

EDITORIALCONSENT ON CHIEFS - COUNCIL POLICY

In a recent interview, members of the Chiefs Council (composed of representatives of the Bororo, Ovaambo, Nama, Damara, people including Chiefs Hesse Kutako and Witbooi) made clear their policy on many aspects of the freedom-struggle today. While taking a clear and progressive stand on the attitude of the oppressed non-white people to such vital issues as the franchise, tribalism and South Africa, the Council-members revealed an alarming weakness in policy with regard to the United Nations.

Council-policy may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Complete support for and co-operation with SWAPO.
- (2) An emphatic demand for the full unqualified franchise ("one man, one vote"); equally emphatic rejection of any scheme for limited political representation, qualified franchise or white representatives in the Legislative Assembly.
- (3) No special privileges for Whites either now or in a democratic S.W.A. The complete abolition of tribalism, tribal privilege and all racial discrimination (Katutura).
- (4) English to be taught in all schools and to be an official language in a free S.W.A.
- (5) Categorical rejection of Bantustan frauds (e.g. Transkei); nothing less than full democratic rights for all. No gradual assistance to so-called independence under the guidance of the present Verwoerdian Government.
- (6) Full support for the UNO petitioners. An urgent desire for UNO management of S.W.A. with JNC administrators and technicians to run the country and train people of S.W.A. to take over when qualified.

It is obvious that the Council fails to grasp the fact that UNO is no fairy-godmother. It does not see that UNO management will be little different from imperialist management, and that the Yankee and British exploitation of S.W.A. will continue unchecked in a S.W.A. under UNO control! This pro-UNO sentiment is undoubtedly the weakest point in the Council-policy.

The most tragic feature of our liberatory movement today is our lack of any planned activity. This is directly due to the widespread and profound belief that UNO will bring freedom. The average oppressed person has adopted this attitude: "Why bother about fighting S.A. domination, UNO will get rid of S.A. for us!" A SWAPO member was deported from Walvis Bay; the local reaction was "We hope UNO will soon come to stop this". In Windhoek our people say, "when UNO comes no one will force us to move to Katutura." In Rehoboth, the farmers cannot care less about irrigation "UNO technicians will do it for us." Our people do not lift their hands to free themselves while this hope for UNO domination; this hope is stifling our struggle for liberation!

Even more pathetic was the reply to the question, "What alternative plans do you have if UNO does not come?" The answer - "We have no alternative plans." And it is exactly here where the Council and SWAPO must give a powerful lead. On this aspect of our struggle there should be only one policy - whether UNO comes or does not come, we will fight for freedom. We must be against imperialist domination against S.A. Herrenvolk tyranny and against white collaborate with these. We

CVANAITA GVO IRAYA KALA PANUZI

Opena oshinima ada hais oku popia kangudu edi ta diluile emangulo mu S.W.A. O kukufo vana no-upika no yaviliane o vashumama ovemati no ukadona, no vakululu, kukasa tu oshinima na S.W.A., oshanditi. Hekondjo istu otua puka.

1. Otua hais okuja oshupika ovatilians nomozalienge avo a etu manga mukukalanyo komulaula keshe mu S.W.A.
2. Oshitiyali otua hais okulipagela sevane, tashiti epangelo lovanu aveshelina katungotongo!
3. Oshandi pula nec kucye okukateli ngudu koeshe kutia openi na uda ovakuaitava luifa oshinima nayo ndele vovene ovatukuka? Oshili oshinima shi etifa oshinda unene ogeenge hatu luifeni oshinima nafie tua topka.
4. Hekoko mokati kongudu tai luile emanguluko otali pe ashike cvanaita nafie oshinima. Hekokuvape eyubama kutia: fie nani ketuns eshi tu shi natango. Hekava hais vena einkelo kutia fisho ngudu tai luile emanguluko iheli kumbe kai na eshi tai ka dula, nande ya hais epangelo lave vena.
5. Dibulukua 1890 eshi Jonker Afrikaner oshaba yovovana ya hekus komutilians Francis Gaites yilufe ovedamara no vaharero vati yimone oimuna yihapu. Hekona kotska!
6. Hengula oshambo taka hekus komutilians oluife omulaula mukusuo tu tie nande osharero, ngashi ovatilians veninga mu Songo.
7. Dibulukua na 1916 - 1917 eshi ovogutu kuitavaluifa ovakuanyama, eshi ovogutu vali ovoko kuhandume ove li k'ndako ashike? Hekushike? Osheshi handuma nyama na okualivali kumushohoyo okun li enobili novashinda shas ovadonga. Oshogutu eshi anyengua okua ka ifana ovatilians vakusuo vesabulu ku S.A. opa nec vakapondola sha.

Hatango imomona mayele nasa mbela? Oulikusue pamushinifana ovo oshinima! Oshinifana otutu popi itashi ti ovo yayina yimue ashike, ndele nec okukesho tuu oshinima oshinima shilaula. Omulaula utale keshe mulaula mukuni oshinima nande nakale kee shi vati no mukoko uoye. Shas shi na oshinima eshi. Yena ye oshinima oshinima mu na Afrika. Fie paife otushi ashike hatu edu alisha la Afrika oshinima.

Tu hokelani tukale vavuo. Oshinima eshi paife otu li oshinima ovalumenu ovayina yimue oshinima! Tukufeni oshinima kovatilians eshi naye ifana vakusuo oshinima vo vanyengua. Nafie paife otuna vakusuo ovalaula ova tava dula okutu vatela ngenge tuo va pula.

Hekokale oshinima da keshe unue: keshe tuu oshinima komutilians oshinima oshinima oshinima nande na kale inaa hongua ile a hongua, u heshi ile unishi mukufa ngashi ove muene, nongashi uli hole muene.

**E M A N G U L U K O ! ! !**

Lesha aluhe "S.W. Commentator", ishagitha ukalo hoshi taamba aluhe. Henge oshinima oshinima nenge ashike na hais ongudu yashinima yemanguluko ye shi uve shingela komushangi nakala hekeshi popia mu S.W.A. Henge pamue oshinima sha na hais okushipula, pula etc ya mukulua. "South West Commentator" oshinima shoye muene shinima nasho otashi kukuatha. The Editor, P. O. Box 119, Rondebosch, Cape, S.A.

**GOVERNMENT-AGENTS TO BE PAID.  
JUDAS GETS R4 PER MONTH**

What is the Katuru-Location Advisory Board and what is its function? This question has been adequately answered for us recently by the Windhoek Municipal Council itself.

According to the Municipal Council, the Municipality would find it very difficult to do its work without the help and assistance of the Advisory Board. This Board acts as an important link between the Municipality and the non-white inhabitants of Windhoek; it conveys to the people the wishes of the Municipality and explains what is required of them. It also transmits the feelings and desires of the people to the Municipality. So enthusiastic are these Advisory Board members, said one councillor, that they even give up their own time to do the work for the Municipality. In recognition of their important services they will be paid R4-00 per month in future. The Municipal Council accepted this recommendation unanimously.

We know from experience that when the Municipality pays people for the work they do, it cannot be for our benefit! We know that in reality the Advisory Board members are the stooges and spies of the Municipality. They are the first to report on our plans so that the Municipality can act against us. They are the first to try to sweeten the bitterness of new laws so that we may accept them. They play the same role in the town as the puppet-chiefs and headmen play in the reserves. They are working for the government against the people and that is why they will now be paid for their efforts!

We must demand the full unqualified franchise i.e. the right of every sound woman of mature age to elect and to be elected to all the governing councils of the land. We must reject all inferior, dummy and collaborationist councils. Our people must insist on their right to be full members of the Windhoek Municipal Council, and the Advisory Board a symbol of our inferior position, must be buried with the past.

GOVERNMENT TRAINS ANTI-UNO FORCE.  
QUISLING CHIEFS ACTIVE.

latest

The two moves by the white government in its anti-UNO campaign are arousing deep resentment among the Ovambo people. What are these moves and what is the reaction of the people?

In many areas of Ovamboland the chiefs regard SWAPO as more dangerous than Foot-and-Mouth and the drought together. However they are now using their time not only to hunt and terrorise SWAPO members but also to assist the Native Commissioners to recruit young men into a police force. Every young man, especially those able to read and write is under pressure to join this force. And what is its purpose? To fight UNO!

At this time we have knowledge of at least 200 men who have joined the force, and there are probably more. While waiting for the UNO invasion these unfortunate men are being used to patrol the S.W.A.-Angolan border.

Shortly before this recruitment campaign these same Ovambo chiefs and headmen met government representatives in Windhoek; there they pledged themselves and their people to take up arms in defence of the S.A. government against any UNO attempt to enter S.W.A. This apparent support from "90%" of the Ovambo people has been given wide publicity by the government.

We are proud to report that the people themselves have not been misled and their reaction has been swift and sure. Regardless of whether they are for their own ends, for or against UNO, they are never on the side of the White S.A. government! A public statement from the Walvis Bay Branch of SWAPO denies that 90% of the people support the government. It accuses the Ovambo chiefs and headmen of selling their people in order to save themselves and keep their positions.

Inside Ovamboland itself SWAPO is taking active steps to counter government propaganda. SWAPO Branches report that it will be very stupid of the government to reply on the latest recruits to do its dirty work!

VAST BANTUSTAN PLANNED FOR NORTHERN S. W. A.  
-- MORE POWER TO CHIEFS --

Following soon after the announcement of plans for "independence" for the Transkei reserve the S.A. government has made known its plans for a vast Bantustan in S.W.A. The Deputy Minister for S.W.A. Affairs (Mr. v.d. Wath) has outlined the scheme as follows:

There will be no immediate self-government (not even after the Transkei fashion) "The Ovambos are simply not ready for it". However, the seven functioning Tribal Authorities will soon be followed by a Regional Authority, then later a Territorial Authority and only eventually "self-government" along similar lines proposed in the Transkei "self-government" will be effected in a huge Bantustan welding together the 3 reserves of Ovamboland, Kaokoveld and Okavangoland. This Bantustan will cover 52,000 square miles and encompass roughly 250,000 people (i.e. half the non-white population of S.W.A.).

The agricultural development of these territories will go hand in hand with these political steps. The basis of this development will be a 170 Mile R2-4 million canal designed to bring water from the Kunene River. A large pumping station and a \$1 million Hydro-Electric plant on the Ruama Falls on the Kunene will complement the canal.

People who know Ovaaland openly show their contempt for the apparent generosity and "bold" planning of this irrigation scheme. A C.F. SWAPO official, originally from Ovaaland says "Low rainfall, accused by v.d. Wath as being the main factor holding back physical development, is by no means the only factor. The numerous laws enforced by the government such as those limiting stock, together with the rule by chiefs who are hell-bent on preventing the progress of the people and not merely as recruiting agents for SWASA do so much to keep the land impoverished. This so-called wonderful canal can do no more than act as a showpiece to exhibit to foreign visitors; it is impossibly inadequate. Any serious attempt to bring agricultural progress must unite the political (democratic government) with lifting of the many laws limiting progress plus really extensive irrigation schemes!

We echo these sentiments and we go even further. The political development envisaged by the government is a crude attempt to strengthen the position of the reactionary chiefs. All the steps mentioned by van der Wath (Tribal to Regional to Territorial Authorities) merely give the chiefs and headmen who support the government more power. Power to use the might of the government against the people. The people will have no say in the government of the land. Only chiefs loyal to the racist government will be allowed to rule i.e. to see that the people obey S.A. government laws and also the petty, selfish dictates of the chiefs themselves.

The people demand a truly democratic government, and an unqualified universal franchise; not various Bantu authorities and the dying system of chieftainship. We support them in all their efforts to ensure that the proposed Northern Bantustan will be a dismal failure!

DIE PES VERSPREI.

BANTOE-ONDERWYS BESKET ONS SKOLE.

In die verlede het kinders van alle rase af groepe saam na die St. Barnabas skool gegaan, maar nou het die Regering 'n Ovaaba skool in Katutura oopgerig. Hierdie is nie 'n ongeluk nie, dit is deel van die regering se doelbeoefte plan om die nie-blanke te verdeel sodat dit makliker kan wees om reënaat aan te bla's en om hulle te regeer. Die doel van Bantoe onderwys is om die nie-blanke kind te ontroof van 'n ordentlike stelagel van onderwys wat hom in staat sal stel om in kontak met die res van die wereld te verkeer. Onder Bantoe onderwys word die skole gebruik om meer en meer kinders aan te lok, nie om hulle te leer om te lees en te skryf nie, die klem is op handarbeid; Gedurende skoolure moet die kinders leer hoe om 'n misvloer te smeer, om bakstene te maak, om paale te bou, om die lande te ploeg en te saai ons, die nie-blanke is voortbestem om in die myne te werk, om al die vuil werk op die paale en spoorweë te doen, dus het hulle, volgens Verwoerd nie nodig om wiskunde, letterkunde, aardrykskunde of geskiedenis te bestudeer nie, hierdie kennis het 'n wynwerker of skaapwagter nie nodig nie! Tweedens word sulke skole gebruik om dit makliker te maak vir die Regering om arbeiders te rekruteer - het ons nie verlede jaar gesien hoe al die seuns in Ovaaland wat ouer as elf jaar was uit die skool gehaal is om met die bok en klou korden te help nie? Omdat die skole hierdie doel dien is Verwoerd vasberade om meer en meer nie-blanke kinders in die skole te kry - hy is glad nie van plan om hulle van 'n goeie geleerdheid te voorsien nie, as dit sy plan was sou hy meer onderwysers aangestel het en meer skole laat bou het, in plaas daarvan is daar 'n nuwe sieting ingestel - die eerste groep kinders gaan skool van byvoorbeeld negte tot twaalf uur (dit wil sê drie ure per dag) die volgende groep begin hulle skooldag dan twaalf-uur tot drie uur. So word dieselfde klaskamer boeke en onderwysers tweekeer en selfs driekkeer gebruik. Ten spyte van die feit dat meer nie-blanke kinders nou skool-tge gaan, daal die slaagsyfer. Verlede jaar het 853 kandidate vir die Matriek eksamens ingeskrif, 600 uit die 853 kandidate het gedruip. Soiets kan net gebeur as die Onderwysers nie bekwaam is om die kinders te

onderrig nie. Onder Bantoe Onderwys volg die regering 'n sekere plan - al die hoog-geloorde onderwysers word ontslaan en hulle word vervang deur ongekwalifiseerde "quistsings" wat bereid is om hulle volk vir geld te verkoop - naamlik die manne wat bereid is om om op die Departemente van Bantoe en Kleurlingsake te dien.

As ons van selfregering praat is die Blankes altyd reg om te sê "Hulle is nog nie daarvoor wered nie", en tog doen die Regering sy beste om die nie-blanke in Suidwes te verhinder om gelykheid te kry, dit is oorgenoeg bewys dat Suid Afrika nie van plan is om sy plig teenoor die Mandaat gebied na te doen nie.

Ons is nie soos Johannes Shanika van plan om die regering te bedank vir vuil skottelgoed water nie, nog minder is ons bereid om soos die twee Ovambo Kapteins die Ovambo skool te verwelkom as 'n "ajlpaal" in ons ontwikkeling nie - ons eis

- \* 'n Demokratiese onderwys stelsel in 'n demokratiese Suidwes.
- \* Verpligte onderwys vir elke kind oor die ouderdom van vyf jaar.
- \* Die reg om in alle offisiële tale onderrig te word sodat ons in kontak met die res van die wêreld kan verkeer.

Ons is nie geïnteresseerd in pragtige skoolgeboue nie, wat vir ons wel van belang is, is die leerplan, as 'n appel buite pragtig pool is en binne vol wurm is kan 'n mens dit nie eet nie.

Hierdie eis van ons sal alleen in 'n demokratiese Suidwes verwesenlik word wanneer ons ons land bevry het van kolonialisme en imperialisme. Laat ons ouers, onderwysers en ja selfs ons kinders hierdie verkragting van die onderwys beveg tot die laaste druppel bloed. Dit is die plig van elke nie-blanke om Bantoe-Onderwys dag en nag te beveg, laat ons nooit ons plig versuim nie!

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF C. A. C. POSTPONED. - WILL COLOUREDS CHOOSE FREEDOM? -

The formation of the Coloured Advisory Council of S.W.A. (to represent all Coloureds outside of Rehoboth) has been postponed. The date fixed for its establishment had been 1st February 1962. No reasons were given for the postponement. Government sources say, however, that it was not due to opposition from the Coloured people; in fact, the Coloured people have pledged their heartiest co-operation.

This "heartiest co-operation" is not only a tragedy for the Coloured people but for all the oppressed. It shows that the Coloured people are willing to gain concessions and special privileges for themselves at the expense of the large suffering majority of non-whites. This phenomenon is by no means localised to S.W.A. but is fairly representative of the "upper crust" of Coloured people in S.A. itself. We can expect these people, basking in the luxury dispensed to them by the rulers to praise the White government to the skies. When UNO comes (if it comes) they will be the first to support the government in any action it will take.

It is not too late for the Coloured people to recognize the error of their ways. They have, and are choosing, the support the White rulers against the majority of the oppressed. (But even then they are still locked down upon by their masters!) We must teach them to join the forces of liberation instead. The delay in the establishment of the C.A.C. can thus be turned to our advantage.

Issued by the S.W. Discussion Group. All correspondence is to be addressed to Mr. Roberts, P.O. Box 110 Randeboom, Caprivi.

CHIEF BANTU COMMISSIONER BLIGNAUT,  
"IMPERIALIST" CUNNING  
EXPOSED!

A clumsy attempt to implement the policy of divide and rule has been exposed; and Mr. Blignaut, Chief Bantu-Commissioner is still smarting from the neat slap-in-the-face delivered by Chief Hosea Kutako.

A conflict has flared up in the Waterberg-East Herero Reserve over the appointment of Mr. Julius Kambarangi as headman. In a letter Blignaut requested Chief Kutako to settle the dispute by dividing the Reserve between the two disagreeing factors! Following this request by a threat he said that should Chief Kutako be unwilling to solve the problem he would be forced to do so himself.

In a reply worthy of his past record, Chief Kutako intimated that he was indeed going to the Reserve to facilitate settlement of the dispute; but not because of Blignaut's threats. Regarding division of the land he said "This is the typical mark of imperialism and colonialism which is intent on forcing the policy of divide-and-rule, but the days of imperialism and colonialism are numbered. If you consider this method of dividing the reserve is a sound way (of solving the problem), why does the government not do the same with the whites when the Opposition does not agree with the policy of the government?"

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must be for national independence, national self-determination and full democratic rights for all. We must pursue these goals regardless of and even, if necessary, in the face of UNO intervention.

NOTICE TO READERS

We have held over the assessment of the SWAPO Programme the series commenced in our last issue. We have done so because we believe this to be important and worthy of as much space as we can spare. Accordingly the major portion of our next issue will be devoted to the essays on the SWAPO Programme. We sincerely hope that you will receive this in two (and not four) weeks!

NEW BUREAU TO "UPLIFT NATIVE LANGUAGES"

Following shortly after the Report of the Special Commission which investigated the matter, the government has set up a new Bureau for the study of the languages indigenous to S.W.A.

According to its terms of reference the main aim of this bureau is to "uplift the languages of the people. It will seek to set the languages in writing and compile dictionaries.

Now we have (for good reason) become so suspicious and distrustful of the intentions of the government that we seriously doubt whether this Bureau will "uplift" our languages. We remember that Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities are also intended to uplift us educationally and politically!

Time will show that this new Bureau will merely serve to further divide our people. Already Ovambo people are forbidden to learn any other languages but their own in special aparte Ovambo schools. This Bureau will certainly have as one of its functions that of enforcing unilingual schools among the Herero, Ovambo, Nama and Damara people.

Our languages are "under-developed" because we are oppressed. Only our liberation will liberate our languages and truly uplift them!