mr Daniel Tjongarero, de-

clared he had fallen from grace within the party.

He was commenting on reports that he was pulling out of politics, and that he had become unpopular with the party leadership and the president, Mr Sam Nujoma.

Mr Tjongarero said Swapo wished to involve as many of its executives in the talks with the Western five on the future of SWA. That was the main reason he had not gone to Luanda for the current talks on the Western proposals between the Western contact group and Swapo.

"No significance should be read into the fact I have not gone to Luanda," Mr Tjongarero said.

Sources close to Swapo said there was no question of Mr Tjongarero having become unpopular with Mr Sam Nujoma because of Mr Tjongarero's moderate outlook. — Sapa

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Même exercice.

1. Ils se sont (voir) l'an dernier, mais ils se sont à peine (parler); depuis, ils ne se sont plus (écrire); je les crois (brouiller).
2. J'aurais bien besoin maintenant des deux cent mille francs que m'a (coûter) cette auto.
3. Où sont les enfants, où sont-ils (passer)? Je crois les avoir (voir) dans le jardin.
4. La foule qui s'était (rassembler) sur la place se dispersa lentement.
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Quit SWA now

say Anglicans

12/2/78 (221)

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Mercury Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK - The Anglican Church strongly attacked the five Western powers and their South West African peace proposals in a statement released yesterday by Bishop James Kauluma, the new Bishop of Damaraland.

The statement, drawn up by South West African delegates of the church at a meeting in Lesotho last week, coincides with the vital attempts by Western negotiators in Luanda to get Swapo to agree to the peace plan.

It represents an about-turn on the proposals which were previously acceptable to the churches.

The clergymen called for South Africa's immediate withdrawal from the territory in terms of international law

"We see two forces at work in Namibia. The oppressive force of the South African regime and those who co-operate with it, and opposing them the forces representing the poor and oppressed people in Namibia

"In this confrontation there can be no neutrality"

They said they viewed with increasing alarm the "systematic increase of troops and massive build-up of weapons in our country" and the continuing presence of South African troops.

The clergymen said the Western proposals could only be effective if there was trust and good faith on all sides.

They said South Africa's recent attack on Cassinga in Angola, and the detention of Swapo leaders inside the territory, demonstrated the aggressive nature of the South African regime and the bad faith of its rulers

"The plans can no longer work," they added.

"The fact that South Africa has already begun the registration of voters without United Nations supervision and with the continuing presence of its army, is a further reason to regard the Western proposals as having been by-passed.

"We further see the five Western powers blatantly attempting to coerce those forces which are working for the true liberation of our country and believe that their actions have done little to achieve basic changes in South Africa's policies and the structures of Namibian society."

And as talks between Swapo and the Western group started in the Angola capital of Luanda yesterday, Mr. Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Turnhalle Democratic Alliance (DTA), warned that if no agreement was reached the Administrator-General of South West Africa would have to go ahead with the election.

Uncertain

Mr. Mudge said the people of the territory were uncertain about the future and it was absolutely necessary that agreement be reached soon.

"I believe some pressure will be put on Swapo to agree to the Western proposals in their present form and I hope Swapo responds positively

"I personally want Swapo to participate in the election," Mr Mudge said

It would be wrong for South Africa even to consider the possibility of renegotiating the proposals which it had accepted.

It would simply complicate the entire issue and he hoped the Western contact group would not entertain such ideas either.

No build-up

Also in Windhoek yesterday the Officer Commanding the South West African Command of the Defence Force, Major-General Jan Geldenhuys, denied that there had been a systematic build-up of troops or arms.

General Geldenhuys had been asked to comment on the declaration by the Anglican Church which condemned "the systematic increase in troops and build-up of weapons"

"There is no build-up of troops or systematic increase of arms in the territory," General Geldenhuys said

He said he regarded as premature criticism of the presence of South African troops in the territory. This was one of the matters which would be decided by the acceptance, by all parties, of the Western proposals.

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Optimism at SWA talks

LONDON. — Talks between five Western nations and Swapo on the future of South West Africa got under way in Luanda yesterday on an optimistic note

The head of the observer Angolan delegation, Mr P Luvualu, was quoted as saying he was convinced the meeting would result in a just and definite solution to the territory.

Mr Luvualu, a member of Angola's five-man central control committee of the ruling MPLA-Workers Party political bureau, welcomed Western representatives and the 12-man Swapo

delegation

Mr Luvualu said a just solution would have the good wishes and the joint force of the five Western members of the UN Security Council, the Frontline countries and Swapo

Reports said no details of the talks had been issued, but it was expected they would centre on Walvis Bay, which Swapo says is an integral part of South West.

The question of the continued stationing of South African troops in the territory close to the Angola border would also be raised. — SAPA-RNS

West's plan has failed—Anglicans

WINDHOEK — The Anglican Church strongly attacked the five Western powers' South West African peace proposals in a statement released yesterday by Bishop James Kauluma, the new Bishop of Damaraland

The statement, drawn up by the church's South West Africa delegates at a meeting in Lesotho last week represents an about-turn on the previously accepted proposals

The clergymen called for South Africa's immediate withdrawal from South West Africa in terms of international law "We see two forces at work in Namibia," they said "The oppressive force of the South African regime and those who cooperate with it and, opposing them the forces representing the poor and oppressed people in Namibia"

They said they viewed the "systematic increase of troops and massive build-up of weapons in our country," and the continued presence of South African troops, with increasing alarm

They said South Africa's recent attack on Cassinga in Angola and the detention of Swapo leaders demonstrated the "aggressive nature" of South Africa's government and the bad faith of its rulers

"We see the five Western powers blatantly attempting to coerce those forces which are working for the true liberation of our country and believe that their actions have done little to achieve basic changes in South Africa's policies and the structures of Namibian society," they said — DDC

NO SWAN INTENT

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Troops wait for peace, says Botha

Only when there was visible peace and a cessation of violence within the prescribed period in SWA/Namibia, could a reduction of South African troops begin, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said in Pretoria today.

Asked to comment on acceptance by Swapo of the proposals for a SWA/Namibia settlement, Mr Botha said the South African Government has so far not received any official information.

Windhoek call for an end to delays

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Political and government leaders in SWA/Namibia today called for a speedy implementation of the Western proposals for independence, accepted by South Africa and last night by Swapo.

All hoped Swapo's acceptance of the plan had no strings attached. The dominant anxiety was that Swapo could now demand more time.

The Administrator General of the territory, Mr Justice Martinus Steyn, said, "The way to a peaceful settlement is now wide open.

"The greatest self control is now needed by all." Hated and violence were mercifully disappearing. Although a new so-

ciety had been created, it was not accompanied by chaos. Evolutionary development had taken place at revolutionary pace.

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the multi-racial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, one of Swapo's main electoral opponents said he was pleased.

Swapo had been under great pressure from African and Western states, he said.

Mr A H du Plessis, leader of the National Party's election front, Ahtur, said he was surprised Swapo was prepared to stigmatise itself to an electoral test.

He feared there might be more delaying tactics.

A spokesman for Swapo, said Swapo supporters were pleased because it

To Page 3, Col 5

cadets are not from the Senior Heads, an inefficient system of administration, either capablities.

Conditions under which South African troops would be withdrawn were clearly spelt out in the Western proposals, accepted by the Republic and also in the statement issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, at the time.

Only when there is visible peace and a cessation of violence within the prescribed period, can the reduction of South African troops begin to take place," he said, Sapa reports.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, said, "When it is said there is an acceptance of the proposals, one assumes it is acceptance of the proposals in their final and definitive form as presented to the parties concerned and accepted by South Africa in April."

Both the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, were out of town today.

Writing from New York, Kevin Jacobs says the Swapo acceptance clears the way for a ceasefire in the territory and transition to United Nations supervised elections.

After two days of talks in Luanda, representatives of the five-nation contact group and the guerrilla organisation led by its president Mr Sam Nujoma, agreed late yesterday to put the independence proposals before the UN Security Council.

The plan should have an easy passage through the UN Security Council.

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Call to end Luanda pact may delays mean quick end to terror war

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was one of their major demands that there should be a United Nations supervised settlement
Mr Japie Basson, chief Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs said the agreement could set a new course, writes The Star's political staff in Durban
South Africans would have to adjust themselves to the possibility of Swapo actually winning elections
The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Egin, said the agreement made the prospects brighter than at any time in 30 years
In Cape Town, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr W V Raw, said the agreement placed a tremendous responsibility on the Big Five. The sincerity of Swapo had to be proven by an immediate cessation of all hostile activities
In London the British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, said he hoped the proposals would get through the Security Council, reports The Star Bureau
He did not believe the Russians would veto a plan that had the backing of African states and the liberation movements.

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — If a settlement on SWA/Namibia now goes ahead in terms of Western proposals accepted by South Africa, major events will soon take place.
These will include:
● The ending of the terrorist war and all other hostile acts
● Restriction of South African and Swapo forces to bases
● A phased withdrawal of all but 1500 South African troops within 12 weeks and before the official start of the election campaign.
● Demobilisation of the citizen forces, commandos and ethnic forces, and the dismantling of their command structures.
● Release of all South West African political prisoners or political detainees held by South African authorities
● Moves to ensure the peaceful return of refugees and those detained outside the territory.
● Free elections under

the supervision and control of the United Nations.
● Repeal by the Administrator-General of all remaining discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations or administrative measures
Before these moves can go ahead, a resolution will be required in the UN Security Council requesting the UN Secretary-General to appoint a United Nations special representative to supervise the elections
The special representative will be assisted by a United Nations transition assistance group His central task will be "to make sure that conditions are established which will allow free and fair elections and an impartial electoral process."
ELECTIONS
The elections will be held to select constituent assembly which will adopt a constitution for an independent Namibia.
The constitution will determine the organisation and powers of all levels of government.
In terms of the proposals "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"
The proposals also lay down that any disputes concerning release of political prisoners or detainees must be resolved to the satisfaction of the UN special representative.

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403 B.G. Anchippus, sued by Andocides
Sources: Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Lysias and Nicomachus charged
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West Africa:
Timbuktu, Jenne, Gao, Kano, St Louis
Calabar, Ibadan, Abookuta, Freetown
Equatorial Africa:
Luanda, Benguela, Zaire
Mombasa, Zanzibar
North West Africa:
Berber, Moors, Hamar
West Africa:
Wolof, Tukolor, Hausa, Kanuri
Equatorial and Central Africa:
Fang, Zande, Bangbetu, Ovimbundu, Luba

(1) The government levies a sales tax of 5 cents per unit sold. Both supply and demand curves have some price elasticity. This tax means that...
(2) The entire supply curve shifts leftward by an amount indicating a perfectly inelastic supply.
(3) Demand is followed by an increase in quantity demanded.
(4) Demand is highly inelastic.
(5) Both demand and supply are highly inelastic.

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The producers bear most of the tax burden unless we can show that supply is relatively elastic or relatively inelastic.
The tax would be borne entirely by the consumers...
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The producers bear most of the tax burden unless we can show that supply is relatively elastic or relatively inelastic.

choice

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52. The government levies a sales tax of 5 cents per unit sold. Both supply and demand curves have some price elasticity. This tax means that...
(1) The entire supply curve shifts leftward by an amount indicating a perfectly inelastic supply.
(2) Demand is followed by an increase in quantity demanded.
(3) Demand is highly inelastic.
(4) Both demand and supply are highly inelastic.

The city consists of two towns in a plain. To which of the following is al-Bakri (1067) referring :

The term 'Prester John' was applied by medieval Europeans to the ruler of which of the following states :

The Star

Thursday July 13 1978

After Luanda - 221 keep moving

IF the Western statement on the Luanda concord means what it says, Swapo's assent to the Western blueprint for SWA/Namibia the final hurdle signifies clearance of the long and rocky path towards the territory's independence. The communique from Luanda leaves some details to be fleshed out, particularly as to the "clarifications" which the Western Five gave Swapo on certain points. But in essence, Swapo and Pretoria are now in agreement on the same programme leading to independence by the end of the year. It is an occasion for enormous relief on all sides.

It should mean an end to the guerilla war which Swapo has been waging in the north, to the terrorist acts which have been spreading to other regions; to the need for raids over the Angolan border, political detentions and similar security precautions.

It would be naive to expect all of this to happen overnight. But if Swapo means what it says, there ought to be a marked de-escalation of the conflict reasonably soon. There should be no reason at all for the conflict to continue once the independence

proposals have been endorsed by the UN Security Council.

It is to be hoped that the UN will move rapidly to provide this endorsement. After that the mechanics of the plan should be set in motion as speedily as possible—the installation of a UN Special Representative to work in tandem with Pretoria's Administrator-General; the introduction of the 5 000-strong UN peacekeeping force and 1 000 civilian administrators, the phased reduction of the South African military presence, and so on.

All this is meant to happen as a prelude to UN-supervised elections at which the people of SWA/Namibia will freely and democratically elect a government of their choice. That government may well be a Swapo one but this is implicit in the massive concessions which Pretoria has made on its original stance.

With basic consensus achieved, we trust there will be no more interruptions on the road to independence. Any further stalling, delay or arguments over detail can only lead to the same political drift that is so imperiling Rhodesia today.

- Egypt
 - Ethiopia
 - Kongo
 - Monomatopo
- accounts the initial reception given to a court of the ruler of Kongo was violently hostile completely indifferent extremely cordial

as another great inconvenience which is of 'To what 'inconvenience' was Affonso I act from a letter written to the King of

- The Jaga invasion
- The rebellion of certain vassals
- A disastrous epidemic
- Portuguese encouragement of the trade in slaves

an's summary of the latest archaeological findings at Great Zimbabwe were completed by g dates .

- 500 B.C. (by the Phoenicians)
- 5000 A.D.
- 1500 A.D.
- 1800 A.D.

ers wants to govern' wrote the Portuguese 13. To which of these groups was he referring .

- 1. The Praxeros of Zambezia
- 2. The Moorish merchants of Monomatopa
- 3. The Portuguese officials of Sofala

many fair houses of stone'. To which one of the Duarte Barbosa referring in 1501 :

- 1. Dar es-Salaam
- 2. Kilwa
- 3. Quelimane
- 4. Zanzibar

dues within the Government of Zanzibar are sent' according to a report by the French trader, Captain Dailous, in 1804. To which one of the following places :

- 1. Aden
- 2. Bombay
- 3. Muscat
- 4. Shiraz
- 5. Sofala

38. According to the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea the main export of Adulis, the port of the Kingdom of Axom, was which of the following :

- 1. slaves
- 2. frankincense
- 3. cloth
- 4. ivory

their people

by fighting the first... But the internal... had not yet been in... with the decision-... in Luanda by last

By getting Swapo to agree to the proposals — apparently through carrot-dangling manoeuvres in front of some Frontline State presidents — the five western powers achieved a coup and enhanced their reputations as intermediaries in African disputes

They have reportedly offered economic aid to some of the frontline states and withdrawal of support for the two guerrilla movements currently operating with some success against the MPLA government in SWA's northern neighbour, Angola

Western negotiators will breathe a sigh of relief that their 15 months of hard bargaining as mediators between two seemingly implacable foes has ended in success

At stake in the Luanda talks was not only the political independence of SWA, but also Western credibility — white-ruled Southern Africa and their international prestige to solve African disputes peacefully

With African-backing, the

mouthpiece, Die Suidwester, said in an editorial yesterday that it would be dangerous to assume Swapo would play the game to the end

"Twixt the cup (of acceptance in Luanda) and the lip (of acceptance by the Security Council) there can still be many a slip," the newspaper added

"The disappearance of many myths and the advent of a multitude of new realities," is how Mr Hannes Smith, outspoken editor of the weekly Windhoek Observer, summed up

The time for moralising on terrorism and conducting academic arguments on whether Swapo is a gang of bandits without popular support, is now at an end

Swapo's acceptance of the Western plan has ushered in a new era, which will probably be reflected in the changing fortunes of other political parties and leaders in the near future

Firstly, the militant movement will probably have to moderate its stance on a number of issues, in the new circumstances, while the conservative SA-sponsored DTA will have to beef up their slogan which is currently "peace"

And with the return of political exiles, release of

Step by step to a new future

WINDHOEK — A timetable leading up to the independence of South West Africa, set out in detail earlier by the five Western members of the UN Security Council, might now be implemented if all the parties involved take the required steps

Key points in the timetable are:

The UN Security Council must pass a resolution authorising the Secretary General to appoint a special representative and request him to submit a plan for UN involvement in SWA

The Secretary-General must then appoint the special representative and dispatch a contingency planning group to SWA

After that, the Secretary-General begins consultations with potential participants in the UN transition assistance group

Perhaps within a week of Security Council action, the Secretary-General reports back to the council which then passes a further resolution adopting a plan for UN involvement.

The transitional period begins formally on the date the Security Council adopts the Secretary-General's plan.

On that date there is general cessation of hostile acts by the South African Government and Swapo. Swapo and South African forces, including ethnic forces, are to be restricted to base

The UN special representative and his staff then arrive in SWA. The UN military personnel starts to monitor police forces, citizen forces, ethnic forces and military personnel performing civilian functions and infiltration across the border.

The special representative coordinates transitional procedures with neighbouring governments.

Political prisoners or detainees are released.

Within six weeks of Security Council approval of the plan, South African forces still confined to bases, are reduced to 12 000 men.



Swapo restriction to bases continues

The UN commissioner for refugees in SWA acts to assist exiles wanting to return to the territory.

Discriminatory laws and restrictive measures are repealed.

Within nine weeks of acceptance of the plan, repatriation of exiles starts under UN supervision, through designated entry points into SWA, while South African troops remain restricted to bases

Within 12 weeks the South African forces are reduced to 1 500 men. All military installations along the SWA-Angola border are by now either de-activated or put under civilian control under UN supervision

UN troops assume responsibility for hospitals, power stations and other installations protected by the

military After 12 weeks the military section of the UN transitional assistance group is fully deployed.

At the start of the 13th week the election campaign gets underway. The election of the constituent assembly takes place on a date established by the Administrator-General, to the satisfaction of the UN representative.

One week after the date of certification of the election the South African Government has completely withdrawn from SWA. Swapo has liquidated its bases and the constituent assembly is convened.

On an as yet unspecified date, the constituent assembly concludes its deliberations and takes steps towards the installation of a new government

Independence by December 31, 1978. — Sapa.

21 RDM 14/07/78

What now in SWA?

THE normally cheerful group of professional men were silent during their regular social meeting over a cup of coffee at a sidewalk cafe in Windhoek yesterday. "What now?" asked one, as he put down Windhoek's latest daily morning newspaper, Die Republiek, mouthpiece of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)

There was no immediate reaction from his companions.

The reason for their puzzlement was the unexpected announcement that Swapo had accepted the Western peace package and would take part in the territory's first one-man-one-vote election.

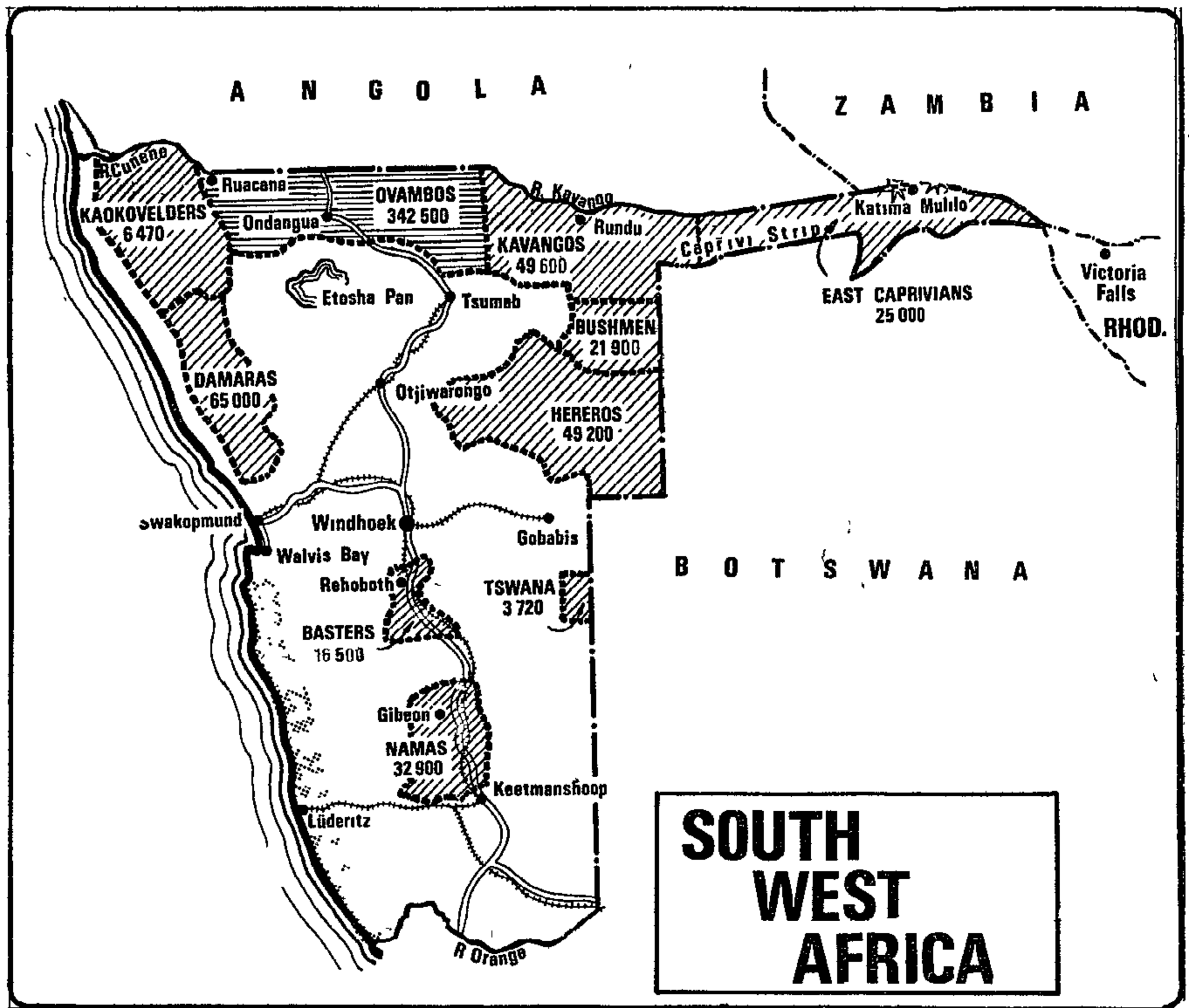
The news, relayed as an urgent item to the South West African capital on newspapers' ticker services in the early hours of yesterday morning, reached South West Westers at their breakfast tables.

Swapo — the revolutionary movement that has long been regarded by the United Nations as the territory's only authentic political representative and by South Africa as an unpopular band of terrorists — had decided to end its 12-year-old armed struggle and test its support in a democratic election.

South Westers were stunned, surprised, cautiously optimistic and, above all, suspicious.

The first questions from South Westers were whether Swapo would accept defeat in an election, and whether the agreement between the Western nations and Swapo emanated from the proposals accepted by the SA Government seven weeks ago.

Reaction from Swapo supporters was that the agreement was keen to



SOUTH WEST AFRICA

By DAVID FORRET

Western peace package is now bound to be accepted by the United Nations Security Council without the risk of being vetoed by the Russians.

The National Party's

political prisoners on both sides and the growing confidence of the "silent majority" to speak out in an atmosphere of a free election, policy issues will come to the fore more than the

clear-cut divisions. "peace" or "power through the barrel of the gun."

Personalities, too, will play a major role and strangely enough, many whites are pinning their hopes on Mr Andreas Shipanga — Swapo's dissident leader who was detained without trial after challenging Mr Sam Nujoma's lead-

ership — to split Swapo's support through the Namibian National Front (NNF). There are still many unknown factors. But one thing is certain: The rapid political changes will take their toll on the fortunes of politicians, and alliances will shift in the coming months as easily as the shifting sands of the Namib Desert.

ahead... the men who made it work



MR P. K. BOTHA
... SA Foreign Minister



JUDGE STEYN
... Administrator General



MR DAN TJONGARERO
... Swapo vice chairman



MR SAM NUJOMA
... Swapo president



MR DIRK MUDGE
... heading DTA

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Hope for Namibia — and for SA

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AT LAST there can be realistic hope about SWA/Namibia. In reaching agreement with Swapo after two days of talks in Luanda, the Big Five Western nations have dramatically firmed up the possibility of bringing about a peaceful settlement in the territory.

Coming after South Africa's own earlier acceptance of the West's proposals, specific steps can now be taken for progress to independence.

It goes without saying that this is good news for the people of Namibia. They have lived in a state of controversial uncertainty for more than a quarter-century in the midst of the world conflict about them. For blacks, forming 90% of the population, it is only recently that the pressure of the independence-to-come has led to betterment for them — and they can now anticipate full citizenship. And all Namibians can now hope for an end to guerrilla and terrorist warfare.

It is also good news for South Africa because Namibia has been increasingly taking on the weight of a millstone, making this country the target of international attack with the accompanying threat of sanctions.

With all the parties directly involved having subscribed to the West's proposals, it can surely be accepted that endorsement will come from the Organisation of African Unity next week, and then from the UN Security Council. Getting that far would be a signal triumph for the Big Five — and in particular for America's representative, Mr Don McHenry. He has been much maligned in some South African circles, yet he has steadfastly pushed on, bringing together what frequently seemed irreconcilable opposites.

Indeed he has gone further, for it seems that during his most recent visit to Luanda he has also succeeded in effecting Western reconciliation with the Angolan Government, there is even speculation that this could result in the withdrawal of Cuban troops from that country and an invitation instead to upwards of 50 000 Portuguese to return to help in building the new nation.

But however cheering the prospect of peace, there remains need for caution. Much can still go wrong. A heavy cloud of suspicion hangs over relations between South Africa and Swapo and the antipathy between the two sides is strong. Complicating the issue is some dissension within Swapo, with the possibility of defections.

Everyone concerned needs to do everything possible to avoid rocking the boat. This means that South Africa must not engage again in the May 4 type of over-the-border attack into Angola, to do that would be to destroy what has been gained (particularly bearing in mind accusations that the raid was deliberately staged as a means of driving Swapo into a negative stance in the negotiations). Equally, Swapo must cease its murderous attacks within the territory; it must instead aim at the ballot box.

And all sides should refrain from bellicose and provocative statements.

With the Rhodesian settlement attempt limping along, a speedy and peaceful resolution in Namibia is vital. Achievement of independence there on a sane and inter-racial basis could have an enormously therapeutic effect on Southern Africa as a whole. It would also show South Africa the way to the future.

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~~In example 1 above, the substantive metho is directly linked to the relative stem hole by a relative link ya.~~

In addition to nouns and verbs, we can still employ numerals and adverbs as relative stems.

Numerals used as relative stems.

'Numerals 2-5 are treated as adjectives..... numerals 6 onwards are all relatives.'

Examples: 1. Dikgomo tse sekete.

ECONOMIC HISTORY II
DIVISION OF ECONOMIC HISTORY
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

FROM PAGE 1

"something which the people of this sub-continent would all welcome."

But he cautioned that everyone involved would have to accept and execute the Western proposals with sincerity.

Mr. Botha said the proposals accepted by Swapo in Luanda would now have to be launched through the security council, and approved by the UN body.

Still reeling from the shock of Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace package, Whites interviewed in a random street survey said they would suck it out to the bitter end — even if the militant movement won the election.

All of those questioned welcomed Swapo's acceptance, while Swapo supporters waiting for clarification in Windhoek were excited at the prospect of fighting the territory's one-man-one-vote election.

Meanwhile in Luanda Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma said Swapo considered the "conclusion of the historic Luanda meeting an important victory in the struggle of the Namibian people carried out under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard."

He again pointed out that the suggestions contained in the document of the "five" were "not definitely accepted points" but would serve before the Security Council as "work tools" for further discussions.

Territory

In Windhoek White South West Africans were confident yesterday that Swapo would not win a fair Western-sponsored election in the territory.

The South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn, said he was not surprised at Swapo's acceptance of the proposals, which were accepted by the S.A. Government seven weeks ago.

"I have been hoping for this gladsome event for quite sometime," he said.

"During the last two months I have repeatedly requested Swapo to abandon the ways of violence and join us in the peaceful political process to independence."

Judge Steyn said he was "deeply grateful" that this had now been done.

NM

14/7/78

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The election target date is still the end of the year.

A small UN vanguard headed by operations chief elect Maarti Ahtisaari is expected to land in Windhoek before the end of this month.

"This is the one positive element in the international situation," Dr. Waldheim exclaimed as he left a briefing in which he had lavished praise on the Western powers, the front-line States, South Africa and Swapo, for battling through to agreement after 18 months of frenetic diplomacy.

Force

The UN force will consist of 5 000 blue helmeted, peacekeeping troops, drawn from Africa, "small neutral European" and possibly some Asian nations, Dr Waldheim said.

They would be responsible for law and order during transition.

The other wing of UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) would consist of about 1 000 civilian election supervisors.

Dr Waldheim gave no estimate of the cost of the unique operation, but UN sources suggest about R200 million.

Still required is Security Council authorisation, but fears of a Soviet veto have vanished now that the front-line States and Swapo have said yes.

Three council meetings are likely to be held - the first almost certainly on July 25, to authorise the appointment of Mr Ahtisaari as Dr Waldheim's special representative and UN operations chief in the territory.

A meeting will follow next month to authorise the peacekeeping troops and to authorise emergency funding.

And another will tackle Walvis Bay.

It is understood the West will support a resolution supporting its integration within the future Namibia.

This compromise worked but to clinch Swapo's support for the peace package will thus be dealt with separately and not affect the independence process.

Assent

Although Dr. Owen did not say so in so many words, it emerged yesterday that Swapo's assent has not been entirely wrapped up either.

But the foreign secretary took a fairly relaxed view of remarks made by Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, yesterday about the Western proposals.

Dr Owen said Mr Nujoma was "already putting out his own interpretation on the Luanda agreement - everybody will be doing this."

Speaking in Luanda, Mr Nujoma said Swapo would not accept SWA's independence without the incorporation of Walvis Bay.

Commenting on this yesterday Dr. Owen indicated that the question of Walvis Bay's ownership would be held over until after SWA's independence when the Western powers would support its incorporation into SWA.

He said "everybody" in SWA accepted that Walvis Bay would have to become part of SWA.

On the question of the presence of South African troops in SWA Dr Owen again was not explicit but it appears Swapo have accepted the West's proposals for the South African forces to be reduced to 12 000, then to 8 000, and finally to 1 500.

Dr. Owen said yesterday the next hurdle would be faced when the SWA issue went before the Security Council. The threat existed that the Soviet Union would veto the Luanda agreement, but he saw no reason why this should happen.

Proposals

There were other hurdles as well - connected with the appointment of a United Nations representative, the posting of a United Nations peace-keeping force, registration of voters, holding of elections, and, eventually, the transference of power.

Dr. Owen seemed to anticipate anxious months ahead.

In Pretoria the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday described the break-through agreement as a development that could herald a new era in southern Africa -

SWAZI POLICE JOIN SWAZI POLICE

MIN 14/1/78

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6000

force

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SWAZI

RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — A 6,000-man United Nations task force will be dispatched as soon as possible to police South West Africa through independence elections, an official Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said yesterday.

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, David Owen, sent for the South African Ambassador, Mr. Mathys Botha, yesterday to express his gratitude for Mr. Vorster's "persistence in searching for an internationally acceptable solution" over South West Africa and to ask for South Africa's continued co-operation.

The fact that Dr Owen sought a meeting with Mr Botha so soon after receiving the news from Luanda of Swapo's broad acceptance of the Western proposals, indicates that the Western powers are anxious to ensure that the settlement does not founder at the last moment.

Dr Owen believes the Luanda settlement was a "tremendous breakthrough" in southern African politics, but he warned: "We're not through the problems in SWA — it's not signed and sealed yet."

Dr Owen admitted that South Africa's further co-operation would have to be obtained if the SWA issue was to be finally resolved.

A settlement could not be achieved against South Africa's will. There would have to be "a working relationship of trust."

SWAPO GETS WEST AFRICAN LEADERS Says

RBM

11/7/78

(221)

B. DAVID FORREY
South Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — South African leaders across the political spectrum yesterday welcomed Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace package, but many said everything hinged on the details.

There were renewed calls for speedy implementation of the proposals.

Swapo supporters listened to news broadcasts as they awaited word from Luanda in the militant movement's centrally-situated Windhoek offices adorned with revolutionary posters.

Mr Daniel Tjongarero vice-chairman of Swapo, said he would not comment until he had been in touch with his comrades abroad.

But, he said Swapo supporters were excited at the prospect of fighting the territory's first one man, one vote election.

The Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, said he was not surprised at Swapo's acceptance of the proposals, which were accepted by the South African Government seven weeks ago.

"I have been hoping for this gladsome event for quite some time," he said

Steyn gets deportation powers

WINDHOEK. — The Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, yesterday published a proclamation empowering him to deport undesirable people from the territory.

Proclamation AG 50 is an amendment to an earlier proclamation. In terms of AG 50, the Administrator-General is empowered to serve an

"During the last two months I have repeatedly requested Swapo to abandon the ways of violence and join us in the peaceful political process to independence."

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and Mr A H du Plessis, leader of the National Party's election front (Aktur), said they were not surprised because they had expected immense pressure to be exerted on Swapo to accept the West's plan

Mr Mudge said Swapo's procrastination had retarded the election for a consistent assembly by three months, and it remained to be seen whether it would

order or undesirables to leave the territory within a time limit specified by him.

Such orders would apply to anyone who threatened the peace or good government of the territory. It would include those who inflicted or threatened to inflict hurt or damage on other people in order to attain certain objectives — Sapa

insist on the Western proposal that seven months lapse before voting took place.

He said the DTA wanted an election as soon as possible and Swapo could not expect them to wait until next year.

Mr Du Plessis said he hoped the agreement would pave the way for stability in the territory, but there was still a great deal of uncertainty about Swapo's acceptance of the proposals.

Bishop James Kauluma, the Anglican bishop of Namaland, who this week released a statement by clergyman rejecting the Western proposals, said: "I hope something good will come out of it and a peace-

ful settlement will be achieved, but it is premature for me to comment at this stage."

Bishop Rudolph Koppmann of the Roman Catholic Church welcomed Swapo's acceptance and called on people to work together calmly and with tolerance so that a peaceful, just and internationally acceptable solution could be achieved.

Dr Siegfried Tjijoroksa, spokesman for the moderate Namibian National Front (NNF), said Swapo's move was a step in the right direction that would start the ball rolling towards independence.

In Cape Town, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said if the

agreement meant Swapo had accepted the same proposals as the South African Government, it was a "tremendous step forward" reports Sapa.

"Provided no new terms have been introduced, it paves the way for the most important goal of all — internationally recognised independence for South West Africa and peace for Southern Africa," he said.

The Opposition's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, called the agreement a triumph for the West. But, he said, it was not yet clear what understanding had been reached between Swapo and the Front Line States — nor was it clear what the cost was of persuading them to accept the proposals.

"The opportunities for South Africa, however, are greater than the dangers," he said.

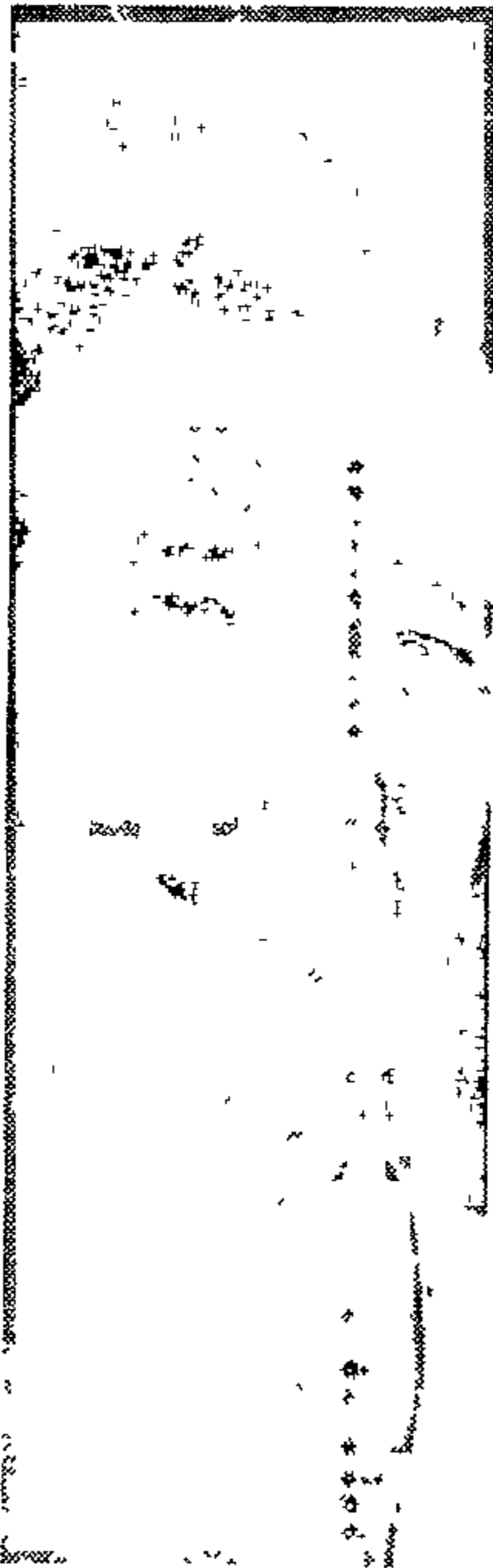
Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, said he expected the Government to ensure there was no possibility of a "Swapo-inspired, double-cross or the use of stalling tactics which could delay December independence as promised to the people of South West Africa."

Steyn signs churchmen into exile

AD 15/7/78

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WINDHOEK — Deportation orders signed by the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, were served on two South West African priests yesterday.



REV MORROW . . . Steyn a dictator.

Security Police handed the deportation orders to the Rev Ed Morrow, Anglican vicar-general of the Damaraland diocese, his wife, Lauren, and Father Heinz Hunke, a Catholic priest

The clamp on the clergymen comes at a delicate stage in international efforts for a peaceful settlement in the territory, and only a day after Mr Steyn's proclamation empowering him to deport "undesirable" people from South West Africa

Bishop Rudolf Koppmann, Catholic bishop in Windhoek, said the deportation of Fr Hunke cast doubts on South Africa's sincerity for a peaceful settlement in the territory

"Are these visible signs of detente for a free and democratic Namibia?" he said

Mr Morrow and his wife, both South African citizens, were given seven days to leave the territory, while Fr Hunke was told to quit within 96 hours

In terms of Mr Steyn's proclamation, known as AG 50, deportation orders would apply to anyone who threatened the "peace" or "good government" of the territory

It would include those

who had inflicted or threatened to inflict hurt or damage on other people in order to attain certain objectives

Mr Morrow's deportation order comes in the wake of a statement — issued by Anglican clergymen who met in Lesotho last week — that implicitly associated the church with Swapo

The churchmen also attacked the Western powers and rejected their peace package, which was subsequently accepted by Swapo during negotiations with the West in Luanda

Fr Hunke, a German who has lived in South West Africa for the past 10 years, has clashed with Mr Steyn during the past few months over allegations of torture by the South African security forces which have been consistently rejected by Mr Steyn

The Administrator-General's office said yesterday no reasons were given for the deportations

Mr Morrow said Mr Steyn had emerged as a dictator and people had no recourse to a parliament or courts of law

Bishop Koppmann said "I must protest in the strongest terms against the dictatorial and un-

democratic measures of the Administrator-General in deporting one of my priests"

He said Fr Hunke had never meddled in politics, but had merely given assistance to those who suffered under unjust laws

"But when a priest does this he is disliked and resented by authorities, who will always try to silence him," the bishop said

He rejected suggestions that Fr Hunke was "one-sided against the police"

Mrs Morrow said she had no idea why they were being deported. She hoped to see Mr Steyn and ask him to review the matter

Mrs Morrow said they did not intend to return to South Africa initially, but this would also depend on the possibility of having their passports withdrawn and being banned

• A former Bishop of Damaraland, the Most Rev Colin Winter, was expelled and has been living in exile in Britain for several years. His successor, Suffragan-Bishop Richard Wood, and his wife, Cathy, were also expelled later. Bishop Winter and Bishop Wood were recently refused permission by Mr Steyn to return to South West Africa — DDC

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Western Five for Bonn talks

LONDON — The United States, British, French, West German and Canadian foreign ministers are expected to meet in Bonn tomorrow to discuss latest South West Africa developments.

British officials said yesterday they would consider steps to follow Swapo's agreement with their representatives on a plan to bring the territory independence by the end of this year.

The Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr. Donald Jamieson, yesterday had a 90-minute discussion with the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. Owen.

In Brussels yesterday, a top Common Market official said Angola's President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, attached great importance to the independence of SWA.

The community's Development aid commissioner, Mr. Claude Cheysson, said that during a visit to Luanda last week Pres. Neto was specially keen to establish whether EEC aid had any strings attached.

The President told him

Angola had links with the countries which helped his party gain power, the Soviet Union and Cuba, but he insisted on Angola's desire for real independence.

He stressed the importance it attached to South West Africa's independence and Mr. Cheysson said it was clear Angola's position would be different if there were no South African troops in SWA.

He had assured Pres. Neto there were no strings attached to EEC aid.

In Windhoek yesterday, the Namibian National Front welcomed Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals, saying it regretted it had taken so long.

"The Namibian National Front trusts that the Security Council will act with the utmost expedition to endorse the proposals and that no time will be lost in appointing the special representative of the Secretary-General to assure duties in Namibia," an Namibian National Front statement said — SAPA-RNS.

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

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Timely exit from Namibia

THE international agreement on South West Africa has immeasurably improved South Africa's diplomatic, strategic and economic position as it prepares to deal with what will inevitably be heightened external pressure

That sums up both sides of rather a complicated equation

On the one hand South Africa has now extricated itself from the disastrous strategic situation in which it found itself when the Portuguese empire collapsed in April, 1974. At that time it was physically embroiled in Rhodesia, it was caught in a deadlock, facing sanctions, over South West Africa, and it was under internal and external pressures to intervene in southern Mozambique

The Government, having perceived that when its ring of buffer states was breached at one point (Mozambique) the other buffers lost their utility, wisely decided to strike out on a new and difficult course — to reduce its commitments, to shorten its defence lines, to tidy up its messy diplomatic position in two internationally disputed territories. This is not the place to dwell on the difficulties of that course, but it deserves to be mentioned that the Foreign Minister has performed his tasks with ingenuity, resourcefulness, and considerable political courage.

Now — if the agreement holds together, as we expect it will — the responsibility for the future of Namibia is passing to the international community, especially to the five Western Powers that sponsored the agreement. It is especially fitting that Britain, on whose behalf South

African forces captured the territory, should be among those powers

For South Africa, there is no cause for regret. South West Africa was intended as a reward for allying itself against the Germans in World War I, instead it became a costly, onerous, and dangerous burden. With any luck at all, South Africa's armed forces will soon be where they belong, guarding the borders of the Republic — on better terrain and from a better base of international law than they had in South West Africa

At the same time, it is important to have no illusions about the future. The elimination of South West Africa, and possibly Rhodesia, from the international agenda will concentrate pressure more fiercely than ever before on South Africa itself. The Security Council, in its outrageous finding that the acquisition of arms by this sovereign state constitutes a "threat to the peace", has already displayed a contempt for international law in its dealings with South Africa that bodes ill for the future

And since not even lawful behaviour will shield South Africa from the wrath of the international community there is only one defence: That is to gather together all the strength that the country can muster. It is trite to add that this requires very rapid dismantling of the remnants of the discredited system of apartheid

South Africa dare not squander the time it has won by shedding the burdens and risks of South West Africa

77. With the prices of commodities A, B and C equal, which of the following should a consumer do in order to be at equilibrium?
- (1) Divide his budget equally among these commodities.
 - (2) Regard these commodities as providing equal satisfaction value
 - (3) Buy quantities of each which make total utilities equal.
 - (4) Buy these commodities in the quantities needed to make their marginal utilities equal.

82. It can be said that the substitution-effect is the increase in the demand for a good induced by
- (1) A change in the absolute level of all prices.
 - (2) A change in the structure of an individual's indifference map.
 - (3) A change in real income due to a fall in the price of one item in the consumer's budget.
 - (4) The discovery of new substitutes for the given good.
 - (5) A change in relative prices for a given real income.

- (2) The law of diminishing returns.
- (3) Limitations of the economy in producing an ever-increasing amount of the commodities in question.
- (4) The instability of individual human wants.
- (5) None of the above.

the relative
the given commodity.
quantity demanded

ed of the given
income for given

the budget line
indifference
curve

points describing
goods.
measure of total
points of various
the consumer
utility of the "law

the origin

rate

DIE laaste blanke vesting in Suidwes gaan moeilik val. Hotel-eienaars darsoor die plateland maak nou vinnig plan om hul hotels wit te hou.

Dit het bekend geword dat regter Theunissen se Administrateur-generaal van Suidwes, dit oorweeg om volle integrasie in voorverste te maak vir die witte-king van dranklisen-

Sommige hotelbase wil nou spesiale kamers en kroeg vir swart- en bruinmense aanbou ten einde by die beoogde nuwe wetgewing verby te kom. Ander wil hul hotels in private klubs met eksklusiewe lidmaatskap omskep, en nog 'n groepie sê net "Nee, dan sluit ek hie my hotel".

Mr. Piet Oosthuizen, eienaar van die hotel op Araras, is een van die hotelbase wat beslis

weier om sy hotel vir alle rasse oop te stel. "Niemand, nie eens die Administrateur-generaal nie, het die reg om op my private eiendom inbreuk te maak," sê hy vandeeweek aan RAPPORT.

As dit dan daarop aankom, sê mr. Oosthuizen, omskep hy sy hotel tot 'n private klub met eksklusiewe blanke lidmaatskap. "Daar is geen rede waarom so 'n klub nie op 'n dranklisenensie gereguleer sal wees nie," sê hy.

Nog 'n vashyter is die Duitse baas van die hotel op Bethanien. Hy weier om sy naam te verstrekk en sê hy sal nie sy hotel oopstel nie, omdat hy hom "nie wil vererg nie".

As hy sy deure vir alle rasse sou oopgooi, sal sy blanke kliente wegby

Kroeeëstaamvas

by wit dop

Dié wat nogter wille van die dop kroeg toe kom, sal in elk geval dag en nag met die anderkleuriges baklei. "Daarvoor sien ek nie kans nie. Dan verkoop ek eerder my hotel," sê hy.

Mev. P. H. le Roux, eienares van Stoney's Hotel op Gochas, vrees ook dat haar blanke kliente sal wegby as sy haar hotel se deure vir swart en bruin oopgooi.

Sy sê sy en haar man huur net die hotel en is reeds besig om met die eienaar te onderhandel om 'n spesiale openbare

kroeg te bou waar wit en swart saam kan drink. Op Outjo is daar maar de al 'n "burgeroorlog" aan die gang nadat die eienares van een van die twee hotels op die dorp 'n tydjie gelede besluit het dat gaste van alle rasse en kleure in haar hotel welkom is.

Mev. Hannaelore Hildebrandt, eienares van die moderne Onduri-hotel, sê die meeste blankes van die dorp en omgewing hoikot haar twee hotels op die dorp.

Hy sê sy en haar man is reeds besig om met die eienaar te onderhandel om 'n spesiale openbare

Mev. Hannaelore Hildebrandt, eienares van die moderne Onduri-hotel, sê die meeste blankes van die dorp en omgewing hoikot haar twee hotels op die dorp.

Hy sê sy en haar man is reeds besig om met die eienaar te onderhandel om 'n spesiale openbare

daar toegelaat word nie. "Ek kry swaar, maar ek weet wat ek gedoen het, is reg," sê sy.

Mev. Hildebrandt sê sy het tot dusver feitlik geen probleme met haar bruin en swart gaste ondervind nie. Die saamdrinking is nog 'n nuwigheid, maar metter-

tyd sal almal daaraan gewoond moet raak, sê sy.

Mr. Hakkies Herselman, eienaar van die buurthotel, die Erossha, sê wat met mev. Hildebrandt gebeur het, maak hom net meer vasbeslote om nooit sy hotel se deure vir almal oop te maak nie. Hy sê sommige mense wat al by die Onduri bespreek het, trek ná 'n dag of wat uit en kom trek by hom in.

Hy sê hy het die oopstelling van sy hotel met sy gereelde kliente bespreek. Die meeste het

gesê as hy sy hotel oopstel, gaan drink hulle by die huis.

Die Administrateur-generaal het reeds gerume tyd gelede in beginsel goedgekeur dat daar voortgegaan word met die verwydering van diskriminerende maatreels by hotels. Die Uitvoerende Komitee van die Suidwes-administrasie is reeds genader en daar word verwag dat die saak voor die einde van die maand afgehandel sal word.

Tot dusver was die implikasie van die wetgewing dat 'n swartman net by 'n hotel wat 'n internasionale vryhandelingsertifikaat het, 'n drankie kan kom drink. In Suidwes het net enkele

hotels om dié sertifikaat aansoek gedoen, terwyl ander die feit dat hulle dit nie het nie, gebruik het om swartmense weg te wys.

Dié wet word egter gerume tyd nie meer deur die polisie toegepas nie en die meeste hotels verskat in elk geval drank aan wie ook al inkom. 'n Sakeman kan op sy perseel bedien wie hy wil, maar dan moet hy self vir sy besluit instaan.

So sal dit ook wees as regter Steyn die diskriminerende aspekte uit die wetgewing verwylingertiffikaat het, 'n drankie kan kom drink. In Suidwes het net enkele

So sal dit ook wees as regter Steyn die diskriminerende aspekte uit die wetgewing verwylingertiffikaat het, 'n drankie kan kom drink. In Suidwes het net enkele

SWAZIA PLEDGE

SUN TIMES 16/7/78

SOA

BY FLEUR DE VILLE

Risks Fresh about OIN

STAN FORD NEWS

THE Security Council is expected to meet on July 25 to consider the western settlement plan for South West Africa.

But yesterday there were strong doubts about South Africa's decision as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, and the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr. Justice V. M. M. van der Merwe, were reported to be in disagreement.

AMERICANS... said that although the... Mr. Nujoma to sever ties... military effectiveness and... dissatisfaction in the... conference that it was expected that the UN Security Council would endorse Swapo's position that Walvis Bay was an integral part of South West Africa.

By Simon Barber, WASHINGTON

had made him far more vulnerable to pressure from Angola and the West... a senior Swapo official who recently returned to South Africa after falling out with the... Dr. Kenneth Chibanda, a senior Swapo official who recently returned to South Africa after falling out with the... South African sources

with Mr. Nujoma... It is hoped that he will be able to speak up much of the support of his militant former leader... Dr. Savimbi is seen as the principal reason why the Cubans and Russians are still in Angola, and he complicates... We cannot underestimate Dr. Savimbi's role as the principal reason why the Cubans and Russians are still in Angola, and he complicates... the members of the Security Council and all those who agreed to it.

he last of... Unless he and President Neto can be made to see eye to eye, things are going to be difficult. It won't be long before we have to stand up and defend the back... Nevertheless, promises... the UN and its... off covert military aid to the... Mr. Folger... and... ing countries in winning President Neto's support for the settlement plan.

gation to negotiate on Walvis Bay. It accepted the Western proposals as they stood and they could not be changed... Its final response would... Western sources say they had succeeded at the Luanda meeting in keeping the Walvis Bay issue out of the proposals... South Africa had been told that it might come up in the Security Council, but that it would not be linked to the settlement plan which Swapo and South Africa have now accepted. The declaration is obviously viewed by the West as a harmless sop to Swapo.

South Africa had made its stand on Walvis Bay clear a year ago and the West accepted the position South Africa has no obligation to negotiate on Walvis Bay. It accepted the Western proposals as they stood and they could not be changed.

Legality

The five-nation Western contact group accepted the legality of South Africa's position on Walvis Bay and believed the issue should be negotiated between the two governments after independence.

It was also confirmed that in an effort not to have Walvis Bay linked to the Security Council's endorsement of the West's plan, the two issues will come up at separate Security Council meetings.

The plan will probably be discussed on July 26 after the conclusion of the present OAU meeting in Khartoum.

UN endorsement of the plan will therefore not be dependent on the Walvis Bay issue.

Observers believe that this scenario could put South Africa in a difficult position.

Having already accepted the plan, South Africa cannot now back off in anticipation of a Walvis Bay ruling which will be tabled only later.

Pressured

Meanwhile, informed sources in Lusaka this week made no secret of the fact that Swapo had been strongly pressured by the front-line States to agree to the West's plan.

The front-line States had dismissed Swapo's objections to the positioning of South African troops with the question if it was prepared to go to war on so minor and irrelevant an issue.

At one point President Nyerere of Tanzania had asked Swapo leader Sam Nujoma bluntly whether he wanted to negotiate.

Link

"If you do not want to go back to rule Namibia," he is reported as saying, "you should get out of the way and make room for people who do."

Swapo has accepted that South African public servants would be in the territory for some time to come. The presence of the public servants could form a useful link between the two countries.

South Africa had "talking points" with Mozambique, Angola and Zambia. The same relations could be established with a Swapo-ruled Namibia.

Front-line sources warned, however, that the whole situation was still extremely fragile and could be shattered by "another Cassinga" — political or

South Africa had made its stand on Walvis Bay clear a year ago and the West accepted the position South Africa has no obligation to negotiate on Walvis Bay. It accepted the Western proposals as they stood and they could not be changed.

SWA: Accord now close

CAPE TIMES
13/7/78

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NEW YORK. — The five Western members of the Security Council had reached agreement with African leaders on the terms of a SWA/Namibia settlement, according to an official communique yesterday.

South Africa accepted the Western proposals on April 25.

The communique was issued after two days of talks conducted by delegates of the United States, Britain, France, Canada and West Germany with representatives of Swapo and the frontline African states.

"During two days of frank and cordial discussion, certain points in the proposal of the five powers were clarified and the two delegations accordingly agreed to proceed to the UN Security Council, thus opening the way to an early internationally-acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia," the communique said

organization's president.

The two sides and the representatives of the frontline states held talks in Luanda, the capital of Angola, on Tuesday and yesterday.

The Western plan, now approved by both Swapo and the South African authorities, and endorsed by the frontline states, calls for United Nations supervision of pre-independence elections in SWA/Namibia before the end of the year.

South Africa's estimated 20 000 troops in SWA/Namibia would be gradually reduced to 1 500

About 5 000 UN troops would move in to maintain order during the transitional

African troops would be confined to one or two camps in the northern part of the territory, which borders Angola, where Swapo maintains guerilla camps.

South African troops launched an incursion into Angola on May 4, against Swapo installations and more than 500 people were left dead.

After the attack Mr Nujoma, the Swapo leader, cancelled a scheduled meeting with the Western five in New York and returned to his headquarters. After further consultations, he agreed to meet them in Luanda this week. The location of the South African troops who

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The delegations were those of the Western five and Swapo, which was headed by Mr Sam Nujoma, the guerilla

period, along with a UN civilian staff of about 1 000 administrators

Under the plan the South

would remain in SWA/Namibia was the main point of contention.

Last night's communique did not disclose what assurances, if any, the Western side were able to supply to Swapo.

Successful

It said "the representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council (Canada, West Germany, The United Kingdom and the US) met with the representatives of Swapo, led by its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, on July 11 and 12 in Luanda.

"During two days of frank and cordial discussions certain points in the proposal of the five powers were clarified and the two delegations accordingly agreed to proceed to the UN Security Council, thus opening the way to an early internationally-acceptable settlement of the question of Namibia.

"The two delegations expressed their appreciation of the constructive role and warm hospitality of the Peoples Republic of Angola and the assistance of the representatives of the other frontline states in bringing the talks to a successful conclusion." — Sapa-Reuter

Eglin

● Reacting to the announcement of the agreement last night, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said that while there was a degree of ambiguity in the text of the statement, if it meant that Swapo has also accepted the Western proposals as already accepted by South Africa, this was a tremendous step forward

He said: "Provided no new terms have been introduced, it paves the way for the most important goal of all — internationally recognized independence for South West Africa and peace for Southern Africa."

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The Argus

JULY 13 1978

SWA: hopes and fears

SWAPO has at last agreed to the West's proposals for South West Africa. What now? The Western contact group will be anxious to have their plan approved by the Security Council as soon as possible. It is unlikely, in the event of backing for the plan from most African members, that Russia will obstruct passage of a resolution authorising a UN special representative to work with the Administrator-General Mr Justice Steyn to ensure orderly transition to independence. The Western proposals require prompt repeal of all remaining discriminatory laws in SWA, also the release of all political prisoners. But most important for South Africans is the required cessation of hostilities on the border and the return home of all but 1500 of our troops.

Delicate and complicated negotiations on details of the Western plan lie ahead and there is much

yet than can go wrong before SWA/Namibia finds itself with a new constitution and independent government. The South African fear will be that under a relatively powerful and partial UN presence, Swapo will seek to promote its militant aims and obstruct the realisation of an impartial political verdict by the people of South West. Swapo will have its own fears. There is enormous mistrust between the two parties and therefore a heavy question mark must remain over the chances of swift peace in the disputed territory. First prize for South Africa will be a friendly elected regime in Windhoek. Second prize is a government that while hostile will nevertheless be prepared to respect South Africa's borders. Third prize? There is perhaps some comfort in knowing that the existing situation offers no prize at all.

UN peace force Owen thanks Vorster says Waldheim

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — A 6 000-man United Nations task force will be dispatched as soon as possible to police SWA/Namibia through independence elections, UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim and yesterday.

The election target date is still the end of the year, he emphasized. A small UN vanguard, headed by operations chief-elect, Mr Maartu Ahtisaari, is expected to land in Windhoek before the end of this month.

"This is the one positive element in the international situation," Dr Waldheim said as he left a briefing in which he had lavished praise on the Western powers, the frontline states, South Africa and Swapo for attaining to agreement after 18 months of strenuous diplomacy.

The UN force will consist of 5 000 peacekeeping troops drawn from Africa, "small neutral European" countries and possibly some Asian nations, Dr Waldheim said. They would be responsible for law and order during transition.

The other wing of UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) will consist of about 1 000 civilian election supervisors. Dr Waldheim gave no estimate of the cost of the unique operation, but UN sources suggest about R200 million.

Security Council authorization, is still required, but fears of a Soviet veto have vanished now that the frontline states and Swapo have agreed.

Dr Waldheim said the West had wanted the Security Council to meet within days, but technical problems in preparing the plans and in assembling key figures here were forcing a delay.

According to informed sources three council meetings will be held — the first almost certainly on July 25, to authorize the appointment of Mr Ahtisaari as Dr Waldheim's special representative and UN operations chief in the territory. Mr Ahtisaari, a Finnish diplomat, is currently the UN's Namibia commissioner.

Two meetings will follow next month, the first to authorize the peacekeeping troops and to authorize emergency funding.

The second will tackle Walvis Bay, and it is understood the West will support a resolution supporting its integration within a future Namibia.

This compromise, worked out to clinch Swapo's support for the peace package, will be dealt with separately and not effect the independence process.

Formidable obstacles lie ahead, all sides admit. Not least is finding the troops. Key Scandinavian elements, put on the list in January, are now deployed in the Lebanon operation. African nations would be accorded "a special role" — but prime candidate, Nigeria, has been opposed by South Africa.

Continued from page 1

that Swapo's assent has not been entirely wrapped up either.

But the Foreign Secretary took a fairly relaxed view of remarks made by Swapo's President, Mr Sam Nujoma, yesterday about the Western proposals. Dr Owen said Mr Nujoma was "already putting out his own interpretation of the Luanda agreement — everybody will be doing this."

Speaking in Luanda, Mr Nujoma said Swapo would not accept SWA's independence without the incorporation of Walvis Bay.

Commenting on this yesterday Dr Owen indicated that the question of Walvis Bay's ownership would be held over till after independence, when the Western powers would support for its incorporation into SWA/Namibia.

On the question of the presence of South African troops in the territory, Dr Owen again was not explicit, but it appears Swapo has accepted the West's proposals for the South African forces to be reduced to 12 000, then to 8 000, and finally to 1 500.

Dr Owen said the threat existed that the Soviet Union would veto the Luanda agreement, but he saw no reason why this should happen.

Summing up the situation, Dr Owen said: "There is no question we are in sight of an agreement over SWA, which will be of profound significance for southern Africa, but a whole range of problems lie ahead."

Asked what had been the decisive factor in persuading Swapo to accept the Western proposals, Dr Owen replied: "The influence of their friends."

Dr Owen said he thought a settlement would influence the outcome of the Rhodesian issue. Psychologically, Rhodesians would see it was possible to reach a negotiated settlement, and "some of the defeatism" might go out of the Rhodesian situation.

Underlying the agreement had been a "very important movement" in Angola's position. There was no evidence yet that Cubans were leaving Angola, but he did not rule out the possibility that there would be a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola within the next few months.

Dr Owen hinted that a situation might arise where the rebel Unita movement might find it desirable to seek a reconciliation with the MPLA Government in Luanda.

Walvis Bay essential — Nujoma

LONDON — Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, has said he would not accept independence for SWA/Namibia without the inclusion of Walvis Bay in the new state, the Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

The agency said Mr Nujoma made the statement at a news conference on Wednesday night at the end of two days of talks in Luanda between Swapo and delegates from the United States, Britain,

France, West Germany and Canada. Angop quoted Mr Nujoma as saying: "Walvis Bay always was an integral part of Namibia. We will not accept independence without Walvis Bay."

Mr Nujoma was also quoted as saying South African troops and police must be dismantled and confined to barracks during the transition to independence.

"During the two-day talks with the five Western powers, we proposed that South African troops leave Namibian territory seven days before the elections."

On the question of SWA/Namibian political prisoners held on Robben Island and other prisons by the South African authorities, Mr Nujoma said this was a problem for the United Nations Security Council to resolve.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo considered the plan presented by the five Western nations as a working document.

Ceasefire is crux of SWA peace package

Political Correspondent

APPROVAL by the UN Security Council of the SWA/Namibia agreement would trigger a series of crucial developments which could themselves make or break the quest for peace in the territory.

At the crux of the Western settlement package accepted by South Africa, Swapo and the frontline states is a ceasefire. But before this can be enforced, the Security Council must pass a resolution authorizing the secretary-general to appoint a representative to submit a plan for UN involvement in the territory.

Possibly within a week of this action, the Secretary-General would be in a position to report back to the Security Council, and the transitional period leading to independence would begin formally with the adoption of the plan.

From that date a general cessation of activities by South African forces and Swapo guerrillas would come into operation and all armed forces

would be restricted to bases. The UN representative and his staff would then begin monitoring the police, citizen and ethnic forces, military personnel and infiltration across the border.

Transitional procedures with neighbouring governments would be accepted of the plan under UN supervision through designated entry points into SWA/Namibia.

Within 12 weeks the South African forces would be reduced to 1 500 men, and all military installations along the SWA/Namibian-Angolan border would be now either be deactivated or put under civilian control under UN supervision.

UN forces would assume responsibility for hospitals, power stations and other installations protected by the military.

At the start of the 13th week the election campaign is scheduled to begin. Elections for the Constituent Assembly would take place on a date established by the Administrator-General, to the satisfaction of the UN representative.

One week after the date of certification of the election South African forces could be required to withdraw entirely from the territory, Swapo bases would be "liquidated" and the Constituent Assembly convened.

UN approval

Continued from page 1

any nature — direct or by implication — would be added to the proposals.

Asked by Sapa how the maintenance of security and the administration of the territory was affected, Mr Botha replied:

"The security of the territory in no way becomes involved. No reduction in the number of troops is foreseen, unless and until a situation of complete peace has come about and is maintained.

"During the interim period South Africa remains responsible, through the Administrator-General, for the administration of the territory, and the maintenance of peace, order and security, and the South African Police will continue with their normal duties."

Earlier yesterday the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said troop withdrawal would not begin till "visible

peace" was achieved in SWA/Namibia.

He recalled that the conditions for reducing South African military strength had been "clearly spelt out" in the proposals accepted by the government in April.

In Windhoek leaders of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the National Party election alliance (Aktur) expressed no surprise.

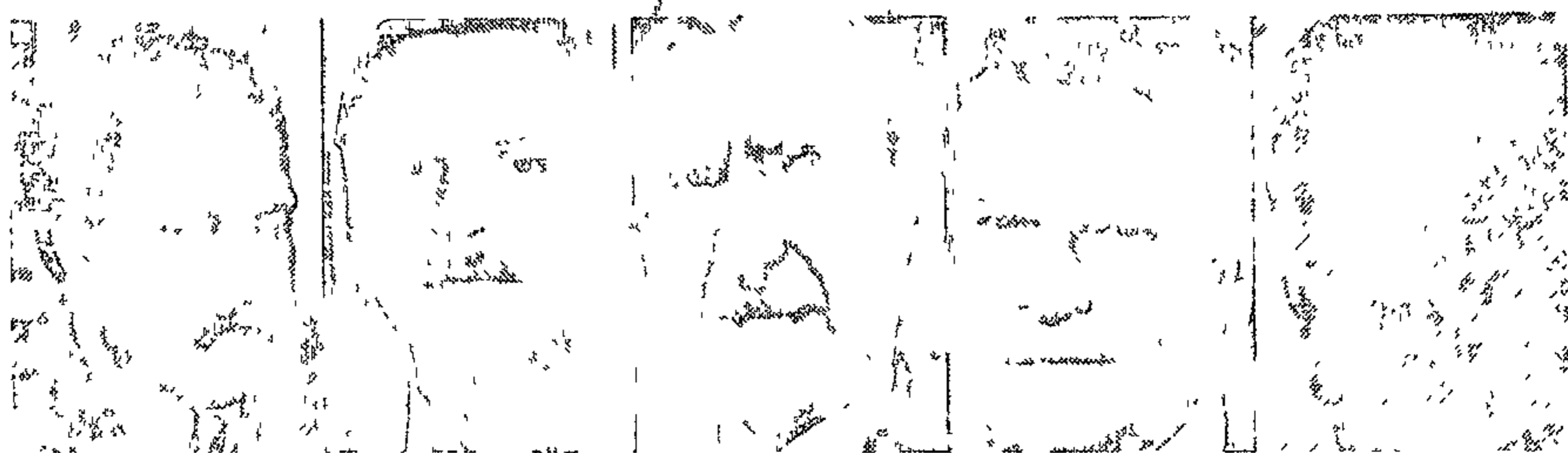
DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge and Aktur leader Mr A H du Plessis said they had expected immense pressure to be exerted on Swapo in Luanda.

In Cape Town the Leader of the Opposition, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin, said "provided no new terms have been introduced, it paves the way for the most important goal of all — internationally recognized independence for South West Africa and peace for Southern Africa".

New era

Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, urged the government to ensure there was no possibility of what he called "a Swapo-inspired double-cross or the use of stalling tactics which could delay December independence as promised to the people of South West Africa."

The Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Justice Martinus Steyn, hailed the agreement as "the dawn of a new era" and hoped there would soon be free elections. "I have been hoping for this momentous event for quite a long period," he said.



McHenry

Botha

Waldheim

Owen

Nujoma

SWA: Early

approval by

(APK TINKS) 14/7/81 221

UN expected

Political Correspondent

THE WESTERN independence plan for South West Africa/Namibia, accepted this week by Swapo and hailed as a major breakthrough for peace prospects in Southern Africa, is almost certain to be sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council before the end of the month.

In New York yesterday the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, said he had already drafted plans for UN supervision of the transition to the territory's independence and awaited only the Security Council's approval.

It is widely expected that if the participants in the historic agreement do nothing to prejudice the accord, the proposals will have an easy passage through the Security Council, clearing the way for

a ceasefire and speedy implementation of the peace plan.

Pressure on a previously intransigent Swapo by African frontline states — notably Angola and Zambia — was instrumental in forging an agreement after 18 months of frenetic diplomatic effort by Western nations and hard negotiating by South Africa and Swapo.

It is thought highly unlikely that the Soviet Union will

exercise its veto in the face of African support for the proposals.

Significantly, Dr Waldheim made it clear that he did not anticipate major obstacles in the independence process by announcing that the election target date was still the end of the year.

Task force

A 6 000-man UN task force would be sent to South West Africa/Namibia as soon as possible, he said, to maintain law and order and supervise voting procedures during the election run-in.

Owen
thanks
Vorster
for help

Own Correspondent
LONDON. The Foreign Secretary, Dr Owen sent for the South

On page 2

Cape Times

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supervise voting procedures during the election run-in.

The Secretary General also removed some confusion over the nature of the accord reached in Luanda on Wednesday, by stating emphatically that Swapo and the frontline states had accepted the Western plan exactly as accepted by South Africa in April.

However, in a statement after the Luanda meeting, Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma said the suggestions contained in the Western document were "not definitely accepted points", but would serve before the Security Council as "work tools" for further discussion.

Diplomatic sources believe, though, that his apparent reservations will not be sustained, and that they might be intended to create a tougher negotiating position for his organization's communist backers.

In Pretoria the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, described the agreement on the territory as a development that could herald a new era in Southern Africa.

Sincerity

But he cautioned that everyone involved would have to accept and execute the Western proposals with sincerity.

If the South African Government accepted, he said, that no qualifications of

Continued on page 2

Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, sent for the South African Ambassador, Mr Matthys Botha, yesterday afternoon to express gratitude for Prime Minister, Mr Vorster's, "persistence in searching for an internationally acceptable solution" over South West Africa/Namibia, and to ask for South Africa's continued co-operation.

The fact that Dr Owen sought a meeting with Mr Botha so soon after receiving the news from Luanda of Swapo's broad acceptance of the Western proposals indicates that the Western Powers are anxious to ensure that the settlement does not flounder at the last moment. The ball is partly back in the South African court therefore.

Dr Owen believes Wednesday's Luanda settlement was a "tremendous breakthrough" in Southern African politics, but warned yesterday afternoon: "We're not through the problems in SWA - it's not signed and sealed yet."

Dr Owen admitted that South Africa's further co-operation would have to be obtained if the SWA issue was to be finally resolved. A settlement could not be achieved against South Africa's will. There would have to be "a working relationship of trust".

Although Dr Owen did not say so, it emerged yesterday

Continued on page 2

The Big Five's SWA proposals

NEW YORK — The text of the proposals submitted by the five Western members of the United Nations Security Council to the parties to the SWA/Namibia dispute.

Introduction

1. Bearing in mind their responsibilities as members of the Security Council of the United Nations, the governments of Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States have consulted with the various parties involved with the Namibian situation with a view to encouraging agreement on the transfer of authority in Namibia to an independent government in accordance with Resolution 385, adopted unanimously by the Security Council on January 30, 1976.

2. To this end, our governments have drawn up a proposal for the settlement of the Namibian question designed to bring about a transition to independence during 1978 within a framework acceptable to the people of Namibia and thus to the international community.

While the proposal addresses itself to all elements of resolution 385, the key to an internationally acceptable transition to independence is free elections for the whole of Namibia as one political entity with an appropriate United Nations role in accordance with Resolution 385.

A resolution will be required in the Security Council requesting the Secretary-General to appoint a United Nations special representative whose central task will be to make sure that conditions are established which will allow free and fair elections and an impartial electoral process. The special representative will be assisted by a United Nations transition assistance group.

civilian section of the United Nations transition assistance group, sufficient to carry out his duties satisfactorily.

He will report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, keeping him informed and making such recommendations as he considers necessary of his responsibilities. The Secretary-General, in accordance with the mandate entrusted to him by the Security Council, will keep the council informed.

6. 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.

The date for the beginning of the electoral campaign, the date of elections, the electoral system, the preparation of voters' rolls, and other aspects of electoral procedures will be promptly decided upon so as to give all political parties and interested persons, without regard to their political views, a full and fair opportunity to organize and participate in the electoral process. Full freedom of speech, assembly, movement and press shall be guaranteed.

The official electoral campaign shall commence only after the United Nations special representative has satisfied himself as to the fairness and appropriateness of the electoral procedures.

The implementation of the electoral process, including the proper registration of voters and the proper and timely tabulation and publication of voting results will also have to be conducted to

8. A comprehensive cessation of all hostile acts shall be observed by all parties in order to ensure that the electoral process will be free from interference and intimidation. Annex A describes provisions for the implementation of the cessation of all hostile acts, military arrangements concerning the United Nations transition assistance group, the withdrawal of South African forces, and arrangements with respect to other organized forces in Namibia, and with respect to the forces of Swapo.

These provisions call for

- A cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and the restriction of South African and Swapo armed forces to base.

- Thereafter a phased withdrawal from Namibia of all but 1 500 South African troops within 12 weeks and prior to the official start of the political campaign. The remaining South African force would be restricted to Grootfontein or Oshivello or both and would be withdrawn after the certification of the election.

- The demobilization of the citizen forces, commandos, and ethnic forces and the dismantling of their command structures.

- Provision will be made for Swapo personnel outside of the territory to return peacefully to Namibia through designated entry points to participate freely in the political process.

- A military section of the United Nations transition assistance group to make sure that the provisions of the agreed solution will be observed by all parties.

In establishing the military section of Untag, the Secretary-General will keep in mind functional and logistical requirements. The five governments, as members of the Security Council, will support the Secretary-General's judgment in his dis-

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3. The purpose of the electoral process is to elect representatives to a Namibian constituent assembly which will draw up and adopt the constitution for an independent and sovereign Namibia. Authority would then be assumed during 1978 by the government of Namibia.

4. A more detailed description of the proposal is contained below. Our governments believe that this proposal provides an effective basis for implementing Resolution 385 while taking adequate account of the interest of all parties involved.

In carrying out his responsibilities the special representative will work together with the official appointed by South Africa (the Administrator-General) to ensure the orderly transition to independence. This working arrangement shall in no way constitute recognition of the legality of the South African presence in an administration of Namibia.

The electoral process

5. In accordance with Security Council Resolution 385, free elections will be held, for the whole of Namibia as one political entity, to enable the people of Namibia to freely and fairly determine their own future.

The elections will be under the supervision and control of the United Nations in that, as a condition to the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves, and the certification of their results, the United Nations special representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political process at all levels of administration before such measures take effect.

Moreover, the special representative may himself make proposals in regard to any aspect of the political process. He will have at his disposal a substantial

the satisfaction of the special representative.

7. The following requirements will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of the United Nations special representative in order to meet the objective of free and fair elections:

- Prior to the beginnings of the electoral campaign, the Administrator-General will repeal all remaining discriminatory or restrictive laws, regulations, or administrative measures which might abridge or inhibit that objective.

- The Administrator-General shall make arrangements for the release, prior to the beginning of the electoral campaign, of all Namibian political prisoners or political detainees held by the South African authorities so that they can participate fully and freely in that process, without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment.

Any disputes concerning the release of political prisoners or political detainees shall be resolved to the satisfaction of the special representative acting on the independent advice of a jurist of international standing who shall be designated by the Secretary-General to be legal adviser to the special representative.

- All Namibian refugees or Namibians detained or otherwise outside the territory of Namibia shall be permitted to return peacefully and participate fully and freely in the electoral process without risk of arrest, detention, intimidation or imprisonment. Suitable entry points will be designated for these purposes.

- The special representative with the assistance of the United Nations high-commissioner for refugees and other appropriate international bodies will ensure that Namibians remaining outside Namibia are given a free and voluntary choice whether to return. Provision will be made to attest to the voluntary nature of decisions made by Namibians who elect not to return to Namibia.

charge of this responsibility.

The Secretary-General will, in the normal manner, include in his consultations all those concerned with the implementation of the agreement.

The special representative will be required to satisfy himself as to the implementation of all these arrangements and will keep the Secretary-General informed of developments in this regard.

9. Primary responsibility for maintaining law and order in Namibia during the transition period shall rest with the existing police forces. The Administrator-General to the satisfaction of the United Nations special representative shall ensure the good conduct of the police forces and shall take the necessary action to ensure their suitability for continued employment during the transition period.

The special representative shall make arrangements when appropriate for United Nations personnel to accompany the police forces in the discharge of their duties. The police forces would be limited to the carrying of small arms in the normal performance of their duties.

10. The United Nations special representative will take steps to guarantee against the possibility of intimidation or interference with the electoral process from whatever quarter.

11. Immediately after the certification of election results, the constituent assembly will meet to draw up and adopt a constitution for an independent Namibia. It will conclude its work as soon as possible so as to permit whatever additional steps may be necessary prior to the installation of an independent government of Namibia during 1978.

12. Neighbouring countries shall be requested to ensure to the best of their abilities that the provisions of the transitional arrangements, and the outcome of the election, are respected. They shall also be requested to afford the necessary facilities to the United Nations special representative and all United Nations personnel to carry out their assigned functions and to facilitate such measures as may be desirable for ensuring tranquility in the border areas. — Sapa-Reuter

What it wants

The key to Swapo's peace of mind, and therefore to its acceptance without amendment of the Western contact group's SWA settlement proposals, is likely to be the strength and composition of the United Nations Task Assistance Group which will monitor and supervise transfer of power to an independent government.

If anything had a snowball's chance of getting a positive response from Swapo at the Luanda settlement negotiations last week, (quite apart from the decisive influence of pressure exerted by the front-line states on the obdurate Sam Nujoma) it would have been an assurance by the Security Council powers to try to assemble as big a military peace-keeping force as possible.

There is a strong likelihood, too, that Swapo would have demanded from the contact group an undertaking to get the Security Council and the UN Secretary General to order a re-run of all administrative steps taken by the Administrator General as part of the electoral process

It would also have insisted on a strong UN civilian presence to monitor the activities of SA law enforcement agencies as well as the demobilisation of white and ethnic commando units.

Western sources say it is not lost upon Swapo that the contact group's settlement proposals distinctly favour non-Swapo political groupings in the territory

The question of the strength and composition of the UN assistance group is left open-ended in the Western settlement proposals. Nor should it present too many problems in the Security Council when the West's proposals are submitted for formal endorsement.

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Nummer van plaas

Naam (eerste naam alleenlik)

Nujoma

bid for

Walvis

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Swapo's demand for Walvis Bay is not an insuperable difficulty in the way of an agreement on SWA/Namibia, according to Western sources in Pretoria.

The Western view came in face of new demands by Mr Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), for the port to be handed over before any agreement was sealed.

Most parties in SWA/Namibia, said the Western sources — including the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Namibia National Front (NNF) — want Walvis Bay to be part of SWA/Namibia.

South Africa is still in the dark as to what Swapo agreed at Luanda but a report by the Western powers involved is expected to be ready for Pretoria at the weekend.

But Mr Nujoma insists on taking over Walvis Bay in spite of a clear South African refusal.

No terror

The Angolan news agency, Inep, quoted Mr Nujoma as saying: "Walvis Bay always was an integral part of Namibia. We will not accept independence without Walvis Bay."

UN Press Briefing
will be held tomorrow

By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK — SWA/Namibia could come under a ceasefire within three weeks, when it is hoped the territory will begin its historic transition to independence.

But ending hostilities and policing a ceasefire will be the most delicate task of an international peacekeeping force.

A projected 5 000-strong United Nations military presence will be strung thinly across the long northern border and

the vast bushlands. African soldiers will form a substantial part of it.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim has already prepared contingency plans to guide the territory through a cessation of hostilities and national elections leading to independence.

They require only refinements and final approval of the UN Security Council before a 1 000-strong contingent of civilian administrators is dispatched to Namibia.

At a UN Press briefing yesterday, Dr Waldheim said "I have made the necessary contingency plans for a United Nations presence . . . to have control and supervision of the elections leading to independence."

"They can be put into effect as soon as the Security Council gives its approval. I sincerely hope the door is now open for an early Security Council meeting to approve this plan."

Dr Waldheim said he

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Angop, according to Sapa-Reuter in London, also quoted Mr Nujoma as saying South African troops and police must be disarmed and confined to barracks during the transition to independence.

"During the two-day talks with the five Western powers, we proposed that South African troops leave Namibia territory seven days before the elections," he told Angop.

Final decision

"The final decisions will come at a meeting of the security council," Mr Nujoma said.

The British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, made it clear to The Star's London Bureau yesterday that Walvis Bay was not covered in the Western proposals and therefore not dealt with in the Luanda talks.

In Windhoek, the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, said preconditions demanded for full acceptance of the Western settlement plan by Swapo leader Mr Nujoma were "irrelevant."

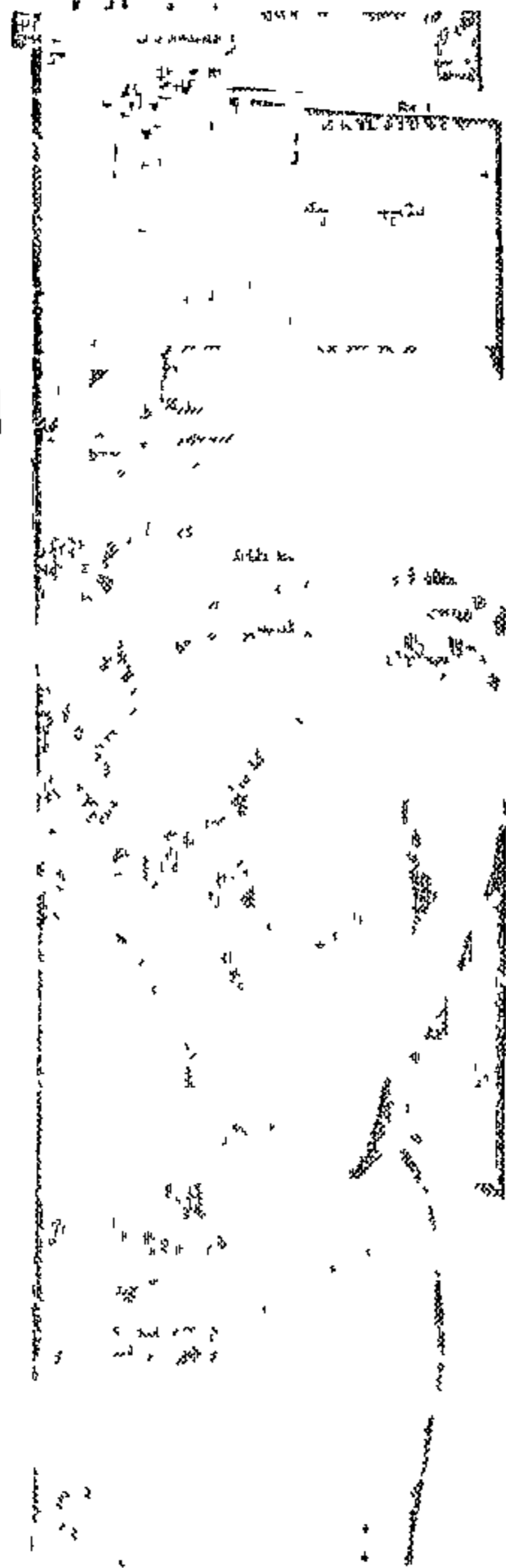
The Security Council is expected to begin considering the latest proposals on July 24 or 25 when Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim gets back to New York from the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Khartoum. Mr Nujoma will be attending the OAU meeting too before going on to the Security Council.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, the UN Commissioner for SWA/Namibia, is likely to be sent to the territory to gather material for a report through Dr Waldheim to the council on the UN establishment that would be needed to manage the transition, reports Sapa-AP from New York.

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Steyn signs churchmen into exile

WINDHOEK — Deportation orders signed by the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Steyn, were served on two South West African priests yesterday.



REV MORROW Steyn a dictator.

Security Police handed the deportation orders to Rev Ed Morrow, Anglican vicar general of the Damaraland diocese, his wife, Laureen, and Father Heinz Hunke, a Catholic priest.

The clamp on the clergymen comes at a delicate stage in international efforts for a peaceful settlement in the territory, and only a day after Mr Steyn's proclamation empowering him to deport "undesirable" people from South West Africa.

Bishop Rudolf Koppmann, Catholic bishop in Windhoek, said the deportation of Fr Hunke cast doubts on South Africa's sincerity for a peaceful settlement in the territory.

"Are these visible signs of detente for a free and democratic Namibia?" he said.

Mr Morrow and his wife, both South African citizens, were given seven days to leave the territory, while Fr Hunke was told to quit within 96 hours.

In terms of Mr Steyn's proclamation, known as AG 50, deportation orders would apply to anyone who threatened the "peace" or "good government" of the territory.

It would include those

who had inflicted or threatened to inflict hurt on a large group of people in order to attain certain objectives.

Mr Morrow's deportation order comes in the wake of a statement — issued by Anglican clergymen who met in Lesotho last week — that implicitly associated the church with Swapo.

The churchmen also attacked the Western powers and rejected their peace package, which was subsequently accepted by Swapo during negotiations with the West in Luanda.

Fr Hunke, a German who has lived in South West Africa for the past 10 years, has clashed with Mr Steyn during the past few months over allegations of torture by the South African security forces which have been consistently rejected by Mr Steyn.

The Administrator-General's office said yesterday no reasons were given for the deportations.

Mr Morrow said Mr Steyn had emerged as a dictator and people had no recourse to a parliament or courts of law.

Bishop Koppmann said "I must protest in the strongest terms against the dictatorial and un-

democratic measures the Administrator-General in deporting one of my priests."

He said Fr Hunke had never meddled in politics but had merely given assistance to those who suffered under unjust laws.

"But when a priest does this he is disliked and resented by authorities who will always try to silence him," the bishop said.

He rejected suggestion that Fr Hunke was "oversided against the police."

Mrs Morrow said she had no idea why they were being deported. She hoped to see Mr Steyn and ask him to review the matter.

Mr Morrow said they did not intend to return to South Africa initially but this would also depend on the possibility of having their passports withdrawn and being banned.

A former Bishop of Damaraland the Most Rev Colin Winter, was expelled and has been living in exile in Britain for several years. His successor, Suffragan Bishop Richard Wood, and his wife, Cathy, were also expelled later. Bishop Winter and Bishop Wood were recently refused permission by Mr Steyn to return to South West Africa — DDC

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Western Five for Benn talks

LONDON - The United States, British, French, West German and Canadian foreign ministers are expected to meet in Bonn tomorrow to discuss latest South West Africa developments.

British officials said yesterday they would consider steps to follow Swapo's agreement with their representatives on a plan to bring the territory independence by the end of this year.

The Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr Donald Jamieson, yesterday had a 90-minute discussion with the British Foreign Secretary, Dr Owen.

In Brussels yesterday, a top Common Market official said Angola's President, Dr Agostinho Neto, attached great importance to the independence of SWA.

The community's Development aid commissioner, Mr Claude Cheysson, said that during a visit to Luanda last week Pres Neto was specially keen to establish whether EC aid had any strings attached.

The President told him

Angola had links with the countries which helped his party gain power, the Soviet Union and Cuba but he insisted on Angola's desire for real independence.

He stressed the importance it attached to South West Africa's independence and Mr Cheysson said it was clear Angola's position would be different if there were no South African troops in SWA.

He had assured Pres Neto there were no strings attached to EEC aid.

In Windhoek yesterday, the Namibian National Front welcomed Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals, saying it regretted it had taken so long.

"The Namibian National Front trusts that the Security Council will act with the utmost expedition to endorse the proposals and that no time will be lost in appointing the special representative of the Secretary-General to assure duties in Namibia," an Namibian National Front statement said -- SAPA-RNS

West denies secret deal

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Walvis

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issue 'not

for UN'

By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK - A top Western source at the United Nations has affirmed that there will be no attempt to negotiate the status of Walvis Bay when the SWA/Namibia independence plan is tabled at the Security

Council.

**The 2
voices
of
Swapo**

Mr Don McHenry, US deputy envoy to the United Nations and chief US negotiator in the Western contact group, said "There is no side-piece of paper, no understanding, no under-the-table agreements on our proposals. Not a word is changed. The proposal stands on its own. It is the primary document. It is the governing document."

The South West Africa People's Organisation did not accept the Western proposal for a SWA/Namibia settlement at this week's talks in Luanda, its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday — according to Jane Bergeol

A second Western source said the Walvis issue had been shelved for future resolution between the South African Government and an independent SWA/Namibian government

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of the Guardian reporting from Luanda.

But Don Knowler of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that Swapo sources there said Swapo had agreed with the Western peace plan but was delaying formal acceptance until a United Nations' resolution on the issue was drafted.

The Security Council resolution would pave the way for a ceasefire to the guerilla war in the territory, said the sources, but if Swapo was unhappy with the wording of the draft resolution it was expected that China or the Soviet Union would veto the vote.

"POSTURING"

Observers in Lusaka believe that Mr Nujoma is still "posturing" over Walvis Bay, because, under pressure from the frontline states, he has had to make concessions on his previous standpoint about the port and his previous demands that SA troops should be stationed in the south of the territory.

Swapo has now agreed to South Africa stationing 1500 troops in two bases in the north of SWA/Namibia during the election process.

As soon as the peace plan gets the go-ahead from the Security Council it is expected 5000 UN peace-keeping troops and 1000 administrators will move into the territory to supervise elections.

Sapa-Reuter reports from London the US, British, French, West German and Canadian Foreign Ministers are expected to meet in Bonn tomorrow to discuss latest SWA/Namibia developments.

Mr McHenry said of the proposals going to the Security Council:

Warning

"We are going to have to put out some fires here and there I don't know where and I don't know the nature of them, but it is going to take everyone's good faith, good effort and an element of luck to get it done. Our hope is that we can get it done as rapidly as possible."

Mr McHenry warned: "We would anticipate that in the days ahead, just as in the past several days, people will be speaking to their audiences.

"They will put the best possible gloss on whatever they can — you emphasise that which appears to favour your cause."

The Walvis Bay issue "is not going to go away — that is clearly recognised."

Top level

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Justice M T Steyn, was in Pretoria today for discussions with the Prime Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Both Mr Botha and Mr Justice Steyn refused to comment on what the talks involved.

When asked if he could say what would be discussed, Mr Botha said: "Naturally not. We are going to have talks with the Prime Minister."

Mr Justice Steyn's Press secretary told The Star that today's meeting had been arranged a week ago — before the meeting between Swapo and representatives of the five Western powers.

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UN to act soon on SWA deal

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council is expected to hold its first meeting on the South West African independence issue on July 24 or 25 when the Big Five Western powers plan to introduce two resolutions to carry out their plan for the territory.

A leading diplomat said yesterday one of the resolutions would have the council authorise the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to appoint a special representative for the territory's transition from South African control.

The special representative would go to SWA and gather material for a report through Dr Waldheim to the council on the UN establishment needed

to manage the transition, including the election of a constitution-drafting Assembly.

The second resolution, to be submitted a week or 10 days after adoption of the first, would have the council authorise creation of the UN machinery — expected to include about 1 000 civilians and 5 000 troops — to monitor and protect the electioneering and balloting.

The Angolan Defence Minister, Cmdt Henrique Teles Carreira, held talks in Luanda yesterday with Gen V Z Yakushin, first deputy commander of Russian land forces, the Angolan news agency, Angop, said Gen Yakushin arrived in Angola a week ago at the head of a Soviet military delegation. — Sapa-Reuters-AP

Train blast: 4 held

SOUTH African Railway Police had arrested four blacks in connection with the sabotaging of a railway line between Karabib and Kroonburg in South West Africa on June 21, the Commissioner of Railway Police, Major-General

J J J van Vuuren, said yesterday.

Three of the men were arrested on July 8 south of Windhoek and one was arrested on July 11 north of Windhoek. They would appear in court in Windhoek at a later date, Gen Van Vuuren said — Sapa.

Swapo

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will win

— professor



Namibia next

By **BILL KRIGE**

NAMIBIA, the vast, arid and inhospitable ward of South Africa, is set fair on the path to an internationally acceptable uhuru — and the party that should be in control by year's end is Swapo.

That is the assessment of Professor Robert Rotberg, head of the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a respected authority on Southern Africa.

It is a view shared by the assistant director of the South African Institute for International Affairs, Mr David Willers, who believes Swapo could draw perhaps 40 percent of the popular vote in an election.

By contrast, he believes the conservative Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which enjoys the goodwill and blessing of the South African Government, may attract 25 percent of the vote.

The Namibian National Front, hovering uncertainly in between and with no clear-cut ideological platform, may draw 15 percent of the total and AKTUR, the rump of a National Party crippled by the walkout of Mr Dirk Mudge and his followers last year, may account for a further 10 percent, all of them whites.

The path ahead is bristling with obstacles but with the acceptance of the Western plan by both South Africa, which is in effective control of the territory, and by Swapo,

The ethnic realities of this mineral rich and sparsely populated land are stark. Of one million inhabitants nearly half are Ovambo and although Swapo has many non-Ovambo leaders the organisation as a whole is stamped with the mark of Ovambo determination.

Professor Rotberg believes it is fair to assume that Swapo, can muster overwhelming support from the demographically most significant cluster of Ovambo — those aged between 18 and 35. Older voters too tend to support the organisation.

Swapo also has general appeal for younger voters throughout Namibia and is deeply entrenched in the Kavango and Caprivi ethnic groups, which share the northern half of the territory with the Ovambo.

The South African Government and the DTA are pressing hard for an

early election in the belief that this would limit the impact of Swapo on the electorate. Professor Rotberg believes this could be an error of judgment.

A long campaign could bring to the surface intra-ethnic cleavage and precipitate whatever latent tensions may exist between Swapo's radical leader, Sam Nujoma, and the only man in a position to rival him for influence within the organisation, Herman ja Toivo, languishing in jail on Robben Island for offences under the Terrorism Act.

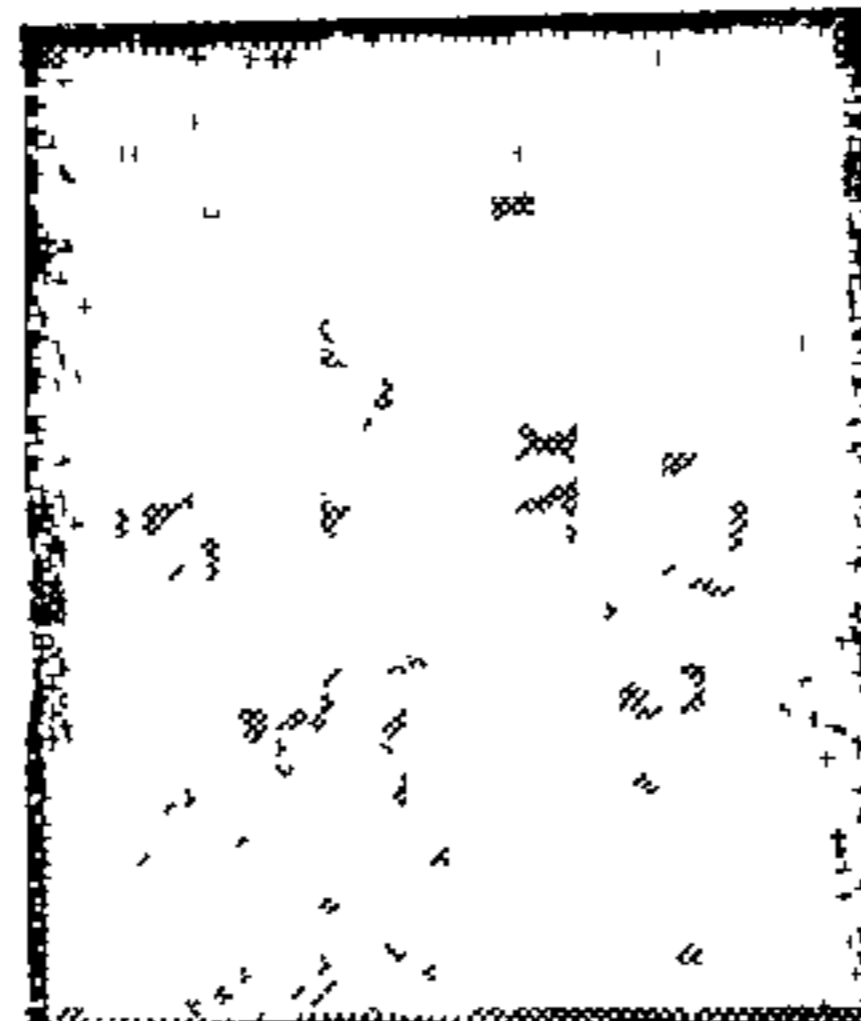
Professor Rotberg believes the rumoured tension between Swapo's internal and external wings should be discounted. The leadership within the territory is only more moderate in tone and in what it may permissibly advocate within the territory.

If and when an election

campaign gets under way the success of each of the three main contesting parties will largely depend on the electoral system decided upon. The leader of the DTA, Mr Mudge, favours a proportional representation system on the Israeli model. This would see a single Namibian constituency with each party submitting a giant list of candidates for election to the general assembly. The hope is that this could minimise the effect of Ovambo dominance.

Swapo favours a 100-seat parliament whose members each represent a specific constituency and who are elected on a winner-take-all basis as in South Africa.

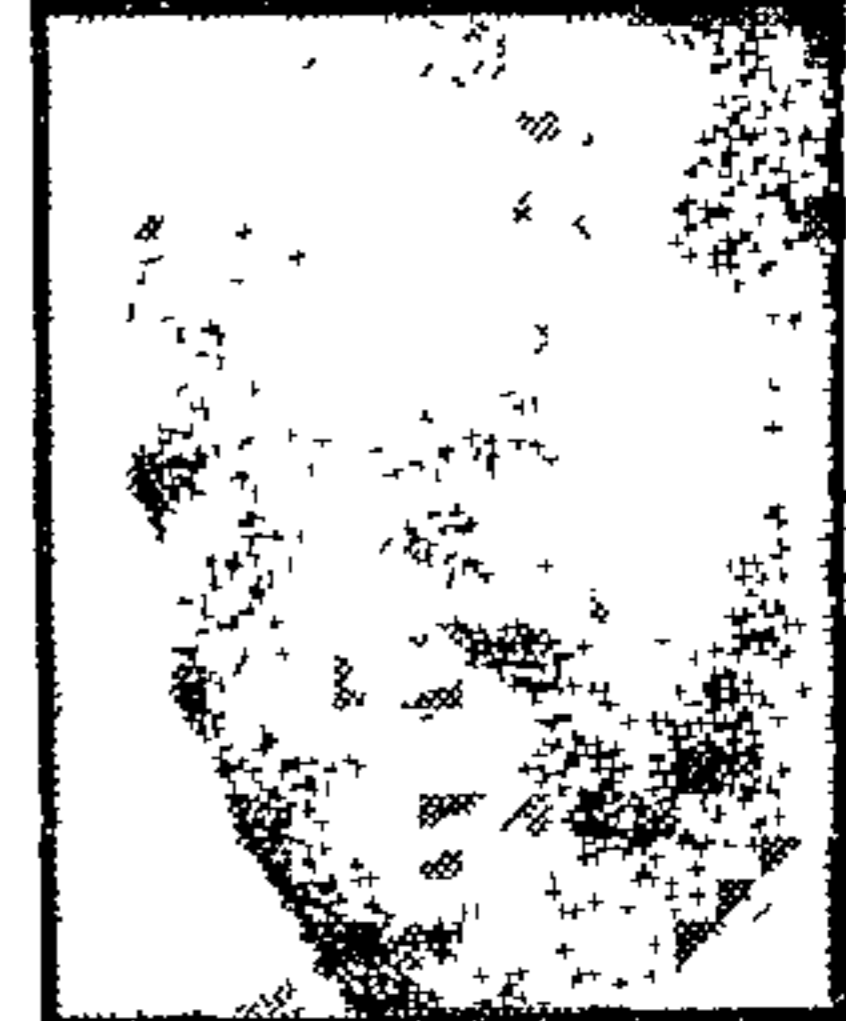
Ironically Professor Rotberg believes the DTA, if it can forge some sort of alliance with the NNF, would do better under the Swapo proposals than their own and that Swapo might do worse than opt for the DTA's suggestion of a parliament elected by slate.



Sam Nujoma



Dirk Mudge



Andreas Shipanga

which has broad international support, the bridgehead to peace and international acceptance has at least been secured.

If the United Nations Security Council survives a Soviet veto and authorises the Secretary General to appoint a special representative for Namibia, the whole complex and delicate machinery for the settlement of a problem that has bedevilled South Africa for 30 years and more will click into gear.

According to Professor Rotberg, Swapo reached its moment of truth at its historic Angolan meeting this week with representatives of the Western Big Five and leaders of the five so-called frontline states of Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Angola.

Other than accepting the Western proposals, with their emphasis on a regulated ceasefire, release of prisoners and monitored elections, it could only have tried to escalate the bush war it has fought for a decade, possibly with the combat support of the Cubans.

And there would be no guarantee of victory.

South Africa has the logistic and military capacity and the economic might to withstand the pressures caused by a stepped-up war.

On the other hand he believes Swapo could emerge victorious from any free election.

"Demographically, ethnically and organisationally Swapo is powerful. It has historical legitimacy which no other political group can match. It has devoted years to establishing its pre-eminent claim as the only political body sufficiently determined and committed to ending all vestiges of South African hegemony in Namibia," he said.

On the central issue of the forthcoming electoral campaign, namely the call to end South African overrule, it has an unassailable position.

The Namibians seeking power

WITH politics in South West Africa in a state of flux and about to enter their most decisive phase since the territory's incorporation into the German Reich, the **Sunday Tribune** sketches the background of some of the leaders who will be campaigning

SAM NUJOMA, Swapo's globe-trotting president, is a former sweeper on the South African Railways who was a political activist in Namibia almost 20 years ago.

Under his leadership the organisation has gathered international prestige and stature, being recognised by most states represented at the UN and the OAU as the sole representative of the people of the disputed territory.

In the last few years and particularly since the collapse of the Portuguese empire and the independence of Angola, he has steered Swapo into a guerrilla war that has tied down an estimated 20 000 South African troops.

Swapo has also undergone a marked swing to the left of the political spectrum; its policies now are avowedly socialist and its chief mentor is the Soviet Union.

The son of a farm worker who lived at Ongandjera, about 100 kilometres south of the Angolan border, Sam Nujoma has little formal education. He learned to speak English at Windhoek's Anglican mission and in 1959 helped organise bus boycotts in the city.

Corruption

He and Chief Clemens Kapuuo, assassinated leader of the Hereros, protested the eviction of Africans from a freehold shantytown to Katatura township, and he was arrested in the aftermath of the killings that followed.

Chief Kapuuo died in a shooting incident early this year, allegedly at the hands of a Swapo assassin.

Sam Nujoma fled South West Africa in 1960 and, apart from an abortive attempt to return to the territory in 1966, he has followed the life of an expatriate leader.

Two years ago he survived a concerted drive to oust him led by the organisation's former information secretary, Mr

Andreas Shipanga, who alleged that Swapo's leadership was riddled with corruption. The charges were supported by detailed lists of arms, ammunition and medical supplies that were allegedly syphoned off and sold for private gain.

Soon afterwards Shipanga, nine other leaders and almost 1 000 guerrillas were arrested and detained in jails in Zambia and Tanzania. Shipanga was released about two months ago and has promised his support for the NNF.

Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, is a politician of calibre who led a massive revolt against the conservative National Party last year.

A rich farmer with a Stellenbosch University degree, Mr Mudge has been the one white politician to successfully break through the race and ethnic barriers that divide the 100 000 strong white community from people of colour in the territory.

An energetic campaigner who uses his own private aircraft to cross the vast, sparsely populated countryside, he is the actual if not the titular leader of a political grouping that relies heavily on maintaining the ethnic divisions between the communities of Namibia.

Most of the other DTA leaders, such as Dr Ben Africa of the Basters, Mr A. J. Kloppers of the coloureds and Mr Patrick Tibinyane of the Tswanas, have been unable to extend their vote-catching ability beyond their small ethnically bound constituencies.

"Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals with whites, will there be peace between us."

With these words, spoken from the dock of the Pretoria Supreme Court 10 years ago, Herman Toivo ja Toivo was convicted under the Terrorism Act for having participated in a conspiracy to overthrow the South West African Administration.

He was jailed for life and is still on Robben Island, from where he has continued to cast a long shadow across the political evolution of the land of his birth.

Charismatic and articulate, Toivo ja Toivo is the only leader whose stature matches that of Swapo president Sam Nujoma. His support for one or another of Namibia's political groupings could be decisive in an election.

Now 54, Toivo ja Toivo was trained as a schoolteacher. He served loyally in the South African Army in World War 2, eliciting the bitter comment from the Supreme Court dock that "when some of your countrymen, when called to battle to defend civilisation, resorted to sabotage against the fatherland, I volunteered to face German bullets."

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Sabotage

arrests

by SWA

police

By PAT TAYLOR

RAILWAYS Security Police detectives have arrested four members of Swapo's internal wing in connection with sabotage which derailed a train near Karibib last month.

Major-General Johan van Vuuren, Commissioner of the SAR Police, announced on Friday that the men had been arrested and that arms and explosives had been captured.

The Sunday Tribune learned yesterday that the men are members of the internal wing of Swapo and that a large cache of Russian-made firearms and high explosives had been found.

This information from a top level security source indicates that Swapo's internal wing may have been preparing for an important policy change in its attitude to its role in the territory.

Up to now the internal wing of the organisation has steadfastly denied any association with acts of violence within South West Africa. The security source pointed out that Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma may have ordered a shift in policy to coincide with elections to be held in the territory before the end of the year.

Now that he has given his tentative agreement to a peaceful solution the arrest of four of his men will place him in an embarrassing position.

Swapo accepts Western peace plan

By BILL KRIGE

SWAPO has definitely accepted the Western five's peace plan and a Security Council resolution giving UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, authority to appoint a special representative for Namibia may be passed within 10 days.

That was the news carried to South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in Pretoria yesterday by members of the Western contact group.

Ambassadors of the Big Five met Mr Botha shortly after the Foreign Minister held talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Administrator-General for South West Africa, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Flurry

The flurry of diplomatic activity follows an interview given in Lusaka on Friday by Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, in which he stated that the West's peace proposals fell far short of the organisation's demands on three key issues

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Swapo's demands were:

- South African forces should not remain responsible for the maintenance of law and order during the run-in to independence.
- That the proposed UN peacekeeping force accept a stronger executive role, and that Walvis Bay be incorporated in the territory before independence.

Yesterday a top diplomatic source was emphatic that Swapo, with whatever reservations, had accepted the plan when it was put to them at this week's settlement talks in Luanda.

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Doubts about SWA accord

P/1/78 R. (221)

By GERALD REILLY
THE South African Government was officially informed on Saturday of Swapo's acceptance of the South West African peace plan.

Ambassadors of the five Western countries met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and outlined the Swapo reaction to the plan. The British Ambassador, Sir David Scott, said it was a long and useful meeting.

Sir David declined to comment yesterday on the critical issue of whether Swapo's interpretation of the peace plan was the

same as South Africa's. Prior to the meeting with the contact group's ambassadors, Mr Botha had discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Pretoria sources said yesterday that until an official statement was made by the Prime Minister or Mr Botha, "there has to be anxiety about Swapo's interpretation of the plans put to them in Luanda last week".

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, is reported to have said that Swapo

did not accept the Western proposals, that he regarded the plan as "a working document" and that Walvis Bay was still an open question.

However, this is regarded by diplomatic sources as being an "understandable posturing", as Mr Nujoma, who is under pressure from the Frontline states, retreats to an acceptance of the Western settlement.

Mr Don McHenry, the United States envoy who headed the contact group, has given an assurance that there were no under-the-table agreements on

the Western proposals. Not a word had to be changed, he said.

It is understood that the key issue of Walvis Bay should be carried over for discussion between the South African Government and the new government of SWA. The settlement conditions have to be endorsed by the United Nations Security Council.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, has stated the target-date for the SWA elections is still the end of the year.

Once the issue has been settled in the UN Security Council, a 5 000-man military mission to help police the territory during and immediately after the elections will be sent to SWA. Another 1 000 UN administrators will help supervise the elections, and the establishment of the new government.

In Grootfontein, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said SWA would go ahead with independence should Swapo backpedal on its acceptance of the Western proposals.

Addressing about 2 000 people on Saturday at a DTA rally, Mr Mudge said Mr Nujoma had said he had accepted the proposals, reports Sapa.

Mr Nujoma might well find a way to try to extricate himself from the conditions set down in the proposals, Mr Mudge warned.

The people of SWA were anxious to have an election for a constituent assembly where the future of their country can be thrashed out, he said.

DAVID FORRET reports from Tsumeb that a Swapo official, Mr Arthur Pickering, said yesterday that a ceasefire would only be possible in SWA if South African security forces were restricted to their bases and monitored properly by the UN.

3.

10. Which of the following economies could be classified as a price-sensitive economy? Give a general description of the pattern and mechanism of price sensitivity in the economy. Do not be in the manner described in (3) - that is, employment with relatively stable prices is more of an accident of the market and that this was largely the failure of certain fundamental economic decisions (especially and I decisions) to be synchronised. The important idea to grasp is that far from "supply creating its own demand", aggregate demand (spending) determined the level of output and employment. The national income (output) could be in an equilibrium position that fell short of full employment. Some of the reasons for this are: (1) The environment of the economy is not favourable. (2) The environment of the economy is not favourable. (3) The environment of the economy is not favourable.

(b) EQUILIBRIUM POSITION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME. Just as in microeconomics, the tools of Demand and Supply were used to explain the movement of prices and quantities in the market, so in macroeconomics, the tools of Demand and Supply were used to explain the movement of prices and quantities in the market. The AS-AD model is used to explain the determination of equilibrium level of output and price level. The AS curve represents the short-run aggregate supply curve, which is upward sloping. The AD curve represents the aggregate demand curve, which is downward sloping. The intersection of the AS and AD curves determines the equilibrium level of output and price level. The AS curve is affected by changes in production costs, technology, and the money wage rate. The AD curve is affected by changes in the money stock, government spending, and net exports.

output are directed at but not proportional to the total real output which the economy can produce. The AS curve is upward sloping and the AD curve is downward sloping. The intersection of the AS and AD curves determines the equilibrium level of output and price level. The AS curve is affected by changes in production costs, technology, and the money wage rate. The AD curve is affected by changes in the money stock, government spending, and net exports.

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dit de lois, son equite en faisait qu'on aurait (prendre) Zoroastre (Voltaire).

cannot (2) ease A p-p frontier that is increasing only if money terms but no real terms) The low of diminishing returns. (4) A p-p frontier of constant slope. (d) He assumes that the general logarithmic decrease change from 0 to 0

equilibrium position of the national income. Remember that AS curve becomes completely inelastic at full employment. Aggregate Demand (AD) made up Consumption, Investment, Government Expenditure

Four killed in SWA double landmine blasts

Africa Bureau

TSUMEB. — Another four Ovambo civilians were killed in two double landmine explosions at the weekend — only days after Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace package

Ovambo leaders are now waiting anxiously for United Nations endorsement of the Western proposals so that a ceasefire can become effective as soon as possible.

But the landmine explosions, coupled with the Administrator-General's deportation of two SWA priests, have already put a damper on the delicate peace agreement welded between South Africa and Swapo in Luanda last week.

Leaders of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance at the weekend called on Swapo's president, Mr San Nujoma, to lay down arms and return to SWA without further delay.

Priest might be victim

Four Ovambos were killed and eight injured — two of them seriously — in the double landmine explosions 10 km from the SWA-Angola border on Saturday

A military spokesman said an Ovambo priest and headman were believed to be among those killed.

He said few details were available, but the landmines might have been planted after Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals.

The tragedy occurred when an undisclosed number of people were injured as a vehicle detonated a double landmine north of Oshakati on Saturday afternoon.

The injured were picked up by a vehicle travelling in the opposite direction and soon afterwards they hit another double landmine on the way to hospital.

The names of the dead and casualties have not been released. They were all Ovambo civilians

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Clergyman among landmine victims

The Star's Africa News
Service

WINDHOEK — Four people were killed and eight injured in two landmine explosions that followed one another closely in SWA/Namibian province of Ovambo at the weekend

The dead include a clergyman and a sub-headman. Their names and those of the other dead and injured have not been released

On Saturday, 10 km from the Angolan border

and north of Oshakati, a truck with eight people in it detonated a landmine, killing two people in the cabin. An Ovambo clergyman came travelling in the opposite direction to the scene of the explosion and picked up the injured

About 300 m away his truck detonated another landmine. The clergyman and another person were killed

A Defence force spokesman said both mines were Soviet-made

Pastor Cornelius Ndjomba, Chief Minister of Owambo said the landmine deaths would lose the Swapo president, Mr Nujoma many followers among the Ovambos

Pastor Ndjoma said he had accepted the Western proposals for the independence of SWA/Namibia and he thought a peaceful independence process was still possible in spite of the latest acts of terror by Swapo — The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa

SWA plan

2. Have

If y

'hangs on PM's talk'

221

Mercury Correspondent

11/17/78

refused?

3. What

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Government was officially informed by the ambassadors of the five Western contact countries on Saturday of Swapo's acceptance of the South West Africa peace plan.

The ambassadors met Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. R. F. Botha and outlined Swapo reaction in what British Ambassador Sir David Scott said yesterday was a "long and useful meeting."

4. What

Sir David declined to comment on whether Swapo's interpretation of the plan was the same as South Africa's.

Before the meeting with the contact group's ambassadors Mr. Botha met Prime Minister Mr. Vorster and the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr. Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Pretoria sources said yesterday that until an official statement was made by Mr. Vorster or Mr. Botha there had to be anxiety about Swapo's interpretation of the plan put to them in Luanda last week by the contact group.

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Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma is reported to have said that Swapo did not accept the Western proposals, that he regarded the plan as a working document, and that Walvis Bay was still an open question.

However, this is regarded as posturing as Mr. Nujoma, under pressure from the five front-line States, retreats to an acceptance of the settlement as drawn up by the five Western powers.

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The Western group has given an assurance that there were no under-the-table agreements in Luanda. Not a word of the West's proposals had been altered.

It was agreed, it is understood, that the key issue of Walvis Bay should be carried over for discussion between the South African Government and the new government of Namibia.

Meanwhile the Western plan still has to be endorsed by the UN Security Council

UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim has stated that the target date for South West Africa elections is still the end of the year.

As soon as the issue has been settled in the Security Council a 5 000-man military mission to help police the territory during and immediately after the elections, and 1 000 UN administrators to help supervise the elections and the establishment of the new government will be sent to South West Africa.

Diplomatic sources in Pretoria believe it unlikely that Russia will attempt to throw a spanner in the works and veto the plan in the Security Council.

This view is supported by

act workers only

ck to this farm?

the director of the Institute for International affairs, Mr. John Barratt, who said yesterday the Russian attitude would depend on the reaction of the African bloc at the United Nations.

If the African bloc goes along with the proposals — and it seems likely that they will — then Russia will probably merely abstain from voting on the issue.

West on edge over SWA plan

17/7/78

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Mercury Correspondent

What do you do to solve these pro

Do you discuss these problems with
other farms?

Have you ever thought of joinin
changed?

To occasional and contract workers

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Why/Why not?

Khartoum this week, or whether he will try to obtain Russian backing for a tough resolution at the Security Council meeting.

Africans

If the Security Council approves the Luanda agreement, it will then agree to send troops, and Dr. Kurt Waldheim will have the task of choosing 5000 peace-keeping troops and 1000 civilian administrators to oversee the elections and the transitional period.

The peace-keeping force will be drawn from European, Asian and African countries, but, according to Dr. Waldheim, "Africa, of course, will have to play a

closer, therefore, Swapo faces the prospect of taking a make-or-break plunge into an election, and possibly coming off second best to the Namibia National Front or the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — a daunting prospect for Mr. Nujoma.

Equally daunting for Mr. Vorster is the prospect of 6000 UN-selected troops and civilians descending on South West Africa, virtually as an army of occupation and as overseers — an event that could alarm Whites in the territory and South Africa.

The next six months, therefore, will be a tense period, loaded with potential conflict.

LONDON — The five Western governments which have acted as intermediaries between South Africa and Swapo for the past 15 months have fastened their seatbelts for the last nerve-wracking stage of the negotiations for an internationally acceptable settlement in South West Africa.

They admit privately that the settlement could still be wrecked at the last moment — by Swapo or South Africa. "It's a cliff-hanger," they say.

Closer examination of the agreement signed in Luanda last Wednesday by Swapo and the five Western powers reveals that it was tantalisingly vague about what exactly was agreed.

Either Swapo or South Africa could find loopholes to wriggle through.

Obstacle race

Western diplomats are comparing the last lap of the negotiations to an obstacle race in which at least a dozen hazards lie ahead of two reluctant runners.

The ink was scarcely dry on the Luanda agreement when Swapo's president Sam Nujoma was warning, "Swapo is going to see to it that the Security Council treats Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia."

This will present no problem if Mr. Nujoma is prepared to accept the West's proposal that the question of Walvis Bay's ownership should be left over until after South West Africa becomes independent — when the West will support its incorporation.

But if Mr. Nujoma wants the transfer of Walvis Bay before independence to be written into the Security Council resolution, the settlement will have failed at its first hurdle.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, has already served notice on the West that he will not add a single further concession to the ones already made.

Wary

If, therefore, the "clarifications" which the five Western negotiators gave Mr. Nujoma are seen by South Africa as changing the substance of the proposals, the deal will be called off.

The West five are watching Mr. Nujoma warily, because they are not certain what he will do when he gets to the OAU summit in

special role in this case, because it is an African problem."

Here again there could be conflict with South Africa.

Two further obstacles would be the need for Swapo's assent to a ceasefire and the reduction of South African troops to 1500 and the confinement of Swapo and South African forces to bases.

Prisoners

A further hurdle would be the release by South Africa and Swapo of their political prisoners.

Difficulties could arise over the present registration of voters and the conduct of the election campaign — Swapo's main fear has always been that official harassment and intimidation could sway the election outcome.

It seems unlikely that the target date of January 1, 1979, for independence can be met — the earliest, probably, would be February.

Plunge

As a settlement comes

Shipanga likely to lead NNF team

(22) 17/7/78 8:00

The Star Bureau

PARIS — Former Swapo publicity secretary Andreas Shipanga is likely to lead a Namibia National Front delegation to New York when the Western powers proposals on the future of SWA/Namibia are debated before the UN Security Council

An official meeting in Paris yesterday between a Namibia National Front delegation, headed by Mr Bryan O'Linn, and Mr Shipanga has formally forged the link between the two rising political groups in the SWA/Namibian political arena

Mr Shipanga also revealed that he intended to return to SWA/Namibia immediately after the UN debate

The Paris meeting has been given added impetus by Swapo's acceptance of the five-nation Western plan to bring independence to the territory by December 31

Mr Shipanga, who leads the newly formed Swapo Democrats, travelled from London to meet the NNF delegation in Paris and consolidate the alliance made in Holland last month.

The NNF delegation met West German Government Ministers last week and today the combined party will meet French Foreign Office officials at the Quai D'Orsay

Since his release from a Tanzanian jail less than two months ago, Mr Shipanga has constantly pledged his return from exile

Mr O'Linn said one of the most important factors flowing from the acceptance was that it would be impossible for the international community to continue to accept Swapo as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people

Both men agreed that this would destroy the "myth" of Swapo's claim to sole recognition.

"The United Nations will not be impartial if they come to SWA/Namibia without accepting this," Mr Shipanga said

SWAPO "FORCED"

Mr Shipanga said he still did not believe the Swapo hierarchy had accepted the proposals put before them by the five-nation "contact group"

"They have been told by their patrons to accept it," he said "I imagine they were forced by others more powerful than themselves"

Mr Shipanga was accompanied by Swanu member Mr Claudius Kandjou. The NNF delegation consists of Mr O'Linn, Mr John



Mr Shipanga



Mr O'Linn

Kirkpatrick and Mr V Rukoro

The NNF alliance have accepted the Western pro-

posals for elections and are now concentrating on planning their organisation within SWA/Namibia.

Mr O'Linn said the NNF had accepted Mr Shipanga into their ranks without any reservations.

"We are the only political movement in SWA/Namibia which is clearly spelling out a definite approach which is both non-racial and anti-racist."

Mr Shipanga revealed during the interview that members of Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA had recently travelled to Stockholm to ask him to join them and return to Windhoek with them.

Handshake for ex-client

Own Correspondent

PARIS — Swapo dissident Andreas Shipanga last saw Bryan O'Linn in a dusty courtroom in Gobabis in SWA/Namibia.

In 1963 Mr Shipanga was in the dock, charged with illegally leaving SWA/Namibia. Mr O'Linn was his defending lawyer

It was 15 years since the two men last met, but yesterday they shook hands again in the lounge of a Paris hotel and recalled their last meeting

Now they are respectively leader of the Swapo Democratic Party and secretary-general of the Namibia National Front.

"Then he was my lawyer and now he is my partner in creating a new democratic Namibia," Mr Shipanga said at the meeting

Mr Shipanga and three other Swapo members were abducted from pre-independence Botswana into South West Africa

In a three-week trial Bryan O'Linn secured their release.

"I returned to Botswana (Bechuanaland as it was then) and eventually made my way to Dar es Salaam in Tanzania," Mr Shipanga said yesterday.

As Swapo's publicity secretary he was powerful. Then on April 21 1976 on the orders of Swapo president Sam Nujoma he was imprisoned without trial, first in Zambia and then in Tanzania

"It is ironic that in May this year I gained my second 'freedom' in Dar es Salaam," he said.

Walvis Bay: Botha is pessimistic

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night "a dark cloud was appearing on the horizon" as far as Walvis Bay was concerned.

He was speaking in an SABC radio interview and replying to a question put to him whether progress had been made to peaceful independence in SWA/Namibia

"It is too early to tell whether this will be resolved, but we will have to wait for that. As far as Mr Sam Nujoma is concerned, I find it difficult to keep track of everything he is saying

"And, our point of view is that we don't pay very much attention to what he is saying — he is only one party of a number of parties who may contest the election in SWA/Namibia," Mr Botha said

Mr Botha said as far as South Africa was concerned he had to do it

under the same circumstances and conditions applicable to all the other parties

Asked whether he thought that the stage had now been reached where the whole matter could be submitted to the Security Council, Mr Botha said "It could have been submitted to the Security Council the day after we accepted the proposals on April 25. There is no reason why there should have been this long delay

"As far as we are concerned, we were in favour of the whole matter going to the Security Council at a very early date so that we can reach independence by the end of this year"

Mr Botha said it was possible that resolutions could be introduced, possibly separate resolutions which could jeopardise the plan and South Africa's attitude towards

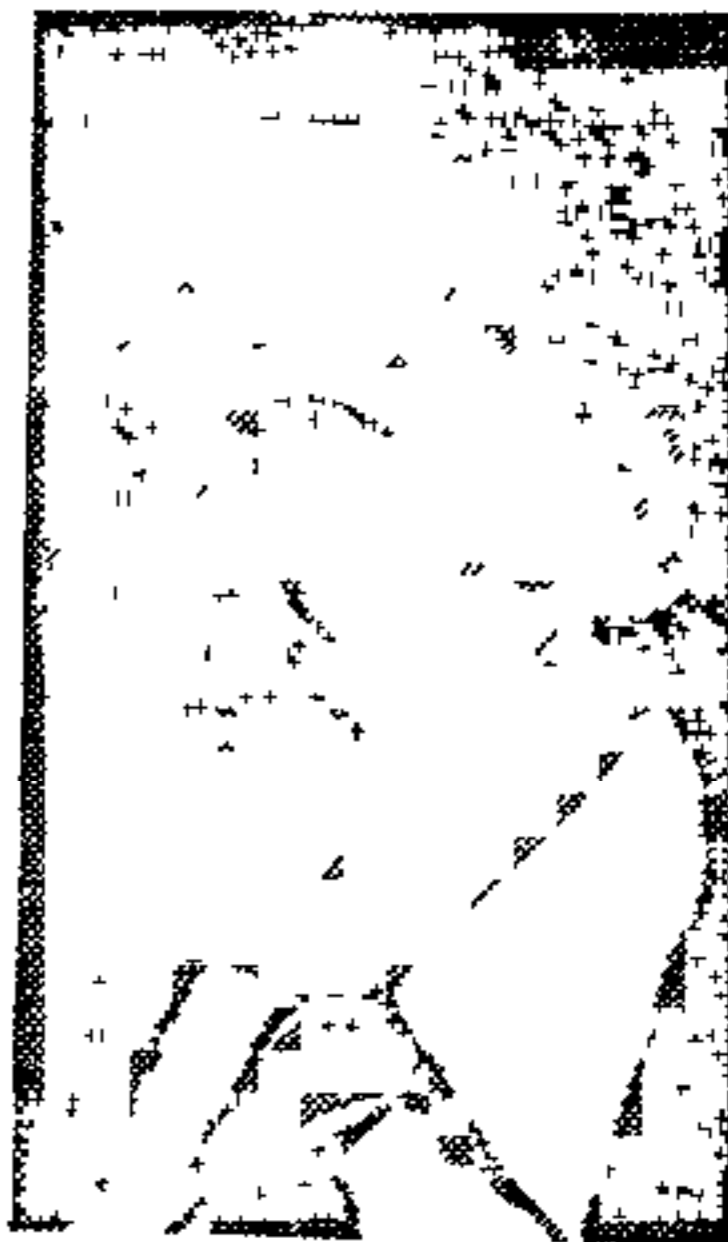
it, although he hoped it would not happen

Referring to Walvis Bay, Mr Botha said he didn't know why that port — which was part and parcel of sovereign South African territory — should become involved in the South West Africa dispute. To South Africa, Walvis Bay was a serious matter

"Not only is Walvis Bay part and parcel of South African territory, but we also have certain rights there and important interests.

"We have a military base there right on our own soil. We have a port there, we have a railway system and installations which cost millions and then Walvis Bay can in future conceivably in certain circumstances become an important civil airport for our civil aircraft

"It is more close to



Mr Botha . . . dark cloud

Europe than Johannesburg and if you can't fly over Africa, Walvis Bay assumes a far greater importance from that point of view, but we have never said that we will negotiate the use of Walvis Bay or other aspects even," said Mr Botha

Walvis: Swapo relents

LUSAKA — Rights to Walvis Bay did not enter into Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace plan for South West Africa

Swapo sources said here at the weekend the organisation had accepted all major elements of the plan

But they would withhold final approval of the package until after details of a ceasefire with South Africa were worked out and the exact wording of the United Nations resolution on the issue was put on paper, they said

Following the Luanda "breakthrough" last week, Swapo president Sam Nujoma indicated a final agreement had not been reached, saying

there could be no independence for South West Africa until the question of the future status of Walvis Bay was resolved

But the Lusaka sources said that despite Mr Nujoma's public statement, Walvis Bay "is no longer a problem"

Swapo had accepted the Western suggestion that the Walvis Bay issue be resolved by direct negotiations by the parties concerned after independence, in return for a UN Security Council resolution supporting its position that the port is an integral part of South West Africa

South Africa maintains Walvis Bay is a separate entity which must remain under its jurisdiction

In the light of Mr Nujoma's remarks, however, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night reiterated that Walvis Bay was not part of the settlement

Future developments in this regard would depend on how the Security Council handled the situation, he said

The Security Council's decision will depend on the readiness of the West to stick to the proposals put to South Africa by the West in which Walvis Bay was not even mentioned," he said

Mr Botha said the proposals would apparently be laid before the Security Council in the same form as accepted by South Africa

UN sources have been at pains to point out that Swapo settled on the same plan as South Africa

But with some doubt still in the air, the five Western governments which have acted as intermediaries between South Africa and Swapo for the past 15 months have fastened their seat belts for the last nerve-wrecking stage of the negotiations for a settlement in South West Africa

They admit privately the settlement could still be wrecked at the last moment — by Swapo or South Africa

"It's a cliff-hanger," they say — DDC-SAPARNS

Four killed in SWA mine blasts

TSUMEB — Four Ovambo civilians were killed in two double landmine explosions at the weekend — only days after Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace package.

While Ovambo wait anxiously for United Nations endorsement of the Western plan so a ceasefire can become effective as soon as possible, the landmine explosions, coupled with the deportation of two priests from the territory, has already put a damper on the delicate peace agreement

Leaders of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance this weekend called on Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, to lay down arms and return to South West Africa without further delay

In Tsumeb, however, a Swapo official yesterday told 1 500 Swapo supporters a ceasefire would only be possible if the South African security forces were restricted to their bases and monitored

properly by the United Nations

Speaking at one of three Swapo meetings held in northern South West Africa at the weekend, Mr Arthur Pickering said a peaceful solution would depend on how the South African security forces and police were "contained" during the period leading to elections

The people would never regard them as law enforcement agents

"If there are sufficient ways of containing them there is a chance of a peaceful solution," Mr Pickering said

The landmine explosions which killed four Ovambos also injured eight others — two of them seriously

A military spokesman said an Ovambo priest and

headman were believed to be among the dead

Few details were available, he said, but the landmines might have been planted after Swapo's acceptance of the Western proposals

The tragedy occurred 10 km from the Angolan border after an undisclosed number of people were injured as a vehicle detonated a double landmine north of Oshakati on Saturday afternoon

The injured were picked up by a vehicle travelling in the opposite direction and shortly afterwards they hit another double landmine on the way to hospital

The names of the dead and casualties have not been released. They were all Ovambo civilians

Speaking to about 2 000

people in Grootfontein on Saturday, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA, said further delays by Swapo could not be tolerated

"Mr Nujoma has now accepted the Western proposals but we will watch him carefully to see if he tries to get out of it in one way or another," he said

The South African Government was officially informed by the ambassadors of the five Western contact countries on Saturday of Swapo's acceptance of the peace plan

Prior to the meeting the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Botha, had talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Steyn — DDC

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau

TSUMEB. — Four Ovambo civilians were killed in twin landmine explosions at the weekend — only days after Swapo's acceptance of the Western peace package.

Ovambo leaders are now waiting anxiously for United Nations endorsement of the Western proposals so that a ceasefire can become effective as soon as possible.

The landmine explosions, coupled with the Administrator-General's deportation of two SWA priests, have already put a strain on the delicate peace agreement between South Africa and Swapo in Luanda last week.

Leaders of the DTA have called on Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, to lay down arms and return to SWA without further delay.

Eight Ovambos were injured — two of them seriously — in the double landmine explosion which killed four people ten kilometres from the Angola border on Saturday.

A military spokesman said an Ovambo priest and a headman, Mr Elias Matomba, were believed to be among those killed.

The double explosions occurred when an undisclosed number of people were injured as a vehicle detonated landmines north of Oshakati on Saturday afternoon.

The injured were put on a vehicle travelling in the opposite direction and shortly afterwards this vehicle hit more landmines.

The names of the dead and injured have not been released.

Mr Josia Taapopi, an Ovambo DTA leader whose teenage son was allegedly abducted by terrorists last year, called on Mr Nujoma to "come back quickly

17/7/85 RAM
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Blast deaths rock SWA peace

and stand before his people"

"But he must bring our children back with him so that they too can take part in the peaceful political process."

Mr Taapopi said that the 68 000 people already registered as voters in Owambo proved that they preferred a peaceful settlement to continued violence.

Speaking at a rally attended by about 2 000 people in Grootfontein on Saturday, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA said further delays by Swapo could not be tolerated.

"He (Mr Nujoma) has accepted the Western proposals but we will watch him carefully to see if he tries to get out of it."

Mr Mudge said the DTA was the only political organisation that could unite the black, brown and white people of SWA.

● See Page 3

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SWA handover: Many slips can still be made

From STANLEY UYS, London Editor

LONDON. — The five Western governments which have acted as intermediaries between South Africa and Swapo for the past 15 months have fastened their seatbelts for the last nerve-racking stage of the negotiations for an internationally acceptable settlement in South West Africa/Namibia.

They admit privately that the settlement could still be wrecked at the last moment — by Swapo or by the South African Government.

Close examination of the agreement signed in Luanda on Wednesday by Swapo and the five Western powers shows that it was vague about what precisely was agreed upon, and either Swapo or the South African Government could find loopholes to wriggle through.

Western diplomats are comparing the last lap of the South West Africa/Namibia negotiations with an obstacle race which at least a dozen obstacles lie ahead of two reluctant runners.

The ink was scarcely dry on the Luanda agreement when Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, warned "Swapo is going to see to it that the Security Council treats Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia."

This will present no problem if Mr Nujoma is prepared to accept the West's proposal that the question of Walvis Bay's ownership should be left over till after South West Africa/Namibia becomes independent — when the West will support its incorporation in South West Africa/Namibia.

But if Mr Nujoma wants the transfer of Walvis Bay to

South West Africa/Namibia before independence to be written into the Security Council resolution the settlement will have failed at its first hurdle.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr R F Botha, has served notice on the West that he will not add a single further concession to the ones already made in terms of the Western proposals.



Mr Nujoma

If, therefore, the "clarifications" of their proposals which the five Western negotiators gave Mr Nujoma are seen by South Africa as changing the substance of the proposals, the deal will be called off.

The Western negotiators are watching Mr Nujoma warily because they are not certain what he will do when he gets to the Organization of

African Unity summit in Khartoum this week, or whether he will try to obtain Russian backing for a tough resolution at the Security Council.

If the Security Council hurdle is cleared the UN Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, will appoint a representative to South West Africa/Namibia and South Africa will have to decide whether to object to Dr Waldheim's choice — Mr Martti Ahtisaari, a member of the Finnish delegation who is also UN Commissioner for Namibia — who will have to work closely with the South African-appointed Commissioner-General Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

'African problem'

If the Security Council approves the Luanda agreement, it will then agree to send troops, and Dr Waldheim will have the task of choosing 5 000 peacekeeping troops and 1 000 civilian administrators to oversee the elections and the transitional period.

Two further obstacles would be the need for Swapo's assent to a ceasefire and the reduction of South African troops to 1 500, and the confinement of both Swapo and South African forces to bases.

Swapo fear

A further hurdle would be the release by both South Africa and Swapo of their political prisoners. Difficulties might also arise over the present registration of voters in South West Africa/Namibia and the conduct of the election campaign — Swapo's main fear has always been that official harassment and intimidation might sway the election outcome.

Equally daunting for Mr Vorster is the prospect of 6 000 UN-selected troops and civilians descending on South West Africa/Namibia virtually as an army of occupation and as overseers — an event that might alarm whites in South West Africa/Namibia and South Africa. The next six months, therefore, will be a tense period, loaded with potential conflict.

SA troops must be 'contained' — Swapo

Africa Bureau

TSUMEB — A ceasefire would be possible in SWA/Namibia only if South African security forces were restricted to their bases and monitored properly by the UN, Mr Arthur Pickering, a Swapo official, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Swapo meeting, Mr Pickering said a peaceful solution would depend on how SA security forces and police were "contained" during the period leading to elections.

"We are involved in a colonial struggle and the South African forces are not here by invitation, but to continue to dominate the people.

"And the armed struggle will continue while they are still here. They are a threat to the people."

He said the people would never regard them as law enforcement agents.

"If there are sufficient ways of containing them there is a chance of a peaceful solution."

Mr Pickering was non-committal on Swapo supporters' reaction to the acceptance of the Western proposals.

"I'm not quite sure what has been accepted. From news reports we get the impression that certain concessions have been made, but we are not sure of the nature of them.

"We have a wait-and-see attitude," he said.

French link with Pretoria

By John Patten

Diplomacy is always a complex art, but it is made doubly difficult in times when a diplomat's host country is being put under pressure, or when a deliberate disengagement of relations has to be undertaken for political reasons.

This has been the lot of the present French Ambassador to Pretoria, Mr Jacques Schricke, who ends a three-year appointment in South Africa early next month.

He has been the immediate link with the Government during a time when France became the last big power to impose an arms embargo on South Africa, was party to heavy joint Western pressure on South Africa over SWA/Namibia, and has become embroiled in controversy over South Africa's nuclear capacity.

Mr Schricke, slow-spoken and diffident, was a man well-suited to handle these trials. He had the diplomatic experience and he actively wanted the work — to the point where he turned down another diplomatic appointment in northern Europe for the chance to be posted in South Africa.

Recalling in an interview the events occurring during his term in South

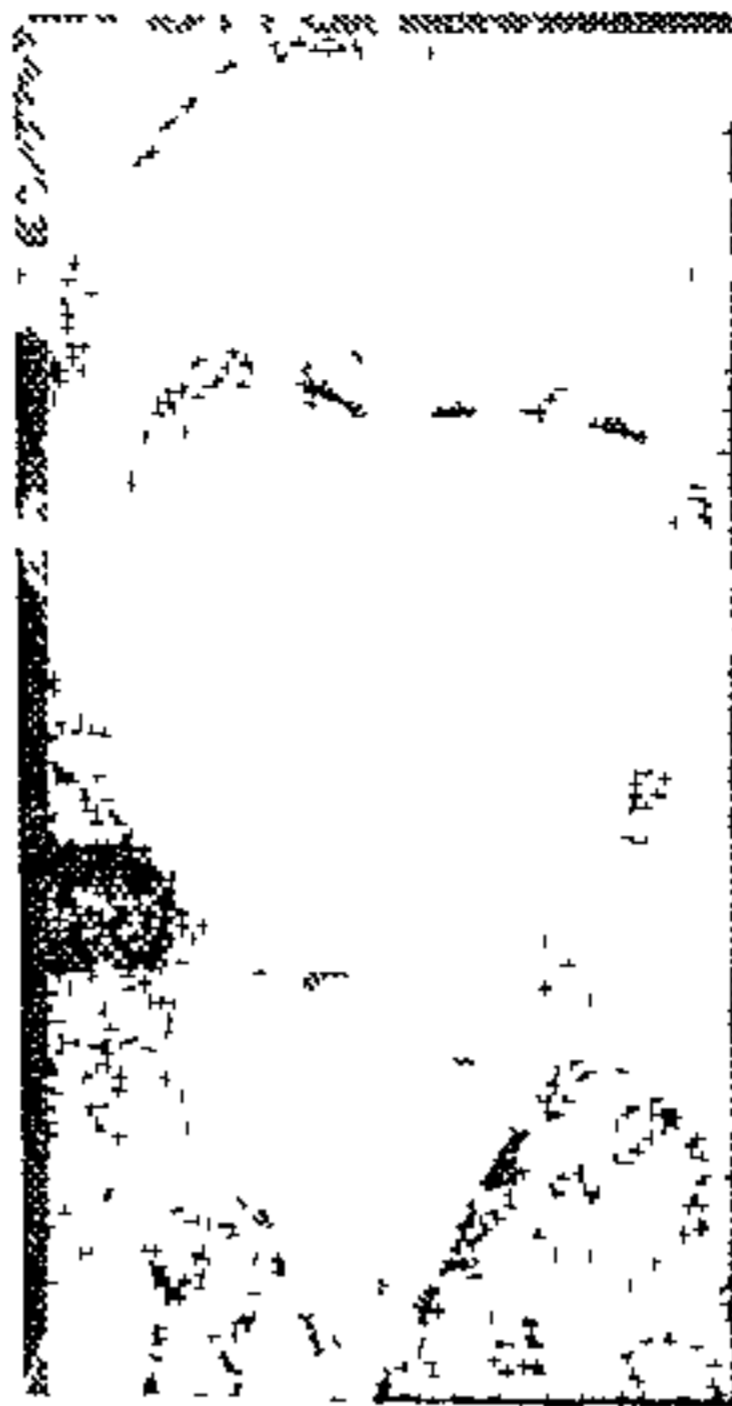
Over a three-year period of changing relationships between the two countries, France chose an ambassador well suited to his often delicate role in Pretoria.

Africa (the Angola war, the Soweto riots, the SWA/Namibia demarche), Mr Schricke said "I knew it would be lively, and there have been problems. There were more than I expected and they came more quickly, but I would have been glad to spend one more year here in spite of the amount of work."

Asked how he viewed France's decision to impose the arms embargo, Mr Schricke commented: "It was difficult to avoid. I think it has been understood by a number of your responsible people in Government. We have too many other engagements and responsibilities in Africa and it began to look as if we had two policies that were more or less contradictory."

The United Nations Security Council mandatory arms sanctions decision last year made the position difficult for France, because if it had opposed the resolution, it would have been the only big power to do so and the only Western country doing that.

"There was no question about it. We were in an exposed position for criticism from the Third World, and there would



Jacques Schricke . . . a difficult task.

have been no solidarity between the Western countries. That would have played into the hands of Russia and its propaganda in black Africa. They would have said the French were 'the Cubans of the Americans,' which was not the case at all."

Speaking of the drawn-out negotiations on SWA/Namibia, Mr Schricke said he thought personally it would not be good to have any further delay. It would be dangerous for everyone, for

peace and stability, for internal and external border security, and for southern Africa. It would not be good for the situation to become gradually similar to that in Rhodesia.

Dealing with France's nuclear contacts with South Africa, Mr Schricke said the Koeberg power station contract of a French consortium was a little embarrassing to France in international politics, although the French Government was perfectly satisfied that the power station could not aid South Africa in developing into an atomic military power. The scheme was under the control of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in any case, he said.

The embarrassment to France, he pointed out, was caused by political manoeuvring which obscured the facts.

Mr Schricke claimed France was less susceptible to economic boycott campaigns against South Africa than Britain (which had historical political connections with South Africa) or the United States (where internal racial factors affected attitudes).

He leaves South Africa for an ambassadorial posting in western Europe, and will be succeeded by Mr Bernard Dorin, who has been ambassador in Haiti.

17. Curry, A. L. and Botchford, D. G. *Some economic bargaining between African governments and multinational companies*, JMAS, 1974.

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Loxley, J. and Sall, A. J. (Eds.): *Current Multinational Corporations and practices in Zambia*, RAPE, 1975.

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Four men held over rail blast

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Police say three trained guerrillas and a Swapo supporter are being detained in connection with the sabotage that caused the derailment of a train near Karibib last month.

Police said three of those held were trained guerrillas who apparently infiltrated South West Africa from Angola.

Last month's train derailment, on the main line from Windhoek to Walvis Bay, signalled a new development in the armed struggle being waged in the territory.

'Swapo will lose Ovambo support'

Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A peaceful political process towards independence in South West Africa was still possible despite Swapo's latest "act of terror", the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance president, said yesterday.

He said the twin landmine explosions which claimed the lives of four Ovambo civilians at the weekend would lead to the loss of support for Swapo in Ovambo.

An Anglican priest, the Rev Elias Mtshali, was killed when his vehicle detonated a twin landmine as he drove to a hospital with casualties from the first landmine explosion only minutes earlier.

Eight people, including children, were injured in the explosions and are being treated at the Oshakati State Hospital.

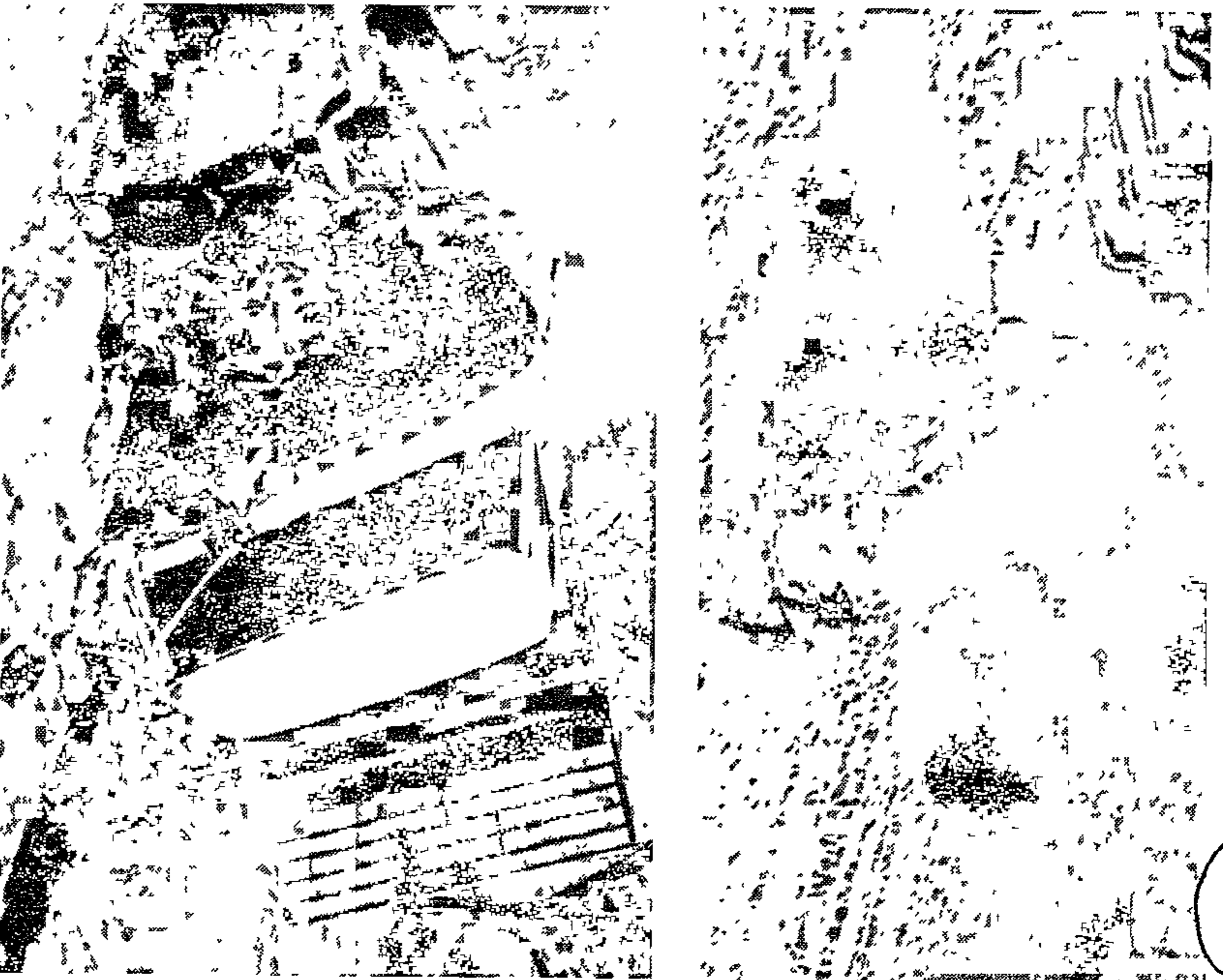
Pastor Ndjoba said this sort of terrorism would drive even more of the 400 000 Ovambos away from Swapo's political philosophy.

Observers believe that the deeper infiltration of SWA could be ascribed to the relaxation of discriminatory measures that had hampered freedom of movement in the territory.

The Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, scrapped the pass laws several months ago to allow freedom of movement during the election campaign.



A doctor at the Oshakati State Hospital, left, treats an unidentified child injured by a landmine explosion in Ovambo at the weekend. South African Defence Force photographs show an aerial view of the first vehicle to detonate a twin landmine about 10 km from the border with Angola, and a close-up of the wrecked vehicle. Four people were killed.



SWA bishop slams church expulsions

WINDHOEK — The Roman Catholic Bishop of Windhoek, Bishop R Koppman, yesterday described the expulsion of Father Heinz Hunke and the vicar general of the Anglican Church, Mr Ed Morrow, and his wife, Laureen, as "dictatorial and undemocratic".

His statement was backed by the three sister Evangelical Lutheran churches in South West Africa (Velkswa) yesterday.

In a statement, the three Lutheran leaders, Dr J L de Vries, Dr P G Kauffenstein, and Bishop Leonard Auata, said Mr Morrow and Father Hunke should have appeared before a judicial inquiry first.

Expulsion orders were served on the three on Friday by the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn. Bishop Koppman said in a statement: "The free world — especially the five Western powers — will ask themselves: Is this the first result of our efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the territory?"

"The deportation of Father Hunke will cause the Western world and the world-wide Catholic

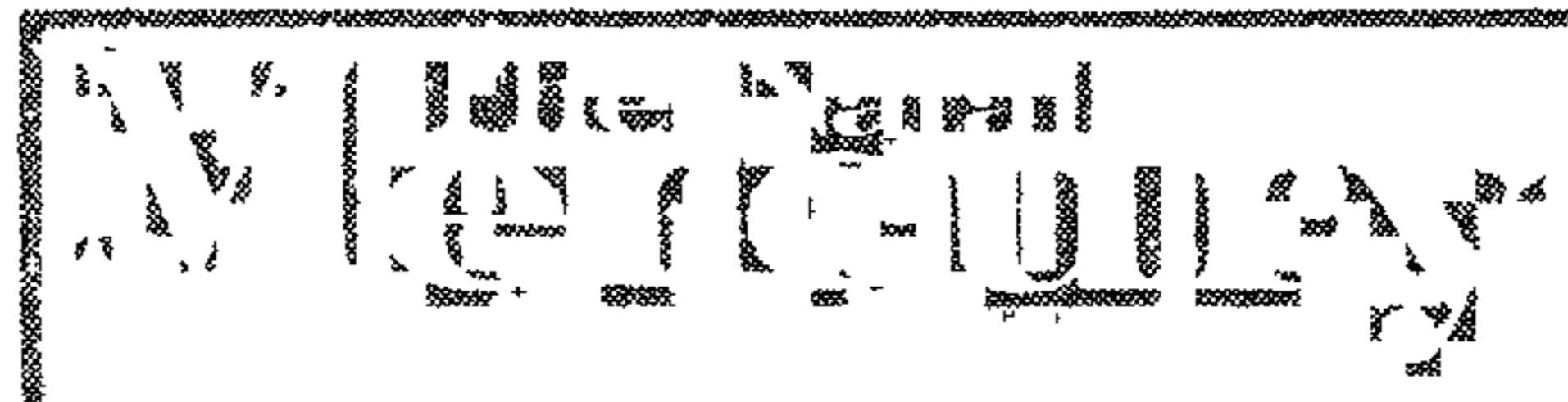
Church to question the sincerity of South African policy."

Father Hunke had never associated himself with the policies of any political group, Bishop Koppman said, and had rejected violence and terrorism regardless of where it came from.

"I have to protest in the strongest terms against the dictatorial and undemocratic measures taken by the Administrator-General and on the strength of which one of my priests has been cold-bloodedly expelled from the territory," Bishop Koppman said.

Bishop Koppman said a "long forgotten" Act of 1920 had been resurrected and invoked "overnight". Mr Justice Steyn published a proclamation last week to transfer powers to him to expel "undesirable persons" from the territory.

The Lutheran leaders said they were unable to comment on the merits of the expulsion orders because no concrete charges had been formulated in terms of existing legislation nor had the charges been made public.—Sapa



TUESDAY, JULY 18, 1978

WALVIS BAY (22)

FROM A tactical point of view it is obviously important that the Government should continue to keep the record straight concerning the status of Walvis Bay. For there can be no question about who has the legal title to the enclave. Its incorporation into the Cape Colony in 1878, and its subsequent establishment as part of the Union and later the Republic of South Africa, are historical facts which no amount of political argument can alter.

To that extent Mr. Sam Nujoma's declaration, that "Swapo is going to see to it that the Security Council treats Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia," must be resisted. However it would be folly not to recognise that any international settlement on South West Africa is likely to rest on shaky foundations for as long as the dispute over the enclave remains unresolved.

The question the Government must face in the long term is whether the strategic and other values of Walvis Bay really justify the price which South Africa may have to pay in terms of world hostility for holding on to it. For there can be little doubt that once an independent Namibia is born, the past confrontation over the territory will be replaced with new tensions over South Africa's presence astride a crucial outlet for Namibian trade.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has maintained that if South African aircraft are precluded from flying over Africa, then Walvis Bay "assumes a far greater importance." That may well be, but the Government should be wary at this delicate stage about projecting an image of total intransigence. The reality of the situation is that if a hostile Namibian government came to power at independence, or at some subsequent period, then Walvis Bay could become a huge defence and administrative problem.

Moreover, it seems plain enough that after independence the West intends to back any Namibian claims to the enclave — probably on the grounds that acquisition of the port would lessen the new State's economic dependence on South Africa.

Thus it might be in South Africa's interests to make it known now that the future status of Walvis Bay could be negotiable in certain circumstances. However, any treaty between this country and Namibia would need to be underpinned by the West, and should guarantee South Africa the use of certain basic facilities. If, as seems likely, a friendly government emerges at Windhoek, then the way to that accord should not be strewn with hurdles.

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What does a government do if the problems of the loss?

Church leaders slam expulsions

WINDHOEK — South West African church leaders have come out strongly against the expulsion from the territory of the Anglican Vicar-General, the Rev Ed Morrow, and a Catholic priest, Fr Heinz Hunke.

The two clergymen were ordered to leave by the office of the Administrator-General in terms of the Undesirable Persons Removal Amendment Proclamation

The leaders of three sister Evangelic Lutheran Churches, said Mr Morrow and Fr Hunke should have appeared before a judicial inquiry first

The three Lutheran leaders, Dr J. L. de Vries, the Rev P. G. Kauffenstein and Bishop Leonard Auala, said the two should have been given the opportunity to defend themselves.

"Pre-judging them in a country with independent courts of law is not in accordance with a state which subscribes to Christian principles," they said

The Lutheran leaders said they were unable to comment on the merits of

the expulsion orders because no concrete charges had been formulated in terms of existing legislation nor had the charges been made public

They said the Administrator-General had earlier requested the cooperation of the churches in a peaceful transitional process to independence

Churches should, therefore, have been consulted before the expulsion orders were served

The Lutheran Church regarded the expulsion without trial of responsible clergymen as jeopardising joint efforts for peace and justice in South West Africa

"We wish to warn against a form of government which operates with the aid of emergency powers," they said.

The Catholic Bishop of

Windhoek, Bishop R Koppman, yesterday described the expulsions as "dictatorial and undemocratic"

Bishop Koppman said "The free world, especially the five Western powers, will ask themselves is this the first result of our efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the territory?"

"The deportation of Fr Hunke will cause the Western world and the world-wide Catholic Church to question the sincerity of South African policy"

He said Fr Hunke had never associated himself with the policies of any political group

"He merely provided humanitarian aid to those suffering from unjust laws and those who are detained without trial." — SAPA

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Will you try to come back to this farm?

Why/why not?

'UDI plan if Swapo sinks agreement'

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

THE Government has contingency plans for a UDI in South West Africa should Swapo veer from the West's peace proposals and make "impossible" demands, according to observers in Pretoria.

The actions and reported statements of the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, since the announcement of Swapo's acceptance of the Western settlement package have given rise to the fear that a last-minute Russian-inspired pull-out is possible.

Mr Nujoma is in Moscow for discussions with the Kremlin's liberation movement specialist, Mr Boris Rohomaryov.

It was reported from New York on Monday that

the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned the Western ambassadors South Africa would reject the peace plan if its sovereignty over Walvis Bay is challenged.

In the West's package, accepted by the SA Government, it was agreed that the future of Walvis Bay could be the subject of discussions between the Government and the new SWA government after independence.

South Africa, according to Pretoria sources, has gone as far as it intends in compromising with the West to find a viable solution, including Swapo involvement in SWA.

Thus any attempt by Swapo to deviate materially from the accepted plan could wreck the build-up to a peaceful settlement.

Mr Botha said this week that clarity on Swapo's attitudes could only be expected when the issue came before the UN Security Council.

The planned 5 000-man UN peacekeeping force for SWA could be the costliest logistics operation ever undertaken by the world body, according to military sources in Pretoria.

They estimate that the costs could rise to more than R500 000 a day.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, has announced that as soon as agreement had been reached, and the plan passed by the Security Council, a 5 000-strong troop contingent and about 1 000 administrative personnel would be dispatched to the territory.

I'll be back — priest

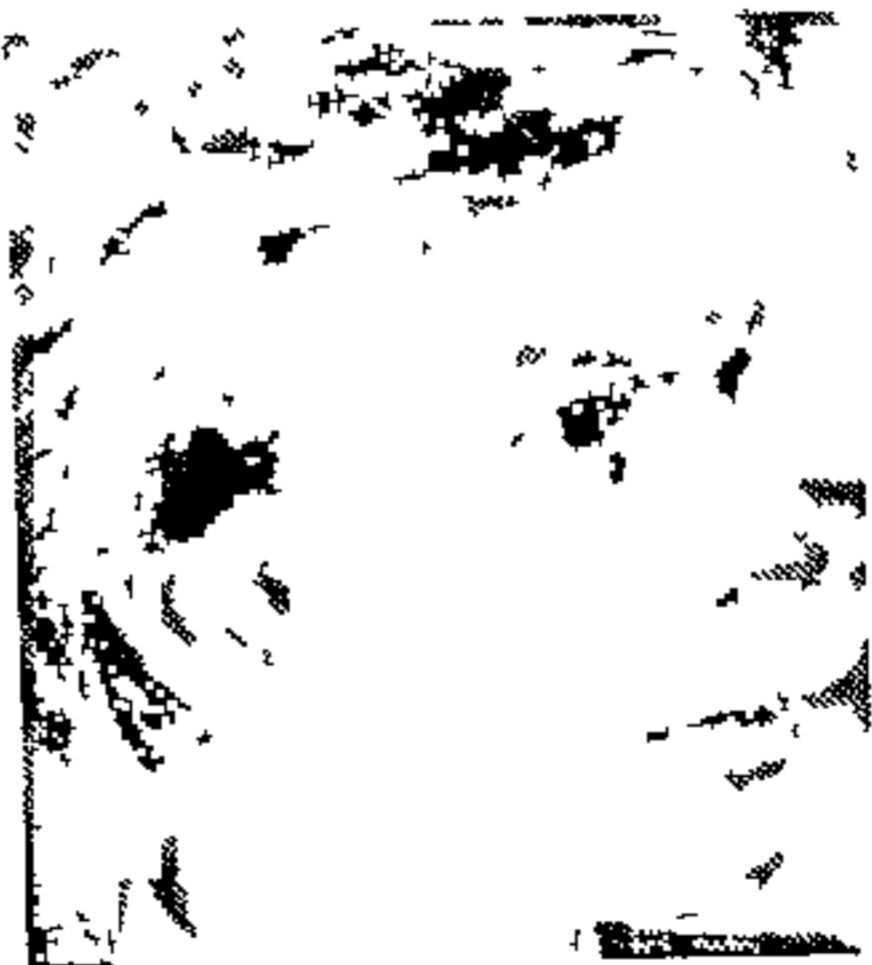
Political Staff

FATHER Heinz Hunke, the South West African priest who was declared a prohibited immigrant, said on his departure from South West Africa yesterday he would return to SWA when it is "free".

Father Hunke who for 13 years was a Roman Catholic priest in SWA, Mr E Morrow, vicar-general of the Anglican Church and his wife Laureen were ordered to leave SWA by the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn.

Interviewed at Jan Smuts Airport before he left for Germany, Father Hunke said he did not know why he was ordered to leave. "We were not given any reasons why we should leave."

"At present I have no plans for the future. I am



FATHER HUNKE
... no plans

going to Europe to see what is in store for me there. All I can say about my future is that I am hopeful I will come back to SWA when the country and its people are free.

"The people of Namibia expect me back soon after independence and I hope that the five Western

powers that are involved in the handing over of power according to democratic principles, will see to it that the will of the people is done," said Father Hunke.

He said he did not see Mr Justice Steyn as a neutral referee of the political dispute in SWA because the Administrator-General could be judged from the type of emergency laws he had declared in the country.

"He is certainly not a neutral man and one could judge him from the type of emergency laws which he has given himself to deal with the so-called undesirable persons."

These laws, Father Hunke said, were the same as those in South Africa which aimed at "maintaining the status quo in SWA as demanded by the South African Government".

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SWA rekindles hope — Waldheim

Own Correspondent
NEW YORK — The “dramatic breakthrough” on SWA/Namibia rekindles hope for all of Southern Africa, the Secretary-General of the United Nations told the Organization of African Unity summit in Khartoum yesterday.

But he warned that the worsening Rhodesia situation threatened the entire region and said South Africa was still headed on a “tragic” course. He also painted a gloomy picture of Africa as a whole.

The continent’s external debt was now more than R135 billion, trade

and food production was slumping, 83 million people faced starvation, and conflicts had created nearly four million refugees.

Dr Waldheim brushed aside South African and Swapo mutterings over the SWA/Namibia peace deal. “Today I share in the general satisfaction that a dramatic breakthrough has been achieved,” he said.

He congratulated “the parties directly involved” for their “positive attitude”. He had no doubts that the complex 6 000-man UN policing operation would go ahead and had

contingency plans ready for the process to independence.

On Rhodesia, he was disappointed that a round-table conference of all parties had not been agreed to, and with an eye on the US Senate, he emphasized the need to maintain full sanctions against Salisbury.

“Until the leaders involved accept the inescapable fact that unilateral action will not bring about a lasting solution, the situation can only worsen with dangerous consequences to the peace of the entire area,” he said.

Dr Waldheim said a UN mission had reported that enforcing sanctions

had cost Zambia more than R700 million and was costing Mozambique more than R90 million a year.

He called for “generous” international support for the two.

South Africa was still following a “dangerous course” that could only end tragically unless checked. He was particularly concerned at “the absence of any indication that its government is moving away from its basic policies of institutionalized racial discrimination”.

● SA will work for SWA plan — page 2



Dr Waldheim

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Smith raises his Black partners

Mercury Correspondent
Salisbury — Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr. Ian Smith yesterday blamed his three Black colleagues in the Executive Council for the lack of progress on a ceasefire in the bush war.

ALL-IN TOURS ARE OUT

SALISBURY — Rhodesians have practically been barred from taking all-inclusive holidays at higher-rated South African hotels for periods of more than two weeks.

A Reserve Bank of Rhodesia ruling sent to travel agents last year requires holidaymakers to have a minimum of five dollars (R6,50) a day in cash, over and above the foreign exchange taken off their passports in advance for the cost of the hotel accommodation.

He told a Press conference in Salisbury: "I am disappointed at the lack of progress. I have made my views known to my colleagues in the Executive Council."

There seemed to have been an improvement but he did not want to mislead people into thinking there had been a "roaring success."

Mr Smith said Whites had made concessions and were waiting for the *quid pro quo* they had been led to expect.

Asked if he was pointing a finger at his three Black colleagues, Mr. Smith said: "Yes, as far as a ceasefire is concerned."

"There is little I can do other than ask my security forces to co-operate with them. I hope we are going to have better results from now on."

a possible solution in Rhodesia is a return to legality and a temporary period of British rule.

In a letter to the Daily Telegraph yesterday he wrote, "The situation in Rhodesia grows worse day by day."

Doubtful

"The internal settlement might have worked if the British Government had shown more support. It is now increasingly doubtful whether it can check the tide of guerrilla violence."

Once legality was restored no African government would have any excuse for helping "guerrillas" invade British territory. Nor would there be any longer any objection to raising sanctions, he wrote.

And in Khartoum, reports the Mercury's Africa Bureau, Mr. Joshua Nkomo,

Earlier this year, South African hoteliers visited Salisbury in an attempt to promote more holiday business for Natal coastal hotels.

But even a fortnight all-inclusive stay at an average Durban beachfront three-star hotel, at peak season, would cost more than 400 dollars (R520) of which at least 250 (R325) would come off the holidaymaker's passport.

This would leave a possible balance on foreign travel allowance of 30 dollars (R39) in travellers' cheques and the equivalent of 20 dollars (R25) in rands, insufficient to meet the bank's minimum — (Sapa.)

Later in the conference Mr. Smith surprised nationalists by saying that if the "small" ceasefire successes continued they would cover the whole country. But he added: "Maybe they won't. My word, we haven't really tried seriously yet."

He did not explain this remark which nationalist sources in the internal parties said later was unfortunate in view of the number of Black emissaries who had been killed on ceasefire missions.

Parried

Mr Smith parried questions on whether he and his colleagues would attend British-American sponsored all-party talks, saying they were willing to negotiate but not under present conditions.

By this he meant that the British Government was still "playing along" with the militant Patriotic Front.

Mr. Smith refused to concede there had been a plunge in White morale. He admitted Whites were more worried "than they have ever been," but he felt there was still a chance "and for heaven's sake don't let us give up before we have given it a real try."

In London, meanwhile, former Conservative Cabinet Minister Mr. Reginald Maudling, has said

co-leader of the Patriotic Front, said most of the Rhodesian security forces had no morale to continue fighting the war for another six months.

The Black nationalist leader, who is in Khartoum with his partner, Mr. Robert Mugabe, asserted that unless Mr. Smith and the internal Black leaders came together at an all-party conference they would be defeated by terrorists of the Patriotic Front by next March.

Big Five pledge to SA on Walvis

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By Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent

Top level assurances have been given by the Western Five contact group to the South African Government on Walvis Bay being a separate issue to the SWA/Namibia settlement proposals

It is understood a note was delivered to the South African Government this week reaffirming in black and white that the proposals accepted by Swapo were the same as those accepted by South Africa in April.

The note is believed to have spelled out that the question of whether Walvis Bay would be incorporated in the territory, could be worked out in separate negotiations after SWA/Namibia gains independence.

HOPEFUL

It would be a matter to be resolved between the sovereign states of South Africa and SWA/Namibia. Observers have interpreted the move as a hopeful sign that Walvis Bay is being removed as a potential stumbling block in the UN Security Council when the Council meets on SWA/Namibia independence soon.

The note followed verbal exchanges at the weekend between the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Western Five representatives in Pretoria in which Mr Botha is said to have repeated that the question of Walvis Bay could form no part of a UN resolution leading to independence.

The question of Walvis Bay became what Mr Botha called a shadow over settlement prospects when it was raised in Luanda last week by Swapo President, Mr Sam Nujoma.

Observers pointed out at the time that not only Mr Nujoma but other parties in SWA/Namibia including the Namibian National Front and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance also claimed the port for the territory.

● After three weeks, registration of voters in SWA/Namibia is nearing the critical 50 percent mark. More than 214 013 people had registered by Friday.

Small light in 'black' Africa

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Richard Walker
NEW YORK — The breakthrough on West Africa rekindles for all southern Africa, Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, told the summit in Khartoum. He warned that the Rhodesian situa-

tion threatened the entire region and he maintained that South Africa itself was still headed on a "tragic" course.

He also painted a gloomy picture of Africa as a whole

The continent's external debt was now more than R135 000 million, trade and food production were slumping, 83 million people faced

starvation and the spate of conflicts had created nearly 4 000 000 refugees.

Dr. Waldheim brushed aside South African and Swapo mutterings over the South West Africa peace deal

"Today I share in the general satisfaction that a dramatic breakthrough has been achieved," he said.

He congratulated the parties directly involved for their positive attitude.

He made it clear he had no doubts that the complex and costly 6 000-man UN policing operation would go ahead and said he had contingency plans ready for the entire process through to independence

On Rhodesia, he expressed keen disappointment that a round-table conference of all sides had not been agreed to and with an eye on the U.S. Senate he stressed the need to maintain full sanctions against Salisbury.

"Until the leaders involved accept the inescapable fact that unilateral action will not bring about a lasting solution, the situation can only worsen with dangerous consequences to the peace of the entire area," he said.

Cost

Dr. Waldheim disclosed that a UN mission had reported back that enforcing sanctions had cost Zambia more than R700 million and was costing Mozambique more than R90 million a year.

He called for "generous" international support for the two — another crack at Congress in Washington, where efforts are underway to stop all aid for the front-line States.

Turning to South Africa, Dr. Waldheim said that the Republic was still following a "dangerous course" that could only end tragically unless checked.

He said he was particularly concerned over "the absence of any indication that its Government is moving away from its basic policies of institutionalised racial discrimination."

Alternatives

Our correspondent in Pretoria reports on another "contingency" plan for a UDI in South West Africa should Swapo veer from the West's peace plan and make impossible demands.

According to observers in Pretoria the actions and

reported statements of Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma, since it was announced that Swapo had accepted the West contact group's settlement proposals have given rise to the fear that a last-minute Russian-inspired pull-out is possible

Mr Nujoma is now in Moscow for discussions with the Kremlin's liberation movement specialists.

Reports from Washington earlier this week were that South Africa had warned that it would reject the peace plan if its sovereignty over Walvis Bay was challenged.

In the West's agreement with South Africa — basically the same as that accepted by Swapo in Luanda last week — it was agreed that the future of Walvis Bay could be the subject of discussions between the S.A. Government and the new SWA government after independence.

Paris

Our Paris correspondent says a four-man delegation of the Namibian National Front, led by Mr. Bryan O'Linn, had arrived here on a fund-raising mission and also to warn France "a new Angola is being prepared in our territory"

The delegation came here from Bonn, and among Mr. O'Linn's colleagues is Mr. Andreas Shipanga.

Mr. Shipanga bitterly attacked the reported agreement reached on South West Africa last week in Luanda.

Basson warns on Walvis Bay

CAPE TOWN — The chief Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Japie Basson, warned last night that the dispute over Walvis Bay was likely to escalate into an issue as 'difficult and dangerous' for South Africa as the issue of South West Africa itself

At the same time he predicted that if the Western proposals for the territory were to be properly implemented, independence could not be expected before the last four months of next year

Speaking at a PFP meeting in Green Point, Mr Basson called on the Government to again make it clear it would be prepared to negotiate with an independent Namibia on the future position of Walvis Bay, and from nowhere more than inside South West Africa itself

"With few exceptions every political party and every black and brown leader, and some white leaders, too, openly



MR BASSON . . . dispute will escalate

favour the eventual inclusion of Walvis Bay in an independent Namibia "

The Government, he said, should have known for a long time that the West, the United Nations and the Security Council would also back this principle

Mr Basson appealed to all participating parties who had accepted the proposals to stick to the agreement — DDC

Swapo: NNF may get SA is Paris backing delaying

LUSAKA — South Africa was delaying independence in South West Africa, Swapo's publicity and information secretary, Mr Peter Katjavivi, said here

Discussing Swapo's meeting of the five Western countries in Luanda, he said in a radio interview his organisation doubted the sincerity of the South African Government if it refused to include Walvis Bay in the proposals and remove its troops from the territory

It was unfair for South Africa to blame Swapo for delaying independence

Mr Katjavivi also accused South Africa of trying to blackmail Swapo into accepting a 'puppet' government by conducting a voters' registration exercise

In spite of this, Swapo was optimistic of getting into power in South West — SAPA

PARIS — France is "sold" on the Namibian National Front (NNF) following the visit of a four man delegation here earlier this week and will ask a number of moderate West African states to give it backing and recognition

A French diplomatic source said "The delegation went to the Foreign Ministry where they were well received at a high level. In fact, an ambassador from one of the five Western countries involved over South West Africa was present at the talks, but I cannot name him"

Following this meeting on Monday, it is understood the French Government will approach several African countries — Gabon, Senegal and Ivory Coast initially — to request recognition of the NNF

The delegation was composed of Bryan O'Linn, John Kirkpatrick, Andreas Shipanga, a former Swapo information minister and Claudius Hengemond

Mr O'Linn and Mr Kirkpatrick flew back to South Africa last night

The diplomatic source said 'Mr Shipanga impressed Foreign Ministry officials as having the calibre of a future head of state. They liked the NNF's moderate line, which if successful, could serve as an important example for South Africa'

It is understood here that France will provide the Front with discreet financial backing which will probably include subsidising a NNF bureau in Paris

The NNF delegation held talks with officials of the Gaullist and Presidential parties and clearly made an excellent impression

The fact that the delegation was received at the Foreign Ministry shows high level French Government interest

It is understood the delegation, which came to Paris from Bonn, received some financial assistance from German political and private groups — DDC

Early SWA poll impossible, say NNF men

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

ACHIEVEMENT of South West African independence by December 31 was "absolutely impossible", top members of the Namibian National Front (NNF), said last night.

Three members of the NNF executive, Mr Charles Hartung, Mr John Kirkpatrick and Mr Bryan O'Linn, were in Johannesburg en route for SWA from Cape.

The NNF is the "third force" in SWA, occupying an intermediate position between the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Swapo.

Asked where the NNF stood on the question of Walvis Bay, Mr Hartung said the NNF claimed Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia, but believed the issue should not be allowed to disrupt the Western proposals for a settlement.

Mr O'Linn said: "It would be foolish of South Africa to continue with the attitude that Walvis Bay is its property because of a decision from the good, old colonial days."

In terms of the Western settlement proposals one man, one vote elections for a constituent assembly must be held before inde-

pendence is granted to the territory.

The DTA has been pressing for an early election on the grounds that delay is causing uncertainty and is, therefore, detrimental to SWA's interests.

But the NNF men challenged that, contending that there was another reason of more selfish self interest.

Mr Hartung said early independence was "unilaterally decided on by the Turnhalle conference".

Mr Kirkpatrick said the DTA emerged from the Turnhalle conference with a virtually ready-made organisation and heavy financial backing and therefore stood to benefit from an early election.

Mr O'Linn said: "I think they are dead scared that the black people will discover what their formula is."

● France is "sold" on the NNF, reports the Rand Daily Mail Correspondent in Paris. This follows the visit of a four-man NNF delegation — Mr Bryan O'Linn, Mr John Kirkpatrick, Mr Andreas Shipanga, a former Swapo information minister, and Mr Claudius Hengarikandjou — to Paris this week.

It is understood the French Government will approach several West African countries to request recognition of the NNF.

22/7/78 R.D.M. (221)

Morrow to make his way to UK

By DAVID FORBET
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK —The Anglican Vicar-General of the Damaraland Diocese, the Rev Ed Morrow, leaves for Botswana today after his expulsion from South West Africa

His wife, Lauren, and five-year-old daughter, Lydia, will travel to Johannesburg tonight

Mr and Mrs Morrow, both South African citizens, were served with deportation orders last week under AG 50, a new proclamation which empowers the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Martinus Steyn, to deport "undesirable" people from the territory

Father Heinz Hunke, a Roman Catholic priest in SWA, was also ordered to leave SWA and returned to West Germany on Tuesday

Mrs Morrow said yesterday her husband would initially stay in Gaborone but would probably make his way to Britain.

"Giving us only seven days to leave the country was absolutely unreasonable and, as a result, we have not been able to plan very far ahead," she said.

STEVE KGAME reports that provincial heads of the Oblate of Mary Immaculate, one of the oldest and most influential Catholic missions in South Africa, yesterday condemned Father Hunke's deportation.

They said they were shocked and grieved at the "drastic penalty taken against Father Hunke."

"We find it inconsistent with the declared desire by the SWA authorities to lead the people of the territory honourably along the path to peace, they said

Because there was no explanation why Father Hunke was ordered to leave, they assumed the cause of his expulsion was his painstaking research into allegations of intimidation and torture and his active concern for the rights of the people he served.

Father Hunke has courageously exposed the facts of the situation and repeatedly appealed to the authorities to ensure respect for fundamental human rights"

They rejected the accusation that Father Hunke was a threat to good order and was backing a vendetta against the South African security forces

"We testify unreservedly to his courage and sincerity," they said.

The OMI Provincial Superiors who issued the joint statement are Father T Manyeli in Lesotho, Father P Winters of Transvaal, Father A Danker of Natal, Father Hubbard of Kimberley and Father D Cornu of Western Transvaal

SWA plan ready for UN airing

Pretoria Bureau
THE South West African settlement plan is expected to be submitted to the UN Security Council before the end of the month, according to diplomatic sources in Pretoria

The favoured date is next Tuesday

It is not yet known whether the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, will attend the session

This month's council chairman is a Canadian, and this is regarded as being a marginal advantage to the Western powers — of which Canada is one — when their plan is submitted for approval

Basson warns on Walvis Bay dispute

Cape Times
20/7/78

221

Political Correspondent

THE chief Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Japie Basson, warned last night the dispute over Walvis Bay was likely to escalate into an issue as "difficult and dangerous" for South Africa as the issue of SWA/Namibia itself.

At the same time he predicted that if the Western proposals for the territory were to be properly implemented, independence could not be expected before the last four months of next year.

Speaking at a PFP meeting in Green Point, Mr Basson called on the government to again make it clear that it would be prepared to negotiate with an independent Namibia on the future position of Walvis Bay, provided the new government there was stable and democratic and had no hostile intentions against the Republic.

He said relationships between South Africa and an independent Namibia would depend to a great extent on whether the Walvis Bay question is resolved.

Mr Basson said there could be no question that Walvis Bay was legally part of the Republic and the government ought not to "allow itself to be blackmailed" into a denial of South Africa's legal position.

"But this should not blind us to the realities of the situation. Enormous pressures are going to build up against us over Walvis Bay, and from

nowhere more than inside SWA itself.

"With few exceptions every political party and every black and brown leader, and some white leaders too, openly favour the eventual inclusion of Walvis Bay in an independent Namibia."

The government, he said, should have known for a long time that the West, the United Nations and the Security Council would also back this principle.

Mr Basson pointed out that the time schedule attached to the Western proposals envisaged a campaign period of about four months and that before the official start of the campaign, a long range of preliminaries had to be completed to the satisfaction of all parties involved.

"Independence must therefore not be expected before the last third of next year. There is bound to be disappointment in many quarters, but the government should not allow itself to be pressurized into taking unilateral action in conflict with the agreed procedures.

"And the democratic forces in the territory should welcome the extra time available and use it to their best possible advantage."

Up to SA — O'Linn

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Government could either "make a friend more friendlier" or an "unfriendly one more unfriendlier" on the question of Walvis Bay, Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary-general of the Namibian National Front (NNF) said here last night.

Mr O'Linn and two of the Front's top executive members, Mr John Kirkpatrick, national treasurer, and Mr Charlie Hartung, secretary for Foreign Affairs, were replying to questions at a Press conference on their return from a 10-day visit overseas.

According to Mr Kirkpatrick, they were accompanied by four other NNF members and visited France and West Germany, where they held discussions with leading government members.

Walvis issue in UN debate?

— Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — The Walvis Bay issue threatens to come up in the Security Council when it meets at the end of this month to launch phase one of the United Nations Namibia independence operation.

The West has already a draft resolution prepared in which it would support the need for the disputed enclave to be integrated in the future Namibia. It hoped to hold off deliberation on this until subsequent council action in August but it is understood that the African group is pressing for a prompt debate.

Hectic

With South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha and the foreign ministers of all the major Western powers expected to take part, a hectic session is in prospect.

Western officials stressed again on Wednesday that the Walvis Bay resolution would be separate from the Namibia independence deal and would force no commitment on the Republic.

But they are also voicing concern over another possible danger — that the African nations might seek to block Mr Botha's appearance before the council.

Though South Africa has

Friday, July 21, 1978

★

Swapo:

CAPE TOWN 21/7/78

How we

differ on

SWA deal

WINDHOEK - Swapo regarded Walvis Bay as an integral part of SWA/Namibia, but accepted it could be reintegrated into the territory before or after independence, Mr M K Tlhabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary in SWA/Namibia, said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference at the J G Strydom Airport near here after his return from Luanda, Angola where he attended the talks between the Western five and Swapo, Mr Tlhabanello said Swapo had accepted the same set of proposals as South Africa, but there still appeared to be a difference in interpretation.

"Swapo and the West have accepted the fact that Walvis Bay is part and parcel of Namibia to be reintegrated into the territory before or after independence," he said.

A joint agreement

Previously, Swapo had insisted the question of Walvis Bay be settled before independence. The Walvis Bay dispute had not been included in the package accepted by South Africa and Swapo.

Asked to outline the main differences in interpretation of the proposals, Mr Tlhabanello said it seemed South Africa was under the impression that South African troops would be replaced by South African police in the transitional period.

They also seem to believe that the Administrator General will be in full control during that time.

"But, as we understand it, this is going to be a joint agreement and nothing will take effect if it is not approved by the United Nations special representative in Namibia."

The UN representative would have veto power and the Administrator General, Mr Justice Steyn, would not be in "absolute control", he said.

Asked if private assurances had been given to Swapo at the Luanda talks, Mr Tlhabanello said "We did not expect any private assurances from the West - we do not even trust them."

• The Security Council will meet next Tuesday or Wednesday to approve implementation of the settlement, reliable sources said in New York yesterday.

• Mr Andrew Young, America's ambassador to the UN, said yesterday he hoped the Security Council would decide next week to send the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to SWA/Namibia "to set up a framework for free elections."

Deal 'in bag' - McHenry

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK - The SWA/Namibia independence deal is "in the bag", US negotiator Mr Donald McHenry said yesterday.

He hoped the Security Council would meet on Tuesday to give immediate approval to the appointment and dispatch of Mr Martti Ahtisaari to Windhoek.

He insisted there would be no problems with South Africa over a Walvis Bay resolution. There was "no question" of it containing a legal challenge to South African sovereignty there, he said.

SWA gives hope for peace in southern Africa

EVERYBODY who cares about democracy, abhors violence and believes in the importance of the United Nations, should be singing hosannas for the remarkable success of the Western nations' initiative in getting both South Africa and South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) to accept their proposals for bringing South West Africa (Namibia) to its independence by the end of the year.

Although many obstacles still stand in the way to final success, nevertheless what has already been achieved is historic. The significance of this agreement goes far beyond just possibly setting another African country on its road to independence.

Similar success

- It substantially improves the chances of achieving a similar success in the negotiations for Rhodesia's independence on terms acceptable to the world community
- It shows that African majority rule can be achieved by means other than all-out violent struggle; this could substantially improve the chances of getting meaningful political changes in South Africa itself
- It could remove the dangerous tensions along the Namibian-Angolan border

— a pre-requisite for stabilising the situation in Angola as well as in Zaire. This would reduce President Agostinho Neto's dependence on massive Cuban and Russian military presence in his country, and so facilitate the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

• It re-establishes the authority of the United Nations which, for 32 years, has been made to look ridiculous by its failure to uphold its responsibility for its mandate over the territory

• It demonstrates that Premier Vorster and his Government is not completely obdurate, nor impermeable to collective Western pressures.

• It demonstrates in a positive way how the Western nations can face up to the Soviet-Cuban challenge in Africa by working in close co-operation with African leaders to

promote their interests, as well as those of Western Europe and North America.

The beginning of what now promises to be a largely peaceful denouement in the long Namibian struggle was the arrival in 1947 in the corridors of the United Nations of a then unknown Anglican cleric, the Rev Michael Scott, bearing a petition and a prayer from the venerable old Herero Chief Hosea Kutako.

Their intervention stopped in its tracks a move by South Africa's then Prime Minister, General J C Smuts, to take over South West Africa.

Scott and Kutako found no Western support. But they persisted, taking their battle through a long succession of legal actions in the World Court at The Hague

By the beginning of this year the situation in Namibia looked critical. Swapo, with Russian and Cuban support, had emerged as a credible threat to the South African presence in Namibia; and the Vorster Government was on the point of imposing its own internal settlement on the territory — in much the same way as it is now being attempted in Rhodesia.

If Premier Vorster were to carry through his plan, the Western nations realised they would have no option but to go along with an African demand in the Security Council for tough sanctions against South Africa

At the same time Swapo would have been able to count on African acceptance of Russian and Cuban support in mounting a major military challenge to the authority of the new regime in Namibia.

Recognising these threats to Western interests, the European Economic Community made a collective *demarche* against Mr Vorster in which they warned him of the risks he would be running if he imposed a solution not internationally acceptable.

At the same time the five Western members of the

The mediation effort was looked upon with equal suspicion by both South Africa and Swapo. While both sought to use it to their own advantage, neither was sure about the direction it would take.

But of the two sides, Swapo proved to be the more obdurate, both because it was the weaker of the two and because its experience had taught it to mistrust the Western nations — a mistrust naturally enough encouraged by the Russians

The 15 months of negotiations were frequently threatened with failure, either because of Mr Vorster's stand or, more often, because of Swapo's objections. Each time Swapo threatened to break off the negotiating process, the Front-Line Presidents (backed by Nigeria) used their influence to keep its leader, Sam Nujoma, in the talks

When the danger of collapse was at its greatest — after the South African Army had invaded Angola to attack Namibian military camps — a decisive role was played by President Neto in backing up his colleagues in the Front-Line States

This was a crucial turning-point, showing that even the most revolutionary of African leaders could be won over to support a peaceful rather than a violent solution for the problems of southern Africa.

Diplomatic exercise

The lesson to be learnt from this diplomatic exercise is that the Western nations are still in a position to exercise decisive influence provided they act collectively, and can harmonise their own interests with African interests

It is only when the Western Powers' policies are mistrusted in Africa, and lack a clear purpose, that opportunities arise which the Russians are able to exploit — as in the Horn of Africa and in the Angola-Zaire conflict.

While the chances for a peaceful settlement in Namibia now look promising, the future is by no means yet assured. It is still possible that either South

what came to be known as the Contact Group to try and mediate between South Africa and Swapo.

They succeeded in getting the support of the Africa Group in the United Nations for their mediation effort, so long as its purpose was to secure the implementation of the world body's resolutions on Namibia

Faced with this collective Western initiative — the first time the West European and North American countries have ever attempted to present a united front to South Africa — Mr. Vorster agreed to accept their mediation attempt, notwithstanding his previously blank refusal to involve Marxist terrorists in any negotiations

Africa or Swapo may say or do foolish things which could reverse the gains so painfully made.

But even if this could be avoided, the real test will come during the election period which is to precede independence. Swapo will by no means have it all its own way.

It will find itself confronted by two major opposition parties — the one multi-racial, the other a coalition of African tribal groups. Although Swapo was able, substantially, to maintain its unity for so long as there appeared to be no alternative to a determined armed struggle, there are divisions within its ranks

(OFNS COPYRIGHT)

Swapo gives way on Walvis Bay

By Colleen Hendriks,
The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo has backed down on its stand that the South African enclave of Walvis Bay must become independent with the rest of SWA/Namibia

This became apparent in an interview with Swapo's Secretary for Publicity and Information, Mr. M K Tlhabanello, who attended the crucial conference between Swapo and the five Western powers last week

On his arrival at Windhoek's J G Strijdom airport today, Mr Tlhabanello made it clear Swapo had accepted the Western proposals for a peaceful settlement in SWA/Namibia "as they are"

FINAL

The talks were final, he said

The Western package makes no mention of Walvis Bay — its status or future

But, Swapo still regarded Walvis Bay, said Mr Tlhabanello, as part and

parcel of SWA/Namibia. Its integration could take place at any time before or after independence

The Luanda summit at which Swapo finally accepted the Western package for peaceful independence, centred on the clarification of two issues: Walvis Bay and the position of the 1,500 South African troops who will remain in the territory until a week after the election of a Constituent Assembly, which will draft constitution for the territory.

EXILE

Mr Tlhabanello also said there were strong indications that Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma would return to SWA/Namibia before the elections

Mr Nujoma, prime mover behind Swapo's guerilla war, has been in exile for 19 years

The leader of the break-away Swapo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga, also plans to return to the territory

● Namibia Front "needs funds to win election"

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Swapo moderates stand on Walvis Bay

WINDHOEK — Walvis Bay was an integral part of South West Africa and would be reintegrated into the territory either before or after independence, Mr Mokganedi Tlhabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said yesterday.

After his arrival here from the recent Luanda talks, Mr Tlhabanello said he did not expect the Walvis Bay issue to become a stumbling block to a peaceful solution

"In fact, the West has accepted the fact that Walvis Bay is part and parcel of Namibia and should be reintegrated into the territory anytime before or after independence. With that we are happy"

Mr Tlhabanello's statement — which moderates Swapo's previous stand that the enclave be returned to South West Africa before independence — follows South African warnings that the Walvis Bay issue could wreck the delicate peace agreement forged by the West

He said Walvis Bay was not included in the Western proposals

Asked whether Swapo had been given any

private assurances by the West, he said "We did not expect any private assurances from the West because we don't even trust them"

But he highlighted the differences of interpretation of the peace package by South Africa and Swapo

Though the two parties had accepted the same plan, he said it seemed as if the Republic had accepted only its interpretation of the proposals

"If South Africa doesn't sabotage the agreement by sticking to its interpretation, we are confident that the people of Namibia will be able to celebrate independence, but not earlier than May next year," he said

Mr Tlhabanello's rejection of independence by the end of this year was supported yesterday by a delegation of the

moderate Namibian National Front on their return from a visit to Europe

Mr Tlhabanello said South Africa seemed to believe that its withdrawn troops would be replaced by police, and that the administrator-general, Mr Justice Steyn, would have "absolute control" over the electoral process.

"We understand, however, that there will be joint agreements between Judge Steyn and the United Nations representative, who will have a veto right on any decision"

He said, too, Swapo was satisfied that 5 000 UN troops would "surround, control and supervise" the 1 500 South African troops in northern South West Africa

It was difficult to predict a time limit, he said, but a ceasefire was practicable

Swapo's President, Mr Sam Nujoma, and other exiles would probably return during the election campaign and he was convinced Swapo would gain at least 60 per cent of the vote in an election

"This will definitely increase once the intimidatory measures fall away with the arrival of the UN representative"

• The Anglican Vicar-General of South West Africa, the Rev Ed Morrow, left here yesterday after being ordered to leave by Mr Steyn

Before leaving for Botswana, he said he could not foresee a peaceful transition to independence during the next six months because political parties were scoring points against each other, but he believed the Western plan would be implemented and that Swapo would win the election — DDC-SAPA

Nujoma. the war has not stopped

KHARTOUM — Swapo president Sam Nujoma yesterday told OAU heads of state meeting here the Luanda agreement with the West was not a ceasefire declaration.

Mr Nujoma said the agreement was only the first step towards the settlement of the country's independence issue.

He also said the agreement faced difficulties because South Africa was expected to take part in the supervision of the transition to independence.

Observers here believe Swapo is worried that South Africa could manipulate the situation to make sure Swapo, regarded by the OAU as the sole representative of the people of Namibia, does not win the elections.

Mr Nujoma appealed to the OAU to back Swapo at the United Nations Security Council when the issue is brought up.

Another issue which Swapo is strongly contesting is that South African troops which remain in Namibia should be stationed at one point under strict conditions.

Swapo is also demanding that the UN representative in South West Africa have the authority to approve or reject decisions by the South African representative — DDC

Walvis Bay as Soviet base?

LONDON — The rise to power of Swapo in South West Africa could result in Soviet naval ships gaining access to Walvis Bay and threatening the security of South Africa, according to the latest edition of Jane's Fighting Ships.

In his foreword to the 800-page annual world naval reference book, the editor, Capt John Moore, paints a grim picture of the developments he foresees in Southern Africa.

"The future success of Swapo in Namibia could open the excellent harbour of Walvis Bay to the Soviet fleet, a valuable adjunct as Western vacillations and double standards put the whole of South Africa in jeopardy," Capt Moore wrote.

He added that the "splendid deep-water ports of the Cape and Natal could be handed over to those whose interests are best served by the disruption of the Cape route between Asia and Western Europe."

Interviewed on the

publication of the latest issue of the authoritative reference book, he said Reshet class fast attack craft — Israeli-design boats being built in Durban and Haifa — were more suitable to South Africa's current needs than the two frigates and two submarines impounded by France last year to conform with the UN's mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

Capt Moore openly admitted he was biased towards South Africa. The R50 book with a secret circulation figure again this year emphasised the value of the Cape sea route.

A spokesman for Defence headquarters in Pretoria said the report in Jane's Fighting Ships had no bearing on any official details released in South Africa.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, however, said during the Defence budget debate in Parliament this year he would release more information later this year on South African naval equipment — SAPA

Tough road to peace

The critical weeks ahead will demand steady nerves and diplomatic staying power on the dusty road to UN-endorsed independence for SWA

The sponsors of the Western settlement proposals would probably be the first to admit that their plan, finally agreed to last week by Swapo, after SA had accepted it weeks earlier, is built on a fragile frame. It is an uneasy compromise, assembled on middle ground between two ideological rivals whose struggle for popular support in the former UN trust territory has engendered much bitterness and suspicion.

To secure last week's Luanda agreement, when after 15 months of arduous diplomacy Swapo finally agreed to have the Western plan tested in the UN Security Council, the Western contact group had to enlist the aid of seven or eight key sub-Saharan African states, including Nigeria. They finally threw in their support only when it became clear that the SWA war had the potential, fanned by Soviet-Cuban support, to plunge southern Africa into conflict.

Progress was slow in the beginning because both Swapo and Pretoria had too much to lose in an independence process over which they did not have total control.

Now, 15 months and over 1 000 deaths later, the two sides are — more or less reluctantly — prepared to subject their ideologies to an internationally supervised test of popular support. Because the stakes are so high, however, each seeks to project its position, and its interpretation of the rules of the contest, as a victory.

Not surprisingly, the rhetoric is beginning to fly. Sam Nujoma spouts away in Moscow, where he is paying tribute to his gunsmith before moving on to Belgrade for the meeting of foreign ministers of the non-aligned nations next week. In SA, TV interviewers direct their subjects to questions of war, and cabinet ministers like the two Bothas make it clear they will tolerate no nonsense from Swapo, the West or the UN.

Hopefully, however, the real action will be confined to the chamber of the UN Security Council where, sometime next week, the five Western powers, with the implied assistance of Nigeria, Mauritius and Gabon, will put phase one of the peace plan into operation.



Tienie Steyn . . . working himself out of a job?

In terms of the published Western proposals, this calls on the Security Council to pass a resolution authorising UN Secretary-General Waldheim to appoint a special representative who will draw up a plan (which Waldheim says he already has) for UN involvement.

The man most likely to get the job is the former Finnish ambassador to Tanzania, Martti Ahtisaari, who will take a UN contingency planning group to SWA, while Waldheim prepares to put together a UN Task Assistance Group (Untag). About a week later Waldheim will convene another Security Council

meeting to report progress and seek formal Council endorsement of the Western proposals — and the important question of finance.

The sponsors of the Western plan are confident that Eastern bloc members of the Council will not scuttle the plan, because it has the committed support of the leading African states. Most important, it has the support of President Neto of Angola and President Kaunda of Zambia, Swapo's main hosts. Both presidents are deeply concerned about the economic problems of their countries and the effect on them of continued instability and armed conflict. Peace in SWA will stabilise Angola as support dries up for Unita and FNLA. In turn, relative stability will return to Zaire so that the copper freight trains from Zambia and Shaba can once again run unhindered to Lobito.

Western investment?

There is promise, too, that stabilisation of the Angolan situation will invite heavy Western investment to reconstruct the ruined economy and that this will possibly attract thousands of Portuguese to run the mines, factories and plantations once again. The theory is that the ensuing prosperity will drive out the Cubans and the Soviets. At least, it will remove their excuse for being there.

The fervent hope of the West and the front line states is that peace and stability in Angola and SWA will be "catching," and that it will have the effect of generating strong diplomatic pressures for peace in Rhodesia.

Western observers hope, therefore, that in this almost utopian scenario for southern Africa there will be little hope for the kind of low risk, low-cost adventurism at which the Soviets and Cubans excel. The principal merit of the Western blueprint is that it complies more closely with the OAU ideal of "unity, liberation and development" than anything yet devised by the Soviets.

Implicit in all this are substantial diplomatic and economic rewards for SA. If the Republic does nothing to jeopardise

For the Western plan its successful implementation will make its own position in Africa a little less indefensible in the eyes of the West — or, put another way, it will help the West to postpone awkward decisions about continued association with Pretoria in the sphere of trade, investment and diplomacy.

So, with Swapo in a firm headlock exercised by the front line states and with Pretoria presumably aware that it will never have another chance quite like the one to buy peace goodwill and live to "change at home what can go wrong."

The short answer is just about anything. In SWA itself, Administrator

General Steyn may be handing out imitations of law and order in the manner of ham-knecker at his best. Although he has gone part of the way to create the right sort of conditions for free elections, he either will not or cannot run the country, since at detention and likely expulsion, with or without trial.

And the dice remains that Swapo could slip in the night and launch a raid across the border and trigger another spiral of violence.

At the Security Council meetings there will be intense lobbying to keep the resolution from coming and to prevent the Waldheim bayonet from becoming a pre-

text of an excuse to break off the exercise. There will probably be moments during the debates next week and the week after when heads of state in a dozen capitals will weigh the options and have second thoughts.

But the ground for hope must be strong. The most positive thing that can be said about prospects for the SWA peace plan is that so much is at stake for so many.

It is a bit of a paradox that the plan's weakness is also its strength. Because it is fragile and took 15 months to assemble, it is unlikely that its sponsors and supporters will allow it to fail.

SUPREME GRAND CHAPTER OF THE HOLY ROYAL ARCH OF SOUTH AFRICA HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF SLM THEORIES

1. INTRODUCTION

Segmented or dual labour market theories (1) have strongly challenged the orthodox view of the classical and neoclassical economists (referred to as orthodox economists). The segmented labour market economists (referred to as SLM economists) are deeply concerned with social justice and feel that traditional theories fail to explain adequately many events in the labour market. Thus their work may be viewed as being strongly motivated by ideology.

NO. HELD

They have pointed out various instances of social inequality resulting from the operation of the labour market. For instance, SLM economists issue with the view that poverty is an individual failure that can be corrected by individual adaptation. The SLM approach is very much concerned with the CHAPTER POLICY REGULATIONS of poverty and unemployment. 50c

Orthodox labour economics consists of the marginal productivity theory of demand, based on the profit maximising behaviour of employers, and a supply theory of utility maximisation by workers. Employers are predicted to make hiring decisions on the basis of whether new employees are likely to be worth as much as they cost, whilst workers supply labour in preference to more leisure in proportion to the real wage. 11

Richard A. Barikpa's analysis presented below, is felt that the domination of Black workers and White employers and "privileged" workers leads itself particularly well as a reference point. The application of the South African model is self-evident in most of the theories discussed, and hence specific reference to the Black-White situation in South Africa is not considered necessary.

2. KEY ISSUES RAISED BY SLM ECONOMISTS
APRON EDGES 8 2,00
The most important social problem motivating the SLM economists is the persistence of poverty, which they feel is best understood in terms of a dual labour market. The poor are confined to a secondary labour market, and earning wages so low that they are unable to gain access to primary employment. (a) 29 0,60

SLM economists have criticised human capital theory on two grounds. First, they feel that education and training programmes are accused of having failed to improve wages. Both educational resources and educational achievement are asserted to have been ineffective in realising income and occupational attainment. Secondly, the orthodox theory that education and earnings are related to productivity has been rejected by SLM economists. They argue that education reflects only a screening device for employers. R.A. Collarettes 7

Discrimination in labour markets is viewed as evidence of the failure of the orthodox theory of competition. SLM economists assert that standards of living are lower in the secondary labour market than in the primary labour market, but this has not been supported by observed labour market behaviour. Similarly, SLM economists feel that the level and structure of unemployment cannot be explained by orthodox theory.

NOTE: All other Grand Chapter Regalia on Hire to Grand Accounting Purposes.

- (1) The theories, though not entirely uniform, of a group of labour economists in the U.S.A., which deal with segmented labour markets. Amongst the noted SLM economists are P.B. Doeringer, M.J. Piore, L.C. Thurow, R.E.B. Lucase and B. Bluestone.
(2) See M.J. Piore - "Jobs and Training" in the State and the Poor edited by S.H. Bear and R.E. Barringer (Winthrop Press, Cam., Mass., 1970)

SLM economists were certainly not the first to question the orthodox view of the labour market, and before analysing SLM theories it is necessary to trace their roots, which surely provided the inspiration.

J.S. Mill (3) pointed out in 1848 that wage differentials which compensate for the disagreeable nature of certain jobs would be the result of competition. He said, "The wages of the most disagreeable and most dangerous occupations are raised above those of the more agreeable and less dangerous occupations."

GRAND CHAPTER UNIT SELLING

Mr Morrow was expelled from SWA/Namibia by the Administrator-General Mr Justice M T Steyn. He said from Gaborone today he hoped the church would be allowed to operate in SWA/Namibia if it became a Marxist state under Swapo. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church in Angola and Mozambique, which was part of the establishment, he said, the churches in SWA/Namibia "have been part of the struggle."

Mr Morrow said Swapo was certain to win a free election in SWA/Namibia. The NNF, allied with Mr Andreas Shipanga's Swapo Democrats, were likely runners-up. The DTA had a credibility problem with Namibian blacks, he said.

Under a Swapo government, Russian and Cuban delegations would probably be present in SWA/Namibia. He said people should view the issue of Russian and Cuban involvement in Africa "with open minds."

The SLM economists argued that the free market are not considered capable of eliminating these problems. Maree (1978) has used this framework in analysing the persistence of Black underemployment in South Africa. He states that "Only basic changes in these (the socio-political and economic) structures are going to eliminate extensive underemployment". (8) Maree isolates these structural causes as the historical creation of a supply of unskilled labour, the industrial colour bar, capital intensive technology and industrial decentralisation.

(3) J.S. Mill - Principles of Political Economy, Volume 1, 1820, Colonial Press, New York, 1900

(4) Prominent institutionalists included T. Veblen, J.R. Commons, H.R. Seager and W.C. Mitchell.

(5) N.W. Chamberlain, R. Marshall and C.A. Myers.

(6) G.G. Cain - page 1227.

(7) Structuralists included C.C. Killingsworth and G. Myrdal.

(8) J. Maree - page 1.

Swapo will lead - Morrow

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE - The deported Anglican Vicar-General of SWA/Namibia, the Reverend Ed Morrow will confer today with officials of the British High Commission to Botswana to plan his onward journey to London.

The Rev Ed Morrow in Gaborone yesterday

Mr Morrow said Swapo was certain to win a free election in SWA/Namibia. The NNF, allied with Mr Andreas Shipanga's Swapo Democrats, were likely runners-up. The DTA had a credibility problem with Namibian blacks, he said.

Under a Swapo government, Russian and Cuban delegations would probably be present in SWA/Namibia. He said people should view the issue of Russian and Cuban involvement in Africa "with open minds."

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(6) G.G. Cain - page 1227.

(7) Structuralists included C.C. Killingsworth and G. Myrdal.

(8) J. Maree - page 1.

Handwritten signature and scribbles at the bottom right of the page.

'SA to deport Swapo supporters'

221 18
221

South Africa Bureau
LUSAKA — South Africa was compiling a list of white supporters of Swapo in South West Africa to be deported between now and early August, Swapo said yesterday.

Swapo's information and publicity secretary, Mr Peter Katjavivi, said his organisation had received information from the South African Government that it intended to deport all "Bantustan" whites in the next few weeks for "oppressing and sympathising with Swapo".

Mr Katjavivi said South Africa's intention to deport these whites was a desperate way of trying to sabotage the political process and the free election.

in SWA
 "We know that South Africa has always wanted to create a Bantustan Namibia and that they will do anything to try to settle for what they call the best solution for Namibia," he said.

Mr Katjavivi also accused South Africa of trying to frustrate the progress that has been achieved in the talks between Swapo and the five Western countries.

He said South Africa's intention that SWA should remain pending by December 31 and her continued refusal of the registration of votes was evidence enough to show that they were not interested in

SWA attaining genuine independence.

"While we do not see any serious disagreement emerging during the 15 cent Lusaka talks between Swapo and the five Western countries, we equally do not rule out interferences from the South African Government by way of trying to undermine and sabotage the progress achieved so far," Mr Katjavivi said.

He also pointed out that it would be unjust for anyone to rush things to try and meet the December 31 independence deadline set by South Africa. He said that, until the Western proposals had been accepted by the United Nations Security Council as suggested by Swapo, the independence date could not remain fixed.

In Windhoek yesterday, the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice Mathias Steyn, reacted angrily to the Swapo claim.

Judge Steyn said Mr Katjavivi's claims were absolutely untrue.

"This statement is a figment of an ill-informed and mischievous mind," he added.

Last week Judge Steyn served deportation orders on two SWA priests, the Anglican Vicar-General of Damaraland the Rev Ed Morrow, and Father Heinz Hunke, a Roman Catholic priest.

No reasons were given for the deportation of the two priests and Mr Morrow's wife, Mrs

Political reporter

THE MINISTER of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. Botha held confidential talks with the Prime Minister yesterday primarily to discuss South Africa's strategy for the forthcoming United Nations Security Council debate on South West Africa.

The Afrikaans Herold newspaper Die Vaderland reported yesterday that Mr Botha was expected to avoid speculation that Mr Botha, a former member of the United Apartheid Party, would support the UN proposal for a referendum. But South Africa will not

the debate unless attempts by the five nations to veto any move to allow the SWA to speak are defeated by the Western members of the UN.

Mr van Nujona, president-elect, is expected to attend the debate.

But they have been accepted by both South Africa and the five Western countries for the future of SWA are likely to be decided by the Security Council. However, a second round of clearing will be an integral part of the independent National Conference and the South African will certainly be in contact with

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 "Ceterum tempora fluunt"

No one prevented Agrippina's murder as "cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam matris."

2) Decline of Political Liberty.

1) Intrigues at the Court.

Themes to be found in Annals XI-XVI especially.

SUPREME GRAND CHAPTER OF THE HOLY ROYAL ARCH
OF SOUTH AFRICA

SCHEDULE OF STOCK HELD AT 30-6-1977

ITEM	NO. HELD	GRAND CHAPTER UNIT SELLING PRICE	UNIT VALUATION FOR B/S - (COST WHERE ASCERTAIN- ABLE)	TOTAL VALUE
GRAND CHAPTER REGULATIONS	151	50c		52.85
RITUALS				
R.A. (English)	11	2,80	2,80	
R.A. (Afrikaans)	200	0,70	0,70	
M.M.M.	-	2,10	2,10	
E.M.	-	0,80	0,80	
Apron Badges	8	2,00		
Certificates & Diplomas				
M.M.M./E.M.	29	0,60	0,60	
Affiliation	255	0,60	0,60	
Installed Z	222	0,60	0,60	
REGALIA				
R.A. Collarettes	7	-	4,00	
R.A. Collarettes	4	15,00	15,00 (cost)	
Principals Chains	4		310,00	
				1240,00
				60,00
				1328,20

Nigeria cashes in on credit rating

23/7/78 926

SUN. TIMES
Business Times
Correspondent

LAGOS. — Nigeria has applied for its second \$1-billion Eurodollar loan in less than a year.

The new loan, which will be used to finance development projects, is being syndicated by six European and American banks and should be available to the Government this autumn.

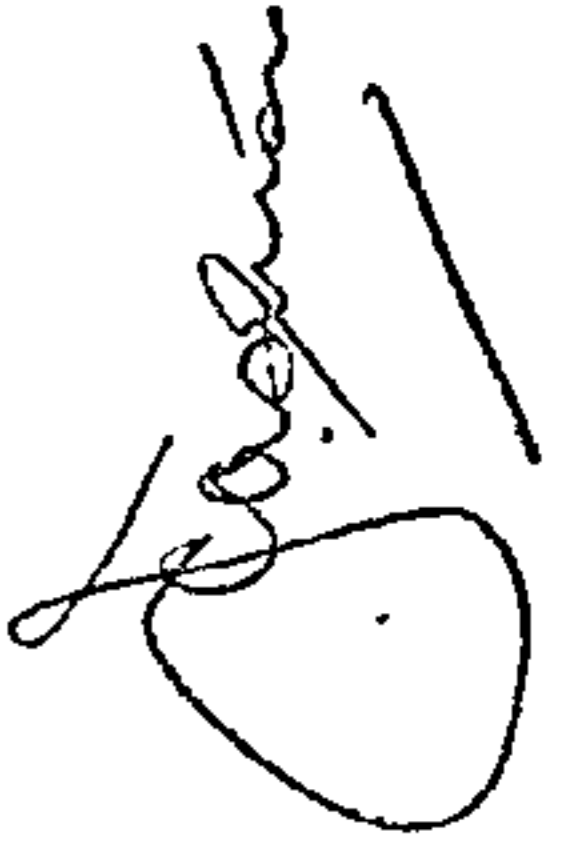
So far, the lead banks have underwritten half the face amount; the remainder will be thrown open to other

banks later this summer.

The latest IMF figures show Nigeria's foreign-exchange reserve holdings fell \$1,2-billion between April and May. IMF analysts attribute the loss to a decline in earnings from crude-oil exports, and a sharp increase in imports.

Although the new Eurodollar loan is marginally more expensive than its predecessor, banking experts say that the country is still far from overborrowed, and its credit rating remains good.

NOTE: All other Grand Chapter Regalia on Hire to Grand Chapter Officers has been written off for Accounting Purposes.



The Washington Post

Success in Namibia

THE AGREEMENT by nationalist guerrillas to a Western plan for Namibia independence: the best thing that has hit southern Africa in years. South Africa, the reigning colonial power for 58 years, had already accepted the Western plan for a United Nations-supervised transition to independence this year. The guerrilla organization called SWAPO backed and filled, but now it has come along, too. Putting the plan into effect will be a tortuous exercise, but success does finally seem within reach.

How did this near-miracle of accommodation between South Africa and SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization), long at each other's throats, come about? One can guess that South Africa wanted to rid itself of a running sore and to do so in a way that would leave its Namibia friends (white and black) reasonably well off and earn it some credit in Africa and in the West for its moderation. SWAPO perhaps decided that it stood to gain more by compromising than by staying outside and giving its black political rivals inside a chance to consolidate their advantage.

SWAPO, we gather, was heavily influenced by Angola, Namibia's northern neighbor and the guerrillas' sanctuary. The Angolans, in urging SWAPO to go home and take their political chances, evidently had in mind to end South Africa's punishing anti-guerrilla reprisals into Angola and to end as well South Africa's support of Angolan insurgents.

The plan for Namibia was drawn by five members of the UN Security Council (the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada). They sagely took the play away from the General Assembly, whose automatic Third World-Communist majority tends to make it unsuitable for serious political work. Within the "gang of five" the United States took the lead, and within the U.S. government UN Ambassador Andrew Young provided the inspiration, and his deputy, Donald McHenry, did the heavy negotiating.

We say this not out of excessive pride but by way of noting that U.S. diplomacy, which needed badly to win one somewhere, seems to have won one in Namibia. This is not a bad time, moreover, for the diplomatic talents of Andrew Young to bear fruit. He has been criticized, here and elsewhere, for some of his pronouncements. But it was his strategy of enlisting the "front-line" African states to deal with the guerrillas, while the Western states worked on South Africa, that produced the Namibian breakthrough.

The question of the hour is whether the Namibian example of Western-sponsored political and racial accommodation, freezing out open Communist intervention, is relevant to the struggle in Rhodesia. The differences are substantial, and no one can be sanguine. We would underline, however, what seems to have been one of the chief elements visible in Namibia. The United States and its allies not only offered an agreement whose terms were acceptable, given the alternatives, to both sides. In its manner of diplomacy it approached both sides without giving either of them a basis for serious complaint about U.S. fairness.

It is precisely the perception that in its manner, if not its terms, the United States has favored one side (the Patriotic Front) against the other in the Rhodesian conflict that has stirred the increasing congressional concern with administration policy in Rhodesia. The Namibian settlement, as a demonstration of U.S. diplomatic competence, will help the administration deflect some congressional pressures on Rhodesia. To improve its chances of diplomatic success there, however, the administration will have to convince its critics — and the parties — that U.S. policy does justice to both sides.

Pik daar

as VVO

Rapport 23/7/78
streke

uithaal

Deur SAKKIE PEROLD

DIE VVO kan hom maar klaarmaak daarvoor om mnr. Pik Botha, die Minister van Buitelandse Sake, in sy midde te hê wanneer die Veiligheidsraad oor 'n paar dae die Suidwes-kwessie bespreek.

Min Botha wou gister niks oor sy moontlike besoek aan New York sê nie, maar RAPPORT verneem die moontlikheid, is sterk dat hy daar sal wees wanneer die kritieke debat begin. As daar nie verdere haakplekke kom nie, kan die Veiligheidsraad Dinsdag vergader om die Westerse skikplan vir Suidwes te bespreek.

Dinge lyk op die oomblik „nie te goed” wat die verloop van die skikplan betref nie, word in diplomatieke kringe gesê.

Die groot haakplek is Walvisbaai. Alles hang van die bewoording van voorstelle af wat in hierdie verband voor die Veiligheidsraad gelê word.



MIN. BOTHA

Suid-Afrika weet op die oomblik nog glad nie wat die bewoording sal wees nie. Dit is die vernaamste rede waarom verwag word dat min. Botha beslis teenwoordig sal

Pik daar as VVO streke uithaal

* VERVOLG VAN BL. EEN *

die Wes-Duitse minister van buitelandse sake beraadslaag het oor planne om 'n VVO-vredesmag na Suidwes te stuur.

Eensydig

Dit wil lyk of dr Waldheim besig is om eensydig op te tree — hierdie sake moet in oorleg met die Administrateur-generaal van Suidwes, regter M. T. Steyn, gereel word

In hierdie verband het min Botha gister aan RAPPORT gesê:

„Die verstandhouding is dat die hele kwessie van die omvang van VVO-verteenvoerdiging in die gebied 'n saak is wat in samewerking met die Administrateur-generaal opgeklaar moet word

„Dit is nie 'n saak wat eensydig deur die sekretaris-generaal van die VVO onderneem kan word nie.”

Wat Walvisbaai betref, sê min Botha „Ons standpunt is duidelik Walvisbaai is nie

deel van Suidwes nie, en enige onderhandelinge wat in die toekoms gevoer mag word, sal wees op die grondslag van 'n vrywillige handeling aan die kant van die SA-regering — soos hy ten opsigte van elke ander saak teenoor 'n goeie buurman sal optree.”

Maar dan geskied dit „vrywillig in 'n gees van goeie buurmanskap en jy kyk hoe ver jy met onderhandeling die saak kan besleg. Daar is egter geen verpligting op die SA-regering om dit te doen nie,” sê min. Botha

Onderspit

Suid-Afrika is wel bereid om ná onafhanklikheid met sy buurstaat oor Walvisbaai te onderhandel, maar hy sal hom nie intussen deur sanksies of wat ook al laat dreig om afstand van sy regte in hierdie verband te doen nie.

Dit is eintlik al struikelblok wat nog in verband met die skikplan voorsien word. In diplomatieke kringe word daar nie veel waarde geheg aan Swapo-voormanne se bewerings oor 'n reeks „toegewings” wat hulle kwansuis van die Weste „afgedwing” het nie.

In die onderhandelingsproses het Swapo die onderspit gedelf, word gesê. Daarom moet hy nou sy aansien probeer red met allerlei wilde bewerings.

Op die vooraand van die belangrike VVO-debat word sake verder vertroebel deur dr Kurt Waldheim, die sekretaris-generaal van die VVO. Daar is gister berig dat dr. Waldheim in Salzburg met

* VERVOLG OP BL. 13 *

wees, net ingeval daar dalk allerlei slimstreke aangevang word.

Een ding is duidelik. Suid-Afrika staan onwrikbaar by sy standpunt dat Walvisbaai nie deel van Suidwes is nie. As die Veiligheidsraad 'n voorstel aanvaar wat die regsbasis van SA se soewereiniteit oor Walvisbaai voor onafhanklikheid aantast, kan dit die hele skikplan verongeluk.

SWA future now hinges on Pik

By KEVIN JACOBS in New York and BILL KRIGE in Durban

SOUTH AFRICA'S participation in the crucial United Nations Security Council debate on SWA/Namibia this week rests on a last minute decision by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The debate the outcome of which could represent the greatest single stride made on the long and arduous path towards a negotiated and internationally acceptable settlement for the disputed territory is expected to begin in New York either on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Mr Botha yesterday said he would attend the pro-

ceedings provided certain assurances were received and depending on the wording of two resolutions to be introduced for discussion in the council by its Big Five Western members.

Although Mr Botha did not say so, he is thought to be referring in the first place to the presumed right of a South African delegate to address the UN in spite of the country's suspension and, secondly, to the touchy issue of Walvis Bay which Swapo had insisted should

form part of SWA/Namibia before independence and which South Africa claims should remain under its own control to become a possible subject of negotiation after independence.

Late last night Mr Botha was still in touch with South Africa's acting permanent Representative at the United Nations, Mr Adriaan Eksteen but although contingency plans for a last-minute flight to New York by a South African party have been made,

no finality had been reached.

No Western diplomats in New York want their 15-month negotiating exercise wrecked at the eleventh hour and it is probable that a middle-of-the-road resolution which will not directly query South Africa's continued control of Walvis Bay will be formulated.

Conflicting draft resolutions will have to be moulded into a final declaration when Security Council members meet informally in closed consultations tomorrow

(See Page 6)

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3. N. H. The Problem of Women's History

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... the king...
... from EUROPE by the URAL MOUNTAINS...
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- 6. More than half the people of the world live in ASIA.
- 7. The most DENSELY populated areas are INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN and INDONESIA
- 8. Nearly two-fifths of the CONTINENT belongs to RUSSIA.
- 9. The COASTLINE is broken by many PENINSULAS, ISLANDS and BAYS.
- 10. High MOUNTAIN RANGES cut off the COASTAL areas from the INTERIOR.
- 11. NORTH of INDIA are the SNOW-CAPPED HIMALAYAS with MOUNT EVEREST the

... the history of...
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HISTORY I - 100 YEARS WAR
Most biographies are limited also because they are narrative and anecdotal characteristics singled out as important are often emphasized at the

never be industrious" Clearly the time of the "lowest classes" had not yet come.

All across Europe, then, societies were dominated by oligarchies. Nearly everywhere, noblemen monopolized the highest posts in state and church, and there was a tendency for different branches of the aristocracy to coalesce: in France, the old nobility of the sword increasingly intermarried with the nobility of the robe. Wealth and status attracted each other. In their role as influential courtiers, great landowners, high-ranking bureaucrats, or princes of the church, aristocrats had access to the sources of wealth. While not all nobles were rich—the poor among them were numerous and conspicuous—most of them could afford extensive estates, luxurious styles of life, and impressive gambling debts. And those aristocrats whose resources were failing could replenish them by marrying their sons to bourgeois heiresses. Yet the cosmopolitan splendor of the leading noble houses gives eighteenth-century Europe a misleading appearance of uniformity. In fact, the shape, role, and powers of aristocracies differed from country to country. In Great Britain, the nobility generally lived on the land. In France, the nobles were more and more

bishops in France were noblemen, often younger sons combining vast perquisites with no duties, and only one of Louis XVI's thirty-six ministers was a commoner. The French Revolution, as we shall see, had many causes. But one of them was the short-sighted self-centeredness of the French aristocracy, alert mainly to its interests, intent on pleasure, and deaf to the call for social responsibility, let alone social reform. As the marquis de La Tour du Pin, one of the distinguished survivors of this aristocracy, would later put it in her memoirs: "The revolution of 1789 was only the inevitable consequence and, I might almost say, the just punishment of the vices of the upper classes, vices carried to such excess that if people had not been stricken with a mortal blindness, they must have seen that they would inevitably be consumed by the very fire they themselves were lighting." The "famous *l'outrage vivrez de la* old regime," as Professor John Mayhew says, it up "was connected from a very simple formula, *privileges without responsibility*."³⁶ In Prussia, the Hapsburg Empire, Russia, and the English and French models. Nearly everywhere, there were vast numbers of nobles on the English and French models. Nearly everywhere, there were vast numbers of nobles on the English and French models. Nearly everywhere, there were vast numbers of nobles on the English and French models.

never be industrious" Clearly the time of the "lowest classes" had not yet come.

SWA

peace plan to face the big test soon

By Kevin Jacobs

NEW YORK Black front-line States' covert support for the South West Africa independence package will be tested when United Nations Security Council members confer privately on Monday.

Delegates for the 15 member-nations will try to formulate a resolution that anticipates future incorporation of Walvis Bay into an independent Namibia.

It will be tabled by black nations when the council meets formally on Tuesday or Wednesday to launch phase one of the plan that will set the territory on the road to nationhood — unless last-minute hitches collapse the attempt.

African members, still on the side of Swapo, want a more insistent and demanding declaration than the middle-of-the-road statement of principle desired by the Western underwriters of the independence plan.

A Western source at the UN said yesterday: "It is a question of tact, of compromise, of giving the Africans something while not unduly upsetting South Africa's position. We have had to play so many acts, let us hope we can complete this last one too."

The South African Government is known to be deeply suspicious of how the Walvis Bay question will be handled in the Security Council and fears there will be attempts to railroad a last-minute resolution in the hope that South Africa would accept the situation with no more than diplomatic growling.

Gradually, the junker bureaucrats became centers of power hard to move and impossible to dislodge. It is not extravagant to call the eighteenth century a century of the rising aristocracy.

At times during the 15-month diplomatic exercise to gain South African and Swapo endorsement of the plan, Walvis Bay almost ended South Africa's willingness to accommodate the proposals.

But now the Western contact group is bound by a trade-off concluded in Luanda two weeks ago. In return for acceptance of the plan by Swapo and the front-line governments, the West agreed to support an African-sponsored resolution on the future status of the port source said. "We must know what the realities are, and one of the realities is that the Africans want something in return."

A modest declaration which underlines the economic necessity of inclusion and the port's geographic integration in the territory and which anticipates untimed legal incorporation, would have no practical effect on South Africa's administration.

But a Security Council determination of the port as part of Namibia, perhaps implying illegal annexation, could start a new South West Africa type United Nations campaign against South Africa's control of Walvis Bay.

The port is not mentioned in the independence package which the council must vote into being as a practical programme next week.

There is some reason for their that James Watt patented his

less regard for services performed than a sign that his political influence was less at an end (see p. 388).

There is some reason for their that James Watt patented his

Trade-off

³⁶ Robert Forster, *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (1960), 177.

³⁷ See p. 378 and, for developments under Catherine II, p. 432.

³⁸ in the Eighteenth Century (1953), 29.

SA warns

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C. Times 26/7/78.

on Walvis

Bay —

SOURCES

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At an emergency meeting last night, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned representatives of the United Nations Security Council's five Western members that South Africa was likely to break off discussions on SWA/Namibia if the Security Council accepted a proposed resolution pledging support for the inclusion of Walvis Bay in an independent territory.

This was learned from reliable sources yesterday after a series of urgent meetings between Mr Botha, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and other top advisers to decide on the strategy South Africa should adopt in the face of the proposed resolution.

Mr Botha refused to comment, but late last night informed sources said the crisis — which threatens to torpedo the territory's progress to independence — arose over the wording of a Security Council resolution scheduled for this week's debate, pledging support for the "re-integration" of the strategically important port in an independent SWA/Namibia

This is considered by the South African Government as "a blatant contradiction of a categorical assurance given in writing by the Western five" that the Walvis Bay issue would not be raised before the independence of the territory.

The government agreed to negotiate on the future of the port with an independent SWA/Namibian government.

The Security Council resolution, in effect, accepts that the port is part of SWA/Namibia and pledges the council to work to this end. It introduces the possibility of sanctions being applied against South Africa for non-compliance with the resolution.

Sources said last night that Mr Botha had cancelled his planned trip to New York to attend the Security Council session, and instead had issued a grave warning to representatives of the five Western powers

Unless the Security Council resolution is modified to recognize South Africa's right to negotiate on the future of Walvis Bay with the government of an independent SWA/Namibia, the sources said South Africa could be expected to break off negotiations

Mr Botha is said to have staked his credibility in dealing with the SWA/Namibia issue on the "good faith" of the West's undertaking on Walvis Bay.

The warning issued to the representatives of the big five powers yesterday averted an outright break in negotiations on the territory

South Africa is understood to be considering three options

● Withdrawal from discussion on the territory's future and

Continued on page 2

Ownership

The present crisis, one of the most serious in the territory's obstacle-ridden path to independence, follows last year's warning by Mr Vorster that South Africa would break off discussions on the territory if the Security Council disputed South Africa's ownership of Walvis Bay.

If South Africa decides to go it alone with an internal independence agreement, SWA/Namibia would forfeit an internationally-recognized independence and South Africa would face the possibility of sanctions.

The commitment of the Western five not to make ownership of Walvis Bay an issue before independence is understood to have been a key factor in aiding Mr Botha to persuade the Cabinet to accept the proposals for the territory's independence.

C. Times

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24/7/78

Walvis Bay

Continued from page 1

a decision to go it alone with an internal independence plan.

① Acceptance of the resolution on condition that it sets an international precedent and that Britain and the United States forfeit their claim to "foreign" territories such as Northern Ireland, Gibraltar, Alaska and the Panama Canal.

② Acceptance of the resolution — provided it is amended to acknowledge South Africa's right to negotiate with the government of an independent SWA/Namibia on the future of the port

The proposed Security Council resolution — obtained from sources in New York last night — declares that

③ The territorial integrity and unity of SWA/Namibia must be assured through re-integration of Walvis Bay within its territory

④ It will fully support the initiation of steps necessary to ensure the early re-integration of Walvis Bay into SWA/Namibia

⑤ Pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of SWA/Namibia or the viability of its economy.

⑥ It will pursue the matter till Walvis Bay is fully integrated into SWA/Namibia

This implies that South Africa could face sanctions for failure to comply — something the Republic has tried to avoid throughout the negotiations on the territory

UN Institute for Namibia still recruiting students for 1979

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on Knowler of the Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka.

SAKA — The United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka is pressing ahead with recruitment of students for its coming academic year despite the

possibility that SWA/Namibia will achieve independence during 1979.

Mr Hage Geingob, the institute's director, said the results of an entrance examination were being assessed and successful candidates would be admitted for the new term, starting in September.

Mr Geingob said the recruitment programme

had been disrupted this year by the raid by South African troops on the camp administered by Swapo at Cassinga in southern Angola.

He claimed that some of the applicants to the institute had been killed in the raid, — on May 4 — and he had been on his way to the camp to interview candidates when

the attack took place.

The South African Government said after the raid that the Cassinga camp had been a Swapo guerrilla base and there were "recruits" there who had been abducted from Ovambo.

Mr Geingob said in an interview that the first 100 students to be enrolled at the institute,

which opened in August 1976, would complete their two-year courses next month and would be ready to return to an independent Namibia if a settlement was worked out.

"The students have still to undergo practical courses, for which they would be assigned to the public service of various

black African governments, but they could go back to Namibia and play a vital role there tomorrow," he said.

He ruled out the possibility of any of the students taking part in the proposed UN monitoring of free elections in the disputed territory, which would lead to independence.

"I think most of the students would want to be involved politically," he added.

The institute's primary function is to train civil servants for an independent Namibia — to replace South African officials who would be recalled or ask to go back to South Africa — but it is also conducting 14 sur-

veys to provide an independent government with information about the territory, as an aid for future planning.

These surveys cover such things as future public service manpower needs, housing needs and economic development. There are also surveys of a possible legal system for the territory and of con-

stitutional options for an independent government.

Mr Geingob does not deny that the institute has strong ties with Swapo and falls under its influence. He himself is a member of the organisation.

The institute is run under the aegis of the UN Council for Namibia and

on its senate are two members appointed by Swapo.

The UN recognises Swapo as the sole representative of the people of Namibia.

But Mr Geingob denies that pressure has been applied on non-Swapo students at the institute to join Swapo or quit.

A 'do

West breaking pledge says Pretoria

By Hugh Leggatt,
Political Correspondent

The whole settlement plan for peace in SWA/Namibia, which looked so close to ratification, is on the point of breaking down over Walvis Bay.

The crisis was precipitated by a resolution, which has Western backing, proposed for discussion at the UN Security Council in New York tomorrow.

Guerilla influx in Ovambo increases

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Swapo guerillas appear to have been infiltrating the northern SWA/Namibian province of Ovambo in increasing numbers during the past few weeks.

It is the first large-scale influx since the South African raid on Swapo bases in southern Angola two months ago.

Informed sources believe the guerillas are planning to step up their terror campaign if no UN-South Africa settlement is reached on SWA/Namibia.

The first official indication that an increased infiltration had taken place across the Angola-Ovambo border came from the Chief Minister of Ovambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba.

He said it had come to his

It makes SWA/Namibia independence dependent on the "re-integration" of Walvis Bay within the territory.

The West's support is being seen by sources in Pretoria as a "double cross" and a breach of faith following assurances to the contrary.

According to diplomatic sources in Pretoria a complete breakdown of negotiations and of the implementation of the West's plan for a transition to independence could occur tomorrow if the West formally supports the resolution at the UN.

A breakdown would mean that South Africa would have to go ahead with the independence plan without international support and possibly in the teeth of UN sanctions.

Visit is off

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, cancelled plans to attend the UN following the wording of the resolution being made known.

He would not comment today except to say that "a very serious situation has developed".

Other sources said

22/8 17/8
Break on
SWA
deal is
near

▶ From page 1

up tomorrow is another matter"

South African sources were sorry that a potential breakdown point had been reached not because of more touchy details such as race discrimination or the disposition of troops but because of the "extraneous" matter of Walvis Bay being introduced at the last moment.

They pointed out that the borders of the mandated territory had never before been called into question and were not a matter of negotiation.

Neither did the UN resolution putting in train the independence proposals have a word about Walvis Bay.

One source said "Is Walvis Bay all that important? Maybe we would have eventually reached some result on Walvis Bay, but the point is if the West renege on this point what faith can we have in them during the implementation stages?"

URGENT TALKS

If South Africa were to get sanctions and ostracism because the plan had failed it would be because South Africa had complied with the agreements and the West had not. South Africa's conscience was clear.

Kevin Jacobs reports from New York that the Western Security Council members are believed to have met urgently at the weekend after a South African statement was relayed to them.

Chief Kuaima Riruako of the Hereros, chairman of the DTA said the fate of Walvis Bay should not be decided by only one party, Swapo, reports The Star's Africa News Service from Windhoek.

Mr A H du Plessis, leader of the National Party's election front, Akur, said it was in SWA/Namibia's interest that Walvis Bay remained in South African hands because of its strategic value.

Mr Hitjevi Vei, vice-president of the Namibia National Front, a black and white coalition, said because the matter was to

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CROSS

attention that many terrorists were wandering round in the bush in Ovambo. He urged them to lay down their weapons and return to their homes in peace.

South Africa's problem with the resolution is that in all the negotiations South Africa has had with the West, both sides accepted that the question of Walvis Bay would not be introduced directly or indirectly into the terms of settlement.

Last week, the West gave a written assurance that Walvis Bay was a separate issue.

Western diplomatic sources in Pretoria rejected accusations of bad faith and took a more optimistic view of what might occur in the Security Council tomorrow.

One source said: "I wouldn't accept that an ultimatum had been given us by South Africa. We are not finished on this yet."

"The resolution is the result of long discussions with many people and started as a resolution much less favourable to South Africa. How it ends

To Page 3, Col 10

be taken up after independence there was no reason for South Africa to withdraw from the plan. A Swa p.o. spokesman said at the weekend the five had said Walvis Bay would be considered the responsibility of the United Nations and not South Africa.

JOHANNESBURG, MONDAY, JULY 24, 1978.

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Wahlvis Bay in the

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Reporter

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... an emergency meeting last night
... of the ...
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... Mr Botha refused to comment on the matter,
... but informed sources said the crisis threatens to
torpedo the territory's progress to independence

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UN will 'mind' Walvis — Swapo

By DAVID FORREY
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK -- Responsibility for Walvis Bay would be taken over by the United Nations Security Council, Mr Mokkanehi Thibanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said yesterday.

Speaking in Katutura, Mr Thibanello said Swapo was satisfied that Walvis Bay would be the responsibility of the international community until it was returned to Namibia.

Mr Thibanello stressed that Walvis Bay was not an issue for negotiation after independence.

Though Walvis Bay is not mentioned in the Western settlement proposal, the enclave has become a major threat to the success of the Western peace initiative.

It now hinges around the wording of a resolution expected to be handed in separately and backed by the five Western powers in the UN Security Council that will note that Walvis Bay is part and parcel of Namibia.

"The West tried to lead us to believe that Walvis Bay was owned by South Africa and had nothing to do with the United Nations. But that independent government could get on its knees and ask SA to give it back."

The Security Council is expected to debate the resolution this week.

The resolution is considered by the Government as "a blatant contradiction of a categorical assurance given in writing by the Western five" that the Walvis Bay issue would not be raised before the independence of the territory.

The Government agreed to negotiate on the future of the port with an independent Namibian Government.

The Security Council resolution accepts that the port is part of SWA and introduces the possibility of sanctions against South Africa for non-compliance with the resolution.

Sources said last night that Mr Botha had cancelled his planned trip to New York to attend the emergency session and had issued a grave warning to representatives of the five Western powers.

Unless the Security Council resolution is modified to recognise South Africa's right to negotiate on the future of Walvis Bay with the government of an independent Namibia, the sources said South Africa could be expected to break off negotiations.

The present crisis, which is one of the most serious in the territory's obstacle-ridden path to independence, follows last year's warning by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, that South Africa would break off discussions on the territory if the Security Council disputed South Africa's ownership of Walvis Bay.

If South Africa decides to go it alone with an internal independence agreement, SWA would forfeit an internationally recognised independence and South Africa would face the possibility of sanctions.

The commitment of the Western five not to make ownership of Walvis Bay an issue before independence is understood to have been a key factor in aiding Mr Botha to persuade the Cabinet to accept the proposal for the territory's independence.

Mr Botha is said to have staked his credibility in dealing with the SWA issue on the "good faith" of the West's undertaking on Walvis Bay.

The warning issued to the representatives of the Big Five powers yesterday averted an outright break in negotiations on the territory.

The proposed Security Council resolution — obtained from sources in New York last night — declares:

① That the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through reintegration of Walvis Bay within its territory,

② That it will lend its full support to the initiation of steps necessary to ensure the early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia,

③ That pending the attainment of this objective South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia or the viability of its economy, and,

④ That it will pursue the matter until Walvis Bay is fully integrated into Namibia.

⑤ See Page 2

Walvis Bay — Key to the SWA deadlock

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By HELEN ZILLE
Political Reporter

ALVIS BAY, the wind-rept desert port on the wild West African coast, had turned the territory's ad towards an internationally recognised independence into a dead end.

The South African Government's opposition to the United Nations Security Council resolution

pledging support for the Swapo demand that Walvis Bay be included in an independent Namibia, has brought South Africa's brief period of "being on the right side" of an international issue to an abrupt end.

South Africa once again faces the prospect of "going it alone" with an internal solution for the territory's independence.

Not only is this likely to deprive an independent Namibia of international recognition, but it could also give rise to sanctions against South Africa.

The South African Government gives three reasons for its refusal to budge on the issue:

● An issue of "principle" — This involves what is regarded as a breach of an assurance given to South Africa that her claim to

the port would not be made an issue before the territory's independence.

● The strategic significance of the port for South Africa, in the light of the uncertainty of the territory's future government,

and, ● South Africa's undisputed historical and constitutional claim to the port.

On the "issue of principle," the Government's view is that Western proposals for the territory's independence were accepted on the condition that the future of the port would be discussed with an independent Namibian government.

The Security Council's expected pledge to work for the "re-integration" of the port into the territory is seen as a violation of the agreement, because it makes a firm decision on the future of the port. The implication is that if South Africa does not abide by the decision it could face sanctions.

Secondly, the strategic value of the port, where South Africa has long had a strong military base, has increased. This follows uncertainty over the winner of the territory's first one-man-one-vote elections.

Historically, South Africa has a sound claim to the port. In 1878, Britain took possession of the Walvis Bay area, and granted the governor of the Cape of Good Hope the right to annex the port as part of the Cape Colony. This was done in 1884.

When South Africa became a Union in 1910, the South African Act stipulated that the boundaries of the four provinces would remain unchanged. Walvis Bay therefore automatically became part of the Union.

The administration of the area was ceded to the South African Government in 1922. This step did not call in question South Africa's claim to the port, which was subsequently confirmed by the League of Nations.

History

Swapo: UN will have control

WINDHOEK — Responsibility for Walvis Bay would be taken over by the United Nations Security Council, Mr Mokganedi Tihabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said yesterday

Speaking at a mass rally in Katutura, Mr Tihabanello said Swapo was satisfied that Walvis Bay would be the responsibility of the international community until it was returned to Namibia.

He stressed that Walvis Bay was not an issue for negotiation after in-

dependence

Though Walvis Bay is not mentioned in the Western settlement proposals, the enclave has become a major threat to the success of the Western peace initiative

It now hinges around the wording of a resolution, which is expected to be handed in separately and backed by the five Western powers in the Security Council, that will note that Walvis Bay is part and parcel of Namibia

"The West tried to lead us to believe that Walvis

Bay is owned by South Africa and had nothing to do with the United Nations, but that an independent government could get on its knees and ask South Africa to give it back," Mr Tihabanello said

But Swapo was not prepared to bind a future independent government to negotiations over an "illegal possession" held by South Africa

"That is why we insisted that the matter be taken to the United Nations," he added

Meanwhile, Swapo sup-

porters detained without trial under the Administrator-General's emergency security regulations have gone on a hunger strike, according to Mr Daniel Tjongarero, deputy chairman of Swapo

The detainees today enter the sixth day of the strike at their prison in Gobabis, east of Windhoek

Mr Tjongarero said about 30 Swapo supporters were demanding that they either be put on trial or released immediately — DDC

New crisis

Over SWA resolution

Walvis Bay

JOHANNESBURG — grave and dramatic Walvis Bay.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha threatened the Big Five representatives at an emergency meeting. We'll break off discussions if the Security Council accepts a proposed resolution pledging support for Walvis Bay to be included in an independent Namibia.

This was learned from reliable sources yesterday, following a series of crisis meetings between Mr Botha, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and other top advisers to decide on the strategy South Africa should adopt the face of the proposed resolution.

Mr Botha refused to comment on the matter, but late last night informants said the crisis which threatens to impede the territory's progress to independence had arisen over the wording of a Security Council resolution scheduled for this week's debate, pledging support for the "reintegration" of the strategically impor-

tant port in an independent Namibia

The South African Government considers this "a blatant contradiction of categorical assurances given in writing by the Western Five" that the Walvis Bay issue would not be raised before the independence of the territory

The South African Government agreed to negotiate on the future of the port with an independent Namibian government

The Security Council resolution in effect accepts that the port is part of South West Africa, pledges the council to work to this end, and introduced the possibility of sanctions against South Africa for non-compliance with the resolution

Sources said last night that Mr Botha had cancelled his planned trip to New York to attend the council session and instead had issued a grave warning to representatives of the five Western powers

JOHANNESBURG — Details of the proposed UN Security Council resolution which threatens to wreck the Western plan for South West Africa were received here last night from sources in New York

It declares

- That the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through reintegration of Walvis Bay within its territory
- That it will lend its full support to the initiation of steps necessary to ensure the early reintegration of

Walvis Bay into Namibia

- That pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia or the viability of its economy
- That it will pursue the matter until Walvis Bay is fully integrated into Namibia

This implies that South Africa could face sanctions for failure to comply — something she has tried to avoid throughout the entire negotiations on the territory — DDC

Unless the Security Council resolution is modified to recognise South Africa's right to negotiate on the future of Walvis Bay with the government of an independent neighbour, the sources said South Africa could be expected to break off negotiations

The present crisis, which is one of the most serious in the territory's obstacle-ridden path to independence, follows last year's warning by the Prime Minister that South Africa would break off discussions on the territory if the Security Council disputed South Africa's ownership of Walvis Bay

If South Africa decides to go it alone with an internal independence agreement, South West Africa would forfeit an internationally recognised independence and South Africa would face the possibility of sanctions

The commitment of the Western Five not to make ownership of Walvis Bay an issue before independence is understood to have been a key factor

The Cabinet to accept the proposals for the territory's independence

The warning issued to the representatives of the Big Five powers yesterday averted an outright break in negotiations on the territory

South Africa is reliably understood to be considering three options.

- A withdrawal from discussions on the territory's future and a decision to go it alone with an internal independence plan.

- Accepting the resolution on condition that it set an international precedent and that Britain and the United States forfeit their claim to "foreign" territories like Northern Ireland, Gibraltar, Alaska and the Panama Canal,

- Accepting the resolution — provided it is amended to acknowledge South Africa's right to negotiate with the future government of an independent South West Africa on the future of the port — DDC

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From STANLEY UYS

LONDON. — The Western members of the UN Security Council will not support a resolution declaring Walvis Bay to be an integral part of South West Africa, as claimed by Swapo's president, Sam Nujoma, at the OAU summit in Khartoum last week.

But it was not clear whether the Western members would veto such a resolution, as demanded by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

This means that the crucial Security Council meeting on SWA could present serious difficulties for the West's plan for a settlement.

Addressing the OAU summit, Mr Nujoma claimed that Western countries had said they would support a Security Council resolution calling Walvis Bay an integral part of SWA. Mr Botha, however, has warned that a resolution to this effect could jeopardize the West's settlement plan, because it would be a departure from the basic plan. According to

Western diplomatic sources, the Western members of the Security Council will "honour their own proposals", as demanded by Mr Botha, and will not support any UN stand on Walvis Bay's future at this stage.

Legal problem

The West feels Walvis Bay's future should be the subject of negotiations between South Africa and the government of SWA once SWA becomes independent Namibia. The West insists there is a legal problem to unravel over Walvis Bay, although the British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, has stressed that "everybody" in SWA accepts that Walvis Bay is part of the territory.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from New York that the UN resolution, formulated by African states, would have the Security Council, due to meet later this week to begin implementation of the accord, declare that the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia "must be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay within its territory".

Council members arranged to hold consultations late yesterday to prepare for the public debate on the settlement, which may begin today, but more likely tomorrow or on Thursday.

The draft resolution, to be submitted by Mauritius, Nigeria and Gabon, would have the council decide to lend its full support to the

initiation of steps to ensure early reintegration and declare that pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use the port in any manner prejudicial to the independence of SWA/Namibia or its economic viability.

The Council would decide to remain seized of the matter until Walvis Bay was fully reintegrated.

● In Pretoria Mr Pik Botha on Sunday night called in the ambassadors of the Western five — the US, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada. He was reported to have threatened to torpedo the accord if the council approved the African demands.

Reports said Mr Botha felt South Africa was being "double-crossed".

The South Africans were said to be alarmed lest a resolution supporting the Swapo position on Walvis Bay be used as a precedent for claims over parts of South Africa by neighbouring countries, Sapa-Reuter said.

The resolution on Walvis Bay would be a recommendation, and not binding on South Africa.

For this reason some Washington sources tended to feel Mr Botha and his

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colleagues were "shadow boxing", as one official put it, and that after expressing its outrage South Africa would not change its basic position of accepting the Western settlement plan.

This calls for the withdrawal of all but 1500 South African troops from the territory, the deployment of a UN force and a UN civilian operation to supervise and control elections leading to independence.

A separate resolution, over which there was understood to be little or no controversy, would authorize the secretary-

Continued on page 2

Continued from page 1

general, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to appoint a special representative to go to the territory to begin planning the UN operation there.

It is going through it will be the biggest such exercise involving the UN since the ill-gated Congo intervention by the world body in the early 1960s.

Dr Waldheim said he had prepared a contingency plan to send about 5000 officers and men drawn from African, European and Asian countries, and a civil administration of about 1000.

Mr Botha has cancelled his trip to the UN, and the SA

Government is reported to have warned Western ambassadors that their support for a resolution pulling Walvis Bay into the settlement plan would gravely endanger negotiations.

No official statement was issued in Pretoria says Sapa, but Mr Botha said yesterday "A very serious situation has developed."

⊙ In Windhoek on Sunday, Swapo publicity secretary Mr Mokganedi Tlhabanello said the UN would take over responsibility for Walvis Bay and that the future of the enclave was not an issue for post-independence negotiations.

or local epidemics, had their part to play when the times of trouble had subsided, deferred marriages took place, and the population began to rise again. Births following upon them eighteenth-century population is essentially necessary to a great and continued demand reinforced one another; certainty was drastically different from before.

Behind these general conditions of general affluence, destitution, and crime (and the frequent deaths of infants) remained what frequently has been told, "Ada in Scotland for a mother who had the death of an infant was a poor Goethe, who cannot later recall how it happened. And the historian Edward Gibbon, coolly noted that parents may seem an unnumbered number the greater part of own infantile constitution had my brothers, my father's part Edward, that, in case of an appellation might still be inaccurate, but it testifies to the imagination of the eighteenth century."

The

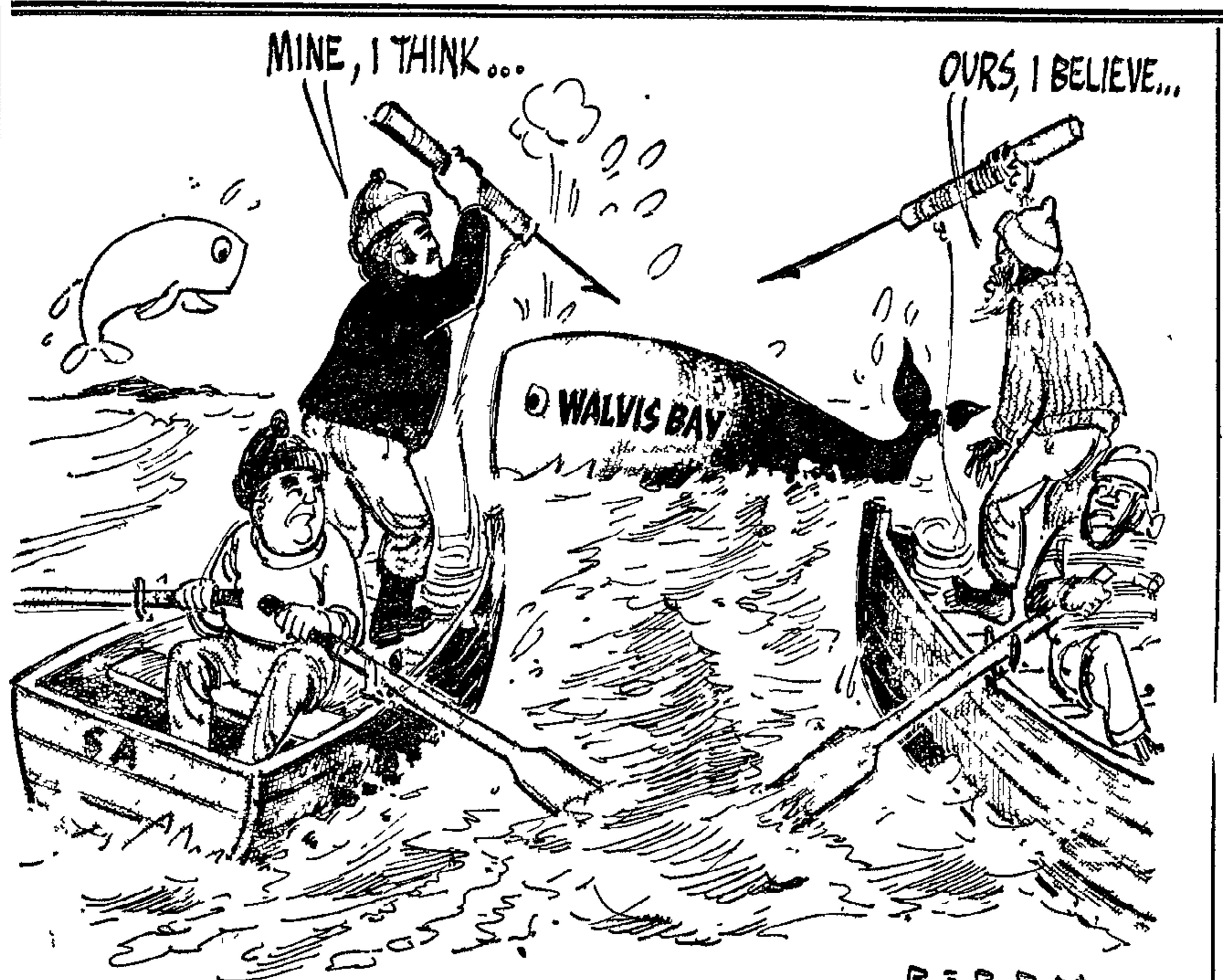
Whatever else it changed, the hierarchical structure of society in government was in the hands of the Republics and monarchies oligarchies. The gap between the rich and the poor, the enfranchised and disfranchised, the precarious bridges bearing the weight of social mobility the ruin of the spectacular, was relatively high. Bankers moved upward, the bourgeoisie moved upward, the bourgeoisie to speak of a "rising bourgeoisie."

¹¹ See Gibbon's *Autobiography* (ed. Dero A. Saunders, 1961), 53, for a correction of this report, see D. M. Low, *Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763* (n.d.), xxix.

buying rural properties and marrying his children into the gentry or the nobility, not rise—he disappeared. He himself

chants, including prosperous slave owners, he failed, his offspring succeeded. The English bourgeoisie, put it in the name of England makes gentlemen, for the tradesmen's children, or at least gentlemen, statesmen, Parliament noblemen, as those of the highest rank, the elder Pitt, the Great Commoner, the phrase, "the people," was on a known epigram, said that unlike the people", Pitt was "a minister of the people like these, "people" referred to bankers and tradesmen, to some squire and peers, and to a handful of Pitt's gift for leadership. Even in the most and politics a game played by the political public was a small minority. The hierarchical nature of social life and the vast empires like Russia and Prussia of countryside with their local lords and patriciate. The free imperial city was not by a nuanced dress code—a citizen into his proper social niche. The emerging legislature "seemed to be a brother-in-law."³⁴

The majority of Europeans were not. There were a few exceptional cases. There were a few brilliant men like Adam Smith, the most brilliant of the eighteenth century. He argued, "as it encourages the working classes, the common people"; where wages were more active, diligent, and more so. It was such "liberal reward" merely as sheer "equity" that those "who are people, should have such a share in the benefits themselves tolerably well fed, and the voice of the radical Enlightenment; the active of the age "Everyone but an aristocrat writer on western European affairs must be kept poor or they will



³⁴ Franklin L. Ford, *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789* (1958), 15

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Keeping cool on Walvis Bay

THE Government's anger over Walvis Bay is in many ways understandable. Agreement had been reached with the Western Big Five that the issue of Walvis Bay would be left over, to be resolved between South Africa and an independent Namibian government.

Now, however, South Africa is confronted by a Security Council draft resolution calling for the "re-integration" of Walvis Bay within the territory. Apart from the "double-cross" aspects, Pretoria's anxiety must be that these are not mere words meant for windowdressing, but should South Africa fail to ensure the handing-over within a reasonable space of time it could lay itself open to a threat of international sanctions.

Having said this, we also need to look at the realities. Sure, South Africa has an historical claim to Walvis Bay which goes back nearly 100 years. But the same sort of claim existed in regard to Port St Johns — and it did not prevent Pretoria from handing over that port to Transkei. In other words, there is nothing immutable about historical claims.

In practical terms, the fact is

that an independent government is going to take over in Namibia and, as matters now stand, Walvis Bay is the territory's only deep-sea port. To deprive the new country of the facility, or even to seek to hold back on it so that it can be used as a bargaining counter after independence, is not the way to start making friends with a neighbour.

In addition, even if South Africa is able to retain Walvis Bay, independent Namibia could look to the development of Luderitz as an alternative, raising the needed millions abroad. That could be from either the West or the East — which could lead to the introduction of fresh tensions and unwelcome foreign interests in the sub-continent.

While it is thus galling for South Africa to be confronted by the new turn of events, and we must hope for a compromise, what should in essence be accepted is the necessity — indeed the desirability — of yielding on Walvis Bay as rapidly and gracefully as possible. It certainly must not be a reason for destroying what has been achieved in bringing SWA/Namibia to the brink of peaceful settlement.

Additional Reading:

Follow van Onselen's 'THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY OF THE REBELS' chapter 2. Also A. Isaacs 'Social Background of the 1906-7 Rebellion' in 'The South African Yearbook of International Law' Vol. 10 (1975) pp. 1-10.

Colloquialisms and idioms in the industrial sector. The fact that many of such large-scale industrial enterprises as...

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In an ideal free enterprise economy, characterized by perfect competition, we have a system of prices which perfectly regulates...

NEW COURSE

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WINDHOEK

There had been a "significant" infiltration of terrorists into northern South West Africa since both South Africa and Swapo had accepted the Western proposals for the territory, sources said yesterday

A spokesman for the SWA command of the Defence Force declined to comment, but added that information might be is-

sued at a later stage. This was seen to be in line with a recent statement by the Swapo President, Mr Sam Nujoma, that he would escalate Swapo's military activities in the north of the territory.

The sources speculated that the insurgents might be infiltrating SWA in anticipation of a breakdown of the UN Security Council debate on the ter-

ritory's independence, and might try to make their way to central and southern SWA

In Ohakati, the Chief Minister of Owambo, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, said in a statement, it had come to his notice that "many terrorists" were roaming the bush in Owambo.

According to him, some of the insurgents were no longer prepared to fight. He appealed to them to lay down their arms and return to their homes in Owambo in peace.

The Progressive Party of Namibia announced yesterday it had joined the Namibia National Front (NNF) - Sapa

'Terror build-up in SWA'

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seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth saw the rise to positions of real though often unacknowledged power of such people as the banker Samuel Bernard, the merchant and financier Antoine Crozat (who in 1712 secured a monopoly of trade with Louisiana) or the merchant Mesnager of Rouen (who more than once represented his country in commercial negotiations with other States). Above all the Pâris family, the foundations of whose fortune were laid by a series of army contracts in the 1690s, was able to assume in the first half of the eighteenth century a position of great and sometimes decisive influence over French financial policy.

The growth of an *haute bourgeoisie* was encouraged in France (and elsewhere in Europe) by the system of tax-farming, which undoubtedly brought vast profits to a small number of wealthy families and individuals. However, the French farmers-general constituted a relatively open and fluid group. On the one hand it was constantly being strengthened by new recruits from non-noble families with interests in trade or finance, but on the other the sons of its members tended to use their parents' wealth as a means of entering the *noblesse de la robe* or of obtaining commissions in the army. There were few dynasties of tax farmers. More important in the creation of a wealthy merchant class was the immense expansion of French trade with the West Indies and the Levant which followed the peace of 1763 with Britain. This found the fortunes of an increasing number of great trading families such as the Gradis and Bonaffé of Bordeaux and the Roux of Marseilles. Throughout Western Europe, in Britain, France or the United Provinces, a very wealthy urban class was almost entirely the product of trade, above all overseas trade, and of banking or financial dealings (tax-farming or trading in government securities). Indeed by comparison, was only beginning by the 1770s or 1780s to produce comparable fortunes; and the social status of the successful industrialist was lower than that of the successful merchant or financier. Even in England an Arkwright, a Boulton or a Wilkinson lacked the standing of a great banker or merchant. In France the century saw the emergence of only two industrial dynasties of more than local importance; the De Wendels with their great interests in the iron industry, and the Van Robais textile magnates.

On a smaller scale the growth of a commercial and financial upper middle class similar to that of Britain and France can be seen in a few other areas of Europe—Tuscany, Genoa, some West German cities. Elsewhere it was almost entirely lacking. Overwhelmingly agrarian

countries with few towns, small merchant marines and little capital, such as Prussia, the Habsburg territories, Poland and Russia, could produce little of this kind. Thus although in the middle of the century the number of towns in Russia was reckoned, for tax purposes, at just over two hundred, in 1762 only sixteen of these had municipal budgets of over 1,000 roubles per annum (about £150 at the then prevailing rate of exchange). The position was similar in Poland, where in 1772 there were only five towns with populations of over 20,000, and also in Hungary. In both the influence of the urban population was further reduced by the fact that it was largely composed of aliens—Jews or Germans in Poland, Greeks or Rumanians in Hungary. All over Eastern and much of Central Europe, moreover, the position of the towns was weakened by the fact that landowners, using the raw materials produced by their estates and the forced labour of their serfs, often set up in the countryside industrial establishments which competed with urban factories and workshops.

believe that Walvis Bay would go away"

He said a working paper on the port "was by no means a coercive document"

It is understood that Foreign Minister Jir Pík Botha was seeing Mr Vorster today at the Prime Minister's holiday residence

Observers in Pretoria thought it just possible the West could keep the plan afloat

The West's reply to South Africa's note, and, more importantly, the stance taken up by the West in the Security Council over the issue, is seen by observers to be decisive to future South African cooperation

Western diplomats at the United Nations confirmed a draft resolution relating to Walvis Bay. It declares that the territorial integrity and unity of SWA/Namibia must be assured through reintegration of the port within its territory

● Britain's legacy of controversy to South Africa — Page 25.

SWA war of nerves

STAR

25/7/78

From page 1

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relatively unimportant in French urban life. 'In France', wrote a contemporary, 'we have not a due regard for merchants . . . from whence it comes to pass, that the son prefers the exercise of an office that runs him, to commerce that enrich'd his father.' The greatest statistician of the century, the Abbé d'Expilly, estimated in 1763 that 60,000 French families lived from *emplois de finance* (minor offices connected with the system of taxation) and 100,000 from judicial offices, royal or seigneurial. By comparison, he calculated, bankers and merchants made up only

¹ Abbé le Blanc, *Letters*, vol. II, p. 122.

Britain's legacy of controversy to S Africa

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Political Reporter

In some ways, Walvis Bay would seem to be one of the unlikeliest subjects for an international controversy.

"It smells of fish. When the east wind blows out of the Namib, there is sand everywhere and the west wind brings fog from the Atlantic," says Colleen Hendriks of The Star's Africa News Service.

In a wild season or two, an expensive car, a door-hinge or a garden fence can be severely corroded.

But important principles are at stake in the row which has developed over the bay — a 949 sq km enclave wedged between the desert and the sea.

Legally, it is part of South Africa. Geographically it is obviously part of SWA/Namibia.

Yet for much of its existence it has been unloved — and even shunned.

In 1506 Portuguese sailors touched at the bay and wrote that it teemed with fish of all kinds. In 1793, the Dutch, fearing that it would be taken by another power, sent a warship to annex the bay.

Two years later, shortly after the British occupation of the Cape, the British vessel Star sailed to the bay.

The Union Jack was hoisted there and the surrounding territory was proclaimed British. However, the British Government refused to recognise this annexation.

The bay was used by numerous ships in the years that followed, but it was only in 1878 that it became the permanent property of any European power.

Commander R C Dyer annexed the territory of Walvis Bay in the name of Queen Victoria.

In 1884 possession of the bay passed to the government of the Cape Colony. In 1910, along with the Cape Colony it became part of the Union of South Africa and on May 31, 1961, part of the Republic of South Africa.



When German South West Africa (now SWA/Namibia) was mandated to the Union of South Africa, it was decided to treat Walvis Bay administratively as part of the territory. But last year it once again came under the Cape Provincial Administration by a Government proclamation.

The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, has consistently stated that Walvis Bay is South African territory — and nearly a year ago he warned that South Africa would break off discussions on SWA/Namibia with Western powers if this ownership was disputed.

South Africa has however agreed to negotiate over the bay's future with an independent Namibian Government.

Swapo on the other hand has maintained that Walvis Bay is an integral part of SWA/Namibia and must be included in independence negotiations.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

social and economic problems, who were usually far more interested in artisans and craftsmen of the traditional type than in industrial wage-earners. The fact that many of such large-scale industrial enterprises as existed—the Ural ironworks in Russia are a leading example—were geographically remote from any large town also helped urban life to retain its predominantly mercantile and handicraft character almost everywhere to the end of this period.

The still largely traditional and static society described in this chapter was doomed to rapid decay. The network of communities, orders, privileges, peculiarities and exemptions of which it was com-

or local epidemics, had their part to play: when the times of trouble had subsided, deferred marriages took place in large numbers, and the number of births following upon them swelled the population. One significant factor in eighteenth-century population growth was the call for working hands. "What is essentially necessary to a rapid increase of population," Malthus wrote, "is a great and continued demand for labour." Demographic and economic factors reinforced one another, certainly Europe at the end of the eighteenth century was drastically different from what it had been a hundred years before.

Behind these general observations stand concrete, often terrible experiences. Cruelty, destitution, infanticide (a favorite way of disposing of illegitimate babies) remained wholesale killers. "It is not uncommon, I have frequently been told," Adam Smith reported in 1776, "in the Highlands of Scotland for a mother who has borne twenty children not to have two alive."

The death of an infant was as common among the rich as among the poor. Goethe later could not And the history of the century, coolly and parents may see given number of own infantile company brothers, my Edward, that, I appellation may inaccurate, but imagination of

Leaders in business and social life believe that South Africa might withdraw from the Western independence plan it has accepted because of demands at the United Nations Security Council meeting this week that Walvis Bay, a South African enclave, be included in SWA/Namibia.

Some would support such an action by South Africa, because, they say, the West has been playing a double game and the price of an international settlement is now becoming too high.

Others strongly oppose South Africa's withdrawal. South Africa is using the Walvis Bay motion at the UN to pull out of the international plan, exclude Swapo and pursue an internal settlement to its own liking, these people said.

buying rural properties and marrying his children into the gentry or the aristocracy, the affluent bourgeois did not rise—he disappeared. He himself might acquire a patent of nobility; many merchant-trading prosperous slave traders in the French port cities, did. And offspring succeeded.

As Daniel Defoe, the vigorous spokesman of the bourgeoisie, put it in 1726, in *The Complete English Tradesman*, and makes gentlemen, and has peopled this nation with at least their grandchildren, come to men, privy counsellors, judges birth and the most ancient families accepted a peerage after the fashion of everyone's lips Samuel Johnson Walpole ("a minister give

Division in SWA on UN

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South West Africans were today divided on whether the Walvis Bay dispute should be allowed to torpedo the bid for an international independence settlement for the territory

The Star Tuesday July 25 1978

...ity of Europeans were

subjects of condescension, fear, or indifference. There were a few exceptional voices, more audible for being so exceptional. Adam Smith, the most brilliant political economist of the century, flatly urged high wages for the working population. "The liberal reward of labour," he argued, "as it encourages the propagation, so it increases the industry of the common people"; where wages are high, "we shall always find the workmen more active, diligent, and expeditious than where they are low." Nor was such "liberal reward" merely a device for ensuring high productivity, it was sheer "equity" that those "who feed, cloath and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour as to be themselves tolerably well fed, cloathed, and lodged." But this was the voice of the radical Enlightenment; other, harsher voices were more representative of the age "Everyone but an idiot knows," Arthur Young the influential writer on western European agriculture, said in 1771, "that the lowest classes must be kept poor or they will

The Persistence of Hierarchy

Whatever else it changed, the growth in population did not materially affect the hierarchical structure of society. All across Europe, and in its outposts overseas, government was in the hands of the few who governed in behalf of the few. Republics and monarchies alike were what they had traditionally been—oligarchies. The gap between rich and poor, powerful and powerless, enfranchised and disfranchised, remained wide. It was spanned by a few narrow and precarious bridges bearing the one-way traffic of charity and the two-way traffic of social mobility the ruin of old and the rise of new families. But this, though spectacular, was relatively light. Some hundreds of enterprising tradesmen and bankers moved upward, their financial success the ticket to social ascent. But to speak of a "rising bourgeoisie" is to neglect a fact of central significance by

³¹ See Gibbon's *Autobiography* (ed. Dero A. Saunders, 1961), 53, for a correction of this report, see D. M. Low, *Gibbon's Journal to January 28th, 1763* (n.d.), xxx.

³⁴ Franklin L. Ford *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789* (1958), 15.

Terrorists

RBH 20/7/78

(22)

may rise

as

By DAVID FORBET
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK - Terrorist gangs, wearing uniforms and boots, similar to those worn by the South African Defence Force, are believed to be infiltrating South West Africa from Angola.

A spokesman for SWA Command said yesterday there were reports that the terrorists would act against local tribes "in an effort to drive a wedge between the

people of Owambo and the Ovambo Battalion and the

and the command concerned at the possibility that the gangs were acting as members of the security forces.

South West Africa Command has twice been alerted from the past two weeks by the SWA Command.

A military spokesman said in both incidents

the South African Security Forces were fired at from across the border.

We believe the small arms and machine gun fire came from members of the military wing of the "P.L.A.," he said.

The spokesman said there were increasing indications that Swapo incidents had been infiltrating the territory in small groups during the past fortnight.

Another development in the operational area was that there had been a sharp increase in the number of landmine incidents during the past two weeks, he said.

This follows a quiet period since the South African raid on Swapo bases in Angola at the beginning of May, he said.

The spokesman said about 50% of the landmines placed by the Security Forces had been rendered harmless.

"It appears as if the latest attempts by the army to lay landmines are not as sophisticated as those we came across earlier in the year."

Cubans stay until SA pull-out, says Neto

Own Correspondent

PARIS - Cuban troops will remain in Angola until South African troops withdraw from the south West African border, President Agostinho Neto of Angola said on French television yesterday.

He said Angola would not open up diplomatic relations with France until French troops had

left the African continent.

President Neto said France should close down the Unta bureau in Paris, and ending the rebel movement led by the

in Paris, commenting on the televised interview, Neto outlined the lower level of relations between France and Angola.

Troop SA not briefs

WINDHOEK - The strength of the United Nations military contingent earmarked for south West Africa had been assessed without consulting all the interested parties, Major General Jan Geldenhuis, 5M, officer commanding the SWA command of the Defence Force, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Gen Geldenhuis associated himself with a

statement by the Minister of Defence, Mr Eric Loduha that there was no objection at this stage to a specific number of UN troops to be sent to the territory in the transitional period.

The Western Five - the United States, France, Great Britain, West Germany and Italy - had been expected to reach the South African Government as well as the

Administrator General of SWA, Mr Justice M T, would be consulted before a final decision was taken on the UN troop strength, he said.

He had been "utterly surprised" when he had a report, after the Luanda talks between Swapo and the West that 5000 UN troops would be sent to SWA.

The number of UN troops should not even be

an issue at this it should not been mentioned the parties concerned not been consulted Administrator-General the South African Government

As far as he was the only figure been mutually agreed the residual force troops, Gen Geldenhuis said.

Mr M T Swapo's vice-president said at a back meeting at the end Swapo had West in Luanda agree to the Security

DTA hits out at West

By DAVID FORBET
Mail Africa Bureau

It is with utter confidence that the DTA

importance to the DTA, particularly in the

Another way in which family history has been interpreted within the context of patriarchal assumptions is by using a vaguely defined "domestic power" to water-pioneer within the family. A measure of the societal status of women, Daniel Scott Smith has discovered in the nineteenth century the rise of something called "domestic feminism," expressed in a lowered birth rate from which he deduces an increasing control of women over their

proving interesting and valuable in a variety of fields. Some limitation of this category is that it tends to separate the work and activities of women from those of men. It is not clear whether the essential historical synthesis is lacking. For example, the rich history of the abolition movement has been treated as though women played a marginal, auxiliary, and at times thinly disruptive role in it. Yet female anti-slavery societies outnumbered male societies; women abolitionists largely financed the movement with their funds; the abolitionist newspapers and magazines. The enormous political significance of petition campaigns organized by women remains unrecorded.

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Liberating Women's History
A PUBLISHED BY
The production of this work was supported by the Women's International League for Peace and Democracy (WILPF) and the National Endowment for the Humanities.
Bruce Mazlish

RDM

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Troops: SA

WINDHOEK — The strength of the United Nations military contingent earmarked for South West Africa had been assessed without consulting all the interested parties, Major General Jan Geldenhuys SM, officer commanding the SWA Force, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Gen Geldenhuys associated himself with a

statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that there was no question at this stage of a specific number of UN troops to be sent to the territory in the transitional period.

The Western Liaison Canada the United States, West Germany, France and Britain — had in an explicit in March this year that the South African Government as well as the

Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice M T Steyn, would be consulted before a final decision was taken on the UN troop strength he said.

He had been "utterly surprised" when he had seen reports after the Luanda talks between Swapo and the West that 5000 UN troops would be sent to SWA.

"The number of UN troops should not even be

an issue at this stage and it should not even have been mentioned because all the parties concerned have not been consulted — the Administrator-General and the South African Government."

As far as he was aware the only figure that had been mutually agreed was the residual force of 1500 troops, Gen Geldenhuys said.

DFA hits out at

By P. van der Walt
Daily African Bureau

WINDHOEK — Progress towards a peaceful settlement in South West Africa might be seriously jeopardised and complicated by the West's unilateral action on Walvis Bay, the Democratic Namibian Alliance said yesterday.

In its messages to five West African Ministers of the DFA said any deviation from the original proposals would seriously affect the credibility of the West in the territory.

"It is with utter amazement that we have learned the Western powers are including the taking of Walvis Bay in their proposals to be submitted to the United Nations Security Council."

Copies of the DFA's four-page ultimatum were also sent to the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. W. Botha, and the UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld.

They said the matter was not only of most

West

importance to the DFA, but was primarily a "matter of life and death" for the peace loving people of SWA.

"Have there not been enough mistakes, bloodshed and misery on this continent that you should not do everything in your power to avoid a repetition in Namibia?" they asked.

"We plead with you to remain firm on your original proposals and not to force your will on those who endeavour to find a peaceful and meaningful solution for this territory"

not briefed

Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice M T Steyn, would be consulted before a final decision was taken on the UN troop strength he said.

He had been "utterly surprised" when he had seen reports after the Luanda talks between Swapo and the West that 5000 UN troops would be sent to SWA.

"The number of UN troops should not even be

an issue at this stage and it should not even have been mentioned because all the parties concerned have not been consulted — the Administrator-General and the South African Government."

As far as he was aware the only figure that had been mutually agreed was the residual force of 1500 troops, Gen Geldenhuys said.

Mr Thlabanello, Swapo's vice-chairman, said at a Swapo report-back meeting at the weekend Swapo had told the West in Luanda it would agree to the South African defence presence in the north of the territory provided 5000 UN peacekeeping troops were sent to the territory.

At the frontline summit, before the Luanda talks, Swapo had told the five it was either going to be 5000 UN troops or Karasburg for the Defence Force, he said.

"We were later informed that the West had given in to our request for 5000," Mr Thlabanello said — Sapa.

DTA slams West over Walvis move

WINDHOEK — Progress towards a peaceful settlement in South West Africa might be seriously jeopardised and complicated by the West's "unilateral action" on Walvis Bay, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said yesterday.

In telex messages to the foreign ministers of the five Western powers, the DTA said any deviation from the original proposals would seriously affect the credibility of the West in the territory.

"It is with utter amazement, frustration and disgust that we now learn that the Western powers are including the matter of Walvis Bay in their proposals to be submitted to the United Nations Security Council."

The message was also sent to the South African Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and the UN Secretary-General.

They said the matter was not only of utmost importance to the DTA, but was primarily a "matter of life and death" for the peace-loving people of South West Africa.

"Have there not been enough mistakes, bloodshed and misery on this continent that you should not do everything in your power to avoid a repetition in Namibia?" they asked.

"We plead with you to remain firm on your original proposals and not to force your will on those who endeavour to find a peaceful and meaningful solution for this territory."

Though the DTA was not satisfied with all the conditions in the original proposals, the alliance accepted them because they were held to be a final peace plan.

"The DTA was given the assurance by the Western powers that Walvis Bay would not be included and the matter could only be discussed and resolved on a basis of negotiation

between an independent Namibian government and South Africa."

The message was signed by Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, president of the DTA, Dr Ben Africa, vice-president, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman, and Mr K. Rirauko, vice-chairman.

Also in Windhoek, the Officer Commanding South West Africa Command, Maj-Gen Jan Geldenhuys, yesterday said the strength of the United Nations military contingent had been assessed without consulting all the interested parties.

He associated himself with a statement by Foreign Minister, Pik Botha that there was no question at this stage of a specific number of UN troops to be sent to the territory in the transitional period before an

election.

Gen Geldenhuys said the Western five had been explicit in March this year the South African Government as well as the Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Justice Steyn, would be consulted before a final decision was taken on the UN troop strength.

He said he had been "utterly surprised" at reports after the Luanda talks between Swapo and the West that 5 000 UN troops would be sent to South West Africa.

"The number of UN troops should not even be an issue at this stage and it should not even have been mentioned because all the parties concerned have not been consulted — the Administrator-General and the South African Government," he said — DDC-SAPA.

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Discuss the importance of the concept of "property rights" in explaining economic behaviour and performance.

Pik Botha Always to Showdown

NEW YORK — A prompt Security Council go-ahead to the Namibia independence operation was predicted by the West last night as South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha headed in for a showdown confrontation.

With Mr Botha in mid Atlantic, Western strategists patched over their differences and plotted concerted action to leap-frog South Africa's ultimatum that the deal is off if it incorporates a challenge to its sovereignty over Walvis Bay.

But South African sources were tight-lipped and hinted only that things could go either way.

Western diplomats said they aimed to push through as fast as possible the resolution triggering the complex and costly United Nations policing operation, and the explosive declaration that Walvis Bay must be re-integrated within the territory.

At Jan Smuts Airport last night, Mr Botha said "changes in the situation following the receipt of the West's reply had caused his last-minute change

change of strategy. He hopes to address the Security Council during today's crucial debate on Walvis Bay.

Earlier this week, when the South African settlement plan was close to collapse over the wording of the United Nations draft resolution, Mr Botha cancelled his planned trip to New York and sent a strongly-worded protest note to the Big Five Western countries.

The change of plan came yesterday after a meeting between Mr Botha and the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to discuss the reaction of the West to South Africa's protest note.

dependent Namibia. Last night Mr Botha rejected speculation that South Africa was indulging in brinkmanship or token resistance.

Mr Botha would not say whether South Africa would insist on a Western veto for the resolution — which carries an implicit threat of sanctions — or whether an abstention by the Big Five would be sufficient.

Big Five sources said in New York yesterday they felt Mr Botha's presence while the council was meeting might cause an atmosphere of conflict. The Western group is currently playing down South Africa's heated reaction to the proposed resolution. Despite reported accusations of bad faith against them, by South Africa's Prime Minister,

van 6.00 - 7.30 nm (voor biduur);

3.7 Dankoffers:

- 3.7.1 Elke Sondag in die maand;
- 3.7.2 By besondere geleentheid soos Nagmaal Lentefees;
- 3.7.3 Elke diaken (en waar geen diaken in die is nie: ouderling) hou 'n boekie met naam en adreslys van lidmate wat 'n ve
- 3.7.4 Elke diaken sal verkieslik die laaste die maand die dankofferkoevertjies van volgende maand aan sy wykslede besorg die wyk, datum and die naam van die Lid
- 3.7.5 Wanneer die koevertjie ingelewer is, diaken sy wykslede se dankofferbedrag sy boekie en die Lid se "bydragskaart" invul wanneer die nuwe koevert afgege

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emerged from a closed door session in which the African group grilled Swapo chief Sam Nujoma, and fears remained that the Soviet Union might spearhead a demand for a much harsher Walvis Bay resolution

Mr Nujoma cast further doubt on the status of the Western plan when he emphasised yesterday that Swapo had not formally accepted it at the Luanda talks earlier this month

Mr Botha flew out of Johannesburg for New York after a last-minute

of plan. Mr Botha refused to say what aspect of the situation had changed or whether he was more optimistic about the chances of settlement on the issue

"It is still a very serious situation. Anything can happen. No government can make a hasty decision one way or the other in a situation like this."

The last-minute crisis in the 18-month negotiations on the future of the territory was sparked by the proposal pledging Security Council support for the reintegration of Walvis Bay into an in-

Mr Vorster, the group still believe the Pretoria Government will cooperate in carrying through their peace plan, according to their unofficial leader, the United States Deputy United Nations Ambassador, Mr Don McHenry

Mr McHenry maintained the West had kept South African wishes in mind by omitting all reference to Walvis Bay from their proposal

They had not and did not intend taking any stand on the legal position of the enclave

number of terrorists were in possession of uniforms and boots similar to those of the South African Defence Force and that they were trying to pose as members of the security forces

● In Brussels yesterday the nine governments of the European Common Market promised support for the economic well-being of South West Africa whenever the territory became independent and requested aid — DDC-SAPA

DTA slams West, page 13

SWA proposals 'unaltered'

RDM 26/17/78

(221)

By SIMON BARBER
 WASHINGTON — The resolution on South West Africa to be put to the UN Security Council is in the same form as the one accepted by South Africa. This was stated by a

US State Department spokesman, Mr Hodding Carter, yesterday. "We told the South Africans that the Walvis Bay issue is inevitably going to arise during the Security Council discussions on

Namibia . . . and that members of the contact group will support proposals calling for negotiations between South Africa and an independent Namibia on this issue," he said. The debate is scheduled for tomorrow.

Mr Carter's statement was part of a strong reaction from the State Department to South Africa's threatened repudiation of the accord on SWA over Walvis Bay.

"We believe any action to repudiate that acceptance would be a tragic development," said Mr Carter.

He confirmed reports that South Africa was threatening to upset the agreement because of the Walvis Bay dispute.

"The South African Government has expressed concern to members of the Western contact group that the group's proposal on Namibia has been amended to accommodate the Swapo view on the Walvis Bay issue." This, however, was not the case.

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 (erling) hou n boekie met volledige
 slye van lidmate wat n verdienste hef;
 sal verkieslik die laaste week in
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in die maand;
 geleenthede soos Nagmaal, Kersees,
 in kerkantoor: Elke Woensdag
 (voor biduur);

- 3.1 Kerkraadsvergadering elke tweede maand, derde Saterdag in die maand 2.00 nm;
- 3.2 Kerkraadsbiduur en Broederlike onderhoud in die maand tussen in, op die derde Sondag in die maand 5.00 nm;
- 3.3 Nagmaaltjeringe elke 2 maande om die beurt 10.30 vm en 6.00 nm;
- 3.4 Doop: Eerste Sondag in die maand 10.30 vm;
- 3.5 Doop- en Tugkommissie vierde Woensdag in die maand. Voornemende doopouers stel hul wyksouderling in kennis en ontmoet die kommissie saam met die ouderling omid-

3.7
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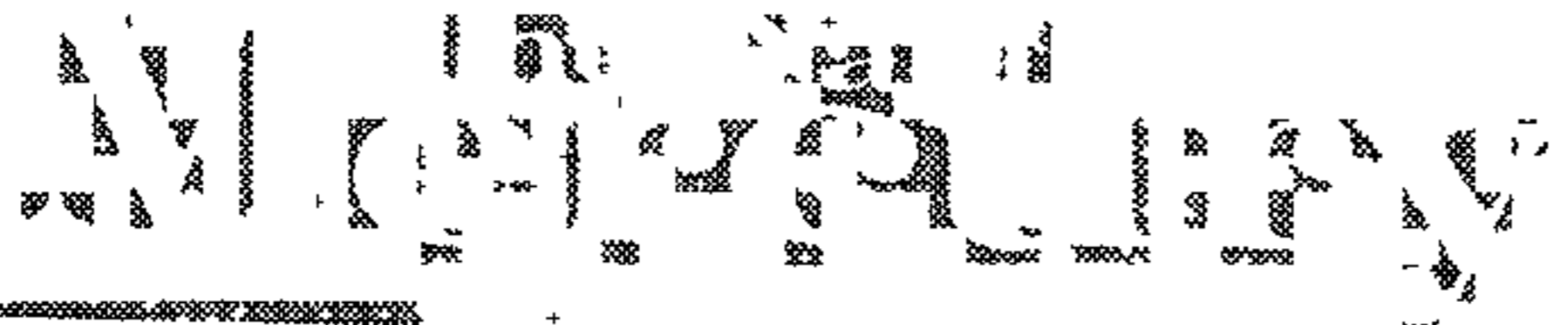
3. Program: Junie - Desember 1978:

- 2.1 Sake out notule;
- 2.2 Egsaar Tito opgeroep;
- 2.3 Br. J. Boezak.

2. Notule Vergadering 2 April 1978:

1. Opening

GEWONE VERGADERING



WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1978

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A SHABBY AFFAIR

THE West must accept a good deal of the blame for the eleventh-hour crisis which now surrounds the South West Africa settlement plan. Moreover, it must realise that by renegeing on its pledge to this country concerning Walvis Bay it has destroyed valuable bridges of trust and goodwill, and dangerously undermined its credibility in White-ruled southern Africa.

There has always been a lurking fear in this part of the world that at some stage South Africa might be dealt a card from the bottom of the pack during separate negotiations with Swapo and Pretoria on the future of South West Africa. That misgiving appears to have been well founded. Certainly in the matter of Walvis Bay South Africa has been shabbily treated.

No matter how strenuously the West may now attempt to wriggle out of a shameful predicament, it cannot evade some of the blame if things go awry. On the one hand it gave the South African Government a categorical assurance that Walvis Bay would not be linked with South West African independence. Yet a draft resolution to be supported by the West and apparently decided on by the front-line States and Swapo in Luanda early this month declares Walvis Bay an integral part of the territory. If that is not double talk, then what is?

The seriousness of the position should not be under-estimated. If the South West Africa settlement is shattered at this late hour then it could have far-reaching repercussions for the whole of southern Africa. South Africa has little option but to insist that the undertakings given to her should be honoured.

To do otherwise would be to seriously compromise her legal title to the Walvis Bay enclave, and significantly weaken her future negotiating position. Certainly she should be wary about accepting hastily-contrived Western "clarifications," and other doubtful diplomatic trappings which are served up these days as substitutes for political frankness.

Meanwhile, the possible effect of the Walvis Bay debacle on other crucial issues in southern Africa should not be overlooked. In spite of her position as the polecat of the sub-continent, South Africa has proved a valuable broker to the West in seeking solutions to the Rhodesian confrontation. But in the light of what has happened over Walvis Bay, can there be any expectation of an honest Western deal when it comes to negotiations with the Patriotic Front?

It could be a case of once bitten, twice shy.

Terror gangs in Owambo push

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NM 26/7/78

WINDHOEK — Small groups of Swapo terrorists infiltrating South West Africa during the past 10 to 14 days might attempt to reach central and southern South West Africa for acts of sabotage and terror, a spokesman for SWA Command said here yesterday.

The spokesman said two groups of terrorists which had infiltrated into Owambo had already been turned back into Angola by security forces.

There had been, however, increasing indications in the past 10 to 14 days that small groups of Swapo terrorists were infiltrating Owambo.

This had followed the relative quiet after the security forces had eliminated Swapo base camps in Angola.

"Our troops deployed in the operational area are more than able to cope with the escalated influx of terrorists and it remains to be seen how far they will get," he said.

To a question, the spokesman said he thought the increased activity was in line with the statement by Swapo president Sam Nujoma, after the Luanda talks that he would increase his military activity in the territory.

"We are concerned about the fact that the Defence Force has proof that a number of the terrorists coming across the border were wearing South African Defence Force-type uniforms and boots and that they impersonate the Defence Force," he said.

The spokesman said it was not yet clear where the terrorists had obtained the uniforms.

The Defence Force suspected the terrorist groups would intimidate the local people and so drive a wedge between the people of Owambo and members of the Owambo battalion and Owambo home guard.

Steps were being taken to forestall this and he appealed to Ovambos immediately to report any form of intimidation.

Another development had been a sharp increase in the number of landmine incidents in the operational area.

There had been two serious instances of border violation by the terrorists in the past two days.

In both cases terrorists fired on the security forces from across the Angola border. There were no casualties.

The Defence Force had reason to believe that in both instances the fire had come from the military wing of the MPLA.

Five killed

Five Owambo civilians had died as a result of two landmine incidents north of Oshakati last weekend, he

said, and seven people are still in hospital.

The spokesman said about 50 percent of the landmines discovered in the operational area had been defused. The others had been deliberately detonated.

Laying of mines lately appeared to be less sophisticated than earlier. "It seems that terrorists with only rudimentary training are being used to lay them."

This was possibly a result of the Defence Force raid into Angola which had left the Swapo military wing short of trained men.

There had only been one contact with terrorists in the past 14 days. As far as could be established, one terrorist was wounded, but he escaped with his comrades across the Angola border — (Sapa)

RAM 27/7/78

Americans push for rough Walvis line

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By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK

AFRICAN countries dashed gunpowder under the explosive Walvis Bay issue yesterday as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, and his Western counterparts arrived in New York for the showdown on South West Africa at the United Nations.

Meeting in closed session, the African group pressed demands that the agreed resolution calling for the quick reintegration of the port within the territory must be hardened to make it a clearer order on South Africa to quit.

The West stood firm — but indicated that it might accept "cosmetic changes" to the wording, though nothing substantive.

Some members of the African group also sought to merge the Walvis resolution with the companion operative resolution launching UN-policed independence and the dispatch of a UN operations chief to Windhoek.

In a confusing situation that changed by the hour, a steady stream of top figures from the West and Africa passed through Kennedy Airport.

Among those responding to the call were the key Angolan officials who pressured Swapo into acceptance in Luanda early this month.

In the middle of the melee, Swapo stuck to its righteous line, noting that things were now up to the Security Council.

But in his private address to the African group, Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma continued to hedge and seek leverage, telling them that Swapo had not agreed to the "original" Western independence plan and urging on the African demands.

Mr. Botha was plunging into a packed schedule of sessions with the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus Vance, the British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, and the Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr. Donald Jamieson.

He is also scheduled to have a meeting with the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim.

Late in the day the three Western ministers were meeting with the five-power Western contact group to consider the African demands.

The French Foreign Minister, Mr. Louis de Guringaud, and West Germans Dr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, arrive today with the Council meeting itself scheduled to begin in the afternoon.

Behind the hubbub, there was continued Western confidence that the independence deal...

to tutors during the first week of the

"Things are going well," US negotiator Mr. Don McHenry insisted as he sped between meetings.

But in an interview with Sapa yesterday, the Swapo UN representative, Mr. Theo Ben Gurirab, called it a "fallback draft".

"We want a categorical statement that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and that the Security Council will assume direct responsibility to ensure that South Africa is compelled to withdraw," he said.

On his way to New York at the urgent request of Mr. Vance, Dr. Owen met Mr. Botha in the VIP lounge at London's Heathrow Airport and spoke briefly to him, STANLEY UYS reports.

Dr. Owen said afterwards there had been no new developments that could affect the talks.

The British Foreign Office yesterday denied emphatically that South Africa had been "double-crossed" over the SWA package.

The Minister of State at the Foreign Office, Mr. Frank Judd, assured the Opposition's shadow foreign secretary, Mr. John Davies, in the House of Commons that "any reports of this kind are totally unfounded".

And in Lusaka, Swapo publicity secretary Mr. Peter Katjavivi accused South Africa of trying to sabotage the proposals by accusing the West of a doublecross.

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Southern Africa since 1910

Tutorial 1

Would you regard the crisis precipitated by the war issue in 1939 as something new or as a resumption of the old debate on the imperial connection?

- W.K. Hancock, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. Vols. 1 and 2. 1937-42.
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And jittery diplomatic sources believe that unless last-minute hurdles block the uneasy progress, a Security Council meeting today will finally set the plan in motion.

A possible last minute confrontation could arise from the detention in Windhoek of two Swapo officials.

There were nervous references at the UN to the detentions and in Lusaka, Swapo said the move could have serious repercussions on the latest

Tutorial 2

- D. Evans
- C. Bundy
- H.M. Ro

- Sol T.
- Francis
- C. Bundy
- M. Lipton

- J.P.W. Grosskopf, Rural Impoverishment and Rural Exodus.
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- Martin Chanock, Unconsummated Union: Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa, 1900-1945. 1976.
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- P.R. Warhurst, 'Rhodesian-South African relations, 1900-1923', SA Historical Journal, Nov. 1971, no. 3.
- Ronald Hyam, The Struggle for Southern Rhodesia.
- M.A.G. Davies

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Walvis Bay remains a knife-edge issue as the United Nations Security Council prepares today to approve the first formal step towards independence in SWA/Namibia.

All 15 Security Council members are due to meet privately at 4.30 pm South African time today to make final arrangements for a public session later, possibly 9.30 pm South African time.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, met Western Foreign Ministers privately last night, apparently to discuss statements they could make in the expected council debate to take the sting out of a resolution calling for integration of the port into the territory.

And jittery diplomatic sources believe that unless last-minute hurdles block the uneasy progress, a Security Council meeting today will finally set the plan in motion.

A possible last minute confrontation could arise from the detention in Windhoek of two Swapo officials.

There were nervous references at the UN to the detentions and in Lusaka, Swapo said the move could have serious repercussions on the latest

Western peace moves in the territory.

Swapo spokesman Mr Peter Katjavivi named those detained as the transport secretary, Mr Franz Kambangula, and the foreign relations secretary, Pastor Festus Naholo.

Both men had been released by South African authorities earlier this month to join a Swapo team meeting Western negotiators in Luanda.

Despite South Africa's continuing opposition to the Walvis Bay resolution, sources expect the Security Council to dispatch a special UN representative to the territory.

UNACCEPTABLE

Mr Botha told newsmen yesterday that the Walvis Bay resolution — drawn up by the contact group in terms of a negotiated deal with Swapo — remained "totally unacceptable to my government".

But in another remark he said discussions with the Western group would determine whether South Africa could "live with" the resolution.

Sources suggest that in statements to the Security Council the West could make the resolution more palatable to the South African Government by acknowledging the principle of integrating the port through negotiation.

D-Day and all depends on Walvis Bay

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- ...ovisio: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa. 1965.
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ECONOMICS HONOURS 1978

Swapo campaigners gain confidence... and the crowds

The Star's Africa News Service — While WINDHOEK — While Swapo externally has been involved in the international bid for a settlement in SWA/Namibia, the internal wing has sharply stepped up its political campaigning in the territory. In the past three weeks Swapo has held

almost as many public meetings as it had in all the rest of this year. Crowds have been growing larger and both Swapo leaders and followers appear to have been gaining in confidence. At the most recent meeting, last weekend, more than 3 000 vociferous supporters

gathered. Swapo's supporters apparently feel the end of their "liberation struggle" is in sight and its fruits soon to be picked. All this came with Swapo's agreement to meet African states and the Western authors of the independence plan in Luanda early this month, and

Swapo's acceptance there of the Western settlement proposals. For some months before that Swapo, as a political body, lay fallow with many of its leaders in preventive detention and others overseas — often wary of returning to a climate hostile to them. Now, while Swapo's leader Mr Sam Nujoma

is telling the world he has not formally accepted the western proposals, top leaders here are telling the people of the territory the proposals have been accepted. "as they stand." Meetings in Windhoek's black township of Katutura are usually addressed by leaders of national standing

There Swapo's political opponents, like the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance or the Namibia National Front, are seldom mentioned. The enemy remains "die boere" (the South Africans). For the rest of the people are reminded of their debt to Swapo, their "liberator" regularly

draw parallels between the hurts that fuelled the liberation struggle of Afrikaner nationalism and that of black nationalism in SWA/Namibia. They say being ruled in one's own country by a foreign power, the bitterness of oppression and the humiliation of the economic backseat are the same.

In meetings away from the main centres, things are often different. There the speakers are often local, usually young. Their speeches are a mixture of homilies about the "plight of the workers" and bizarre promises and accusations.

ension mounts for SWA talks

Cape Times 27/7/78

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NEW YORK. — The Security Council meeting designed to crown the Western peace initiative on SWA/Namibia is now set to convene on a higher level than expected.

But difficulties continue over the Walvis Bay issue, posing a late threat to the 18-month diplomatic push by the five Western members of the Security Council — Britain, France, United States, West Germany and Canada.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, was due to arrive here last night for the meeting which, cannot start before today. He will be followed by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, US Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, and Canada's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Donald Jamieson.

France's Foreign Minister, Mr Louis de Guiringaud, and West Germany's Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher are scheduled to arrive today.

Mr Botha was due to meet Dr Owen, Mr Vance and Mr Jamieson last night. He also has an appointment with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

The South African Government has accused the Western powers of bad faith for their proposed support of a Security Council declaration that Walvis Bay be re-integrated

in SWA/Namibia after independence

The Walvis Bay issue, according to South Africa, is not mentioned in the Western proposals. As a concession to Swapo, however, the five agreed to the declaration, which makes no demands on South Africa and sets no time frame for the re-integration of the enclave. Swapo maintain this is the least they will accept.

In an interview yesterday, the Swapo representative here, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, called it a "fallback draft."

Swapo is lobbying its African friends on the Security Council and in the Council for Namibia to toughen the declaration. They want to underline their position, stated in the joint communique with the five at Luanda on July 12, that they have done no more than agree to take the Western proposals to the Security Council.

The working draft on the Walvis Bay declaration was "not the kind we would like the Security Council to adopt," Mr Gurirab said.

"We want to make a categorical statement that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and that the Security Council will assume direct responsibility to ensure that South Africa is compelled to withdraw" — Sapa

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Unions, Parties and Political... study of Mineworkers in Zambia... 'Trade Unions, in Coleman, J.S. and Rosberg, C. (eds.), Political Parties and National integration in Tropical Africa... 'Another look at the mineworker', ASR, 972... The Colour of... the Copper Mines... Domestic Workers in Rhodesia... Contract Workers in Rhodesia... Agricultural and Plantation Workers in Rhodesia... Labour and Politics in Nigeria, 1945-71... African Trade Unions... 'African trade union studies: analysis of two decades', CUP, 1974... 'Labour and the state: the case of Zambia mineworkers union', JCPP, 1975... Black Industrial Workers in Rhodesia... 'Industrial workers in Rhodesia, 1946-77... working class elites or lumpenproletariat... of the... it will... It has... it can... can... full... cash... bank... a multiple contraction... Work out the opposite effect for yourselves - assume the govt wants to stimulate the economy. It buys bonds from the

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FM 28/7/78

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Despite the headline talk of "treachery" and "double-cross" in SA newspapers early in the week, Western diplomats were confident as the *FM* went to press on Wednesday night that the Namibian settlement plan was still on the rails.

As Pik Botha and Sam Nujoma flew into New York to meet the UN Security Council, Western sources were arguing that Pretoria's strong reaction to a draft resolution calling for early steps to "re-integrate" Walvis Bay into SWA arose from faulty interpretation of the wording.

The resolution supported steps necessary for "re-integration" at an early stage, called on SA not to use the harbour "in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia," and stated that the Security Council "would remain seized of the matter until Walvis Bay is fully re-integrated."

On its initial reading of the resolution, SA appears to have assumed that the Walvis question had been upgraded to a status level with the main settlement proposals, and that incorporation of the port would run parallel with implementation of the settlement plan.

Not now, later

But at crisis meetings with Western Five representatives in Pretoria early in the week, it was explained to Botha that the draft resolution in no way represents a legal commitment by the council to support moves for the incorporation of Walvis before an independence government has been installed in SWA. It is not a coercive document. The resolution therefore applies to a future situation which will be dealt with only after successful implementation of the independence plan.

The Western assurance can therefore be summarised as follows: the resolution does not affect the present legal position and sovereignty of SA over Walvis, it calls for negotiations, not a direct transfer. Nor will the West yield easily to a call for sanctions.

At the same time, New York sources emphasise that there is no possibility of

the West's abstaining or not supporting the resolution, which is regarded as a considerable improvement on the original African proposal. SA, the sources said, should thank its lucky stars.

Any amendments could only be for the worse. It was President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who bluntly told Nujoma at the Luanda meeting in June: "I want the SA troops not only out of Grootfontein, I want them out of the whole of Namibia. The only way to ensure this is acceptance of the Western plan."

SA was also told why the resolution was necessary. At the Luanda meeting with the Western contact group, Swapo cut up rough on Walvis in order to strengthen its political and diplomatic position in the settlement exercise. According to Western sources, Swapo initially demanded a far more uncompromising working document, but this was cut down to more acceptable dimensions after a great deal of tough talk. It was a price the West had to pay to get Swapo to come aboard.

Though usually conveniently overlooked in SA, one key point needs to be clearly spelt out on the Walvis issue: The "re-integration" of the port is something on which not only Swapo and the front-line states are agreed. Most of the political parties in SWA, including the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, feel very strongly that Walvis should become part of a free Namibia. Only the verkrampte National Party and the HNP advocate its retention by SA.

Indeed, there is even a strong suspicion among some observers that SA has deliberately exploited the Walvis issue, blowing it up out of all proportion as an excuse to wreck the settlement.

News about separate Western backing for negotiations on Walvis Bay was known publicly in early June. But it was only raised by SA as a major issue after the acceptance of the Western proposals by Swapo. Swapo's acceptance came as a shock to many in SA government circles, some observers claim.

The observers also point to other signs

of what they allege to be unnecessary difficulties caused by Pretoria's representatives in Windhoek. For instance, they say, the detention of most of Swapo's leadership in Namibia ordered by Steyn immediately after SA's acceptance of the proposals, and the subsequent raid on Swapo's camps in Angola in May, could



Foreign Minister Botha
fingers crossed, thumbs too

have been reason enough for Swapo to break off all negotiations.

The unilateral decision to proceed with voter registration is also cited as an example of unnecessary difficulties created by Steyn. In terms of the proposals accepted by SA, registration should not begin before a UN presence

Financial

has been established

Nevertheless the Western Five put Swapo under extreme pressure to accept their settlement plan.

The pre-independence constituent assembly election in SWA is likely to be a three-horse race between Swapo, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and the Namibia National Front (NNF). The Nat-backed Aftur is out of serious contention.

Despite massive support from SA and from foreign and local business, the DTA machine is creaking badly. Internal leadership tensions after the death of Chief Clemens Kapuuto are not helping the DTA to lose its image as white SA's political arm in Namibia.

The NNF has emerged as a centre group of small anti-Turnhalle and anti-Swapo parties. The NNF has been revamped by two white lawyers: Bryn O'Linn (secretary general) and John Kirkpatrick (treasurer). Western Euro-



Tanzania's Julius Nyerere
pushing Swapo

pean and business interest in the NNF stems mostly from Kirkpatrick's own wide range of business interests. The legal firm in which he is a partner has recently met the interests of West Ger-

many since the closure of its consulate in Windhoek last year.

Until last month the NNF leadership lacked an Ovambo presence. With the release of Swapo dissident Andreas Shipanga from jail in Tanzania, this gap has been filled - on paper. But whether Shipanga will make real inroads into Swapo's grass roots support in SWA is very much open to question.

With the DTA's problem of international unacceptability, the West - and perhaps even SA - might not be unhappy with a growing NNF influence to counteract a Marxist-leaning Swapo. But the chances of success seem slim.

Perhaps a major clue to the extent of Swapo's support is given by the captured survivors of the SA raid on Swapo's Cuvanga camp in Angola. Released into the custody of their parents in SWA, many of them have simply recrossed the deadly no-go zone back into the care of Swapo in Angola.

Rejection of Walvis motion correct — Basson

The Argus Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA had acted correctly by unequivocally rejecting the UN Security Council's separate resolution on Walvis Bay, the official Opposition's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, said today.

This resolution in itself, however, appeared to be no more than a declaration of intent, Mr Basson said.

It changed nothing in South Africa's legal status or its control over the harbour area.

TASK FORCE

And it did not include Walvis Bay in the work of the proposed UN task force to be sent to South West Africa.

The Walvis Bay resolution in itself, therefore,

did not give South Africa enough reason to reject the accepted Western resolution on the independence process for South West Africa.

COMPROMISE

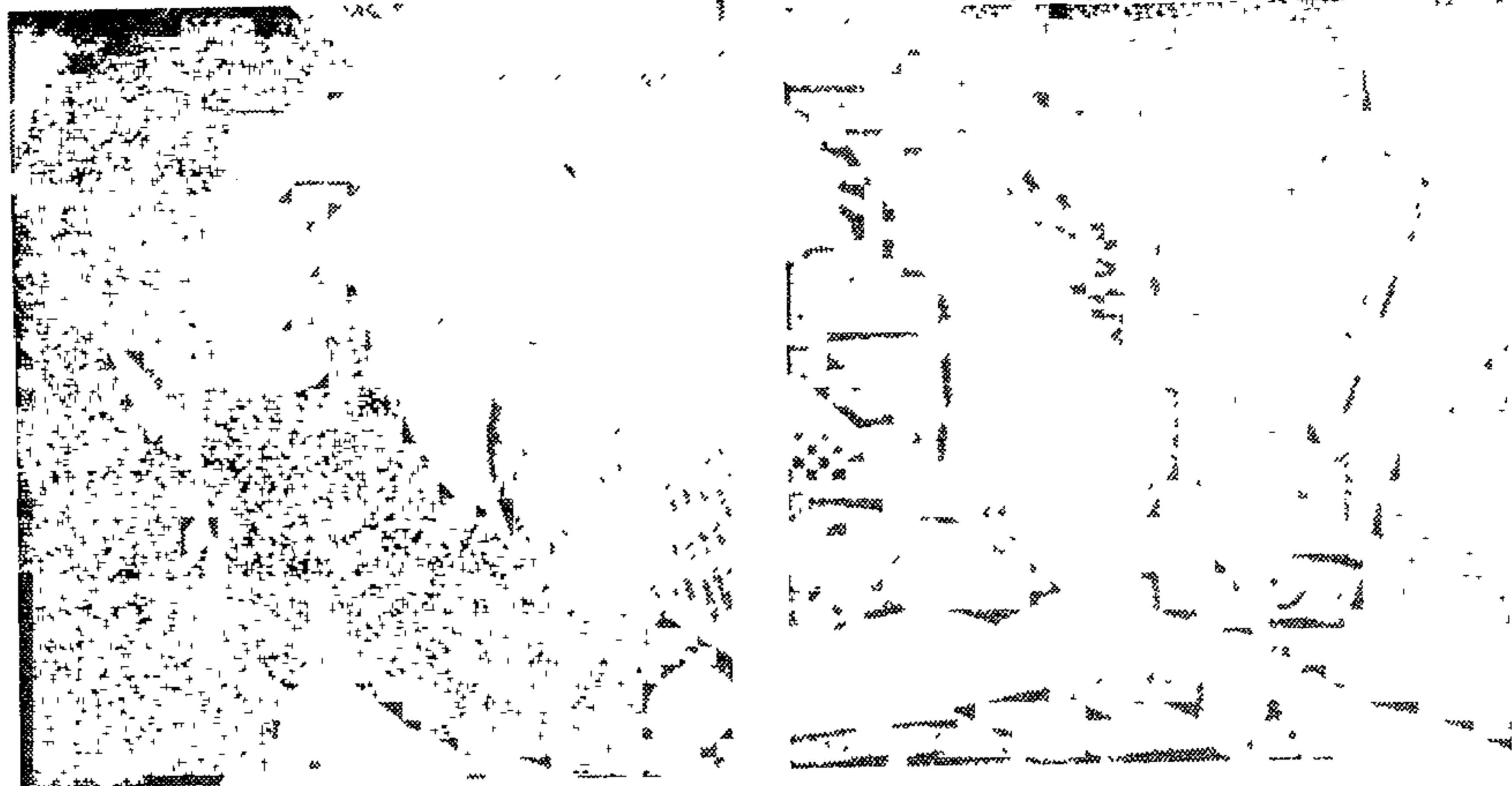
Mr Basson said the resolution on the independence process had from the start been a compromise which had not fully satisfied any of the participating parties.

Swapo and Russia and their friends appeared to be the least satisfied of all.

Taking into account all the circumstances, however, this resolution offered the best chance for a peaceful transition for South West Africa to internationally recognised independence.

All the parties involved should, therefore, go ahead with the implementation of this resolution on the independence process.

'It is to be expected, however, that there will still be big practical obstacles to be overcome,' Mr Basson said.



THE South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F ('Pik') Botha, left, speaking at the Security Council yesterday, denounced the council resolution calling for 'reintegration' of Walvis Bay into South West Africa. The Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, right, makes his speech at the council meeting.

Owen thinks SA will accept the SWA plan

The Argus Bureau
LONDON. — British Foreign Secretary, Dr David Owen, does not think that South Africa will turn around and 'renege' on the plan for South West Africa in the light of the UN Security Council decision on Walvis Bay.

'I don't think it is in their interests,' he said in a BBC radio interview today.

'I think that having gone this far, and having assessed the situation, they will go along with it.'

Dr Owen said the legal status of Walvis Bay had not been challenged in the resolution.

'We have not used coercive language. And I think South Africans have to ask themselves would they have preferred a much tougher resolution to have passed?'

'We had the option. We either negotiated and got a resolution which we thought was more acceptable to the two poles — South Africa and Swapo — or we could have just left a resolution on the Security Council which would

have been orientated closely to Swapo.'

Dr Owen described Mr R F (Pik) Botha's statement as 'pretty vigorous'. But 'on the essentials,' he had made it very clear that he was accepting the first resolution — the group Five proposals.

● A BBC correspondent, reporting from Walvis Bay, noted that a precedent had already been set — Port St Johns had also been part of South Africa, but was handed over to Transkei when that homeland became independent.

TRANSITION

The Argus Africa News Service reporting from Windhoek says the United Nations independence Transition assistance group of military and administrative personnel — when and if they come to SWA — will face an immediate crisis of confidence with some of the major political groups with terrorists.

Conservative and moderate political leaders fear that with the world community's track record in the long SWA dispute, particularly the late intro-

duction of the Walvis Bay question into the United Nations debate — questions may arise about the impartiality of the transition group.

Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary general of the Namibia National Front, a moderate black and white coalition said there were 'very serious risks involved'.

FEAR

'Parties will have to use every possible avenue to protect their interests.'

He said an area where impartiality would be a major factor will be the composition of the military group.

The fear in Windhoek is that the troops making up the military group could be drawn largely from a country sympathetic to Swapo.

Mr O'Linn said another area of conflict could be the relationship between the United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the Administrator General Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, who would co-operate as an interim government.

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HISTORICAL

Now: statesmanship not brinkmanship

WELL, at last it is done. South Africa and Swapo, sitting at the same Security Council table, have accepted the same peace formula for SWA/Namibia. Both sides have their grumbles, both have their reservations, both threaten to "do their own thing," but essentially they are now committed to the same independence programme. A United Nations supervisory presence should move in shortly. Terrorist activity should cease and South African forces will be reduced. There should be one-man-one-vote elections and independence by the end of this year.

Then South Africa will be rid of an appendage which over the past decade, if not longer, has been more trouble than it is worth. For the people of the territory the future is rather less certain. But for better or for worse they will embark on self-rule under a government of their choice.

Pretoria's only sensible strategy now is to ensure that nothing is done on this side to impede the plan. Certainly the

Walvis Bay "double-cross" should not become an obstacle. Mr Pik Botha has again registered his strongest protest and reiterated that nothing can legally compel SA to hand over the port. The Western powers acknowledge this, while backing the UN call for its "reintegration." Everybody, including the moderates in SWA/Namibia, agrees that eventually it must be part of the new country.

Everyone has now said his piece, and it is time to forget about the peripheral arguments over Walvis Bay. Its future can be discussed once the wheels are rolling well on the road to independence. By all means let Mr Botha go through his brinkmanship exercise of consulting the SA Cabinet before finally approving the Western plan. It may help to underline the South African case. The objection on Walvis Bay, however, should not be allowed to create any further delay—or give Swapo the least excuse to renege on the peace programme which it has reluctantly been pushed into accepting.

Security Council spells out Walvis position

STAR 28/7/78

(22)

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia abstained when the Security Council voted to endorse the independence plan for SWA/Namibia. The other 13 members voted in favour.

Yesterday's resolution asks the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to appoint a special representative to prepare a report recommending steps to implement the plan.

It also "urges all concerned to exert their best efforts towards the achievement of independence by Namibia at the earliest possible date".

All 15 members of the council supported the contentious resolution on Walvis Bay. In it, the Security Council:

"Declares that the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia,

"Decides to lend its full support to the initiation of steps necessary to ensure early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia"

"Declares that, pending the attainment of this objective, South Africa must not use Walvis Bay in any manner prejudicial to the independence of Namibia or the viability of its economy,

"Decides to remain seized of the matter until Walvis Bay is fully reintegrated into Namibia"

Dingane. recruited was always asking an instruction to his sanctuary with him to undermine the

to ask if there are any other... The only other... if easy way... the... After... feared an attack... to... dis... stone... were... come... white... process... also... which... In 1831 a regiment... to... had... white traders remain... In 1833 a further incident occurred to worsen... more. A Zulu army returning in a poor... unsuccessful campaign against the Shaka and the Nipondo, attacked and killed some... attacked by the people of Port Natal, black as well as white

Robert Frost

(1) Ology, Op. cit., p 224
(2) Shaka, p 227
(3) OHS A 1063 pp 553-4

3

It was during his reign that the Zulu Kingdom was really tested, when the whites came as potential occupiers and rulers of Natal. The first permanent white settlers in Natal were English. More than a decade later, the far more numerous Dutch emigrants arrived in Natal.

"Ever since 1824 a system of barter to a greater or less extent has been carried on between traders of this colony and the Zulus, with such advantages to the former as have encouraged them to persevere in spite of the most disadvantageous circumstances." When Dingane came to power he expressed the desire to continue enjoying the advantages of trade.

In a letter dated 12th May, 1829, Mr Isaac Bennister, quoted by Schaefer, recommended to the Colonial Secretary to establish a civil government at Natal, the reasons offered: to increase trade; to protect the traders; and to check their misconduct. "It is understood, that at this moment, hawkers, pretending to be licensed, and others, carry on the kidnapping of black people and a modified slave trade." Combined with this was the problem of desertion/refugees.

Up to 1835 Dingane took pains to court the presence of the whites because he coveted their trade goods and needed their greater knowledge of the outside world. It was hoped that the traders would also assist him in his wars and would instruct his warriors in the use of the musket. But, already at the beginning of the 1830s there seemed to have existed grounds (albeit perhaps minor) for negotiations between Dingane and the traders, viz. the exchange value of goods;

(4) Bennister, Op. cit. p 261
(5) Schaefer, The Natal Papers, p 33
(6) Ology, Op. cit. p 223

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"One is independence for the territory. Here the views and interests of the people must prevail and here there is close to unanimity on the pre-independence steps set out in the Western proposals.

"The other is the future of Walvis Bay over which South Africa exercises sovereignty.

"The South African Government has already declared its willingness to negotiate on Walvis Bay with a future government of an independent Namibia.

"I believe that this is how the issue should be left to stand," he said.

The South African Government had been correct to accept without reservation the Western proposals on steps to be taken for independence. It had created a new, hopeful climate, for peace and for international co-operation.

There was no doubt that the introduction in the resolution being put to the Security Council of clauses relating to the future of Walvis Bay had "soured this climate."

It would be argued that the clauses did not change the substance of the proposals relating to steps to be taken before independence.

However, the introduction of the clauses "relating to a harbour over which South African sovereignty extends will understandably be seen as provocative by the South African Government."

Mr Eghin hoped "that this action will not cause the agreement already reached to collapse, and that, in spite of this setback a climate of mutual trust can be re-established."

WALVIS BAY — South Africa Could Become South West Africa's Foe

Most White South African-nationalised South Westers, who were struck by this banner newspaper poster in Stubel Street, probably regarded the headline as sensationalism in Windhoek's Fleet Street

But an exaggeration of the truth it was not.

It spotlighted the very serious problem of Walvis Bay which even at this stage threatens to shipwreck the 18-month-old Western peace initiative.

The five Western powers have always been mindful of the damaging effect Walvis Bay could have if it became an issue during their peace negotiations

For this reason they have made strenuous efforts to keep the issue under the carpet until after independence — but without success

All the parties involved in peace negotiations — Swapo to a certain degree — agreed to postpone Africa's next border wrangle rather than destroy the slim chances for a settlement

Walvis Bay, the 1 124 sq km desert enclave on the west Coast of South West Africa, is a South African inheritance from Britain's

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S.A. 'could be SWA's enemy'

221

colonial past

The first time it became the property of any European power was exactly 100 years ago when Commander R C Dyer, of the British vessel Industry, formally annexed Walvis Bay in the name of Queen Victoria

But in 1884 the possession of Walvis Bay passed into the hands of the Government of the Cape Colony and in 1910 the enclave — along with the Cape, became part of the Union of South Africa and later the Republic

After several years of being administered as part of the mandated territory of South West Africa Walvis Bay reverted to Cape control with the appointment of the Administrator-General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, last year

South Africa's legal ownership of Walvis has

never been questioned or disputed by the international community

But Walvis Bay, which is South West Africa's only deep-water port and home for the territory's lucrative fishing industry, is of vital economic importance for a future independent South West Africa

It is undisputably part of South West Africa And it is on this premise that the matter has been taken to the United Nations Security Council.

Territorial Integrity

It says the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia must be assured through the re-integration of Walvis Bay within its territory

Apart from pledging the Security Council's full support for steps ensuring the early re-integration, the

resolution says the matter will be pursued until Walvis Bay is fully integrated into Namibia

The proposed Security Council resolution does not specifically question South Africa's legal right but it certainly challenges the Republic's continued ownership of the enclave

The resolution — even though it is to be submitted separately from the Western proposals and therefore ostensibly not part of the peace package — illustrates the thin diplomatic line upon which the Western negotiators are treading

What the resolution actually does is place South Africa in the same position in Walvis Bay as it has been in South West Africa for so many years — with the future threat of international action if it does not yield

There is hardly any doubt that in the years ahead South Africa will be accused of being imperialist occupiers of soil that is the responsibility of the international community.

The Western negotiators are tip-toeing through a minefield and their final steps are likely to be the most fatal

Constantly Claimed

It is obvious that the West conceded to Swapo and the front-line African States on the Walvis Bay issue in the hope that all the South West African political parties would support their country's claim to the enclave

"South Africa has constantly claimed to be working in the interests of the South West African people.

"But how can any political party in the territory side with the Republic on the Walvis Bay issue," asked one Western diplomat.

Pretoria objected in the strongest possible terms to the Walvis resolution and it was echoed in Windhoek by the Conservative Democratic Turnhalle alliance which claims to be the largest and most representative political body in South West Africa

"It is with utter amazement, frustration and disgust that the DTA has to learn that the Western powers are including the matter of Walvis Bay in their proposals to be submitted to the Security Council," the DTA leaders said in telex messages to the five Western Foreign ministers

"We were given the assurance by the West that the Walvis Bay matter could only be discussed and resolved on a basis of negotiation between an independent government and South Africa," they said

In another vein, Mr. Bryan O'Linn, secretary-general of the Moderate Namibian National Front, reiterated the warning that SA could become SWA's foe if it did not eventually yield on the Walvis Bay issue

Not the Issue

And Swapo, meanwhile, was chiding its opponents for giving in so easily to the West and being prepared to negotiate with South Africa after independence.

Stressing that Walvis Bay was not an issue for negotiation after independence, Mr Mokganedi Tlhabanello, Swapo's publicity secretary, said responsibility for the enclave would be taken over by the UN Security Council

But behind all the rhetoric there is the well-founded Western belief that if there is one issue that can unite the divided South West African nation then it is surely Walvis Bay

In the final analysis the Walvis Bay scenario will depend on the eventual victors in the proposed one-vote election

It has been pointed out, too, that S.A. could not hold on to Walvis Bay against the wishes of an independent Windhoek regime

It would be difficult for Walvis Bay to survive as a viable settlement and port if there was overt pressure from the enclave's hinterland

That headline on the newspaper poster had a prophetic ring to it after all.

Eglin wants Walvis left for future negotiations

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The future of Walvis Bay should be left to negotiations between the Governments of South Africa and independent South West Africa, Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Opposition said last night.

He was entering the international controversy about the harbour enclave for the first time as the Security Council prepared to debate a resolution calling for the "re-integration" of Walvis Bay into South West Africa

Mr Eglin told a meeting in his Sea Point constituency he hoped that agreement reached so far would not collapse.

The introduction of an issue which could jeopardise independence was not in the interests of the people of South West Africa

However, there were two issues which should not be confused

54 -7 The Renaissance in Italy

agriculture - chemical fertilizers, machinery and mechanical power, forward linkages the processing of agricultural products, leaders wanted their energy consumed by the production of more, more to be and pressed and that is the case for the English people, the reversion to the form of agriculture of saving or joining in agriculture

Walvis Outs

STAR 28/7/78

(221)

Says Vorster

Cabinet

to meet

soon on

UN vote

By John D'Oliveira

The South African Cabinet will meet on Tuesday to discuss the United Nations Security Council decision on SWA/Namibia

The meeting could accept or reject the independence settlement deal negotiated by the Western "big five" and confirmed by the council

In a statement today the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said South Africa "unconditionally rejected" the council's "demands" on Walvis Bay and rapped the council for coupling the issue to that of a SWA/Namibia settlement

Yesterday, the Security Council endorsed the Western plan for settlement, but the five Western nations voted with the other 13 members of the Security Council in unanimous support for a resolution calling for the "re-integration of Walvis Bay into SWA/Namibia" Mr Vorster said today Walvis Bay was South African territory and no decision by the UN or any other body could deprive South Africa of the territory.

A historic moment . . . at last the face-to-face between South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, across the Security Council table in New York

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'Rejected'

"Indeed, only a decision by the South African Parliament can bring about an alteration in the port's status. Thus the Security Council's resolution has no force of law and the South African Government cannot allow itself to be told what it should do with its property and how it should control and manage that property.

"To negotiate with a friendly South West African Government over the port and the use of the port is one thing — and this is obvious.

"But to make demands and to couple the issue of Walvis Bay to a settlement in SWA is another matter which the Government rejects unconditionally."

Meanwhile, in a BBC radio interview today Dr David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, said he did not think South Africa would "renege" on the SWA/Namibia settlement plan because of the Security Council decision on Walvis Bay.

"I don't think it is in their interests. I think that having gone this far and having assessed the situation, they will go along with it."

Dr Owen said the legal status of Walvis Bay had not been challenged in the resolution.

"We have not used coercive language, and I think South Africa has to ask itself whether it would have preferred a much tougher resolution.

"We had the option. We either negotiated and got a resolution which we thought was more acceptable to the two poles — South Africa and Swapo — or we could just have left a resolution which

To Page 3, Col 10

TODAY'S WEATHER

TRANSVAAL — Till 6 pm tomorrow. Fine and mild to warm. — See Page 3.

plans

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — No arrangements have been made in SWA/Namibia for the arrival of the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and an expected entourage of 50.

A spokesman for the office of the Administrator General of the territory, Mr Justice Martinus Steyn, said this today.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, named Mr Ahtisaari, a Finnish diplomat, as his envoy, whom he planned to dispatch to the territory "within a week."

Mr Justice Steyn's spokesman said today the arrival of the UN group and any arrangements for it depended on whether South Africa would participate in a UN-supervised independence.

CRISIS

The UN group will face an immediate crisis of confidence with some of the major political groups here when or if they arrive.

Mr Bryan O'Linn, secretary general of the Namibia National Front, a moderate black and white coalition, said an area where impartiality would be a major factor will be the composition of the military group.

His fear is that the troops making up the military group could be drawn largely from a country sympathetic to Swapo.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the conservative, multi-ethnic Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said in making up the military and civilian group, the UN had to try to get people who would not be prejudiced.

"Whether this will happen or not still remains to be seen," he said.

We'll send UN man back — SA

CAPE TOWN 29/7/78 221

NEW YORK — Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the new UN special representative for SWA/Namibia, was not welcome in the territory at this stage, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, indicated in interviews with correspondents here

He was elaborating on his announcement to the Security Council on Thursday that the South African Government had held back final approval of the Western settlement proposals because the West had supported a council determination that Walvis Bay be reintegrated in the territory.

The government would make a decision on the Western plan, possibly within the next week.

"As things now stand, there is no approval of my government for him (Mr Ahtisaari) to come (to



Mr Botha

SWA/Namibia). So far as we are concerned, he is not welcome"

This position had been conveyed to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, by a member of the South African Mission here, he said

Asked by the BBC what his government would do if Mr Ahtisaari should arrive at Windhoek Airport under current conditions, Mr Botha replied that they would refuel

the special representative's aircraft so that he could return to New York.

Mr Ahtisaari was named by Dr Waldheim for the job immediately after the Security Council endorsement of the Western plan. The Secretary-General said Mr Ahtisaari was due to leave for SWA/Namibia within a week to survey arrangements for implementing the plan.

A spokesman for Dr Waldheim said yesterday the Secretary-General had not been officially informed of the South African position, but was aware of the statements made by Mr Botha

"The Secretary-General expects all the parties to cooperate in the implementation of the council resolution. On this basis Mr Ahtisaari is proceeding with arrangements with due speed and concern," he said. — Sapa

Walvis resolution 'does not challenge SA rights'

SWA - WEST CONFIDENT OF PLAN

Argus 29/7/78

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Weekend Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. — Western diplomats are confident the South West Africa independence plan will be implemented, in spite of South Africa's implied threat to torpedo the effort.

'I have no doubt that the process of implementation will continue,' said a Western source, echoing the sentiment common to all the negotiators.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F 'Pik' Botha, flies home today after telling Secretary-General Mr Kurt Waldheim that the UN team appointed to initiate the independence exercise was 'not welcome' before the Cabinet had decided finally whether or not to co-operate.

A source confirmed that Dr Waldheim would not dispatch the team before South Africa had formally agreed to co-operate.

Mr Botha effectively suspended South Africa's endorsement of the independence plan in response to the five Western votes in favour of a resolution calling for 'reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia'.

The Walvis Bay resolution obviously angered



MR R F ('Pik') Botha ... flying home today.

the UN in the transition to independence

They say the independence plan would have been doomed without the Walvis Bay resolution.

It is a middle-of-the-road

... but it is understood the Government saw the draft two weeks ago. Western sources base some of their optimism on the fact that Mr Botha nonetheless came to New York and addressed the Security Council

Determination

Some observers see in South Africa's brinkmanship a determination not to concede political ground, particularly its unwavering claim on Walvis Bay. They believe South Africa will maintain that attitude, while reluctantly agreeing to co-operate with

resolution which, they say, makes no demands and does not challenge South Africa's right to control the port

If the Africans or Soviets had got in first with a resolution, they undoubtedly would have accused South Africa of annexing the port, and would have demanded its immediate incorporation into 'Namibia'. This would have had majority support in the council.

Withdrawn

South Africa would then have withdrawn from the joint effort, destroying the 16-month diplomatic exercise

And support for Sam Nujoma's Swapo guerrillas would have intensified, drawing South Africa's armed forces into an increasingly costly war.

DTA delighted at UN man Security Council a critic of SA

R.D.M 29/7/78
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WINDHOEK. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) was delighted that the United Nations Security Council had at last recognised the wishes of the people of South West Africa above those of Swapo, the DTA executive said in Windhoek yesterday.

The acceptance of the Western proposals on the territory without change by the Security Council had confirmed its intentions to bring a peaceful independence to SWA, the DTA said in a statement.

The implications of the Walvis Bay resolution were still not clear, but the question of Walvis Bay should not delay the process to independence.

"The DTA would support all steps which would be taken by the Security Council in eliminating and preventing all further delays in the implementation of the proposals," the DTA statement said.

The Secretary-General of the Namibian National Front (NNF), Mr Bryan O'Linn, welcomed the resolution.

Although the resolution on Walvis Bay might cause the South African Government acute embarrassment it would be insufficient grounds to jeopardise the implementation of the agreed package, he said.

A clear distinction must be made between the set of proposals and the Walvis Bay issue because the proposals as such had been accepted by all interested parties. Mr O'Linn said.

The chief Opposition foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, said in Cape Town the Security Council resolution offered the best chance of peaceful and internationally recognised independence for the territory.

He fully supported the Government's total rejection of the separate resolution on Walvis Bay, but did not believe the resolution, as worded, would justify South African rejection of the Western plans, he said. — Sapa

HELSINKI. — Mr Martti Ahtisaari, appointed United Nations Commissioner for South West Africa, in December 1976, is an outspoken critic of South African presence in the territory.

"Our job is to make it clear that the presence of South Africa in Namibia is illegal," Mr Ahtisaari, 41, said after his appointment.

He is an ex-schoolteacher and former Finnish Ambassador to Tanzania.

He joined the Finnish Foreign Office in 1965. By 1971 Mr Ahtisaari, a Social Democrat, was assistant head of the Department for Development Aid.

He was appointed Ambassador to Tanzania in 1973 and accredited at the same time to Mozambique and Somalia.

In 1975 he was made a director of the SWA Institute, an organisation working for the independence of the territory and which is financially assisted by Finland and other countries. — Sapa

If you would like to join the Society, please fill in the form below and leave it in the tutor's pigeonhole marked R (outside the secretary's office)

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert on Group Areas and the Housing Problem in S.A.
Dr Alex Boraine on Unemployment in South Africa
Mr B.C. Floor of the Transport Research Centre at Stellenbosch on Transport from an economist's point of view

Professor Franssen on The Implications of the point of sale turnover tax
Professor Sadié (Head of the Bureau of Economic Research at Stellenbosch) on Demography
Dr F. Wilson on The Squatter Problem

Mr H. Schwartz on Aspects of the Budget on 5th April, at 5.30pm
Information. Speakers scheduled for this year are:

member Jonathan Matheson 77-8668 or Gill Raine 65-2339 for further in Economics. If you are interested in ODE please contact a committee for membership of Omicron Delta Epsilon, an international honour society passed Economics II in the second class division you are also eligible all addresses to the Society, film shows and seminars. If you have The membership fee per annum is R1. Membership entitles you to attend

West is confident of SWA success

Star
29/7/78
(221)

By Kevin Jacobs
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Western diplomats are confident the SWA/Namibia independence plan will be implemented

"I have no doubt the process of implementation will continue," said a Western source, echoing the sentiment common to all the negotiators

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, flies home today, after telling Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that the UN representative appointed to initiate the independence exercise was "not welcome" before the Cabinet decided finally whether or not to cooperate

But UN sources said

the special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, had not expected to lead the first UN team to the territory before the middle of next week

In an interview yesterday, Mr Botha said Mr Ahtisaari's aircraft would be allowed only to refuel and return to New York, if it landed in Windhoek without permission

But one official said "Obviously, the United Nations is not going to parachute Mr Ahtisaari into Windhoek"

A source confirmed that Dr Waldheim would not dispatch Mr Ahtisaari's team before South Africa formally agreed to cooperate

Mr Botha effectively suspended South Africa's endorsement of the independence plan in response to the five Western votes in favour of a resolution, calling for "reintegration" of Walvis Bay into Namibia

A high-level Western source said yesterday "They have not told us they have pulled back their acceptance. He (Mr Botha) did not say that in his statement. We expect the proposal to be implemented"

BRINKMANSHIP

The Wavis Bay resolution is obviously angered South Africa, but it is understood the Government saw the draft two weeks ago. Western sources base some of their optimism on the fact that Mr Botha nonetheless came to New York and addressed the Security Council

Some observers see in South Africa's brinkmanship a determination not to concede political ground, particularly its unwavering claim on Walvis Bay. They believe South Africa will maintain that attitude, while reluctantly agreeing to cooperate with the UN in the transition to independence in Namibia

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PM: Walvis

PRETORIA — The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said yesterday South Africa had no intention of surrendering Walvis Bay because of United Nations pressure.

But late last night South Africa had not reacted to the crucial UN Security Council resolution accepting the Western independence plan for South West Africa.

When the Foreign Minister, Mr Botha, addressed the UN body yesterday, he reacted only

to Western support for a second resolution declaring Walvis Bay an integral part of South West Africa.

His Government, he said, had warned that if the Western five voted unreservedly for the declaration it would no longer co-operate in the implementation of their proposal.

In a statement Mr Vorster said Walvis Bay was South African territory, and no decision by the UN or any other body could take it away.

Only a decision by the South African Parliament could bring about a change of the status and position of the territory

and the decision by the Security Council had no legal force.

"The Government cannot allow that it should be prescribed to on what it should do with the port or how it should be controlled and managed," he said.

Since arriving in New York on Thursday, Mr Botha said, he had spoken with representatives of the Western five about the implication of the Security Council vote made by US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance on behalf of the Five yesterday.

"I will convey the statement to my government. We will study the full im-

port of this statement. I will also furnish my government with the additional elucidation provided by the five foreign ministers. It will then be for my government to make its final decision," he said.

After Mr Botha's speech, the Foreign Ministers of Britain, France, the United States and West Germany all said they took this to mean that the South African Government was merely reconsidering its position on the Walvis Bay question.

South African acceptance of their peace proposal was unshaken.

SWA 3 ready to go

WINDHOEK — South West Africa's political heavyweights, Swapo, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the Namibian National Front gave the Security Council's acceptance of the West's South West Africa peace deal a qualified welcome yesterday.

Swapo was ready to implement the Western proposals, said Mr Mokganedi Thlabanello, Swapo Secretary for publicity and information.

But, he said, Swapo was not hopeful South Africa would lend its continued support to the plan.

The West, however, had carried out its assurances to Swapo regarding Walvis Bay.

"I am not hopeful that Mr Vorster will co-operate in the implementation of the Western proposals.

"Already there have been attempts to discredit Swapo and I expect that these attempts will be escalated in the weeks ahead."

A specific instance was the murder of an Owambo shopkeeper in northern

South West Africa this week.

"It was immediately alleged that Swapo freedom fighters dressed in South African Defence Force uniforms had committed the murder and looted the shop.

"People are not being deceived any more by such attempts to discredit Swapo. The tragic part is that people's lives are at stake in these actions," Mr Thlabanello said.

The DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, welcomed the ratification but said it was a "great pity" Walvis Bay had been dragged in as an issue.

The question of control over Walvis Bay might seriously hamper the implementation of the entire Western package, he said.

"We will have to wait and see how South Africa will react, but we also do not know how seriously Swapo is taking the proposals and their ratification by the Security Council," Mr Mudge said.

The Secretary-General of the NNF, Mr Bryan O'Linn, welcomed the

resolution on the Western proposals, saying while the Walvis Bay resolution might cause the South African Government acute embarrassment it would be "insufficient grounds to withdraw from or in any way jeopardise the implementation of the agreed package."

A clear distinction should be made, he said, between the set of proposals and the Walvis Bay issue because the proposals, as such, had been accepted by all interested parties.

In Pretoria yesterday, the leader of Aktur, the National Party alliance in South West Africa, Mr A H du Plessis, met the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, for talks arranged on Monday.

"We had extensive and very penetrating discussions. The Prime Minister is himself awaiting greater clarification on certain aspects.

"Consequently, as far as we are concerned, we also have to wait for further finality in respect of those matters currently in the air," he said.

He would not say what

was discussed and said he would "rather not" comment on the two resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

"We are, however, in full agreement with the press statement which the Prime Minister issued this morning," he said.

And in Cape Town, the chief Opposition Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, said the Security Council resolution offered that best chance of peaceful and internationally recognised independence for South West Africa.

Mr Basson saw practical problems in its implementation but said the parties involved should nevertheless go ahead.

He fully supported the Government's rejection of the separate resolution on Walvis Bay, but did not believe the resolution, as worded, would justify South African rejection of the Western Plan.

"The resolution, in itself, is no more than declaration of intent. It does not in any way alter South Africa's legal status or her control of the port," he said — DDC-SAPA.

Handwritten notes and symbols at the bottom of the page, including: "unc - tigrac", "Tby purechal", "good - ness fall", "in Thy hor", "lead", "eth", "15", "16".

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29/7/78 M (221)

and they expected Pretoria to co-operate with its implementation

Privately, Western representatives said Mr Botha's outburst had been no surprise to them. It was directed more at the South African public than at the world community, they said.

Mr Botha was not in the council chamber when the vote on the two resolutions came through. The South African party, 15-strong, entered shortly before he took his seat at the council table.

Senior representatives of the African members, Gabon, Mauritius and Nigeria, left their places

when Mr Botha sat down but Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, stayed at the table to face the Minister's attack on his organisation.

Mr Botha urged them to abandon the bullet and accept the verdict of the ballot box.

He attacked Mr Nujoma's interpretation of the Western proposal and Swapo's demands on Walvis Bay. "We do not intend to withdraw our troops from Walvis Bay. Indeed, the proposal does not contain such a provision and he knows it," Mr Botha said.

But despite South Africa's opposition to the Walvis Bay resolution, the

UN yesterday prepared to implement the West's plan.

Western sources were confident South Africa would allow the special UN representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, to enter the territory with a team of 40 to 50 officials.

Mr Ahtisaari might leave New York today, the sources said. He was expected to recommend to the Secretary-General, Dr Waldheim, next month that at least 5 000 UN troops and 1 000 administrators go to South West Africa to maintain order and supervise pre-independence elections.

One UN source said Maj-

Gen Hannes Philipp, Austrian commander of the UN disengagement observer force on the Golan Heights, might become military adviser to Mr Ahtisaari.

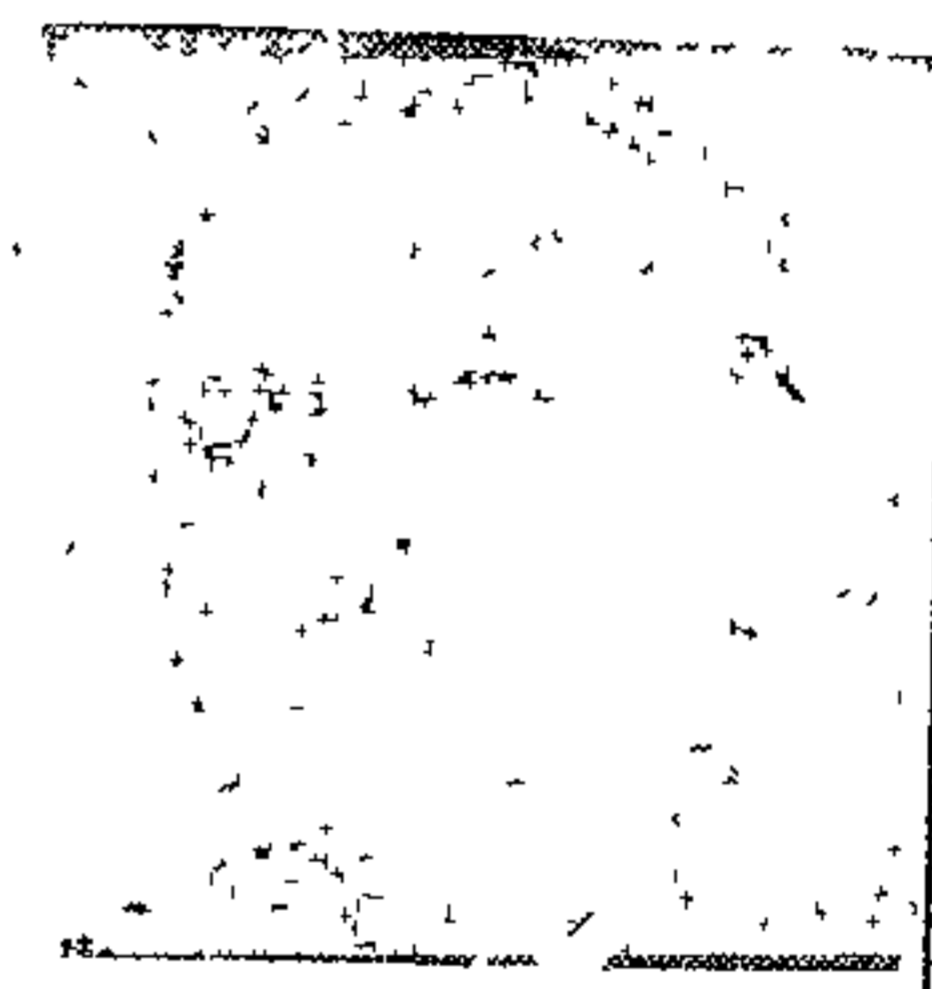
Mr Botha warned, however, that a reduction of South African troops in South West Africa would start only after the end of all hostile acts and the establishment of a visible peace.

The special UN representative would have to check the fairness and appropriateness of all measures at each stage of the electoral process, he said — DDC-SAPA-RNS

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MR VORSTER . . . No



MR BOTHA . . . No

Sunday EXPRESS



SWA — A RESPITE WELL EARNED

THE sound and fury over Walvis Bay notwithstanding, it can confidently be predicted that South Africa will accept the Big Five settlement plan that won approval in the Security Council this week. There is not much choice — and, anyway, it is an honourable way out of a dilemma.

The fact that a negotiated settlement was possible at all in view of the passions on every side will stand as a monument to reason and the persistence of the Western go-betweens.

South Africa has made telling concessions, but it dug its heels in over Walvis Bay for many reasons, some psychological, some practical. It has an arguable legal claim to the port. It needs the bargaining power that it offers. It could not afford to have Swapo campaign for votes in the first independent elections as the party that wrested Walvis from the White South. And, at home, it was probably necessary to placate the Right, which felt that the Government was giving away a birthright in South West itself.

But the overriding consideration all along has rightly been to try to find a peaceful resolution to the problem of how to hand the territory over to its inhabitants. The alternative would have been sanctions and international intervention. And, no matter how Nationalist spokesmen sought to minimise that consequence, it would have been immensely harmful — and perhaps even fatal — to South Africa in the end.

We can all breathe a sigh of relief that this prospect has dirfinitished. The immediate crisis is over. The future holds more, of course. Something could still go wrong. Even if it doesn't, Namibia may or may not be a friendly neighbour, depending on the party in power. South Africa may or may not be able to establish a Mozambique-like truce with Swapo if Swapo triumphs. Russian proxies may be planning mischief.

And Walvis Bay will no doubt come back to haunt us in the future.

But those are issues for another day. For the moment we can bask in the pleasure of having come safely thus far through a sea of perils.

Kabinet sal sonder Walvis ja sê

REPORT

30/1/78

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Van JOHAN VOSLOO
POLITIEKE waarnemers
meen dat die Kabinet
môre in Pretoria sy
steun sal toesê aan die
uitvoering van die
Westerse skikvoorstelle vir
Suidwes wat dié week deur
die Veiligheidsraad in New
York aanvaar is.

Die alternatief sal wees dat
Suid-Afrika die voorstelle ver-
werp en eensydig voortgaan
om die gebied tot onafhank-
likheid te lei.
Die resoluësie oor inlywing
van Walvisbaai wat ook deur
die Veiligheidsraad aanvaar
is, hang versierend oor die
Kabinet se sifting, maar di-
plomate verwag nie dat dit

Suid-Afrika sal dwing om
hom aan die skikplan te ont-
trek nie.

Wat wel verwag word, is
dat die Regering hernaend en
met klem die resoluësie sal
veroordeel en sy aanspraak
op Walvisbaai sal verdedig.

Waarnemers wys daarop
dat die besluit oor Walvisbaai
los van die skikvoorstelle ge-
neem is en dat dit nie af-
dwingbaar is nie. Daar word
selfs bespiegel dat dit 'n troos-
prys aan Swapo is, wat met
die aanvaarding van die
Westerse voorstelle eintlik 'n
politieke nederlaag gely het.
Suid-Afrika slaan ook nie
heeltemal so 'n ongenakbare
houding ten opsigte van Wal-
visbaai in soos sommiges min

**Min. pik Botha
se kommentaar
by sy terugkeer
op bl. 6**

Pik Botha se vurige opmer-
kings dié week vertolk het
nie, word gesê.

Die Regering het by herha-
ling gesê dat die toekoms
van Walvisbaai ná onafhank-
likheid onderhandelbaar is.
Van oordrag voor onafhank-
likheid is daar nie sprake
nie.
Gee die Kabinet môre
die ja-woord, word die spe-

stiale verteenwoordiger van die
VVO, mnr. Marti Ahlisaari,
en sy gevolg spoedig in Wind-
hoek verwag.

Saam met die Administrasie-
teur-generaal, regter M. T.
Steyn, wat nog in beheer van
die gebied sal bly, sal o m
reelings getref word met die
oog op die verkiesing van
die grondwetgewende verga-
dering.

Oor die 60 persent van die
stemgeregtigdes het hulle
reeds as kiesers laat regi-
streer.

* Prominente deelnemers
aan die verkiesing sal wees
die Demokratiese Turnhalle-
alliansie, Aktur, die Nami-
bian National Front en
Swapo. Daar is kleiner groepe

soos die HNP, die Interessens-
gemeenskap, die Bevrydings-
party van Rehoboth, die Chris-
tian Patriotic Coalition, die
Christian People's Party,
waarvan party waarskynlik by
groot groeperinge sal inval.

Die kerke, wat groot
invloed onder die bevolking
het, het nog nie amptelik
standpunt ingeneem oor wat
ter partye hulle gaan steun
nie.

Dit wil in hertdie stadium
lyk of 'n proporsionele kies-
stelsel die aanvaarbaarste sal
wees. Die kiesers sal dan vir
partye in plaas van kandidate
stem, waarna verteenwoordi-
ging in die grondwetgewende
vergadering na verhouding
bepaal sal word.

Beknopte gids oor Wêreld-gesamswa

SAARCOET 31/7/78

KORTBEGRIFF van die woelinge rondom Suidwes sedert 1920, toe die ou Volkebond Suid-Afrika se mandaathouer goedgekeur het

* 1946 Die algemene vergadering van die VVO verwerp Suid-Afrika se versoek dat Suidwes by SA ingelyf word Daar is eise dat Suidwes onder die voogdy van die VVO moet kom

* 1950 Die Wêreldhof bevind eenparig dat die mandaat oor Suidwes nog van krag is (Maar SA word herhaaldelik deur die VVO versoek om 'n voogdy-ooreenkoms oor Suidwes aan te stel. SA weier en hou vol dat die VVO geen toesighoudende bevoegdheid oor die gebied het)

* 1966 Suid-Afrika wen by die Wêreldhof, deurdat eise van Ethiopie en Liberie oor Suidwes verwerp word

* 1971 Die Wêreldhof bevind dat Suid-Afrika se „besetting“ van Suidwes onwettig is, en dat hy sy administrasie onmiddellik moet onttrek

* 1972 Die Veiligheidsraad oorweeg die adviserende uitspraak van die Wêreldhof en die Weste gebruik sy veto. Dr. Kurt Waldheim besoek Suidwes en maak kontak met betrokke partye. By die SA regering verneem hy dat die se Suidwes-beleid klop met VVO-ogmerke selfbeskikking en onafhanklikheid Dr Alfred Escher, Waldheim-gesant, besoek Suidwes

* 1973. Mnr Vorster sê die inwoners van Suidwes moet toegelaat word om sonder inmening van buite oor hul toekoms te besluit

* 1975. Die Turnhalle-beraad spring aan die werk Sy grondwetkomitee besluit op 18 Augustus 1976 dat 31 Desember 1978 die onafhanklikheidsdag moet wees Die komitee voltooi sy grondslag vir 'n tussentydse regering op 18 Maart 1977

* 1977. Die kontakgroep van die vyf Westerse lede van die Veiligheidsraad begin sy rol speel Ná onderhandelinge laat vaar SA wetgewing in verband met die tussentydse regering. Suidwes se verteenwoordiging in die SA Parlement word beëindig Regter M T. Steyn word wegbereider vir die vrye verkiesing van 'n grondwetgewende vergadering

* April 1978. Suid-Afrika aanvaar die Westerse voorstelle vir Suidwes.

* Julie 1978. Swapo aanvaar die voorstelle Die Veiligheidsraad keur dit goed terwyl Rusland en Tsjeggo-Slowakye buite stemming bly Terselfdertyd word 'n resolu-sie aanvaar dat Walvisbaai 'n integrerende deel van 'n onafhanklike Suidwes moet word.

* Dinsdag vergader die SA Kabinet om te besluit of die Regering nog sy samewerking sal verleen terwyl Walvisbaai, ondanks Suid-Afrika se besware, bygehaal is

Key man in Namibia moves

By Richard Walker: NEW YORK

R. MARTTI Ahtisaari is by this weekend. The bulky, cautious Finn med to head the United Nations' unique Namibian independence operation is a quiet centre of a diplomatic whirlpool. Though confusion reigns in South Africa's position, South African officials and legions of others continue to work with him on preparations for a fact-finding expedition to South West Africa. That mission cannot begin until the South African Cabinet makes a final decision on Tuesday. Boeing 707 aircraft is

ready for departure from Kennedy Airport with a 50-strong mission of specialists in every field. In a classic of Ahtisaari super discretion, he will say only that the Namibian undertaking will be "a little difficult . . . possibly." One thing all sides agree

Mr Ahtisaari clearly agrees and has been making close inquiries about his counterpart. One South African official who has met them both believes that the relationship could be excellent, describing both men as astute, sensible and "well-rounded".

Mr Ahtisaari talks solemnly of the importance of the United Nations, "presence" as "a visible assurance" of international concern for the future of Namibia.

He does show moments of emotion. His sense of the diplomatic was clearly outraged, for example, when Western officials months ago talked of his despatch to South West Africa as "a foregone conclusion."

Mr Martti Oiva Ahtisaari — pronounce it ah-tee-sa-ree — is 41, a teacher-turned diplomat married to a history teacher named Eeva. They have a nine-year-old son, Marko, and live a very close family life, enjoying skiing in the winter, and tennis and golf in the summer.

At first South Africa was inclined to reject him as "too close to Swapo" — but in the end the impeccably discreet Mr Ahtisaari defied fault-finding.

He was Finnish Ambassador in Dar es Salaam when picked to take over the hot seat of Namibia Commissioner from the fiery Irish veteran, Mr Sean MacBride.

He sums up his desire to get on with the job with: "My wish is to become unemployed as soon as possible."

SWA decision expected today

RBm 31/7/78

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By PATRICK LAURENCE

Deputy Political Editor
THE cabinet meets in Pretoria today to take a crucial decision on whether to finally accept or reject the Western proposals for a settlement in South West Africa.

The Cabinet was scheduled to meet tomorrow but the meeting was advanced by a day at the weekend in apparent response to the urgency of the situation.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha said at the weekend the Cabinet's response would depend on whether it had enough confidence in the five Western negotiators to implement their own peace proposals.

Mr Botha is understood to have briefed the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster shortly after his return from New York, where he represented South Africa at the United Nations Security Council meeting on SWA.

South Africa's confidence in the Western negotiators was shaken by their support for a resolution at the Security Council for the "re-integration" of Walvis Bay

into SWA — in spite of previous acknowledgement by the five that Walvis Bay was South African territory and a matter to be settled between South Africa and an independent Namibia.

As Mr Botha told the Security Council and reiterated at the weekend, had the Western Five voted "unreservedly" for the resolution, South Africa would not have co-operated in implementation of the settlement proposals.

But, in a statement to the Security Council on behalf of the Western negotiators the United States Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, made two points which could be interpreted as reservations:

- That the resolution did not prejudice the rights of any party.

- That they would encourage negotiations over the bay between South Africa and an independent Namibia.

The question was whether Mr Vance's statement — as well as additional information given by the Western Five's Foreign Ministers in separate talks — would restore South Af-

rican confidence enough to win a final agreement, Mr Botha said yesterday on an SABC radio programme.

Diplomatic sources, both in South Africa and at the UN, seem confident South Africa will give a final go-ahead to the proposals today. They have confidently dismissed Mr Botha's tough talk as "posturing" for the benefit of home consumption.

But that interpretation may not take enough account of the "hawks" in the cabinet who are unhappy about the Western proposals and who may regard the "betrayal" over Walvis Bay as a reason for pressing for rejection.

The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, is named by some observers as the leader of the hawks, with the raid into Angola against Swapo bases after South African acceptance of the proposals being cited as a typical hawkish action.

- The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, yesterday reported confidently on its front page that the Cabinet would accept the peace proposals — while reiterating its rejection of the resolution on Walvis Bay.

MONDAY, JULY 31, 1978

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A TIME FOR COOL HEADS

THERE will be many bitter words at today's special Cabinet meeting when Mr Pk Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, reports on the United Nations and the West's shabby dealing over South West Africa. And there will be considerable justification for accusations that at the very least the tactics of the negotiators more closely resemble those of cardsharps than honest brokers.

However, whether or not South Africa was cheated by the West's simultaneous support of a Security Council resolution insisting that Walvis Bay become an integral part of the territory when the five nations had undertaken that the two matters would not be linked, the future of all the peoples of South West and the democratic procedure of handover to independence should not be jeopardised at this critical stage of southern African history.

As much as we condemn the West's last-minute "buy-off" of Swapo there would be little morality in a decision to press ahead with an unrecognised internal settlement which every member of the Cabinet knows would bring the wrath of the world down about the ears of the Southwesters, for that would be tantamount to holding their peaceful future hostage to recognition of South Africa's rights to Walvis Bay.

There can be no doubt, as Mr. Botha has said, that with the West

having changed its standpoint on a matter which was so explicit and clear as South Africa's insistence on the exclusion of Walvis Bay, that confidence has been shaken, particularly as regards the West's future attitudes in areas not clearly spelled out in the initial agreement. But two wrongs — in our case a possible repudiation of United Nations-endorsed independence which would be seen as a tit-for-tat over the linked Walvis Bay demand — would not make matters right.

It would be far better for us to continue to do the honourable thing by thinking first of the inhabitants of the territory and leaving questionable practices to others.

Not only is it what the Southwesters themselves would want, but it is important to our own credibility in the rest of Africa.

Mr. Vorster has made it quite clear that the port is NOT part of the deal, belonging as it does unquestionably to this country. Evidence of his continuing statesmanlike position is that he is prepared to discuss its future with any new government. There is nothing, other than even greater bloodshed and tragedy along with the strong probability of an all-out international onslaught on southern Africa, to be gained from an about face now — however bitter the taste in the mouth.

Terrorists

blow up Ovambo water supply

ARGUS
31/7/78

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WINDHOEK. — Two vital installations — an important water supply line and a telephone line serving hospitals and clinics in Ovambo, in Northern South West Africa, were sabotaged by Swapo terrorists at the weekend.

**Cabinet
to decide
on SWA
today**

Mr Timo Bezuihouth, chief secretary to the Ovambo Government, said at Oshana today that a major water supply line was damaged when it was partially destroyed by explosives late on Saturday.

He said more than 100,000 people, as well as livestock, depended on the water supply line for their daily needs.

Shilumba was shot dead by terrorists in his shop in central Ovambo after they had ransacked the premises and escaped with R400 in cash.

Other border violations, General Geldenhuys said, were a series of landmine incidents and shooting at security forces across the Angolan border with small arms — Sapa.

The Argus Political Staff

ALL eyes are on Pretoria, where the Cabinet met today to decide on whether to implement or to reject the Western proposals on South West Africa which were adopted by the UN Security Council last week.

Although the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha, has taken a hard line on the Walvis Bay resolution, it is generally expected that the Cabinet will go ahead with the Western settlement proposals while expressing strong reservations on the Walvis Bay resolution.

The outcome of today's extraordinary Cabinet meeting in the office of the Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, will be eagerly awaited.

UNCERTAINTY

The decision will be a critical one for South West Africa and will help to dispel the uncertainty which has hung over the settlement plan since the Security Council adopted the controversial resolution calling on South Africa to re-integrate Walvis Bay in South West Africa.

Mr Japie Basson, the Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, predicted today that the Government would give the final go-ahead for the SWA settlement plan 'because the alternative is so dangerous'.

He criticised Mr Botha for taking such a hard line on last night's TV interview and warned that such an attitude at this stage could only serve to create distrust between the parties.

UN TO BE TOLD

The Argus Pretoria correspondent reports that the Cabinet decision would not be made known to the Press today. The decision would first have to be conveyed to the UN Security Council in New York and to the Western Five contact group.

SWA officials in air crash

The Argus Africa News Service
WINDHOEK. — Mr M D J Steenkamp, assistant to the Administrator General of South West Africa, and Mr Ben Nieuwenhuizen, the deputy secretary of the Department of Plural Relations, escaped injury when a SAAF single-

engined aircraft crashed after take-off from Windhoek's Eros Airport today. They were the only two passengers.

Phone link

Emergency repairs to the line were being made but it was not known how long they would take.

Yesterday, Mr Bezuidenhout said, the telephone line between Ondangwa and Oshikango was damaged when Swapo terrorists blew up eight telephone poles.

Tribal area

It was the first time since the beginning of the terrorist conflict in northern SWA that telephone communications had been put out of action by insurgents.

The telephone line was for the exclusive use of the local population and served clinics, schools and hospitals in the eastern sector of the Kwanyama tribal area in Ovambo, Mr Bezuidenhout said.

Damage to the line would be repaired but 'at the cost of other vital development projects,' he added. Major-General Jan Geldenhuis, officer commanding SWA Command of the Defence Force, said a patrol of the security forces arrived on the scene of the pipe-line explosion soon afterwards and discovered several tracks which were followed to the cut-line on the Angola-South West Africa border.

Landmine

A Russian-manufactured landmine was discovered on the scene of the explosion which had, for some reason, not been detonated. It was put out of action by the security forces.

Among the previous incidents was the killing of a black teacher, Mr K Nghipukuula, who was shot dead by terrorists after he had refused to accompany them at gunpoint across the Angolan border.

On Tuesday, an Ovambo shopkeeper, Mr Japhet,

engined aircraft crashed after take-off from Windhoek's Eros Airport today.

They were the only two passengers.

The pilot, Lieutenant I Cameron, received minor injuries.

A board of inquiry has been appointed to investigate the accident.

EDITORIAL OPINION

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Critical decision today

The Prime Minister has called a special meeting of the Cabinet today to take a most critical decision — whether to proceed with the South West African settlement plan as previously agreed with the Western powers or to stall on the first steps towards implementation of the plan because of the other Security Council declaration that Walvis Bay should be re-integrated in the territory.

The Walvis Bay resolution, of course, is not mandatory. South Africa's chief negotiator, Foreign Minister Pik Botha himself acknowledges this. "It is not binding," he said.

His anger about its introduction stems from the fact that Western acceptance of it goes against previous undertakings and is interpreted by the South African Government as an attempt to appease Swapo.

If the West is prepared to change its standpoint on Walvis Bay, argues Mr Botha, what guarantee is there that it might not renege on other more difficult and less clearly defined aspects of the settlement plan?

While there will be much sympathy for Mr Botha's attitude, the fact remains that the way is still clear, through the Security Council's endorsement of the main resolution on arrangements for internationally

supervised free elections for South West Africa, to achieve a peaceful transition to Namibian independence this year.

That achievement is a great victory for South African and Western diplomacy against Swapo and communist led intransigence. It would be a pity therefore if the Walvis Bay row was allowed to hold things up — particularly as South Africa has always expressed willingness to negotiate Walvis Bay's status with a Namibian Government after independence.

The immediate issue is South African co-operation with the world's leading powers on South West Africa or confrontation. If Pretoria today chooses the path of resumed confrontation in the sense that it determines to go it alone in working internally in the territory on an independence plan, both South Africa and South West Africa could find themselves in a situation as agonising as that of Rhodesia.

Support for Swapo could increase and the world could soon be saying — as it does now about Rhodesia's external armed nationalist force, the Patriotic Front — that any future internationally-recognised settlement would need the authority of the outside force.

SWAPO Strikes

Star 31/7/78

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UN influx a problem for SWA

The Star Monday July 31 1978

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — A decision by the South African Cabinet to implement the Western plan for independence for SWA/Namibia would be the signal for a large influx of United Nations staff that will bring severe logistical problems.

The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag) is expected to involve 5 000 troops and 1 000 administrative personnel.

The immediate problem would be accommodation in Windhoek where it has for long been at a premium, with houses, particularly, virtually unobtainable.

Many of the troops and some of the administrative staff will move on to other parts of the territory to monitor the independence process. But transit accommodation in Windhoek will still be needed.

SPACE

Another requirement will be office space for Untag.

At present the office of the Administrator General, Mr Justice Marthinus Steyn, occupies more than an entire floor of Windhoek's largest hotel.

Another hotel, recently taken over by the civil service, was proposed as an office for the Administrator General. But it is understood this was found not big enough.

Untag personnel will have to recruit interpreters from the 11 ethnic and language groups who live in the territory.

Reports from United Nations in New York have mentioned a figure of R250 000 a day to maintain the Untag presence in the territory.

Sabotage and killing in Ovambo

Windhoek

Swapo terrorists blew up a major water supply line in central Ovambo in the north of SWA/Namibia at the weekend.

This was the most serious border violation of the past weeks, Major General Jan Geldenhuis, SWA Officer Commanding SWA Command of the Defence Force, said in Windhoek today.

It was not known immediately what effect the damage to the water supply line would have on the people of Ovambo.

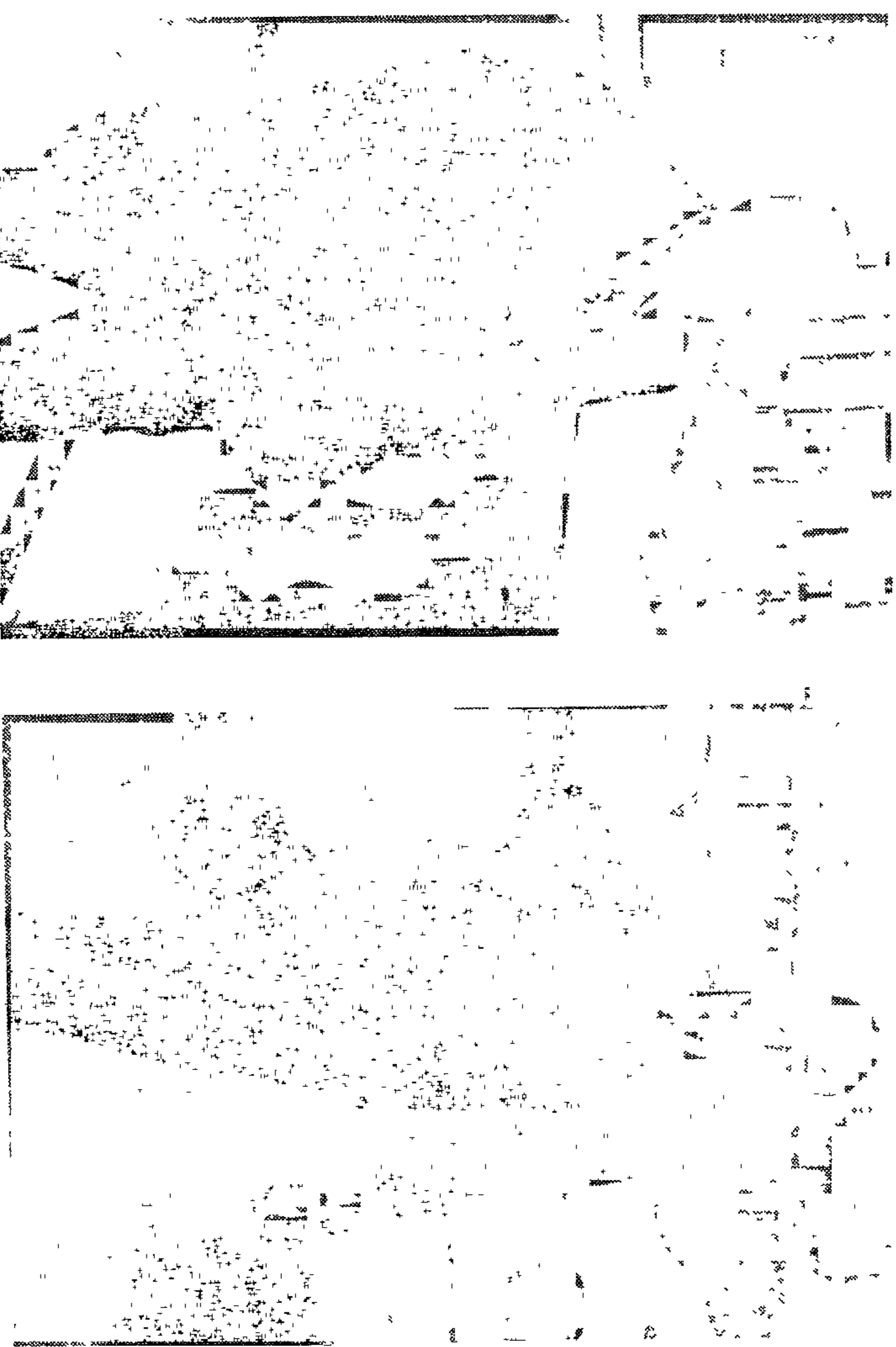
A security force patrol arrived on the scene shortly after the explosion and discovered several tracks which they followed to the cutline on the Angola-SWA/Namibia border, General Geldenhuis said.

A Soviet-made landmine was found on the scene but, for some reason, it had not been detonated.

It was made harmless by the security forces. General Geldenhuis said this latest border violation was one of a series of such incidents the past two weeks across the cutline on the SWA/Namibia-Angola border.

Among previous incidents was the killing of a black teacher, Mr K Ngnhukula, who was shot dead by terrorists after he had refused to accompany them at gunpoint across the Angolan border.

Earlier an Ovambo shopkeeper, Mr Japhet Shilumba, was shot dead by terrorists in his shop in central Ovambo after the terrorists had ransacked the premises and grabbed R400 in cash. Other border violations, General Geldenhuis said, were a series of landmine



The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr R F Botha arriving at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today for the vital Cabinet meeting on the SWA/Namibia issue.

Suspense on SWA as Cabinet ponders

By Hugh Leggatt, Political Correspondent

South Africa's response to United Nations resolutions on SWA/Namibia is unlikely to be made public until the cabinet has conveyed its views directly to the UN Security Council in New York and to the Western Five contact group.

No finality was reached at the morning session. As he left the Union Buildings, the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said the meeting was to continue this afternoon.

The Cabinet went into a special urgent session in Pretoria at 11 am while it was still in session.

The Government is known to be deeply perturbed about the consequences of the West's support at the UN of a resolution on the 'ventilation' of Walvis Bay in SWA/Namibia.

South Africa did not resist the implications of the Walvis Bay resolution. South Africa might find herself being manoeuvred into other unacceptable terms, contrary to the plan, on such matters as election arrangements and powers of the police and troop dispositions.

Such eventualities would certainly cause operation and implementation would go back to

square one even though she had made a concession on Walvis Bay.

The possibilities in the Cabinet today are:

- A refusal to cooperate in implementation in which case South Africa would go ahead with trying to achieve independence, unilaterally, probably in the teeth of UN sanctions, or
- Agreement to cooperate in the implementation of the plan in part.

● UN influy a problem for SWA — Page 1.