

NAMIBIA-GENERAL -
POLITICS.

3 JAN. 1981 — 31 MARCH 1981

Background to the SWA talks

HE conference in Geneva on Wednesday next week, at which South Africa, the internal parties of South West Africa, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) will be meeting officially for the first time — under the chairmanship of the United Nations — will give the attention of the whole world focused on it.

The hotly contested internal dispute over the fate of the former German territory, now running into its 34th year, finally has the chance of being closed in its closing chapter.

Zimbabwe — due to UDI and the actions of the renegade Smith Government — attracted more publicity than has SWA. Nevertheless the future of SWA, of equal, if not greater, significance for the inhabitants of southern Africa for two reasons SWA is the last colonial territory in Africa and its political solution will have a vital bearing on the future of the other country, South Africa.

South Africa's involvement in the territory began in 1920, when the League of Nations mandated Britain to administer the former German colony. South Africa administered the mandate on Britain's behalf when the League was superseded by the United Nations, the mandate was modified into trusteeship.

But South Africa refused to accept this and argued that she had acquired full control of the territory. This was the start of a long, drawn-out legal wrangle on which the International Court of Justice has been asked to pronounce no less than six times.

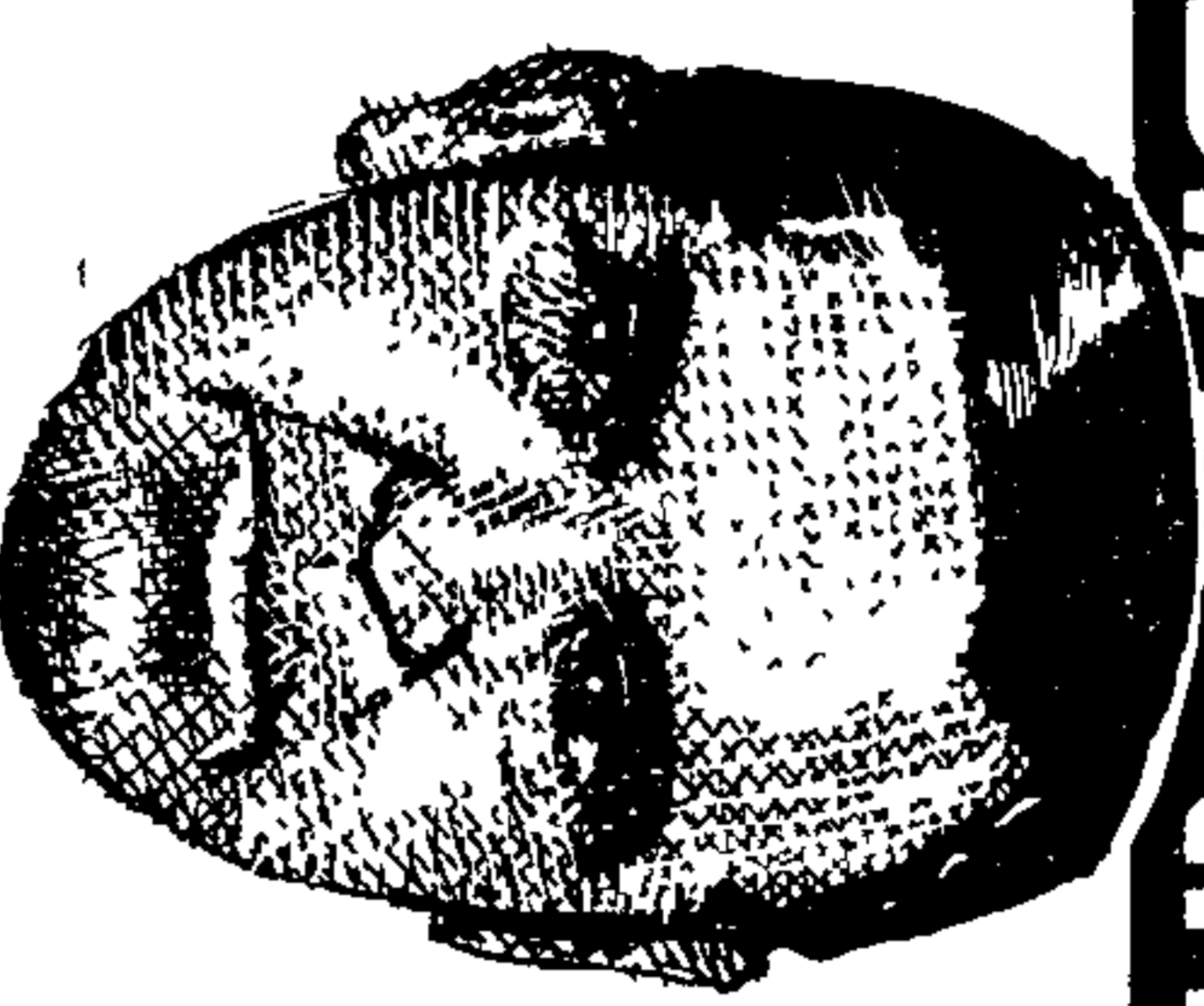
It was not until 1971 that the court ruled that South Africa's presence in the territory was illegal. But long before this, in 1966, the leaders of SWAPO had decided to take to the gun to achieve their aims — liberation of the inhabitants of the territory.

South Africa's defiance has resulted in what could be one of the biggest stumbling blocks to achieving a peaceful solution in Geneva.

The UN decided to recognise SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative" of the peoples of the territory. This decision has done incalculable harm to the moderate voices among the SWA. They were denied their chance of ever obtaining a full hearing in the outside world and because their only recourse was to ally themselves to the South African Government, they have suffered — being branded the "Muzorewa solution" and as a result have lost support which might have been theirs.

NAMIBIA - the UN plan

THE TWO SIDES



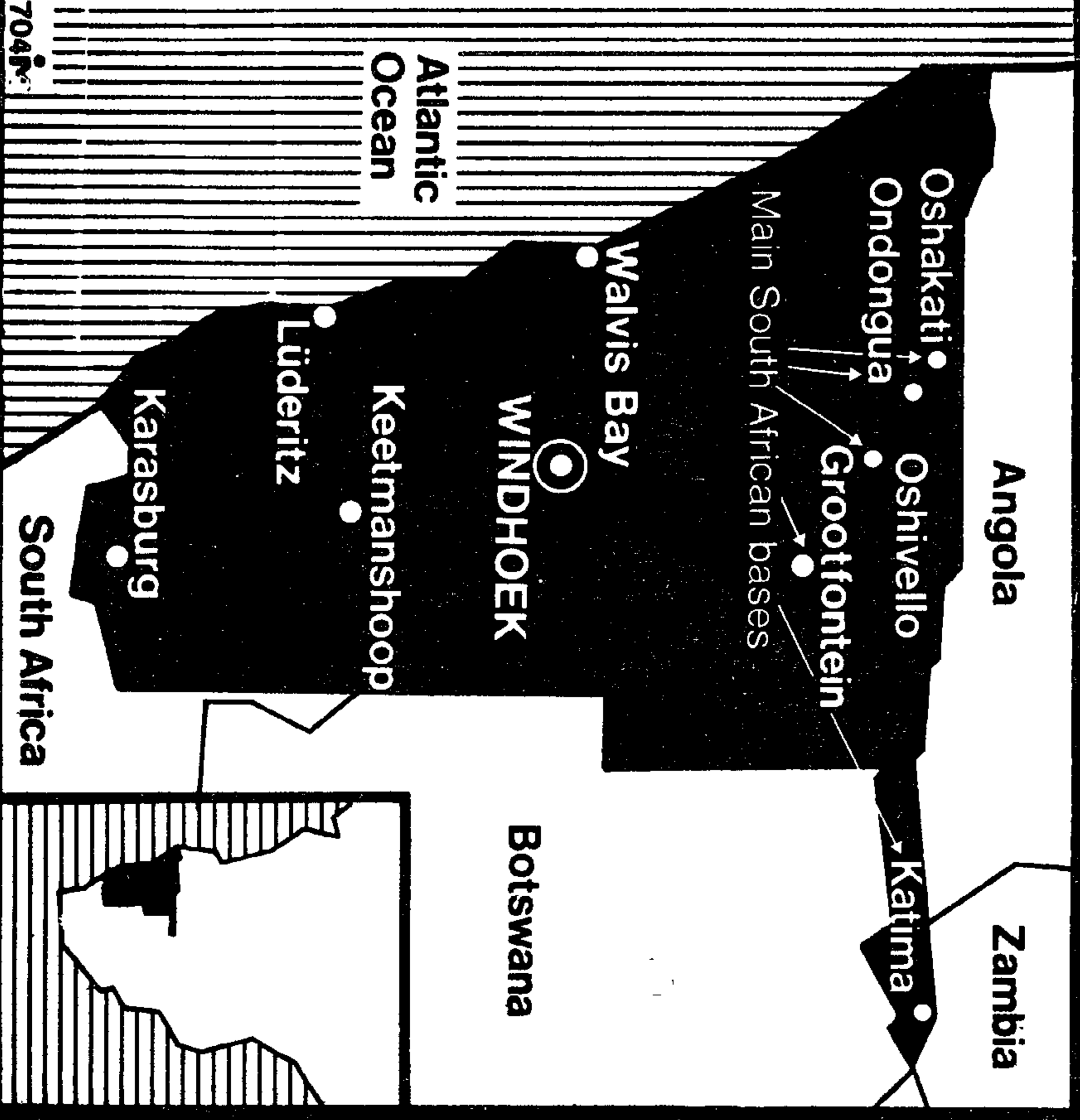
DIRK MUDDGE
DTA LEADER



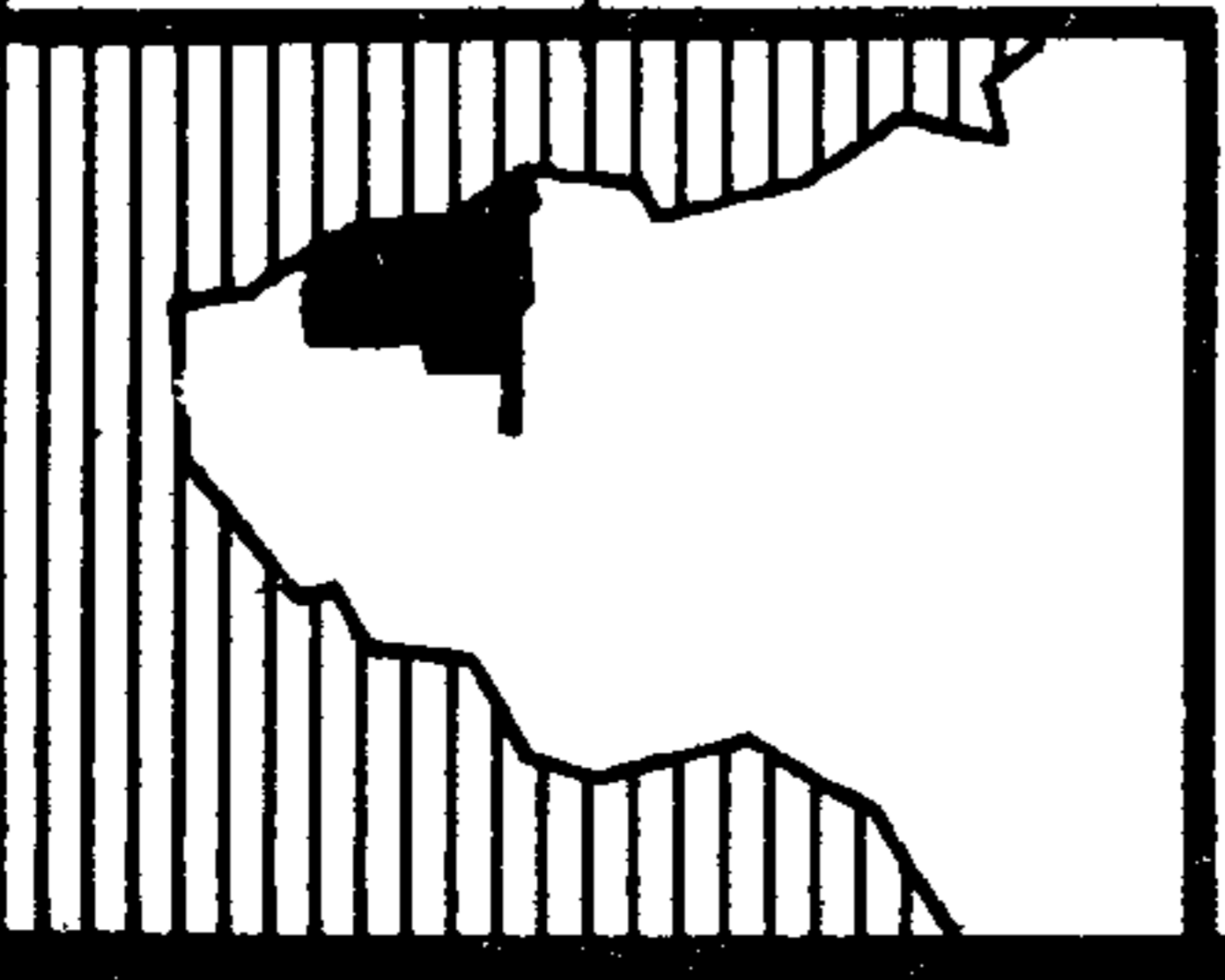
SAM NUJOMA
SWAPO LEADER

- * UN moves in 7 500 troops to take over from South African army and police and monitor ceasefire
- * South Africa runs down troops from 20 000 to 1 500 over 3 months
- * 4-month election campaign
- * UN-supervised election
- * Last South African troops to withdraw within one week of certification of election result

Geneva talks are about these 5 steps to independence



South Africa



Botswana

If South Africa had stuck to her oft-repeated declaration that the people of SWA would determine their territory's future, history might have been different.

She realised she would have to confer some sort of independent status on SWA in the face of the rapidly escalating war against SWAPO but was determined that SWAPO would not take over. The Turnhalle Conference was set up but SWAPO was excluded. South Africa has continued to dominate the course of events instead of practising what she preached.

Swapo has clung to its special status as a dying man would to a straw, and is determined not to lose that status by recognising the legitimacy of the moderate political groupings.

Both South Africa and the SWA moderates — led by Dirk Mudge of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — have charged that the UN cannot be an impartial adjudicator at these talks or future elections while SWAPO continues to enjoy the UN-conferred status. It is in this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion that the parties enter the Palais de Nations.

The internal parties are to form part of his delegation while the South African Government will be present as "advisers" to the delegation.

At this stage there is broad agreement between the parties on the implementation of the UN plan for a ceasefire and holding of elections leading to independence, the size of the UNTAG peacekeeping force, the establishment of a demilitarised zone, and the number of bases South Africa and SWAPO will be able to maintain.

Several factors point to the talks either being dragged out for longer, or to their being inconclusive.

Pretoria is working all out to establish the DTA and other moderate parties firmly in the voters' minds. The more time it can buy the more chance the plan has of success.

Many observers believe South Africa will try to use the meeting to introduce discussion on a constitution. Presumably her aim is to entrench, while it has any say in the matter, rights for the moderate minorities in the likely event of a SWAPO victory at the polls.

Argument on this matter may well drag the talks out for longer than the scheduled January 7-14 period if it does not throw the meeting into jeopardy.

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Then the UN General Assembly is due to meet on January 15 for a debate on SWA. It is not likely to debate if the Geneva talks are then still in session or if firm agreement has been reached between South Africa and SWAPO to meet at a later stage. And finally, Pretoria is pinning its hopes on support in the General Assembly from the Reagan Administration. But Ronald Reagan is only to take over from President Carter on January 20.

Doubts on UN role loom over Geneva

RDM 3/1/81 (221)

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

DOUBTS over United Nations impartiality on South West Africa are certain to be expressed and to figure prominently in the "all-party" talks at Geneva next week, according to informed observers in Windhoek and Pretoria.

Scepticism over the UN's ability to act as an honest broker in the SWA dispute dominated exchanges between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Mr P Botha and the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez Cuellar, in the past few months as well as during South Africa's negotiations with the UN delegation in Pretoria last October.

But it will surface again at the Geneva conference. And one other factor will be the UN's role in the past few months when the UN Secretary-General has been accused of being biased in favour of the SWA people.

The UN Secretary-General, Javier Perez Cuellar, said in Pretoria last October that the SWA delegation headed by the SWA Administrator General, Mr Danie Hough, a South African appointee.

Mr Mudge gave a clear hint on Tuesday of the line he is likely to push when he described the UN as a "very biased organisation".

His comment was made on his return from George on Tuesday, where both he and Mr Du Plessis had urgent talks on with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and senior members of his Cabinet.

The main purpose of the Geneva conference is to discuss implementation of UN resolution 435, which provides for a ceasefire and a UN-supervised election. But allegations of UN bias are certain to be raised under the heading "other practical matters".

According to a well-placed informant in Windhoek, the DTA — the majority party in the SWA National Assembly — is determined to use the Geneva talks to secure "equal status with Swapo".

SA doubts about UN role loom at Geneva

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□ From Page 1

Beeld, spoke of the the Geneva talks possibly leading to independence in two years' time.

Although dismissed as speculation by Windhoek and Pretoria sources yesterday, the report strengthened the anticipation of some analysts that Mr Mudge is likely to filibuster at Geneva, with the approval of Pretoria.

Meanwhile at the time of going to Press, the "Mail" Africa Bureau reported from Windhoek, that a marathon DTA caucus session to decide whether or not to attend the Geneva talks was still going on behind closed doors.

Apparently Mr Mudge might be facing strong caucus opposition to attending the talks from black delegates who felt they would be labelled as "puppets" if they attended as part of the South African delegation.

At the UN yesterday, a spokesman for Dr Waldheim announced that the Secretary-General would go to Geneva on Tuesday to open the talks, Sapa-Center reports.

But Dr Waldheim — still on holiday yesterday — would not preside throughout the week-long conference.

The principal UN representative will be Mr Brian Urquhart, an under-Secretary-General, who has been a main negotiator all along on SWA.

The UN spokesman said Dr Waldheim might stay on in Geneva for a day or two after the opening of the talks, for private consultations with the participants.

And in London, Swapo announced that it had demanded the release of four of its leaders jailed in South Africa to attend the Geneva talks.

The Swapo information officer for Western Europe, Mr Peter Manning, told Sapa the names of the four men — Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, Brendan Simbaye, Lazarus Guted and Jerry Ekandjo — had been submitted to the UN for inclusion in Swapo's delegation.

"This is a challenge to South Africa to show the world just how genuine they are, because if they don't free our people to take in the conference they will

be impeding free negotiation by all the parties concerned," Mr Manning said.

Swapo sources told the "Mail" Africa Bureau Swapo had named a high-powered delegation to attend the talks.

Among them are its president, Mr Sam Nujoma, war secretary, Mr Peter Nanyemba, the UN representative, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, the director of the UN Institute for Namibia, Mr Hage Geingob, and the foreign affairs secretary, Mr Peter Mueshange.

● See Page 7

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Whether he and the "back-stage" team of South African advisors agree or not will depend in turn, on how they estimate their chances of defeating Swapo in a UN-supervised election.

Six months ago Swapo was riding the crest of the wave in the wake of the election triumph of Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

The strategy then was to try to counter Swapo's impetus by defeating Swapo on the battlefield and stepping up a programme of DTA-initiated reform.

Referring to the reform programme, a source close the DTA-dominated SWA Council of Ministers said yesterday "We still have a number of eggs in the basket. They have not had enough time to hatch."

Where Mr Mudge spoke of independence by the end of 1981 as a feasible proposition at October's SA-UN talks, a report in the Afrikaans newspaper,

The UN flies in the heavy brigade in push for Namibia peace . . .

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URQUHART
U.N. No. 2 will
lead delegation

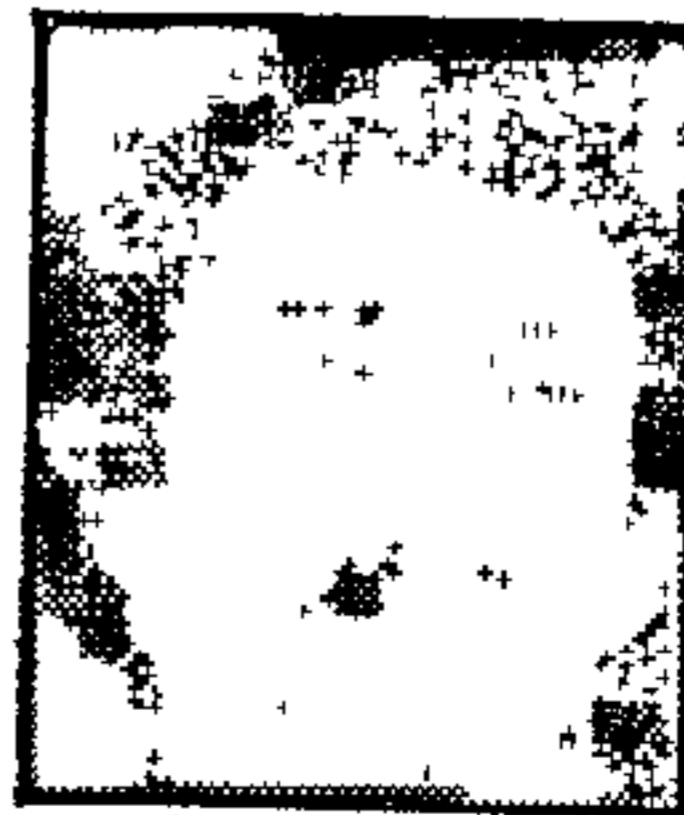


WALDHEIM
May attend open-
ing session

NEW YORK: A high-powered delegation of United Nations officials flies to Geneva this weekend for a hard-talking conference they hope will start bringing down the curtain on 20 years of decolonisation efforts.

If the conference creates the momentum they want, U.N. endorsement of election results late next year would achieve internationally - acceptable sovereignty for Namibia and a successful settlement of the last major territorial dispute lingering from the colonial era in Africa.

After Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, independence for the territory that more than one generation of South Africans have regarded as a fifth province will surround South Africa's land borders with states at least theoretically ruled by systems precipitated through majority opinion.



KEVIN JACOBS
reports from
NEW YORK

hundreds of civilians and troops in more than 10 years.

Cont.

Through the organisation of African Unity (OAU), collective black African opinion will regard a probably black dominated government in Namibia as a triumph of nationalism and of the armed struggle under the banner of Swapo.

U.N. officials will not discuss the consequences of failure at the Geneva conference but sceptics abound who believe the South African Government has yet to perceive political or strategic advantage in permitting an unfettered election where U.N. stewardship could provide psychological impetus to guarantee Swapo's victory, and rule by basically Marxist fashioned ideology.

Delay

Whatever the sceptics' reasons for not accepting that Pretoria has decided in principle to accept the result of a UN - supervised poll, there is a broad belief here that the South African Government wants, at least, to delay a final commitment until President-elect Ronald Reagan is installed in Washington's White House.

A close adviser to Reagan has cautioned against using the threat of economic sanctions to coerce South Africa towards the UN settlement, but diplomats and observers believe the new administration, while perhaps being sympathetic to Pretoria's dislike of a Marxist neighbour, will not want to face continuing confrontation with Black Africa on the issue.

First talks

A week (January 7 to 14) has been set aside for the conference, which will bring the South African Government, Namibian political parties and Swapo to a negotiating table for the first time since the exiled group began a low-intensity guerilla war that has claimed the lives of

Essentially, UN officials, led by Under-Secretary-General, Brian Urquhart, will conduct the closed-door conference with one goal: Implementation by the end of March of the UN ceasefire and election plan.

Top brass

Secretary General Kurt Waldheim may attend a public opening session on the first day, but officials at U.N. headquarters here have so far been unable to confirm his presence.

The seniority of leading members of the U.N. delegation reflects the organisation's concern that independence for the territory should not be delayed beyond the end of 1981, if a negotiated settlement is ever to be reached.

Mr Urquhart will be accompanied by two other under-secretary-general and three assistant-secretaries-general, as well as several officials holding director level positions, and several professional secretariat staffers.

One source here said: "In bureaucratic terms, this is probably one of the most high-powered delegations we have sent anywhere."

Observers

Observers will attend the conference, representing the five Western governments whose initiative led to the current plan being drafted, the "Front Line" African governments who have been instrumental in holding Swapo to negotiated agreements, Nigeria (newly influential through political strength and oil wealth) and the Organisation Of African Unity.

The extent of success or failure in Geneva will be apparent by January 15, when the U.N. General Assembly is due to be recalled to take up a debate shelved because of Mr. Waldheim's proposal for next week's "confidence - building" talks.

Mudge decides: We'll go to Geneva

S. Tribune
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By HUGH ROBERTON
and Tribune Africa
News Service



Dirk Mudge

CON

THE Democratic Turnhalle Alliance last night set the stage for all parties in the Namibia conflict to meet around a conference table for the first time when they decided they would not boycott the United Nations-chaired Geneva conference this week

- After agonising over the issue until midnight on Friday and a three-hour session with a top-flight South African delegation yesterday, the DTA decided against implementing its threat not to attend the conference, DTA chairman Dirk Mudge announced last night

FOS

Mr Mudge stressed that the party would participate as "the elected Government and true representative of the people", reports Sapa

Because the DTA had the interests of the people at heart, the party

would not tolerate any hanky panky and would "take no unnecessary risks"

Mr Mudge's warnings clearly indicated that the DTA planned to adopt a hard-line despite the fact that it would be going as part of the South African delegation

Mr Mudge told newsmen outside the Turnhalle last night that the DTA caucus had decided it would attend despite a number of serious reservations

He declined to elaborate, but it has become apparent that the party is grossly unhappy about the composition of the South African delegation and the fact that no agenda has been drawn up

On Wednesday, for the first time since bitter political wrangling and armed conflict broke out in the country more than 30 years ago, the adversaries will sit down together to talk terms

There appear to be few reasons why a UN-supervised ceasefire and a UN-supervised election should not follow the talks — but this is ignoring the long history of dispute over details of the UN formula for independence

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has lashed the UN in an 18-page letter and accused it of being an institutionalised, anti-South African industry kept alive by "political parasites"

Mr Botha's letter, to UN Secretary - General Kurt

Waldheim, claims the General Assembly's latest resolutions condemning the Government's race policies and calling for sanctions were "superficial and contemptible"

The strongly - worded letter, the longest and most extravagantly worded Mr Botha has yet sent to the UN, comes on the eve of the vital all-party talks on the future of South West Africa / Namibia which begin in Geneva on Wednesday and includes a call to African leaders to "put aside ideological disputes in favour of practical problem-solving through co-operation and hard work".

But while the seven Frontline African states invited to the Geneva conference prepare for a special meeting to co-ordinate their strategy on the issue, Mr Botha hits out at them too and gives the African leaders a dressing down for having failed their people in the post-independence era.

- DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW LEGISLATION
- CONDEMN "PARALLEL" UNION POLICY

TUCSA

60 unions : 260650 members

- OLDEST FEDERATION OF UNIONS
- MODERATE, MIDDLE-OF-ROAD POLICY
- SUPPORT REGULATIONS FOR REGISTRATION OF UNIONS
- MANY MIXED AND SINGLE RACE UNIONS ARE AFFILIATED
- AFFILIATED TO INTERNATIONAL UNIONS
- SUPPORT "PARALLEL" UNION POLICY
- SUPPORT AND HAVE HELPED INTRODUCE NEW LABOUR POLICY

NON-ALIGNED UNIONS

71 unions : 276025 members

- POLICIES SET BY EACH UNION ON INDEPENDENT BASIS

Mudge rejects white minority safeguards

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance would never try to bargain for guaranteed white minority seats in an independent Namibian parliament, the chairman of the South West Africa Ministers' Council and chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday.

Mr Mudge was speaking at a Press conference shortly before the team represented in the Administrator-General's delegation to this week's multi-party talks in Geneva left Windhoek.

The DTA decided at the weekend after a marathon caucus meeting that they would attend the Geneva meeting to discuss the implementation of the United Nations peace plan for the territory, despite strong internal objections.

Mr Mudge said now that the DTA had taken its decision he would approach the conference with full enthusiasm.

He said the DTA would never opt for a similar type of solution to Zimbabwe's where the whites have 20 guaranteed seats in parliament.

"My ideal in South West Africa is to build a united South West African nation of one community, under one flag," Mr Mudge said.

Although the Ministers' Council and the DTA were attending the conference to try to thrash out problems, Mr Mudge said SWA was no nearer a ceasefire because there were still too many hurdles to be crossed.

"We must have an acceptable solution before the shooting can stop," Mr Mudge said.

When asked whether he would be introduced as chairman of the Ministers' Council or as chairman of the DTA, Mr Mudge said "I will have to be introduced as the chairman of the Ministers' Council. If not this will be seen as an insult."

"Whether or not Swapo recognises me is their problem. I am recognised in this country and that is the important thing."

The DTA leader said he had no objection to talking with the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, if it could lead to a quicker solution for South West Africa.

Eight internal parties will be going to Geneva under the wing

of the Administrator-General, Mr Danre Hough.

Mr Hough announced at the weekend that he had decided to increase the DTA's delegation from 14 to 17 and that of the opposition Aktur in the National Assembly to four. Thirty representatives from the internal parties will be attending in all.

The Secretary-General of the Namibia Independence Party, Mrs Ottilie Abraham, will be attending the conference on her own as an observer.

Members of the Namibia National Front and Swapo Democrats are also expected to attend the conference as observers.

They were not invited to form part of the Administrator-General's delegation because they objected to going under South Africa's wing.

A number of important SWA churchmen including the head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Owambo-Kavango, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, and Anglican church leaders are also expected to attend the conference as observers.

The South African team is expected to leave tomorrow.

Swapo claims freeing snatched SWA traveller

LONDON — Swapo has claimed its guerrillas captured and detained a Windhoek businessman armed with a revolver, but later released him after delivering "political education" about the movement's aims and objectives.

The Combatant, mouthpiece of Swapo's military wing, reported Mr Heinz Dahlmann "received this with thanks and promised to talk to other businessmen to stop aiding racist South Africa."

The bulletin said Mr Dahlmann worked for Manto Agencies, which represented several South African manufacturers in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Mr Dahlmann was captured near Oshakati in northern South West Africa and was armed with a Spanish revolver, it said. The Combatant quoted Mr Dahlmann as telling the guerrillas "As a rule I have to carry a firearm while collecting money from our debtors as a precautionary measure against the robbers, but not against the guerrillas at all."

The bulletin claimed Mr Dahlmann co-operated fully during the two-day interrogation.

It added "In the absence of

concrete information to the effect that Dahlmann was a direct enemy agent, our freedom fighters released him with the stern warning to keep out of the war zone for his own safety. However, his revolver and many other informative documents were confiscated.

The family of Mr Heinz Dahlmann confirmed the claims that he had recently been captured by Swapo combatants.

Mr Dahlmann was "out of town on business at the moment" and would only be back in Windhoek next week.

Members of Mr Dahlmann's family were reluctant to discuss the alleged capture, say-

ing it would be better for newsmen to talk to him personally.

"I don't want to say anything in case I make a mistake. It would be better if you speak to my father about it when he gets back," said Mr Dahlmann's daughter, who did not want her name published.

Asked whether there was any truth in Swapo's claim that it had released Mr Dahlmann after a "stern warning", she replied inquiringly "Released? he wasn't released, he fled from them."

Local military authorities were not available for comment on the issue last night — Sapa

Zimbabwe shadow RDM 5/1/81 OVER Geneva talks

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE shadow of the Lancaster House conference which opened the way to power for Mr Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe seemed to hang over the heads of South African and South West African delegates preparing to leave today for the Geneva talks on SWA.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the 17-man Democratic Turnhalle Alliance team, told newsmen at Windhoek before departing for Johannesburg: "We will not walk in the shadow of the Lancaster House conference. If that is what is intended, we are not interested."

In a radio interview yesterday, the Foreign Minister, Mr. P. B. M. said that he would raise...

Shadow over Geneva talks

From Page 1

South Africa in the UN is so biased and outdated that it is impossible to acquire a rational image of the country and the ideals and attitudes of her peoples."

Describing the Soviet Union as the "most sophisticated manipulator of the UN," Mr Botha called on the UN to unmask the communist superpower as "the new coloniser" of Africa.

On Friday, Mr Nujoma called for the release of the Robben Island prisoner, Herman Toivo ja Toivo, and three of his fellow prisoners, to enable them to join the Swapo delegation in Geneva.

Toivo, 56, is regarded by many observers as a particularly powerful figure in SWA politics. He was sentenced to 20 years' jail in 1968 after being convicted under the Terrorism Act (which was made retroactive to 1962 to cover charges against Toivo).

Mr Botha told the Rand Daily Mail last night that Mr Nujoma's call was not new. He had received a similar request recently from Dr Waldheim.

He added that an exchange of prisoners between South Africa and Swapo was part of the peace settlement and would only come into operation when the peace plan was implemented.

The exchange of prisoners would have to include "hundreds of South West Africans" held by Swapo. South Africa had a complete list of the names and Swapo would have to account for them all, he said.

Cont

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United Nations and economic sanctions against South Africa than become a party to the fight against a terrorist group.

... attributed Mugabe's victory in part to intimidation, added: "The consequences of the achievement of political power in Southern Africa through intimidation are far worse and more devastating for us and for every nation of (the subcontinent) than confrontation with the United Nations."

In another repudiation of the Lancaster House model, Mr Mudge rejected the idea of reserving seats for the white minority, as provided for in the Zimbabwe constitution.

"My ideal is to build a united South West African nation of one community under one flag," he said.

The Zimbabwe situation seemed to be on the mind of the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, as well.

His New Year statement described Zimbabwean independence as the major event of 1980 and said it coincided with stepped-up operations against South African soldiers by Swapo's Liberation Army of Namibia.

Mr Mudge, whose DTA caucus only decided to attend the Geneva talks after a marathon closed debate on Saturday, gave notice yesterday that his delegation would raise at the conference the issue of UN bias in favour of Swapo.

Stressing the DTA's dissatisfaction at having to attend the talks as part of the 100 strong team headed by the South African-appointed Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Mudge said: "We are going to raise strong objections at the conference to the treatment we have received from the UN."

In contrast to the DTA, Swapo is attending the Geneva conference as an independent party. In that context Mr Mudge said "We are already starting on a false note."

Another sign emerged at the weekend that the UN's alleged bias would be a dominant issue at the Geneva talks: the release of an 10-page letter sent by Mr Botha to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, in which he accuses the UN General Assembly of "blind vindictiveness" against South Africa.

Although the letter dealt with General Assembly resolutions against South Africa rather than the SWA dispute, the timing of its release for publication almost on the eve of the Geneva talks was presumably deliberate.

In his letter, Mr Botha said of anti-South African resolutions passed by the recent 35th session of the General Assembly: "(They) do not reflect the factual situation in South Africa in any way whatsoever. They were conceived in malice and are being nourished by frustrations of failure."

Charging that UN officials made their livelihood from institutionalised opposition to South Africa, Mr Botha said: "Much of the information about

The war goes on in SWA — Mudge

By Alan Dunn, The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek

SWA/Namibia leader Mr Dirk Mudge has vowed there will be no immediate let-up in the territory's bitter bush war even though an all-party peace conference is starting this week in Geneva.

Before leaving for Switzerland last night, Mr Mudge said "My view at this stage is that we will shoot until an agreement is reached"

He said the territory's internal parties had tried for years to persuade Swapo to come to the conference table but Swapo had chosen to prosecute the war

Mr Mudge noted that Swapo had said hostilities would not cease until agreement had been reached on SWA/Namibia's future

"That is now my standpoint. The military struggle continues until agreement is reached"

Mr Mudge's statement comes at a time of increasing pessimism that the historic conference, sponsored by the United Nations, and starting on Wednesday will bring an early end to the 14-year-old guerilla war

Mr Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which is attending the conference under the leadership of the SWA/Namibia Administrator General Mr. Danie Hough, said there were still many hurdles to be crossed before a ceasefire could be reached

He said the Geneva talks would start on a "false note" because the DTA would be allowed to attend only as part of the South African delegation, and not in its own right

"I think this could contribute more than anything else to this conference not being a success," he said

Mr Mudge said the South African Government could not be blamed for this arrangement

'The war goes on' ^{STAR} (22)

5/1/81
STAR
(22)

Foreign Ministers' meeting in Luanda yesterday
The s.v reiterated their support for Swapo

A series of secret talks between South Africa and Angola helped pave the way for the Geneva conference, reports The Star's Pretoria Bureau

The talks are believed to have been conducted by, among others, Dr Brand Fourie, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and General Magnus Malan who was Chief of the Defence Force at the time of the talks last year and who is now Minister of Defence

Senior Angolan officials took part in several talks at Ilha do Sal while talks with MPLA officials across the border of Angola and SWA/Namibia were also held — Also from Sapa and Sapa-Reuter

● SWA The final round — Page 21

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STAR

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The fault lay with the conveners of the conference, the United Nations.

"Second class"

He said the DTA was going to Geneva to object to the "second class" treatment the internal parties were receiving.

"I think this will be one of the points very high up on our agenda. We shall want an explanation before we move on to other matters," he said.

Another point which is likely to cause problems at the talks with Swapo, at the conference is Mr Mudge's insistence on being recognised as Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

In Johannesburg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, said in a radio programme last night he would rather face confrontation with the UN and economic sanctions than become a party to the installation of a "terrorist group" in SWA/Namibia.

He said such a development could create the impression that political power could be gained in southern Africa through the implementation of violence and intimidation, and not through the free testing of the will of the people.

Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma would lead his movement's 12-man delegation to the conference, it was confirmed in London yesterday.

Six African states said yesterday they would do everything possible to make the talks a success.

The six — Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania — issued a statement to this effect after a one-day

To Page 3, Col 1

30 years of conflict, thousands of lives lost

By Gerald L'Ange
Editor, The Star's
Africa News Service

For the first time in more than 30 years of political and armed conflict, the major adversaries in SWA/Namibia this week come together for talks around a table.

But none of the representatives of the 13 nations and possibly 18 political parties who are gathering in Geneva for the multiparty talks on the territory can be optimistic that they will finally resolve the dispute.

It is still too complex and too far from a solution for it to be settled in the seven days (from January 7) that have been scheduled.

There may well have to be more talks — either in Geneva again or elsewhere — before final agreement can be reached.

Nevertheless, by simply getting together for the first time, the parties in the dispute are making a giant leap towards a final settlement.

EXTENSIVE

This meeting is one of the most promising developments in the tortuous history of the dispute that goes back to the beginnings of the United Nations in 1946 and has cost thousands of lives in hostilities — at least 1 700 in 1980 alone.

The parties — principally South Africa, Swapo, the United Nations and the internal political groups — are now agonisingly close to a settlement after one of the most extensive diplomatic exercises in modern history, involving hundreds of man-hours of travel and talking by men from more than a dozen coun-

SWA!

the final round

921
1/16



Sam Nujoma
First Namibian Head of State?



Dirk Mudge
... leader of the Opposition?

Ostensibly, only a few details remain to be cleared up before they can reach agreement on a UN-supervised ceasefire followed by a UN-supervised election for a constituent assembly and internationally recognised independence by the end of this year.

But though the gap between the disputants is narrow, it is also deep. While the mechanics of the settlement formula have virtually been agreed to, the political will to implement it remains absent.

FLEXIBILITY

Deliberately, no agenda has been drawn up for the talks to give them flexibility. Even details of who will attend and in what capacity remain imprecise.

Sam Nujoma's Swapo has said it will be there, as a principal participant. South Africa will be

there, but carefully maintaining a background position as adviser to the internal delegation led by the Administrator-General, Mr Dannie Hough.

The main element of this delegation will be the DTA group of parties led by Mr Dirk Mudge — provided the DTA does not implement its threat to withdraw from the conference if other internal parties are allowed to attend separately from Mr Hough's delegation.

But without the major internal parties, the conference would lose much of its significance and its ability to reach a viable settlement.

Presiding over the conference will be the United Nations' deputy secretary-general, Mr Brian Urquhart, representing Dr Kurt Waldheim and leading a top-level team of UN officials.

Attending as observers will be the members of the Western mediating group (the United States

Britain, West Germany, France and Canada) whose diplomatic shuttling between the disputants rescued the settlement efforts from earlier stalemate and who were largely responsible for constructing the settlement formula that will be on the table at Geneva.

Also attending as observers will be the African "Frontline" States who helped build the Rhodesian settlement and who are now trying to do it again in SWA/Namibia.

These states — Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and now also Zimbabwe — were largely responsible for prodding Swapo to the conference table because some of them stand to gain from a settlement and to suffer badly if there is none.

They will be joined by Nigeria, the dominant power now in pan-African politics. Swapo has given a vague indication that it

will accept the settlement formula involving withdrawal of its forces to bases in Angola and Zambia from a demilitarised zone along SWA/Namibia's northern border that will be patrolled by UN troops while South African forces withdraw to 20 designated bases inside the territory, followed by the UN-supervised elections.

DOMINANT

But Swapo has neither categorically accepted the formula nor given a solid assurance that it will.

South Africa, although it is keeping ostensibly in the background, will in fact play a dominant role in the talks.

It has virtually accepted all elements of the settlement formula but is digging its heels in on the issue of what it sees as blatant and fundamental partiality towards Swapo in the UN. In essence, the South African attitude is that until this partiality is

shown to have been dropped, the UN cannot be trusted to administer the ceasefire or the election fairly.

Though few dispute the validity of this objection, many observers in the Republic and outside believe South Africa is using it as a convenient way of playing for time to give the internal parties a chance to weaken Swapo's strong support among the majority of the voters.

BACKLASH

The view is that South Africa is afraid that a Swapo victory in the election will provoke a white backlash against the Government in the Republic and also encourage black militancy there.

Great care has been taken in the UN and Europe to avoid giving the Geneva talks the character of a constitutional conference but directly or indirectly the question of the constitution under which independent SWA/Namibia is to be governed will be an important one.

Under the settlement formula if Swapo wins overwhelmingly in the election it will be able to decide the form of the constitution. Since neither South Africa nor the internal parties want a Marxist-type constitution to be imposed by Swapo they must either try to get a basic constitution agreed to at Geneva, or do their best to ensure that Swapo will not win the election.

With some irony, the talks are to be held in the Palais de Nations, once the headquarters of the League of Nations that gave South Africa its mandate over South West Africa in 1920 and thus started the whole affair. Now South Africa may relinquish its control in the same building.

Preparing for independence

RDY 6/1/81 (221)

IN WASHINGTON a year ago I listened to a debate in the United States Senate on a move to cut the US contribution of about R400 000 a year to the Institute for Namibia

Conservative Senator Jesse Helms thundered it is a Marxist indoctrination centre. But a Democratic senator from Hawaii countered with a more charitable view: one major error the Western powers made was that they spent no time and no money in preparing people for independence. Spending R400 000 to train the future leaders of SWA is a fine investment, he said.

That little exchange came to mind when I visited the institute in Lusaka recently and discussed its aims and results with the director, Hage Geingob.

He is an engaging 39-year-old Namibian who is a member of Swapo's central committee. Swapo conceived the original idea of a centre where young Namibians could be trained in administration against the day when the territory became independent.

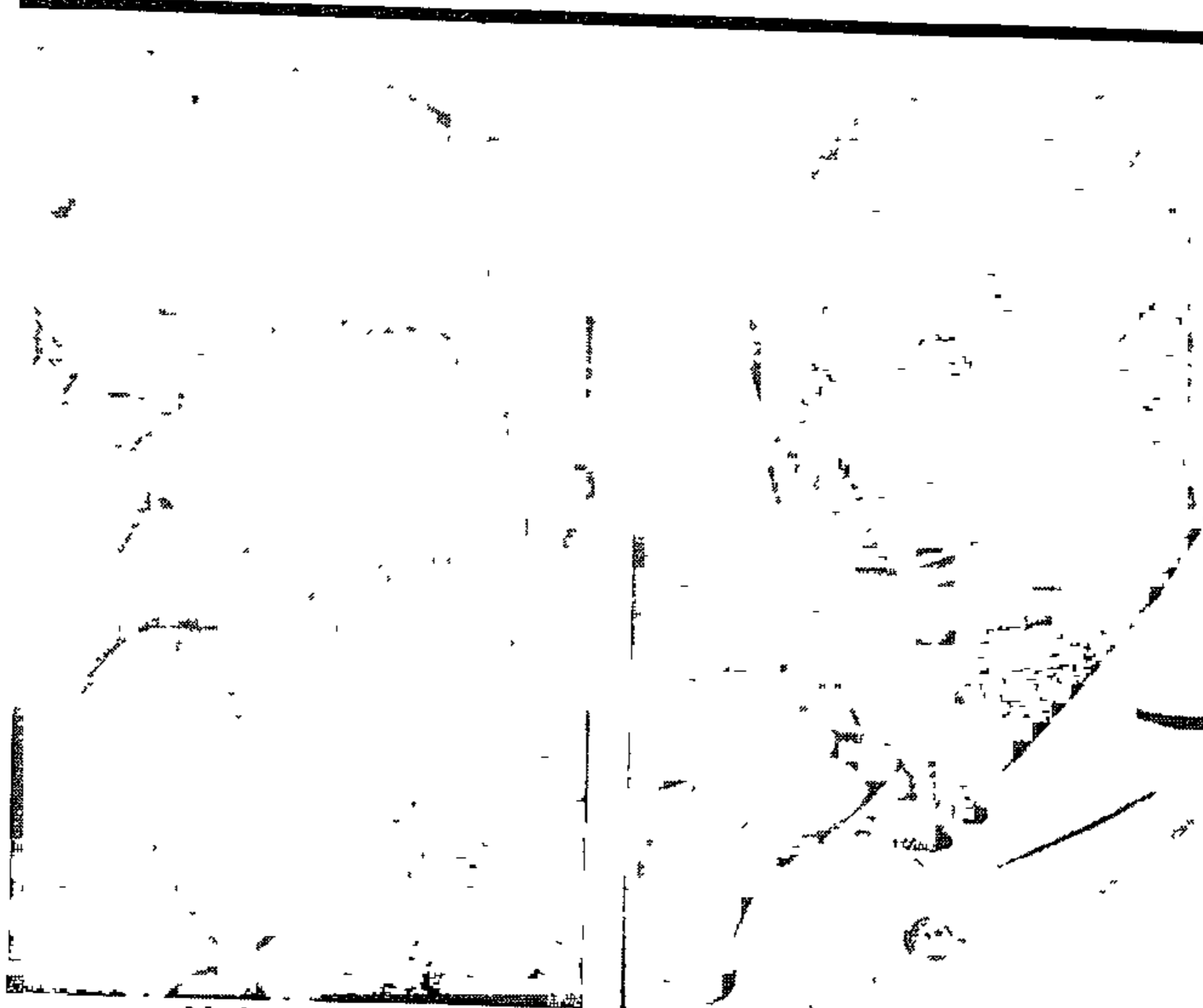
But it was UN Commissioner for Namibia Sean MacBride, who revitalised it, fought for it and drew up the plans to establish the institute.

It was launched in August 1976, at a ceremony presided over by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda who noted it was the first time in the history of a non-self-governing country that the international community had "taken the initiative before liberation of preparing the infrastructure and administration that will be required as soon as freedom is achieved".

The institute immediately became a target of conservative criticism which was fuelled by the UN General Assembly recognition of Swapo as the sole and authentic representative of the people of SWA. Rightwing US senators lobbied by South Africa tried to stop money going to Swapo directly and indirectly — by that they included the institute, hence the Helms attempt to cut off US funds for it.

The stated main purpose of the institute is to enable Namibians under the aegis of the UN Council for Namibia to develop and acquire the skills needed to

On the eve of the conference on the future of South West Africa/Namibia which begins in Geneva tomorrow, another batch of young Namibians is about to graduate with diplomas in civil service skills. The 85 graduates have all been at the United Nations Institute for Namibia in the Zambian capital, Lusaka. If the Geneva talks are a successful prelude to independence elections the 85 will be using those skills sooner than they thought. **ANTHONY RIDER** reports



Mr MacBride

Dr Kaunda

run the civil service of an independent Namibia.

An ancillary aim is to do research into the political and socio-economic aspects of Namibian life which will help in drawing up policies and programmes after independence.

Training is mainly a three-year diploma course in development studies and management with short-term courses in supportive skills, remedial courses, workshops and seminars.

Only students of Namibian origin with secondary education are accepted. Others with lesser educational qualifications but with the ability to follow and profit from the courses

may also be admitted if they show "personal commitment to the cause of Namibians".

One of Sen Helms' criticisms of the institute was that it existed solely for the benefit of one political group, as he put it.

Hage Geingob disarmingly admits the point: "I am a Swapo central committee member and part of my function is to safeguard Swapo's interests. But the real point surely is that the opportunity to acquire these administrative skills is not available for most Namibians in the land of their birth".

He argues that fewer than 1% of Namibian blacks reach the first form of a secondary

school. Without the training provided by an institution like the UN Institute for Namibia the country would not have enough qualified blacks to form the core of public service managers and administrators of an independent Namibia.

"The institute's three-year programme is primarily aimed at producing that essential core," Geingob says.

Geingob was at pains to point out, too, that the course is not entirely academic and that a significant part of it is spent in "on the job" situations.

Most of the third year in fact is practical training attached to government ministries and other institutions.

The institute's senate decided in March 1978 that the third-year students who were training to become middle level public administrators should do nine months' practical training on secondment to governments and organisations in Africa.

The ideal, Geingob admits, would be secondment to government departments in SWA itself but because that is not possible the institute has accepted training offers from many African states — including Botswana, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Benin and Zambia. Various UN agencies and the Organisation for African Unity also take a number of institute students.

The current crop of 85 graduates brings the total the institute has turned out to 150.

Sure says Geingob: "It's not a great number but the training is good and our diploma will mean something."

"It's one thing to fight for freedom but tomorrow we're going to have to run a country and we will have a great need for administrative ability. At the same time we want our diplomas to have academic value. For that reason our diplomas are undewritten by a recognised university."

Geingob noted that this was the first time pre-independence training had been organised in such a formal way for any country.

"Even the UN didn't have any idea how we should go about it. First they told us to train our students for five years, then they told us to reduce it to three years, then to two amid excitement that independence was just around the corner."

Eventually a realistic period of three years was agreed upon.

Geingob himself left SWA at the end of 1962 after teaching at Tsumeb for a year. He studied at Fordham University and at the same time was Swapo's representative at the UN — "where I had to fight very hard to put Swapo's case".

After getting his master's degree he became an official in the UN Secretariat in the office of the Commissioner for Namibia. He was sent to Lusaka when the institute opened four years ago.

SA and Angola DTA issues

secret meeting first Geneva 'set up talks'

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

A DEAL on the Unita guerrilla movement in Angola probably clinched the direct negotiations between South Africa and Angola which paved the way for the Geneva talks on South West Africa, diplomatic and academic sources said yesterday.

They were commenting on public disclosures in the Afrikaans newspapers of the secret bilateral discussions between South Africa and Angola which led to the multi-party conference in Geneva. The conference opens tomorrow.

Some South African newsmen had been briefed previously on a confidential "deep background" basis about Pretoria's secret talks with Luanda and how they provided the formula for bringing South West Africa's internal parties and Swapo together in face-to-face negotiations.

The compromise formula was for the internal parties to attend as part of the delegation headed by the South African-appointed Administrator-General of SWA, thus allowing the internal parties to portray the delegation as a South West African or Namibian contingent and Swapo to describe it as a South African team.

The formula's susceptibility to these two interpretations reconciled the demand of the DTA for the 'set up talks'.

DTA issues first Geneva challenge

PDH
6/1/81

(22)

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
'Mail' Man on the Spot

GENEVA

AS DELEGATES gather for the first direct meeting between South Africa and Swapo to discuss the ending of the 14-year border war, the opening challenge has been issued by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

Within hours of landing at Geneva and only 40 hours before the United Nations-sponsored conference is due to open at the historic Palais des Nations on Wednesday, the DTA has challenged Swapo's internationally-recognised status as "sole authentic representative of the Namibian people".

The aim of the "pre-implementation talks", ending on January 14, is to discuss implementation of the peace plan set out under UN Resolution 435 for a ceasefire and UN-supervised elections leading to South West African independence.

The DTA, led by Mr Dirk Mudge, has come to Geneva as part of the South African/SWA delegation headed by the SWA Administrator-General.

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tiations with Swapo in their own right, with Swapo's insistence that it would only negotiate with a South African delegation.

Diplomatic and academic observers reasoned that the South African-Angolan agreement rested on a South African withdrawal of support from Unita in return for an Angolan commitment to bring Swapo to the negotiating table under the compromise formula.

Their deduction was premised on the de facto alliances which have emerged on Angola's southern frontier between the Luanda's MPLA government and Swapo, on the one hand, and South Africa and anti-government Unita rebels on the other.

The MPLA-Swapo alliance had its primary genesis in Luanda's decision to offer bases to Swapo insurgents operating against South African forces.

The South African-Unita alliance first surfaced during South Africa's 1975-1976 invasion of Angola, but it was later reinforced on a the-enemy-of-my-enemy-is-my-friend basis by their common struggle against the MPLA-Swapo alliance.

Angola's interest in a peace settlement and stabilisation of her southern frontier is obvious: the fighting is costing her millions, particularly as it is characterised by regular Unita blowing up of the railway line from her eastern border to Benguela on the Atlantic Ocean.

But diplomatic and academic observers asked yesterday: could South Africa offer stabilisation of southern Angola and re-opening of the Benguela railway line without withdrawing all support from Unita? They thought not.

Whatever the precise details of the Pretoria-Launda accord, South African agreement to the United Nations' proposal for a demilitarised zone along the Angolan-South West African border — upon which the UN peace plan depends in large measure — will effectively deprive Unita of freedom of movement in a vast area and thereby hamstring it.

The senior South African official is the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie. This arrangement was at the insistence of the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and of Swapo.

However, the DTA is now pressing to be seated apart from the South African group, insists on the right to speak at the talks and says agreements entered into by Mr Hough will not be binding on the party.

Mr Jariretendu Kozonguizi, senior DTA spokesman, told the Rand Daily Mail "Before this conference gets going, we are going to have to determine the equality of all parties."

"Among other things, there is the matter of the seating arrangements. The UN authorities can take it as a clear warning that we will be very interested to see whether the internal parties will be part of the South Africans or apart."

Mr Kozonguizi would not say if this meant the DTA would walk out if this condition was not met by the UN team.

"Furthermore, the internal parties come as independent negotiators in their own right," he said. "South African agreements, or any made on their behalf by the Administrator-General, will not be binding on us."

"Thirdly, while we come here under the Administrator-General's leadership, we are determined that we shall have the right to speak independently of the South Africans."

The DTA's attitude could have a serious effect on the talks if the alliance continues to push the point.

Dr Waldheim made it clear in his November report on SWA negotiations that these would be "multi-party" — not all-party — talks.

The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, has also refused on several occasions to talk directly to the DTA and the seven other internal parties represented at Geneva.

In the past, he has been adamant Swapo will not be "press-ganged" into all-party talks.

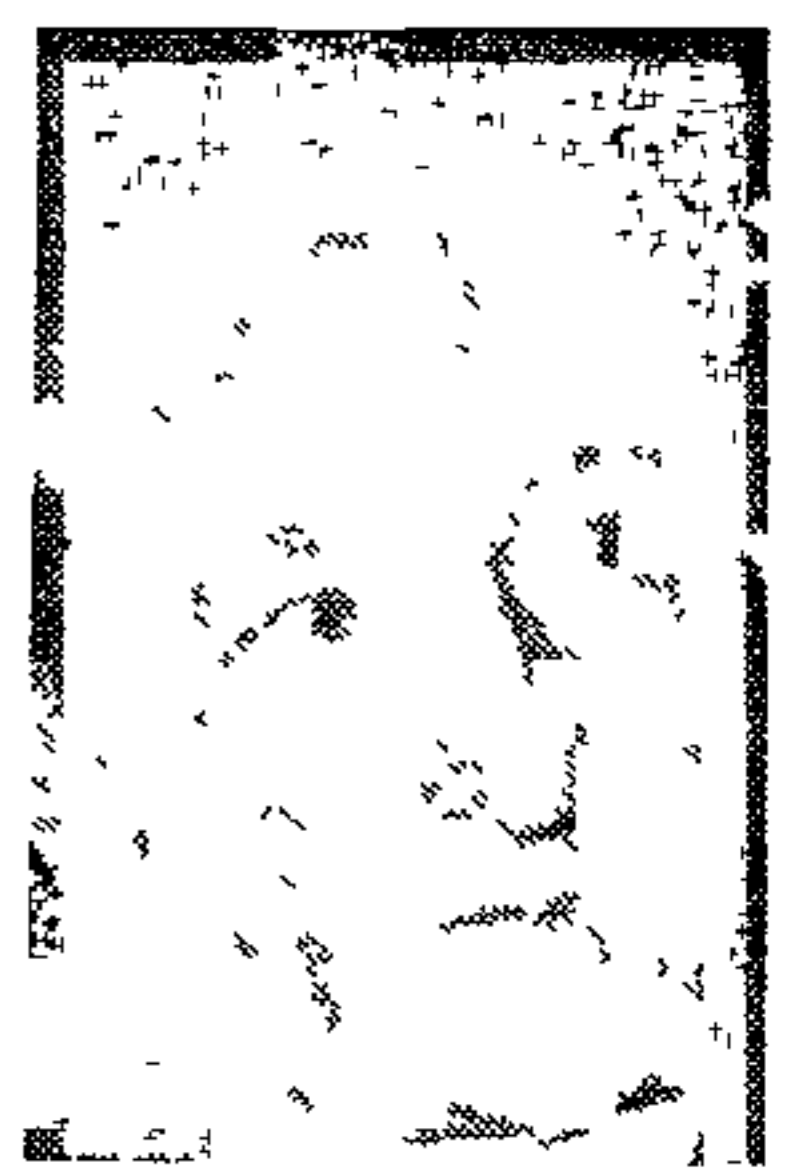
Disruptive problems loom over talks

DTA tries to steal a march

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STAR



MR DON MCHENRY



DR KURT WALDHEIM

From Gerald L'Ange and Chris van Gass
GENEVA — Potentially disruptive problems loomed over the historic SWA/Namibia talks in Geneva as advance groups of delegates arrived amid tight security.

Difficulties over the seating of participants and misgivings about the agenda surfaced two days before the formal opening of the talks aimed at finding universal agreement on independence for the territory.

While about 150 delegates and observers are expected to be in Geneva for the talks, it was learnt that only about 45 seats could be provided at the negotiating table in the United Nations European headquarters the Palais des Nations.

At the same time DTA representatives raised serious questions about seating arrangements and the lack of an agenda at a Press conference within hours of their arrival in an apparent attempt to steal a march on Swapo.

The seating problem took on a more serious aspect when it was learnt that Swapo alone has listed about 30 delegates and other observers.

The internal parties in the delegation led by the SWA/Namibia Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, have insisted on equal treatment with Swapo.

These parties and the South African observer group are expected to number more than 50.

The conference organisers will also have to accommodate observer groups from the "frontline" African states (about 20), the five-nation Western mediating group (about 20), plus the Organisation of African Unity and Nigeria (about 15).

Almost all the participants and observer groups have named high-level teams.

A surprise inclusion in the Swapo team, led by its president, Sam Nujoma, is the Swapo co-founder, Herman Toivo Ya Toivo, who is imprisoned on Robben Island.

This appeared to be a political gesture by Swapo rather than a preparation for Toivo's release and attendance.

The American contingent in the Western mediating group's delegation was expected to be Mr Donald McHenry, the US am-



Sombre faced Turnhalle Party delegates (from left) Messrs I Thaurer, F Kozonguizi and Pool Helmut, stating their views at a Press conference in Geneva.

bassador to the UN.

The OAU's team was expected to be headed by its Secretary-General, Mr Edean Kodjo.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, was due to arrive in Geneva today to officiate at the formal opening of the talks on Wednesday before they go into closed session.

The DTA's apparent attempt to grab the limelight by holding a

quick Press conference may not have achieved this objective because only about a dozen journalists attended.

Several members of the international Press corps in Geneva did not learn about it until it was over.

The DTA is thought to be aiming to turn the Geneva talks to political advantage by publicising its standpoint and securing equal treatment with Swapo, which is recog-

nised by the UN General Assembly as the sole representative of the people of SWA/Namibia.

The Press conference was conducted by Mr Fanuel Jarritendu Kozonguizi, a member of the DTA executive.

He said the DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge could not attend as he was indisposed but would be well enough to attend the talks.

He denied the DTA

delegation comprised South Africa's puppets and said the DTA preferred to adopt the course of forming part of Mr Hough's delegation rather than to remain in SWA/Namibia while the territory's fate was being negotiated by others.

He said the DTA had gone to Geneva reluctantly and under protest.

DTA spokesmen at the conference expressed serious misgivings about the lack of

an agenda and whether all participants would receive equal treatment.

They refused to commit themselves on whether they would walk out of the talks if their objections on seating and agenda were not satisfied.

They reiterated their objection to parties such as Swapo, DTA and the NLF being allowed to attend the conference after refusing to join Mr Hough's delegation.

We are willing to talk to Hough—Swapo

GENEVA — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, arrived in Geneva yesterday to personally take charge of the Swapo delegation at the pre-implementation talks in the city on SWA/Namibia.

Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, Swapo's representative at the United Nations told Sapa the fact that Mr Nujoma had come to Geneva was a demonstration of the sincerity and determination of Swapo to bring peace in to the country and to start the implementation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council.

Mr Gurirab said Swapo regarded Mr Danie Hough, the

SWA/Namibian Administrator General as an adequate representative of the colonial power — South Africa and would be willing to negotiate with him.

"I would like to underscore how serious and sincere we are to bringing peace and free and fair elections to Namibia," Mr Gurirab said.

Mr Gurirab also said Swapo had asked Dr Kurt Waldheim, to mediate in an effort to have Swapo leaders detained on Robben Island such as Mr Toivo Ja Toivo released to attend the pre-implementation conference.

He was still awaiting reaction and could not comment at this stage

on the chances of Mr Ja Toivo and others being released in time for the talks.

Should they be released for the occasion, they and delegates from Dar es Salaam, Lusaka and Windhoek would join the Swapo delegation already in Geneva.

"We have put the request to Dr Waldheim we are now on record as having done so and we are awaiting the outcome," said Mr Gurirab adding that Swapo expected to have a delegation of 25 members ready when the conference started at the Palais des Nations tomorrow.

Swapo had come to Geneva with an open mind in an effort to

have the implementation of Resolution 435 started. The organisation had no preconceived strategy it would follow during the conference, he said.

The UN settlement plan had been decided and the sole purpose of the conference, as far as Swapo was concerned was to see how it could be implemented.

In that context, only two aspects had to be clarified at the pre-implementation talks. A date for a ceasefire between Swapo and the forces in SWA/Namibia and to agree on a fixed date for the placement of the United Nations Transitional Assistance

Group in the area, he said.

The Swapo leadership had not all been agreeable that Mr Nujoma should personally lead the delegation. But it was decided that he would come to Geneva to lead the delegation himself as a demonstration of Swapo's determination to stop the war in SWA/Namibia said Mr Gurirab.

"We cannot have free and fair elections until there is peace. Only South Africa and Swapo can manage that. Mr Gurirab said. It will take statesmanship and we are willing to do that if there is a corresponding commitment on the other side — Sapa

Shadow hangs over SWA talks

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Sapa and The Star's
Africa News Service

GENEVA — The SWA/
Namibian pre-
implementation con-
ference opens here tomor-
row under a shadow of
confrontation rather than
compromise and an agen-
da so vague that it leaves
doubt about what will ac-
tually be discussed.

Swapo's attitude is that
it will only talk about
how the plan for a cease-
fire and UN-supervised
elections should be put
into action. The internal
parties, led by the DTA
through Mr Dirk Mudge,
regard the conference as
an opportunity to estab-
lish finally that they will
only take part in these
elections if they are given
equal status.

DETAINEES

Swapo has included several
Robben Island detainees
in its delegation to the
conference.

They include Herman
Toivo Ja Toivo, co-founder
of Swapo, who has been in
detention for nearly 15
years.

Also among Swapo's listed
delegates are several
members who are restric-
ted or detained in SWA/
Namibia under security leg-
islation.

Confirming this, Mr
Theo Ben Gurirab, Swapo's
chief spokesman, said his
organisation had asked the
UN secretary-general, Dr
Kurt Waldheim, to ask the
South African Government
to release Toivo and others
to allow them to attend
the Geneva talks.

He said Swapo was not
going to make an issue of
the matter but felt the
detainees had a right to
be at the talks.

The Star's political staff
in Cape Town report that
it seems a foregone conclu-
sion that the Government
will not agree to demands
for the immediate release
of Toivo and other prison-
ers to attend the con-
ference.

The Minister of Foreign
Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has
dismissed as a propaganda
stunt SWA's latest de-
mands.

Speaking during an in-
terview in Cape Town, Mr
Botha said there could be
no question of releasing
prisoners before the actu-
al implementation of the
settlement plan for SWA.

In Geneva, Mr Brian
Urquhart, the UN under-
secretary-general who will
preside over the confe-
rence, has made it clear
that flexibility will be the
keynote in the talks be-
hind closed doors.

He said today settlement
efforts had gone about as
far as they could in the
abstract. It now rested on
the will of the participants
to make the meeting
"significant and useful."

● A heavy snowfall that
closed Geneva Airport
today prevented Dr Wald-
heim from flying in on
schedule for the formal
opening of the conference
tomorrow.

32 more 57A14

Swapo ask for amnesty

(22)

6/1/87

WINDHOEK — A further 32 Swapo guerrillas have surrendered to security forces in the Caprivi in remote north-eastern SWA/Namibia, bringing with them more news of widespread unrest within the terrorist organisation, Caprivi officials have said.

The deserters — the largest group to cross into SWA/Namibia so far — are all members of the Caprivi African National Union, which recently broke away from Swapo after 16 years because of alleged blatant racial discrimination by the Ovambo majority.

Their arrival in the territory brings to 68 the number of Swapo men who have so far made use of the SWA/Namibian Administrator - General's amnesty offer, introduced last year.

According to Swapo members who have already taken up the amnesty offer, many more dissidents can be expected in the territory soon.

PEACEFUL

Canu supporters, disillusioned about the prospects of winning the armed struggle in northern SWA/Namibia, are now apparently planning to join forces with moderate SWA/Namibia political leaders.

Several unsuccessful attempts had been launched by both Swapo and the Zambian Government to try to reconcile Swapo and Canu, said a spokesman for the local Caprivi Government.

"And Canu members are even being physically stopped from returning to the Caprivi," he charged.

DETAINED

He said that, according to a statement released recently in Lusaka by Canu leader and deposed vice-president of Swapo, Mr Mishake Muyongo, 275 Canu supporters were being detained by the Zambian authorities at an undisclosed camp outside Lusaka.

"These people are in decided danger of being handed over to Swapo shortly to be transferred to concentration camps in Angola.

"And there are indications that between 300 and 500 Canu supporters are already being held in such camps in Angola," the spokesman claimed.

A group of Swapo dissidents interviewed recently by military correspondents alleged there had been large-scale killings of Canu supporters since the ousting of Mr Muyongo and eight other Canu officials from Swapo — Sapa

ment agrees at the pre-implementation talks in Geneva this week to throw South West Africa open to all-party general elections under the supervision of the United Nations, it will be necessary to know two things why has Pretoria agreed, after holding out for so long, to talk with a "terrorist" organisation?, and how, after a 14-year, bitterly fought guerrilla war, can the climate for "free and fair" elections be created?

Violence has dominated the scene for 14 years, starting with a few clashes between South African Security Forces and badly trained, ill-equipped fighters of the South West African Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) it rapidly escalated into a multi-million rand bush war that claimed at least 1 500 lives in the last year alone.

At first, the contest between white nationalists and colonialists on the one side and black nationalists on the other was for political control of the territory. More recently, attention has been focussed on the territory's vast resources of uranium and the biggest diamond deposits in the Western world.

South Africa's involvement in the territory began in 1920 when the League of Nations mandated Britain to administer the former German colony South Africa, as part of the Commonwealth, administered the mandate on Britain's behalf. When the League was superseded by the United Nations after the Second World War, the mandate was modified into trusteeship.

South Africa, however, refused to enter into a trusteeship agreement, arguing that the mandate had expired with the dissolution of the League, and that consequently it, South Africa, had acquired full control.

In 1946 Pretoria told the UN General Assembly that it intended incorporating SWA into the Union.

This was condemned by the General Assembly, and thus began the long political and legal wrangle with South Africa. Every year since then the issue has been debated at the UN and a stream of resolutions condemning South Africa have resulted.

On no fewer than six occasions, the International Court of Justice at The Hague has been asked for a ruling on the matter.

In its first ruling in 1950, the court held that the mandate was still in force and that South Africa could not unilaterally alter the status of SWA, but that it had no obligation to enter into a trusteeship.

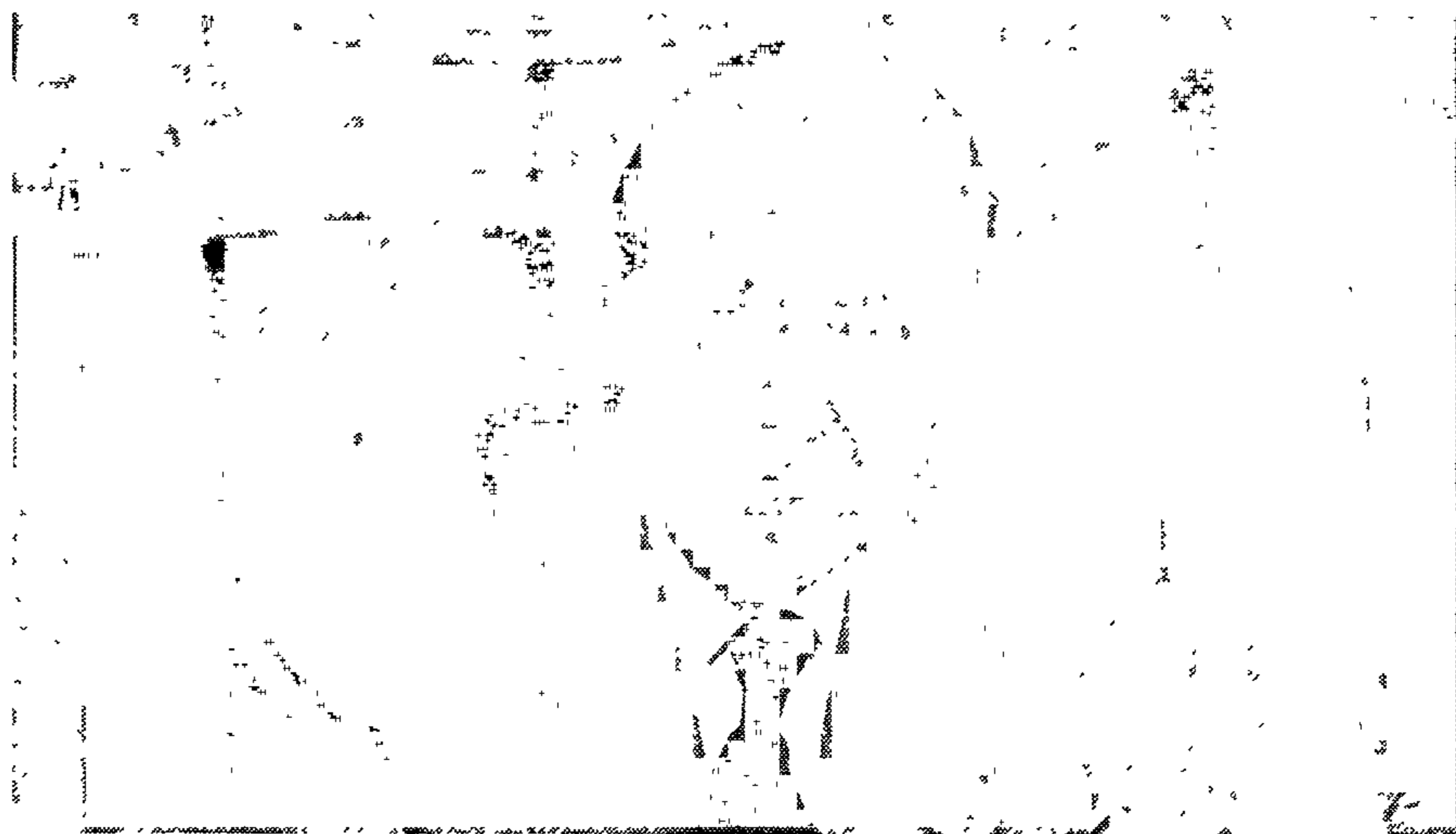
Opposition to colonialism emerged in the 1940s. Traditional leaders such as the Herero Chief Hosea Katuko and the Nama Chief David Witbooi submitted numerous petitions for Namibian independence to the United Nations.

The first real organisation was formed in 1952 by young blacks studying in South Africa, at the instigation of the African National Congress (ANC). But it was not until much later in the fifties that there was any real attempt at forming a national movement.

Chief architects of a movement modelled on the ANC, and the Owamboland Peoples' Organisation (OPO), were Herman Toivo ja Toivo, now serving a 20-year sentence on Robben Island, Sam Nujoma, now president of Swapo, Jarrirundu, Kozonguzi, now a top man in the South African-

Questions after the summit

RDM
7/1/81 (22)



Dr Waldheim

By BRUCE STEPHENSON — "Mail" Man on the Spot

aligned Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Emil Appolus, Jacob Kuhangua and Solomon Mifima.

But the road to the formation of Swapo was beset with personal differences and power struggles. Ja Toivo was deported from Cape Town and later arrested, while Kozonguzi formed his own organisation, the SWA National Union (Swanu). In 1960 Swapo was formed with the combined support of OPO and the Herero Chief's Council.

Although Swanu and Swapo existed for several years both inside and outside the territory, their policies were very similar. Both concentrated on lobbying support through the UN and gaining the sympathy of black African states. However, mainly because of internal problems, Swanu lost ground and Swapo emerged as the strongest organisation in the world's eyes.

Swapo now counts among its supporters the Organisation of African Unity, the governments of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the Islamic Conference, and governments and political parties throughout the communist and capitalist world.

Despite considerable financial support from the communist world, many observers do not believe that Swapo is communistically controlled or is communist inspired. The South African Government firmly counters that Swapo is directed by Moscow.

The International Court was asked for a second ruling in 1966. Liberia and Ethiopia charged that South Africa had violated the mandate by introducing apartheid in the

territory.

But, to the joy of South Africa and the despair of her political enemies, the court refused to hand down a ruling on the grounds that Liberia and Ethiopia had not established any legal right in the matter.

This decision proved to be a watershed in SWA politics. The black SWA leaders, who had pinned their hopes on a decision in their favour, now turned to the gun to achieve the change they wanted.

On August 26, 1966, the first clashes between Swapo and South African Security Forces were reported from Owambo. With the judicial path closed, the 35 African states at the UN denounced the International Court of Justice as "colonialist" and swung their full support behind the Swapo cause.

The UN terminated South Africa's mandate and set up the Council for SWA, effectively creating a government in exile.

South Africa ignored these UN actions and continued to administer SWA as a fifth province of what was by then the Republic of South Africa.

The Terrorism Act was extended to cover the territory retrospective to 1962, and as a result 37 black Namibians were brought to trial in Pretoria charged with having taken part in a conspiracy to overthrow the existing government of SWA, receiving guerrilla training and practising guerrilla warfare. Among them was Herman Toivo ja Toivo, who was sentenced to jail on Robben Island.

But 1971 was a fateful year for the South African Government. The International Court of Justice finally ruled that South Africa's presence in SWA

was illegal and said Pretoria was obliged to withdraw from SWA immediately.

The tide finally had turned against South Africa. But Pretoria rejected the court's finding and defiantly refused to budge.

In 1973 Swapo scored a considerable point when the UN General Assembly recognised Swapo as "the authentic representative of the Namibian people".

This caused, and still causes, deep bitterness throughout the territory and in South Africa. The South African Government is not alone in its view that because of the decision the UN is not capable of being impartial about the determination of the territory's future.

But while South Africa may have been supported in her view in private by many Western countries and in practice by their refusal to approve the use of sanctions, the cumulative effect of years of UN pressure and an expensive guerrilla war has made South Africa realise that it might be better to negotiate.

Although few American officials care to predict — at this transition stage — what the Reagan Administration's policy on Africa will be, the man tipped to become Reagan's adviser on Africa, Professor Chester Crocker, had this to say in the Washington Quarterly earlier this year.

"The end of the Zimbabwe conflict is only the beginning of a new set of challenges for Western policy in Southern Africa. In Namibia, the low-level guerrilla conflict continues while the parties manoeuvre over two distinct political

tracks — the internal track sponsored by South Africa on its own and an international track leading to recognised independence and sponsored by the UN, the Frontline States and the Western powers.

"Only the second track can end the war and the judicial conflict over the territory's status and Washington should continue to press this approach."

But, he warns, "it will fail unless or until Pretoria gains confidence that it can live with the outcome of a transition that it does not control unilaterally."

It is with this in mind that the Administrator General, Mr Dame Hough, and his delegation, will be facing Swapo across the negotiating table in Geneva.

Both sides will be asked by the UN chairman, Mr Brian Urquhart, to show their readiness to call a ceasefire and submit the territory to a general election that will include Swapo. They will be asked to state their acceptance, or otherwise, of the UN peace plan contained in General Assembly Resolution No 435.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, in a report to the UN Security Council in November last year, set 1981 as the target date for Namibian independence. To achieve this, a ceasefire would have to be effected as early as March this year.

The first step would be the establishment of a UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), consisting of a civilian (administrative) group and a military group, directed by Dr Waldheim's special representative.

According to the plan, first drawn up in 1978, the civilian

strong. It would monitor the election.

The military group's primary task would be to establish a demilitarised zone on the border, enforce the ceasefire, monitor the restriction of South African and Swapo forces to bases and monitor the phased withdrawal of South African forces, except for an agreed number, who will be confined to agreed bases.

This military group would consist of seven infantry battalions (5 000 men) and command, communications, engineering, logistic and air support elements totalling 2 300 men.

The total cost of the exercise, by 1978 estimates, would be \$300-million — more like \$400-million today.

This is the sketchy outline of a peace plan which still has to receive South Africa's and Swapo's approval. Swapo, for example, objects to the presence of South African troops in the territory while Pretoria insists that the UN cannot be neutral if it recognises Swapo as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

Also, Pretoria refuses to accept Swapo's contention that it has guerrilla fighters in SWA who are entitled to be grouped in bases within the territory under the ceasefire plan.

A settlement therefore remains elusive.

Pretoria's scope for flexibility has been limited by growing Rightwing resistance in South Africa to Prime Minister P W Botha's policies. It would be politically hazardous for Mr Botha to call elections in SWA which might deliver the territory into Swapo's hands.

Only after full agreement has been reached between both parties on precise details of a UN plan, will it be possible to get the election process to get under way.

Dr Waldheim points out one of the main obstacles in negotiations so far has been "acute mutual distrust and lack of confidence".

That is the purpose of multi-party direct talks in Geneva to establish a basis for agreement.

Cont

Namibians not hopeful ⁽²²⁾ about Geneva talks

By PETER KENNY in Windhoek

THERE is scant optimism in South West Africa that this week's conference in Geneva to discuss the implementation of the United Nations peace plan for the turbulent territory will have much success

Both the main contenders at the conference — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — have been pulled into the conference with their feet dragging

After being leaned on heavily by the Frontline States, especially Angola and Zambia, Swapo has agreed to send a strong team to Geneva, but fears the South Africans will use the conference as another stalling block to a UN-supervised election and as a sanctions stopper

The DTA, which is the governing party in the SWA National Assembly, dreads the bias the UN will have as the arbiter in the dispute, and has undelying fears that it may be bulldozed into accepting a solution unacceptable to them

"We walk with the ghost of Lancaster House," the chairman of the SWA Minister's Council and chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, told newsmen while his caucus was making its final decision on whether or not to attend

The average inhabitant of the disputed territory has become so used to being on the verge of a settlement breakthrough that he views this week historic talks, when South Africa and Swapo meet across the table for the first time, as "just another round of talks"

In 1978 when it looked as if there might be a breakthrough in the settlement quest, a number of former Swapo exiles and exiles from the other major black political party, the South West Africa National Union (Swanu), returned to the territory

Since those heady days the bush war in the northern part of the territory has escalated drastically and the beleaguered territory is no nearer a settlement

Swapo losses increased from 10 a month in 1978 to 80 a month in 1979 and with about 1 450 Swapo fighters killed last year the average Swapo death toll has staggered up to about 125 a month

More than 600 Ovambo civilians and 18 headmen had been abducted or killed, allegedly by Swapo, in 1979 The figures for 1980 have not yet been released, but they are considerably higher

While the war is confined to the northern part of the territory — most contacts and incidents are in Owambo and the Kaokoveld — the war affects the lives of nearly half of the territory's 1-million inhabitants considerably

Last year, for the first time, civilians were attacked and landmines placed in once tranquil Kaokoveld in the northwest where, at one time, the only shots heard being fired were those of poachers and hunters shooting elephants and game

At Christmas last year there was no traditional midnight service at the headquarters of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Owambo-Kavango (Eloc) at Onupa, about 15 km southeast of the South African military stronghold of Ondangwa

In Owambo where war incidents occur frequently, there is a 12-hour curfew starting at 7pm daily

The bishop of Eloc, Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, spoke with pain etched on his face when asked recently about how the war was

affecting his congregants

With about 234 000 members, the Lutheran Church is the biggest in SWA

"The war is only getting worse It is wearing down the spirit of our people We can only hope this conference can speed up the peace plan, but we are not too optimistic," said the white-haired bishop solemnly

In November the printing press of Eloc, which published the only non-government newspaper in Owambo, was mysteriously blown up by saboteurs The identity of the saboteurs remains a mystery, and nobody has yet pointed a finger at Swapo The paper has even been accused on occasions of being pro-Swapo

Bishop Dumeni said the people of Owambo were not impressed with the role of the Western Five "They are only concerned about their money and their their minerals

"Our people are dying and we don't know if the Western powers are serious about exerting pressure on South Africa to allow free and fair elections

"Our people are dying for the security of South Africa and that is not right We just hope something to save the situation can come out of this conference," Bishop Dumeni said from his Ongwediva home on the battle-scarred road between Ondangwa and Oshakati

But while many people, including Swapo, the DTA and churchmen may be sceptical about the outcome of this week's indaba some people see its very occurrence as something positive

Dr Kenneth Abrahams, the editor of the Namibia Review, said the Geneva conference would be worthwhile as it would set up a new mechanism with the relevant parties negotiating directly — which would simplify the whole procedure In the past, negotiations have been conducted through agents and brokers such as the Western Five and the UN

Now the conflicting parties will meet head on

Dr Abrahams and his wife, Ottilie, were both former Swapo stalwarts who returned to SWA in 1978 after fleeing the territory in 1963

"I cannot see this conference clearing all the present obstacles in the way of UN Resolution No 435 The major part of 1981 could be spent on that But we are moving into a new period," Dr Abrahams said

As far as the Geneva talks go they grant Swapo a type of recognition from South Africa — as a fundamental part of the negotiations

Although the internal parties will have to attend under the wing of the Administrator General, Mr Dame Hough, they will still be present at the negotiations, but they have not been granted equal status as Swapo, as they have been demanding

Each side can squabble about how strong its real representation is, but at least the conference will see Namibians thrashing out their differences with one another instead of over the telex and radio waves of the world

The people in SWA will be holding thumbs this week, but probably with faint hearts

UN may back plea for Swapo men

(221)

RDM
7/1/81

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE demand by Swapo leaders — on the eve of the Geneva talks on South West Africa — for South Africa to release Swapo prisoners on Robben Island, may be taken up by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, who opens the conference today

The Swapo representative in New York, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, told reporters in Geneva that Swapo had asked Dr Waldheim to use his influence to persuade South Africa to release Herman Toivo ja Toivo and three of his fellow prisoners

But the attempt to pressure South Africa into releasing Toivo and his comrades is certain to run into stiff resistance, and focus attention on the plight of dissidents interned by Swapo in Angola, Zambia and Tanzania

The demand that South Africa release Toivo — a legendary hero in the eyes of young Swapo recruits — to enable him to participate in the Geneva conference, was voiced on Friday by the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma. But it was rejected firmly by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha

Mr Botha told the Rand Daily Mail that the mutual release of political prisoners or detainees would come into operation only when the UN peace plan was implemented

Since the primary purpose of the Geneva negotiations is to try to settle on a firm date for the implementation of the peace plan, it follows that the release of Toivo and his comrades would come after, rather than before, the talks

But, as Mr Botha made clear, the release of Toivo, who was sentenced to 20 years' jail in 1968, would be dependent on

reciprocal release by Swapo of "hundreds" of its internees in camps in its host countries in Africa

The peace settlement plan, which Swapo wants implemented as early as possible, provides for "the release of all Namibian political prisoners or political detainees held by the South African authorities" — but their release is dependent on the peaceful return of "all Namibian refugees or Namibians detained outside the territory of Namibia"

Mr Nujoma's demand for the release of Toivo was followed on Monday by reports of the return to SWA of 32 dissident members of Swapo

They were all members of the Caprivi African National Union (Canu), which amalgamated with Swapo in 1964 — but some members have since accused Swapo of being an Ovambo tribal organisation

The return of the 32 under a

amnesty offer by the Administrator-General of South West Africa brought to 56 the number of Swapo members who have defected in recent months. The defectors include a former Swapo vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo

These defections focus attention on the "hundreds of Swapo internees", many of whom are Caprivians, and provide South Africa with a counter to Swapo demands for the release of political prisoners on Robben Island

According to Mr Botha, South Africa has a list of every Swapo internee and will demand that Swapo account for every name on the list before Robben Island prisoners are released

● East Caprivi occupies a small but strategically important stretch of territory in north-east SWA. Its 32 700 inhabitants constitute less than 4% of the total SWA population

Forces kill nearly 1 500 guerrillas

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — South African security forces and the South West Africa Territory Force killed 1 467 Swapo guerrillas in the northern operational area in 1980, while 76 members of the security forces were killed in operational activities

This was announced yesterday by the Chief of Staff for the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Jan Klopper

Brig Klopper said 81 members of Swapo had been killed in raids against their bases this year

Last week the head of the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, said security forces had raided Swapo bases in Angola

"It was a severe blow to Swapo in its terror campaign against the inhabitants of SWA," Brig Klopper said

Meanwhile, on the eve of the multi-party talks on SWA in Geneva, northern SWA is braced for attacks or sabotage by Swapo infiltrators

A Swapo push is expected because of this week's talks

Swapo-DTA strife looms at Geneva

RDM
7/1/81
(221)

Swapo 8
are late

By PETER KENNY
WINDHOEK — The eight-man 'internal' Swapo team for today's multi-party talks in Geneva were last night experiencing difficulties leaving Windhoek.

A Swapo spokesman, Mr Frans Kambarangula, said three of the delegates named to attend the conference, Mr Markus Hausiku, Mr Philip Tjerje and Dr Thomas Ihuhua, were serving restriction orders in terms of a proclamation by the Administrator-General.

Other members of the team, including Mr Hendrik Witbooi, still had to obtain passports.

Swapo has appealed to the Administrator-General to suspend the restriction order.

Last night they were still unaware if the trio could attend.

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
'Mail' Man on the Spot

GENEVA

THIS morning the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, will open the first direct talks between the South African Government and Swapo.

And last night, on the eve of the conference in Geneva's Palace des Nations, Swapo slated the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance demand for equality of all parties around the UN's squared table, dismissing the DTA as "irrelevant to the talks."

UN-selected officials of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) that Dr Wald-

West Africa will kick off the historic talks.

They will begin with presentations of the steps they have prepared to bring an end to the war by March and to provide the way for all-party elections leading to independence by the end of 1981.

The UN Deputy Secretary-General, Mr Brian Urquhart, who will preside over the pre-implementation talks, said yesterday he hoped "the subject here will be the future of Namibia for all Namibians, and not the complex history of the past."

Privately, however, UN officials are disturbed by the aggressive stance of the 17-member DTA delegation.

The Swapo spokesman, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, said yesterday that the talks concerned "only Swapo and the South African delegation and Swapo refuses to be sidetracked by such irrelevancies as DTA participation".

South Africa is represented by the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Danie Hough, who leads 30 representatives of the SWA internal parties.

The South African Government itself has steered clear of direct involvement in the talks, but Mr Hough satisfies both Swapo's demand for a South African official and the SWA internal parties' demands for representation.

Yesterday afternoon Mr Urquhart met all parties to discuss the practical aspects.

He told a Press conference that at this stage his primary concern was to start discussion on the implementation of the UN peace plan.

Mr Urquhart confirmed what has long been suspected in diplomatic circles, that these direct talks result, together with the efforts of the Western contact group, from negotiations in mid-1980 between South Africa and Angola.

On the issue of the UN's impartiality, which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has publicly held in doubt, Mr Urquhart said impartiality was "a two-way street".

The UN Secretariat would stick strictly to the rules of the agreement, he said.

PETER KENNY of the 'Mail' Africa Bureau reports from Windhoek that two Windhoek newspaper editors have slammed Perskor's domination of the South African public relations team for the talks.

In yesterday's Windhoek Advertiser, the English daily, the editor, Mr Leon Kok, said he wondered why no-one from SWA was capable of handling the exercise.

The South African public relations team is headed by the political editor of Die Transvaler, Mr Pieter Coetzer, who was Press secretary to the Administrator-General last year. He will be joined by another top Perskor man, Mr Otto Krause.

The editor of Windhoek's German Allgemeine Zeitung daily, Mr Hans Feddersen, also slated Perskor's presence in the Government information team.

All eyes on Geneva today

DD 7/1/81

(221)

The meeting that convenes in Geneva today, at which South Africa, the internal parties of South West Africa and the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo) come together officially for the first time under the chairmanship of the United Nations, will have the attention of the whole world.

The hotly-contested international dispute over the fate of the former German territory, now running into its 34th year, finally has the chance of being in its closing chapter.

Zimbabwe, due to UDI and the actions of the Smith Government, attracted more publicity than has SWA. Nevertheless, the future of SWA is of equal, if not greater, significance for the inhabitants of southern Africa for two reasons. SWA is the last colonial territory in Africa and its political solution will have a vital bearing on the future of the other country, South Africa.

South Africa's involvement in the territory began in 1920, when the League of Nations mandated Britain to administer the former German colony. South Africa administered the mandate on Britain's behalf. When the League was superseded by the United Nations the mandate was modified into a trusteeship.

But South Africa refused to accept this and argued that she had acquired full control of the territory.

It was not until 1971 that the court ruled that South Africa's presence in the territory was illegal. But long before this, in 1968, the leaders of Swapo had decided to take to the gun to achieve their aims.

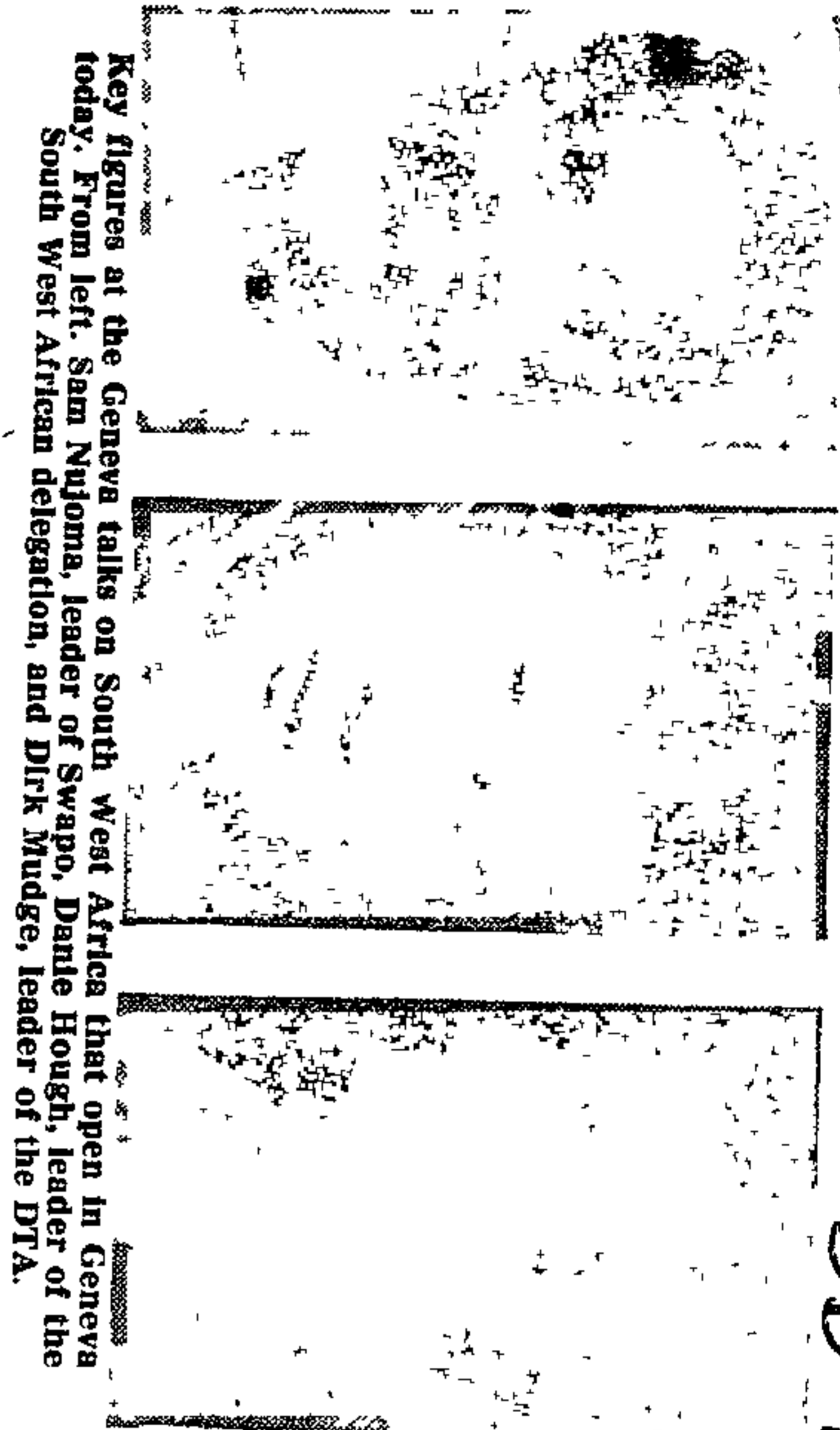
South Africa's defiance has resulted in what could be one of the biggest stumbling blocks to reaching a peaceful solution in Geneva.

The UN decided to recognise Swapo as the "sole and authentic representative" of the peoples of the territory. This decision has done incalculable harm to the

moderate voices living in SWA. They were denied their chance of ever obtaining a full hearing in the outside world and, because their only recourse was to ally themselves to the South African Government, they have suffered being branded the "Muzorewa solution" and, as a result, have lost support which might have been theirs.

If South Africa had stuck to her oft-repeated declaration that the people of SWA would determine their territory's future, history might have been different.

She realised she would have to confer some sort of independent status on SWA in the face of the rapidly escalating war



Key figures at the Geneva talks on South West Africa that open in Geneva today. From left, Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo, Danie Hougaard, leader of the South West African delegation, and Dirk Mudge, leader of the DTA.

status

It is in this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion that the parties will enter the Palais de Nations today.

The meeting is the result of four years of intense behind-the-scenes shuttle diplomacy by the five Western powers who are members of the UN Security Council — America, Canada, France, Britain and West Germany.

Senior officials of these five governments are sending observers, as are the Frontline states (Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe), the Organisation of African Unity and Nigeria.

Nigeria, together with Algeria, has been intensely involved in recent years in lobbying support for Swapo. The meeting will be chaired by the UN Deputy Secretary-General, Mr Brian Urquhart.

As Swapo refused to deal directly with the SWA internal parties, and South Africa itself is determined to include them, the tricky issue has been neatly resolved by the appointment of the South West African Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hougaard, to represent South Africa. As a South African official he meets Swapo's requirements, while legitimately representing SWA.

The internal parties

form part of his delegation, while representatives of the South African government will be present as "advisers" to the delegation.

At this stage there is broad agreement between the parties on the implementation of the United Nations' plan for a

BRUCE STEPHENSON, our man in Geneva, claims that today's meeting there of the parties to the South West African dispute may be of even greater significance to Southern Africa than were the London talks on Zimbabwe.

UN peace plan. South Africa and its backers maintain the purpose is to prove the UN's impartiality. The UN has not prescribed an agenda and has left the door open to discussion of the plan and "other practical proposals".

Many observers believe South Africa will try to

ceasefire and holding of elections leading to independence, the size of the UN flag peacekeeping force, the establishment of a demilitarised zone and the number of bases South Africa and Swapo will be able to maintain.

The real purpose of the meeting — labelled "pre-implementation" (PIM) talks — is to discover the willingness of both sides to submit to elections supervised by the UN.

But the problems that do remain could easily prove the undoing of the whole meeting. Chiefly, there is no agenda and there are different interpretations of the parameters of discussion.

Swapo and its backers insist the purpose of Geneva is only to discuss the implementation of the

Two factors point to the talks either being dragged out for longer, or being inconclusive.

Pretoria is working all out to establish the DTA and other moderate parties firmly in the voters' minds. The more time it can buy, the more chance the plan has of success.

First, the UN General Assembly is due to meet on January 15 for a debate on SWA. It is not likely to do so if the Geneva talks are still in session or if firm agreement has been reached between South Africa and Swapo to meet at a later stage.

Second, Pretoria is pinning its hopes on support from the Reagan Administration. But Ronald Reagan is only to take over from President Carter on January 20.

It is less obvious what Swapo would stand to gain by stalling in Geneva. There have recently been strong rumours that members of the contact group and the Frontline states have been growing extremely impatient with Swapo leader Sam Nujoma and that they are pressuring him to reach agreement with South Africa before the Republic finds a reason to call a halt and so set back the whole process of independence yet again.

Importantly, the fact that Pretoria has agreed in principle that SWA must be independent, gives reason to be optimistic about the outcome of the PIM talks. The territory could easily gain internationally acceptable independence around the end of 1981, but only — and that is a big but — if a great deal of goodwill is displayed by all parties.

cont

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Both the main contenders at the conference — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — have been pulled into the conference with their feet dragging.

After being leaned on heavily by the Frontline States, especially Angola and Zambia, Swapo has agreed to send a strong team to Geneva, but fears the South Africans will use the conference as another stalling block to a United Nations supervised election and as a sanctions stopper.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, who are the governing party in the S.W.A. National Assembly, fear the bias the United Nations will have as the arbiter in the dispute, and have underlying fears they may be bulldozed into accepting a solution unacceptable to them.

"We walk with the ghost of Lancaster House," the chairman of the S.W.A. Ministers' Council and chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, told newsmen while his caucus was making its final decision on whether or not to attend.

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Holdings thumbs, but faint hope

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PETER KENNY writes that in Windhoek there is scant optimism the Geneva talks will succeed.

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about 15 km south-east of the South African military stronghold of Ondangwa

In Owambo where war incidents often occur daily, there is a 12-hour curfew, starting at 7 pm

The Bishop of Eloc, Bishop Kleopas Dument, who is expected to attend the Geneva conference as an observer, spoke with pain etched on his face when asked recently about how the war was affecting his congregation. With about 234 000 members the Lutheran Church is the biggest in SWA.

"The war is only getting worse. It is wearing the spirit of our people down. We can only hope this conference can speed up the peace plan, but we are not too optimistic," said the white-haired bishop solemnly.

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Now the conflicting parties will meet head on. Dr Abrahams and his wife Otille, were both former Swapo stalwarts who returned to SWA in 1978 after fleeing the territory in 1963

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Each side can squabble about how strong its real representation is, but at least the conference will see Namibians thrashing out their differences with one another instead of over the telex and radio waves of the world

The people in South West Africa will be holding thumbs this week, but probably with faint hearts.

Handwritten notes: 7/1/81, 221

Swapo forces holding their own, says New York Times

81 die in military strikes in Angola

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces have killed 81 members of Swapo in the first week of this year in cross-border strikes on bases in southern Angola.

The Chief of Staff of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Jan Klopper, said today security forces had also seized and destroyed a quantity of weapons during the operations.

He said the South African Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force had inflicted 1 467 confirmed losses in the low-intensity bush war on the SWA/Namibia-Angola border on Swapo last year.

This figure could be higher if one considered the fact that all losses could not be confirmed and that a certain percentage of the severely wounded would eventually die, said Brigadier Klopper.

He described Swapo's losses last year as a "severe blow" to the organisation.

Brigadier Klopper gave no further details of the security force actions in Angola in the last few days, which coincided with the preparations for the Geneva conference on SWA/Namibia

and possibly decisive — political gains."

The article investigates the way in which it says the deaths of South African soldiers are announced.

"It is even more evident that the insurgents cannot defeat the South Africans militarily, but it is widely believed that the drawing out of the conflict has enabled Swapo to score major —

Killed in action

The South African Defence Force has announced the death of Lance Corporal Pieter Swanepoel (19) in action against terrorists in the operational area this week.

He was the son of Mr and Mrs P Swanepoel of 42 Pelican Drive, East Driefontein, Carletonville — Sapa

the losses are staggered to obscure the fact that the guerrillas sometimes operate effectively.

"Thus the struggle is far more remote from public consciousness in South Africa than the Indo-China wars were for Americans. Only when South African forces make a major assault does the war become front-page news.

"Since an agreement nearly three years ago for a western-sponsored ceasefire under United Nations' supervision, the casualty rates on both sides have risen.

"In the last year, the South Africans say, they

have killed about 1 500 'terrorists'. Swapo spokesmen in Angola say that the figure includes Angolan noncombatants killed in raids across the border.

"South Africa does not publish its own losses but in the last year deaths were believed to have approached 100.

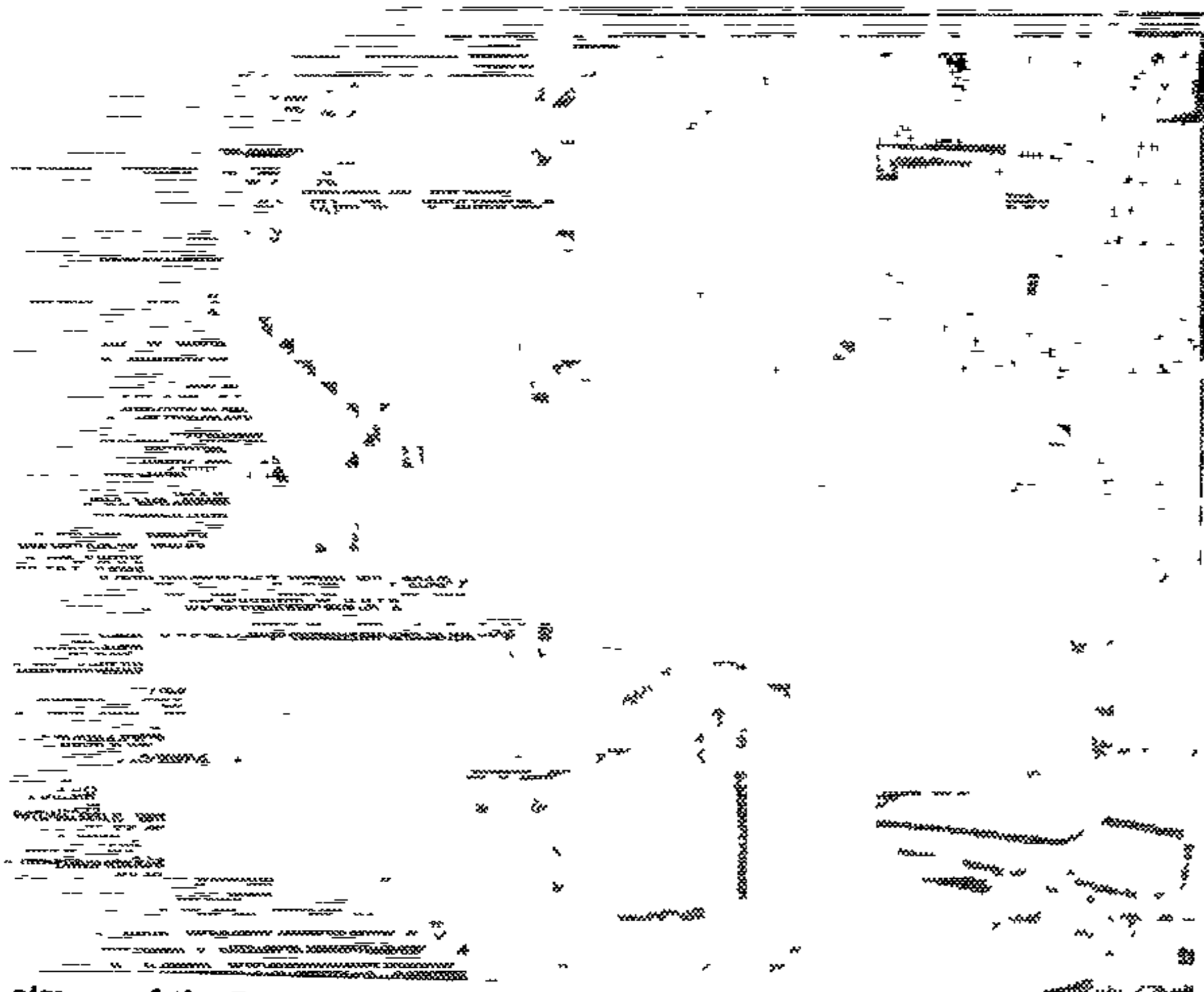
ESTIMATES

"Estimates of the number of South African troops deployed in SWA is as high as 30 000 while the number of guerrillas is usually said to be 7 000 to 8 000 with a high proportion of them in Angola at any given time."

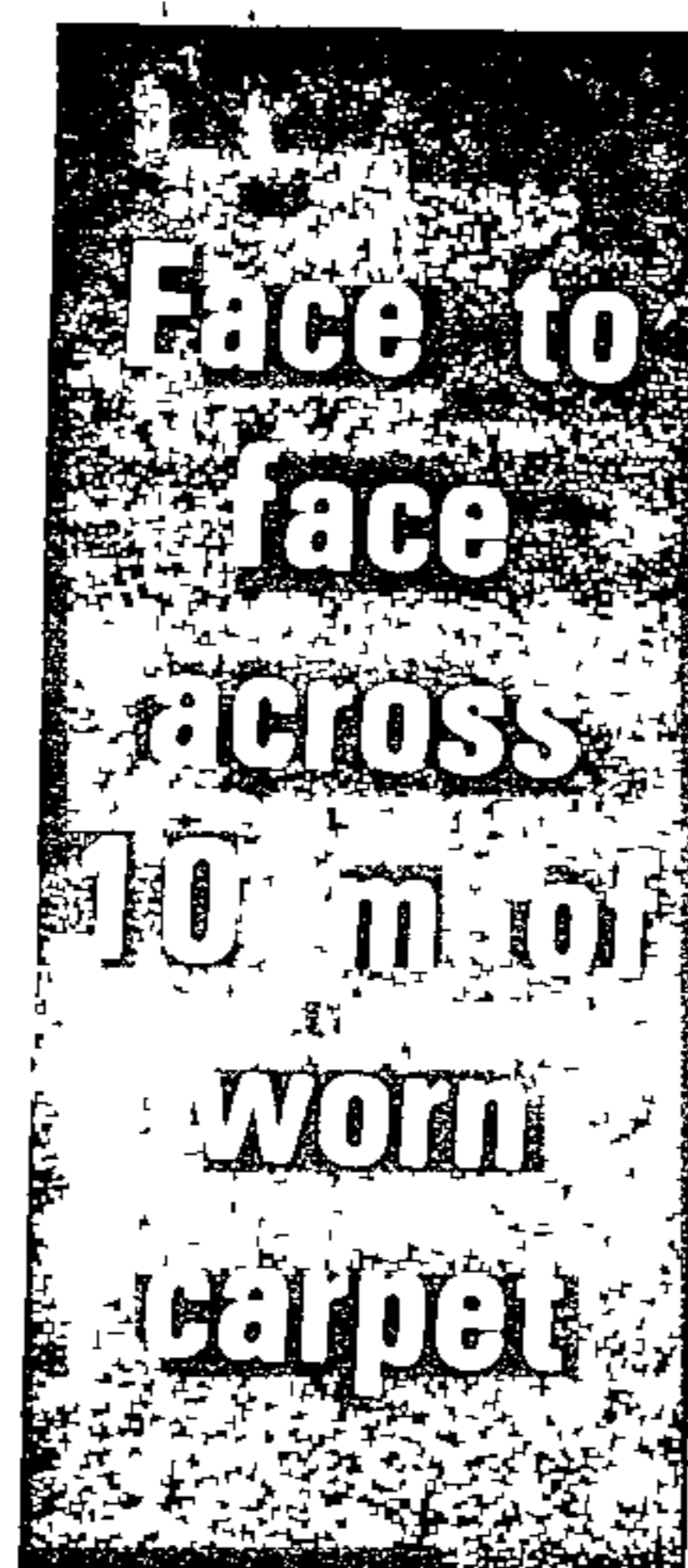
The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — On the eve of the Geneva peace talks, the New York Times has run a series of articles on the SWA situation — including an investigation yesterday into troop losses — and the way it is claimed South Africa manipulates information concerning the war.

"With superior training, equipment and mobility the South African forces can usually overwhelm insurgents in the territory when they find them," the article says.

"But after repeated assaults on insurgent bases in Angola, the South African



Chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, and vice-chairman, Mr Ben Africa, on one side of the conference hall . . .



Face to
face
across
10 m of
worn
carpet



. . . and on the other side Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, (right), and Swapo delegate, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab.

'No going back'

GENEVA — There can be no going back now, the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, asserted here as South Africa sat down face-to-face with Swapo yesterday — and nobody walked out.

But the first day of the super delicate "pre-implementation" meeting, designed to bring an end to the 14-year bush war in South West Africa and give birth to Namibia by the end of this year, was soon slowed by procedural problems

A briefing by the UN peacekeeping chief, Mr Brian Urquhart, was cancelled as Dr Waldheim sought ways to placate the unhappy internal parties whose leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, complained bitterly that he had lost out in the status battle and was now clearly the underdog in the election race.

Dr Waldheim and his aides had made it clear that the two sides in these talks were South Africa and Swapo with the internal parties included in a South African delegation.

Welcoming the two delegations led by the South African Administrator General, Dr Danie Hough, and by Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, he praised "a spirit of statesmanship".

"It is never easy to change course after a long and bitter conflict," he said, and then urged the almost 100 participants to set the plan for UN supervised independence for the territory into confident motion

Swapo swiftly hailed Dr

Waldheim's 20-minute launching speech as a "precise statement that put everything in the right place" and declared itself "ready to get down to serious business".

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be seen at this late stage as South African puppets before an election campaign

But Mr Mudge stopped short of protesting and said: "We should all behave responsibly now. We should not dramatise this."

It took almost an hour simply to seat the delegation in the ornate golden chamber of the Palais des Nations, where for three months in 1978 Britain tried and failed to solve the Rhodesian problem.

Nothing was left to chance in the arrangements. Dr Waldheim, flanked by Mr Urquhart and the OAU Secretary General, Mr Edam Kodgo, faced the 14 observers of the six Frontline States, the five Western negotiating powers and Nigeria, flanked on either side by 14 Swapo officials led by Mr Nujoma, who faced the 14 internal party leaders led by Mr Hough and Mr Mudge across 10 m of worn green conference hall carpet — DDR

Waldheim speech, page 7.

From BRUCE
STEPHENSON
and RICHARD
WALKER

Dispatch men on the spot

Africa whenever asked — here at Geneva, if necessary, spokesman Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, said

"We are talking with South Africa. We are glad that he (Waldheim) has underscored that," he said.

After a private session with Dr Waldheim, the South African team, led by the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, and the Administrator General, Mr Mudge told the Daily Dispatch: "We were made to believe we would have equal status with Swapo."

"This meeting could be considered the first step in an election process. Dr Waldheim cannot expect us to be part of the South African delegation — to

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DD
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RDM 8/1/81

SWA group upset, but talks go on

By RICHARD WALKER
and BRUCE STEPHENSON
GENEVA — There can be no going back now. This was the assertion of the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, as South Africa sat down face to face with Swapo in Geneva yesterday — and nobody walked out.

But the first day of the highly-delicate pre-implementation meeting designed to end the war in South West Africa and give birth to independent Namibia by the end of this year, was soon slowed by procedural problems.

A briefing by the UN peace-keeping chief, Mr Brian Urquhart, was cancelled as Dr Waldheim sought ways to placate the unhappy internal SWA parties, whose leader, DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge, complained bitterly that he had lost out in the status battle and was now clearly the underdog for the proposed independence election.

Dr Waldheim and his aides had made it clear that the two sides in these talks were South Africa and Swapo, with the internal parties included in a South African delegation.

Welcoming the two delegations, led by the SWA Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, and by Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, he praised "a spirit of statesmanship."

"It is never easy to change course after a long and bitter conflict," Dr Waldheim said. Then he urged the nearly 100 participants to get in motion the plan for UN-supervised independence.

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The Swapo delegation spokesman, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, said it was ready to sign a ceasefire with South Africa whenever asked — while at Geneva, if necessary.

After a private session with Dr Waldheim, the South African team spearheaded by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, Mr Hough and Mr Mudge, told the Rand Daily Mail "We were made to believe that we would have equal status with Swapo."

"This meeting could be considered the first step in an election process. Dr Waldheim cannot expect us to be part of the South African delegation — to be seen at this late stage as South African puppets before an election campaign."

But Mr Mudge stopped short of lodging a protest. "We should all behave responsibly now. We should not dramatise this," he said.

It took almost an hour simply to seat the delegation in the ornate golden chamber of the Palais des Nations, where for three months in 1978 Britain tried and failed to solve the Rhodesian problem.

Nothing was left to chance in the precisely squared-off seating arrangement.

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Only Dr Waldheim spoke. The meeting was adjourned and the UN called a full meeting for this morning.

Picture — conference scene — Page 2

RDM 8/1/81

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● Picture — conference scene — Page 2

Cocktails, conflict as SWA talks start

STAR
8/1/81

221

By Chris van Gass, Gerald L'Ange and Kevin Jacobs
Geneva

Over cocktails in the Palais des Nations, bitter enemies from SWA/Namibia last night exchanged political animosity for handshakes.

There were startling scenes as diplomatic ice was broken at a reception given by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim. For the first time internal leaders of the territory and South African officials mixed freely with their arch opponents, Swapo.

Emergency talks between Dr Waldheim and the South Africans have produced a compromise in the dispute over the status of Swapo and the internal parties that yesterday stalled the SWA/Namibia conference.

It was arranged that a brief open session would be held today at which the leader of the internal delegation, Mr Danie Hoogh, Administrator General, would formally introduce the members of the Windhoek group.

They would be identified according to their various political parties.

Mr Dirk Mudge, for instance, would be identified as a member of the Republican Party and the DTA group.

It was hoped that in this way the Windhoek delegation would be able to demonstrate its independence from the South African Government.

The South Africans are hoping that the compromise will enable the conference to go ahead with some talks aimed at resolving what they see as the crucial issue — the alleged bias of the UN towards Swapo at the expense of the internal party which would contest independence elections against Swapo.

In private

A source in the Western observer group said a general aim was to avoid a public meeting and statements from the DTA which might draw a rejoinder from Swapo and widen the gulf of hostility.

"We don't want anyone talking to the galleries," the source said. "Everyone is here and talking should be done in private."

The cocktail party was described by observers as "mind-boggling".

In a scene which only a few days ago would have been utterly impossible, former South African Cabinet Minister and leader of the SWA National Party, Mr A H du Plessis, shook hands with Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

South African officials mixed with delegates from the frontline states such as Angola, Nigeria, and with representatives of the Organisation of African Unity.

And in the middle of the floor the South African Army chief, Lieutenant General Jannie Geldenhuys, spent some time chatting to delegates from Angola.

ROUTINE FOR OPS ORDER

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Swapo salutes hail ceasefire

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9/1/81
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By BRUCE STEPHENSON
and RICHARD WALKER

GENEVA — A dramatic black power salute by Mr Sam Nujoma and the entire Swapo delegation hailed the end of a two-day deadlock and the launch of United Nations talks aimed at producing an independent South West Africa this year

"My delegation is one, united, representing the oppressed people of Namibia," he declared, as he protested the absence of Swapo prisoners on Robben Island but confirmed his readiness to sign a ceasefire right away

There was a scattering of applause around the chamber at the Palais des Nations as his delegation rose in a body to deliver their salute

A startled South West African Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, jumped up to claim for his side the many Swapo dissidents that he said were dead or held captive

But UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim coolly continued producing his peace-keeping specialist Mr Brian Urquhart, who, within minutes, had begun a closed-door briefing of the plan for a UN-patrolled ceasefire in March

Mr Nujoma's spectacular

declaration came after Mr. Hough presented his squad and Dr Waldheim had asked the Swapo leader if he wished to say anything

"Swapo is ready to sign the ceasefire with the delegation of South Africa so that peace can come to Namibia," Mr Nujoma pledged after his mass salute had taken the South African internal contingents aback

The emotional scenes in the gilded chamber climaxed night and day wrangling over the status of the internal parties with a heavyweight South African team of officials in face-to-face confrontation with Mr Nujoma and more than 30 of his top aides

The final outcome late yesterday afternoon was that there was no change to the formula But Mr Hough insisted that he was "quite happy". There was "no doubt whatsoever" that all the parties were now on an equal footing, he said as he emerged from the chamber

Six of the eight internal parties in Geneva — all except the DTA and Aktur — immediately issued a statement of their own, stressing their independence from South Africa

Elsewhere in the rambling Palais, but not even observing

in the chamber, an NNF spokesman stressed still more strongly the separateness of his movement and of the also absent Swapo-D He maintained that South Africa was at the talks seeking to subvert the UN process and pave the way for a DTA-led "coup d'etat".

But in the first crucial test of the talks, the UN did not budge in the face of South African pressure to seat the internal groups separately from Pretoria's officials — or even to accord them identification plates at the squared table.

Ahead now lies a series of exhaustive briefings from the men picked to command the 7 500 UN troops and hundreds of civilian specialists required to monitor the election process

They include General Prem Chand, the veteran Indian commander and the tall, gaunt Detective-Inspector Steven Fanning, the Dublin policeman, chosen to head the 360-man police squad with a super-sensitive surveillance task

It will not be easy. Already South African officials are preparing to challenge key aspects of the UN plan, including the border-straddling demilitarised zone that the plan is built around

Haggling for power

Diplomatic semantics ensured an orderly start this week to the historic pre-implementation meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva aimed at putting Namibia on the road to peaceful independence by December 1.

In spite of a late-night outburst on Tuesday by SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha to the SABC (whose reporter phoned him from Geneva), UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim resolved the explosive question of the status of delegations by not calling them anything at all. In his opening speech he welcomed "the two delegations" - the one led by SWA Administrator General Danie Hough and the other by Swapo Sam Nujoma.

The device seemed to defuse the row over the status of SA (which refuses to be more than an observer) and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) which insists it is independent of SA.

The SA "observers" headed by the Director General for Foreign Affairs, Brand Fourie, conspicuously took their seats well behind the front bench occupied by Hough, DTA leader Dirk Mudge and other Namibian leaders.

However, Fourie's men were placed away from the other "official observers" - the front line states, Nigeria, the five Western "contact group" powers and the OAU.

Before the opening of the conference procedural and status questions threatened to wreck all hopes of it even starting.

The DTA group had barely arrived before it was firing off salvos at the UN. Fanuel Kozonguizi, speaking for Dirk Mudge, attacked the UN for its alleged preferential treatment of Swapo and for leaving out the DTA in setting up the meeting and demanded separate seating (from SA) plus the right to speak. "It is for Namibians to sort out Namibia's problems. We will stand on our own whether SA agrees or not," he declared.

Swapo, meanwhile, has been sticking to its familiar line. As articulated by delegate Theo-Ben Gurirab, Swapo simply says the pre-election process in Namibia cannot begin until there is an end to the 14-year war. Swapo is not fighting the DTA, but the SADF. "So it is with the South Africans that we must negotiate for a ceasefire. The DTA and other Namibian groups cannot produce an end to hostilities," said Gurirab.

After the ceasefire, when implementa-

tion of the Namibia plan starts, Swapo will then be on all fours with the other Namibian groups, able and willing to negotiate over elections and the constitution.

which will make up the rump of the proceedings. Pretoria is likely to react with fury to any attempt to claim Walvis Bay for Namibia at this stage.

But Urquhart is clearly not putting any big money on the outcome of the meeting. "It is extremely easy to wreck a meeting of this kind, very difficult to make it succeed," he said. As far as the UN was concerned, the Namibia question had gone "as far as it can in the abstract." From now on, any further progress or changes depended on performance and implementation. And, echoing Waldheim's November report to the Security Council: "It is of vital importance that the independence of Namibia should be achieved in 1981," he said.

Meanwhile, at the time of going to press, the atmosphere in Geneva was hardly conducive to one of the chief objectives of the face-to-face meeting, that of clearing away the "acute mutual distrust and lack of confidence," which Waldheim said have bogged down Namibia in a bloody morass for three years.

Support for the UN's pleas of urgency came from Germany. While the other four members of the Western contact group have sent senior foreign affairs officials, Germany upped the tempo by dispatching its Foreign Minister Hans-Dieter Genscher, who flew in hard on the heels of Kurt Waldheim and went into an immediate meeting with him.

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What emerged from Gurirab's claims ("we are prepared to sign an agreed ceasefire now, tonight") is that Swapo has no intention of being blamed if this meeting fails or ends in deadlock next Wednesday or sooner.

We made no preconditions for the meeting not even the presence of senior Swapo leaders who are in jail in SA, even though the release of all political prisoners is part of the agreement," said Gurirab. (Swapo's list of 33 delegates sent to the UN included veteran Toivo Herman Yatoivo and three others whose addresses

were given as "Robben Island" or "in South African hands.")

For the embattled UN, Brian Urquhart reacted to DTA accusations over the lack of impartiality with weary familiarity. It was a subject discussed "interminably" in Pretoria during the October talks to set up this meeting. "Impartiality is a two-way street. There are a number of things that will have to be done by both sides," he said.

Urquhart said the UN ("the go-between") will be "extremely flexible" in its handling of the meeting. That flexibility did not exclude the discussion of Walvis Bay, if anyone wanted to raise it, and by implication the status of the DTA and others during the working party sessions.

DP
9/1/81 (221)

Deadlock broken at Geneva talks

GENEVA — A black power salute by Mr Sam Nujoma and the entire Swapo delegation hailed the end of a two-day deadlock and the launch of United Nations talks aimed at producing an independent South West Africa this year

"My delegation is one, united, representing the oppressed people of Namibia," he declared, as he protested at the absence of Swapo prisoners on Robben Island but confirmed his readiness to sign a ceasefire right away.

There was a scattering of applause around the chamber at the Palais des Nations as his delegation rose in a body to deliver their salute

A startled South West African Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, jumped up to claim for his side the many Swapo dissidents that he said were dead or held captive, but UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim coolly continued introducing his peace-keeping specialist, Mr Brian Urquhart, who within minutes had begun a closed-door briefing of the plan for a UN-patrolled ceasefire in March

The emotional scenes in the gilded chamber climaxed night and day wrangling over the status of the internal parties

The final outcome late yesterday afternoon was that there was no change to the formula but Mr Hough insisted that he was "quite happy" there was "no doubt whatsoever" that all the parties were now on an equal footing, he said

Six of the eight internal

From
**RICHARD WALKER
and
BRUCE STEPHENSON**

parties here — all except the DTA and Aktur — immediately issued a statement of their own, stressing their independence from South Africa.

In the first crucial test of the talks, the UN did not budge in the face of South African pressure to seat the internal groups separately from Pretoria's officials — or even to accord them identification plates at the squared table

Ahead now lies a series of exhaustive briefings from the men picked to command the 7 500 UN troops and hundreds of civilian specialists required to monitor the election process

Mr Nujoma's spectacular declaration came after Mr Hough presented his squad of delegates and Dr Waldheim had asked the Swapo leader if he wished to say anything

"Swapo is ready to sign the ceasefire with the delegation of South Africa so that peace can come to Namibia," Mr Nujoma pledged after his mass salute

Mr Hough then broke into Dr Waldheim's formal introduction of Mr Urquhart to challenge Mr Nujoma's complaint that the Robben Island wing had not been freed

"There are very many other people we would like to have with us here, many killed, many in graves, in camps we don't even know of who we wish

to be with us," he declared

Later Swapo announced that seven members of its delegation to the conference had arrived in Geneva from Windhoek after restriction orders against them had been lifted

"Another five members of the Swapo delegation are still being prevented by the South African regime from coming to Geneva," said the statement, referring to delegates who are imprisoned

In Windhoek it was reported one of the officials who was to have accompanied the internal Swapo delegation to Geneva, Mr Leonard Shaka, had resigned from Swapo.

Another delegate, Mr Brendan Simbaye, one of the four Swapo members the organisation had asked South Africa to release from detention as a goodwill sign, was believed to be dead

Mr Simbaye was reportedly released in 1972

"I was horrified to read in newspaper reports that Brendon Simbaye was dead and that the authorities here apparently knew nothing about his whereabouts," said Swapo's transport secretary, Mr Frans Kamangula

"We were under the impression all this time that he was still being detained by the security police"

Intelligence reports were quoted four months ago as stating that Mr Simbaye was believed to be dead and that it was suspected he had been murdered, allegedly by Swapo.

Restricted men join delegation

The Star's Africa
News Service

GENEVA — Seven members of Swapo who were under restriction in terms of security legislation in SWA/Namibia have been released by the authorities to attend the Geneva talks

The Swapo members

arrived here today and took their seats in the League of Nations chamber for the short public session.

Earlier this week the Swapo delegation had approached the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to ask his assistance

in getting the internal Swapo officials to the conference

The men, who left Windhoek by air for Geneva on Wednesday, included the Swapo Secretary for Education, Mr Hendrik Witbooi, the Rev B Karuaera, the Secretary of the Council of Elders, and Mr Philip Tjerije,

the Publicity and Information Secretary

Most of the Swapo men had been detained in terms of legislation promulgated by the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, and had been under orders restricting their movement following their release from detention.

Swapo holds out hope of ceasefire

STAR
9/1/81
221

Star Reporters
Gerald L'Ange,
Kevin Jacobs and
Chris van Gass

Geneva

After years of political and military conflict the adversaries in SWA/Namibia are today sitting down together to discuss arrangements for making the territory independent by the end of the year

And Swapo has publicly undertaken to sign a ceasefire agreement with the South African Government in the next five days if South Africa is willing.

Delegates are continuing discussions begun late yesterday after one of the main obstacles to agreement at the Geneva conference was removed with the settlement of a status dispute that had stalled the talks for 36 tense hours

The dispute ended with the internal parties being allowed to present themselves as equals with Swapo in the talks, although that status is not conceded by UN officials

A spokesman said today that Swapo would abandon



UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim (left) opening the Geneva conference on the future of SWA/Namibia yesterday. The conference continues today and is scheduled to last until Wednesday.

its UN status of the "sole and authentic" voice of the people of SWA/Namibia when the UN-organised elections began.

If the working sessions, scheduled to last until next Wednesday, achieve the momentum UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim hopes for, advance units of UN troops and administrators would start moving into the territory by the end of March to oversee a seven-month transition to independence

But conference sources have said that other problems lie ahead. Chief among these is likely to be South Africa's demand that the UN drop its bias

in favour of Swapo. This demand is apparently considered to have been only partly satisfied by the settling of the status issue.

Mr Nujoma's offer in the conference chamber to sign a ceasefire agreement with South Africa followed earlier unconfirmed reports that a draft ceasefire agreement had been drawn up

The South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, said today that a final decision on a ceasefire in SWA/Namibia and the deployment of a UN force could not be taken at the Geneva conference

The chairman of the conference, UN under-

secretary Mr Brian Urquhart, announced earlier that, at today's session, UN officials with special knowledge and special responsibilities would set out the manner in which the UN would fulfil its responsibilities under the settlement proposal and the demilitarised zone proposal

Delegations will be able to clarify questions that might arise from the briefings

The UN Secretary-General's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will set out the broad outline of the functions of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) to be sent to SWA/Namibia in accordance with resolution 435

He will explain how the various elements of Untag will carry out their duties in terms of the settlement proposals

Mr Kenneth Kanakaratne, who will lead the electoral supervisory group, will set out the deployment of election supervisors during the proposed election in the territory.

Mr Urquhart explained that delegates would be

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Swapo holds
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STAR 9/1/81
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entitled to seek clarification on aspects of the briefings. Such questions would be noted and they would be dealt with at an appropriate stage in the conference proceedings. After the briefing sessions, the UN would consult delegations about any remaining matters which might concern them. Observers would also be consulted, Mr Urquhart said

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The feasibility study will collate the objectives of the

6.2 THE FEASIBILITY STUDIES

Manager is in a position to begin feasibility studies.
Following the setting of these objectives, the Project
peculiar to the particular organization must be defined.
development projects. In addition to these, objectives
These objectives are general and will apply to most deve-

- 5. Objectives of time, cost and quality.
- 6. Objectives as to future expansion and development.

DTA, AKTUR WANT SHOWDOWN WITH UN

10/1/81
Rags
(221)

GENEVA. — The main Windhoek parties are trying to force a showdown with the United Nations, demanding the organization prove its impartiality through sweeping measures to repudiate previous support for Swapo.

Their delegates to the South West Africa conference here are openly challenging the ability of senior UN officials to act as fair supervisors of a ceasefire and elections proposed for the territory

By Kevin Jacobs,
Chris van Cass
and
Gerald I'Ange

And they have come close to threatening to pull out of discussions on implementation of the plan for UN-run elections unless the world body makes a public about-face on the special status the General Assembly and other agencies have conferred on Swapo

— kidnapers, rapists and bandits' — The South African Government delegation, led by Foreign Affairs Director General Dr Brand Fourie, made no presentation to the meetings yesterday

Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the right wing Aktur group, underlining their claim to an independent role in the talks, want UN officials mediating in the process to take demands for impartiality back to the General Assembly and to end all special privileges granted

Cont

ARCUS 221

10/1/87

BIAS

In closed-door meetings yesterday, a DTA representative told the UN delegation that their organisation had 'through the years, disqualified itself from supervising fair and free elections in Namibia'

Mr Katiture Kaura, a DTA information official also questioned the impartiality of Mr Martti Ahtisaari, designated as the official to head a UN presence in the territory.

His secondary office of Commissioner for Namibia — created by the General Assembly which gave Swapo the designation of 'sole and authentic' Namibian voice — had 'taunted his credibility'

CONDUCT

Mr A H du Plessis, leader of Aktur said: 'Before we are prepared to go one step further, we want to see the proof — not only by words but by irrevocable conduct which will satisfy the reasonable mind'

Correspondents have been barred from the working sessions, but some of the internal delegations have been freely distributing printed texts of their remarks.

Mr. du Plessis said Swapo had to be stopped from carrying on with their murderous war.

STOOGES

In his statement, Mr Kaura called Swapo 'Russian stooges and racist murderers,' and 'an orga-

Mudge onslaught dims SWA agreement hopes

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GENEVA — A withering onslaught of criticism from DTA delegates marked the first day of closed door talks on South West Africa with the United Nations.

It ended with no sign of progress and little hope that these pre-implementation meetings will bring UN-supervised independence — or an end to the bush war — any nearer.

US peacekeeping chief Brian Urquhart asked for a firm March 30 ceasefire date and Swapo went on record accepting that its privileged status with the

world body would be lost immediately there is a go-ahead to the UN operation but the chairman of the Council of Ministers Mr Dirk Mudge, declared his insistence on an immediate, public undertaking from Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that all recognition of Swapo — including years of General Assembly resolutions — will be revoked. A seven point package of DTA demands to this effect was presented to the UN.

While Mr Urquhart projected a prompt report to the Security Council after

next Tuesday's end to the meetings, the Director General for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, ruled out any decision being taken here but should a solution be found, we will feed the information back to Pretoria, he said.

Western envoys appeared glum. "The gap between the two sides seems very wide," an American official acknowledged, while noting with satisfaction the Swapo pledge. Swapo spokesman Theo Ben Gurirab termed it "axiomatic" that the special

status and support would vanish with the arrival of the UN in the territory.

The Mudge forces throughout the day were aggressively pessimistic. We are going to insist that sessions from now on must be open. Dr Mudge owed "We want the world to know we are not interested in private assurances."

Mr Mudge expressed himself surprised at Swapo president Sam Nujoma's offer to sign an immediate ceasefire, "it proves they are losing the war — and that is true," he said — DDR.

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- CONDEMN "PARALLEL" UNION POLICY
- DO NOT SUPPORT THE NEW LEGISLATION
- SOME AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL UNIONS
- MANY AFFILIATED UNIONS ARE NOT REGISTERED.
- STRONG SUPPORT FOR MIXED UNIONS
- PREDOMINANTLY COLOURED AND BLACK UNIONS
- MAINLY OPPOSED TO GOVERNMENT POLICY

14 unions : 22030 members

FOSATU

- ULTRA-RIGHT WING UNIONS
- WHITE UNIONS ONLY ADMITTED
- STRONGLY SUPPORTS JOB RESERVATION — PROTECTION FOR WHITE WORKER
- NOT AFFILIATED TO INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.
- DIVIDED ON SUPPORT FOR NEW LEGISLATION — NON-DISCRIMINATORY LAWS.

17 unions : 137640 members

CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR

ORGANISATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

Stop Swapo recognition, UN is told

RDM
10/1/81
221

By RICHARD WALKER and BRUCE STEPHENSON

GENEVA

THE first day of the United Nations closed-door talks on South West Africa was marked by a withering onslaught of abuse from DTA delegates and a demand that all UN recognition of Swapo be revoked.

It ended with no sign of progress and little hope that the meetings will bring any nearer a UN-supervised independence — nor an end to the bush war.

The UN peacekeeping chief, Mr Brian Urquhart, asked for a firm ceasefire on March 30, and Swapo went on record as accepting that its privileged status with the world body would be lost immediately there was a go-ahead to the UN operation.

● Aid channelled through the UN's specialised agencies to Swapo must cease immediately

The DTA insists that these demands be met before implementation of the UN peace plan

"The people of Namibia must be satisfied of the UN's impartiality. If that is done then we shall have hope for a fair and free election in Namibia," the statement said

● Sapa-Reuter reports that a UN spokesman was unable to confirm yesterday that the world body last year contributed and estimated R11-million to Swapo. The estimate was given by a spokesman for the SWA internal parties, which have denounced UN support for Swapo and questioned whether the world body can be an impartial arbiter

He said he was surprised at the offer by the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, to sign an immediate ceasefire

"It proves they are losing the war — and that is true"

The seven demands which the DTA has set before the UN are

● Rescind General Assembly Resolutions 3111 and 31/146, which stipulate that Swapo is the "sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia"

● Stop financial assistance to Swapo through the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia,

● Withdraw Swapo's permanent observer status in the General Assembly,

● The Security Council must desist from consulting only Swapo on matters touching SWA,

● The Swapo Institute in Zambia must be restored to its original purpose — that of serving all Namibians,

● The Swapo representative in New York and his cohorts must be removed from direct participation in matters of the Office of the Commissioner for Namibia,

But Mr Dirk Mudge, the DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) leader and chairman of the Council of Ministers, insisted on an immediate public undertaking by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, that all recognition of Swapo — including years of General Assembly resolutions — be revoked

While Mr Urquhart spoke of a prompt report to the Security Council after the meetings end on Tuesday, the South African Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, ruled out the possibility of any decision being taken in New York, but added that "should a solution be found, we will feed the information back to Pretoria"

Western envoys appeared glum

"The gap between the two sides seems very wide," a United States official acknowledged, while noting with satisfaction the Swapo pledge

The Swapo spokesman, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab, termed it "axiomatic" that the organisation's special status and support would vanish with the arrival of a UN team in SWA

The Mudge forces were aggressively pessimistic

"We are going to insist that sessions from now on must be open," Mr Mudge said "We want the world to know... we are not interested in private assurances"

"It is going to be even more difficult for the Secretary-General to convince us that the UN has the impartiality to conduct fair elections"

Geneva talks ^{EDM} 'about ^{10/1/81} to fail' ⁽²²¹⁾

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Newspapers in Windhoek were pessimistic yesterday about the outcome of the multi-party talks in Geneva.

One said indications were that the talks would collapse by today.

Die Republikein said it appeared as if the talks would not come to much and the English daily the Windhoek Advertiser, said Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) leaders had made it clear in interviews on Thursday that the talks would collapse within the next 24 hours.

The main reason is that the DTA believes it has been caught up in a United Nations trap which will make the election a fait accompli.

The Advertiser added that the vice president of the DTA and leader of the Hereros, Chief Kuamo Ruruako, had told its representative in Geneva he was disgusted with the way the UN was handling the issue.

It has driven us into a corner which we find untenable he was quoted as saying. Under no circumstances are we prepared to talk about the practicalities of Resolution 435 until we have sorted out the principles involved.

The UN has deliberately bypassed the very reason why we came to Geneva and is executing everything that Swapo came to Geneva to discuss.

Chief Ruruako told the Advertiser the DTA had made it clear that it wanted the UN to demonstrate that it was totally impartial.

Chief Ruruako is one of the members of the DTA caucus known to have been dead against the alliance attending the Geneva talks under the wing of the South African Government.



Mr Dirk Mudge

Geneva talks

STAR 10/1/81

head for 221

showdown

By Star Reporters

Kevin Jacobs, Chris van Gass and Gerald P'Ange
GENEVA — Major Windhoek parties are trying to force a showdown with the United Nations, demanding that the organisation prove its impartiality with sweeping measures to repudiate previous support for Swapo.

Their delegates to the SWA/Namibia conference in Geneva are openly challenging the ability of senior UN officials to act as fair supervisors of the ceasefire and elections proposed for the territory. And they have come close to threatening to pull out of discussions on the implementation of the plan for UN-supervised elections unless the world body makes a public about face on the special status the General Assembly and other agencies have conferred on Swapo.

Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the right-wing Aktur group, underlining their claim to an independent rôle in the talks, wants UN officials mediating in the process to take demands for impartiality back to the General Assembly and to end Swapo's special privileges.

Swapo has not replied to the statements and officials in their delegation are adamant that they will continue to avoid being provoked by what one termed "a litany of abuse".

The South African Government delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Brand Fourie, made no representations to yesterday's meeting, remaining in the background to amplify their view that they are advisers, and secondary to the Windhoek participants.

But Mr Fourie and his aides have consulted frequently behind the scenes with UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim and other senior UN officials.

The participants are scheduled to meet again today in a further private session.

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For the best final year student.
General J B M Hertzog Prize

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.
David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student in third year.
Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.
Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-
of Architects' Prize
Cape Provincial Institute

FROM GENEVA — THE WRITING IS ON THE WALL

SUDDENLY, the significance of it all is sinking home. Never mind the superficially trivial nature of some issues that have caused egg-dances at Geneva, they have their deeper meanings. But whatever the outcome of the Namibia/South West Africa conference which began this week, something has already happened there of such import that one Nationalist commentator introduced it this week with this cautionary sentence from the Gospel of St John: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

What is it that happened, what does it presage?

At Geneva this week, South Africa finally brought itself to sit down at a negotiating table with Swapo, an organisation it labels "terrorist" and one, moreover, which has fought a vicious bush war against South Africans, and brought death and injury to many of them.

South Africa's former Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, once swore he would never negotiate with Swapo under any circumstances.

We draw attention to this not to gloat nor to say "we told you so" — but simply to underline the conclusion drawn by the Nationalist commentator referred to above. To quote his words: "The day will still come that a South African Government will sit round the negotiating table with the ANC."

Yes, that is what Geneva presages.

And the implications of his prediction are wide. It acknowledges a truism: That we will have to deal with the real leaders of Black opinion, and that these real leaders are going to be the radicals at present denied any voice in our affairs. Two questions arise immediately. If such negotiation is inevitable, then

1 Should it not be sooner rather than later because attitudes harden in a continuing crisis?

For decades it has been a cliché that Africa's leaders of tomorrow are the jailbirds of today. To take only neighbourly examples, Mr Mugabe graduated from that college of experience, so did Dr Banda, and Dr Kaunda.

The Third World pattern is clear: the stronger side locks up, or otherwise suppresses, the strongest members of the weakest side as long as it can. Only when the balance of power shifts — usually when opposition strength has been forged by martyrdom, bitterness and time — comes willingness to negotiate. No wonder such "negotiations" often become no more than mere role reversals, the

victors becoming the vanquished. There must be a better way.
2 Should we not be doing all we can now to prevent bitterness and hostility from growing? We are not. Intolerance of dissent seems actually to be increasing.

It is one thing to take an opponent to court, charge him, and send him to jail for breaking the law. Even arch-enemies would probably acknowledge that that, at least, accords with the principles of justice, no matter how contemptuous they may be of the laws themselves.

But arbitrary administrative action such as is popular in totalitarian and communist states? When newspapers are closed on a technicality, when people are silenced, banned, driven underground not because they have broken the law but simply because the Government does not like what they say and think and do — there, surely, is a watertight formula for bitterness.

Imagine, if you dare, what thoughts are churning in the minds of the three banned men of Mwasa this weekend?

What, we wonder, are such banings saving us from?

□ □ □

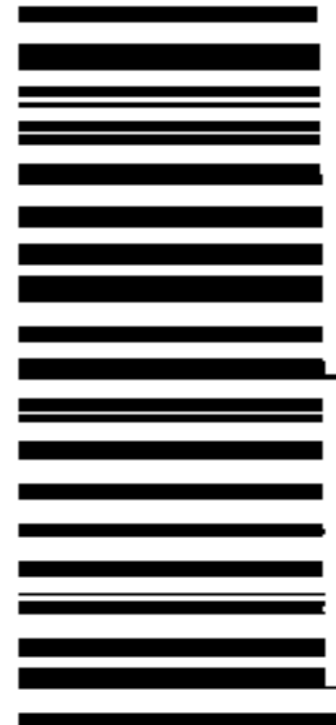
TO put in perspective the views of the Nationalist commentator he stressed that it would not be possible to open negotiation with the ANC at any time unless the ANC was prepared to make considerable concessions in advance.

Fair enough. Merely to suggest specific concessions is, obliquely, to open negotiations.

But the commentator has also, perhaps unconsciously, put his finger on another aspect. The very concept of negotiation implies compromise and concession on both sides. There has to be give and take.

White South Africa (this newspaper included) is fond of talking about the "change" that is needed or is coming. It is not so fond of specifying what particular sacrifices, material or otherwise, it is prepared to make to reach an accommodation. It is because radical Blacks believe that Whites will accept only as much change as does not disturb their own status quo — nobody has to drink in a mixed bar — that they grow disillusioned, angry, prepared for violence.

It is because of this that the debate in this country from now on will have to be about the real extent of the sacrifices either side is prepared to accept — or it will not be a debate at all.



1971

No commitment on SWA independence

S. Express
11/1/81
221

GENEVA — Details of the United Nations independence plan for South West Africa/Namibia were discussed at the Geneva conference yesterday but the South African delegation stopped short of making any final commitment

Details of the plan, released by the UN on Friday, include a ceasefire in March, a four-month election campaign starting in June and general elections in October

A highly-placed Western diplomat said South Africa believed Swapo would win an election and was "stalling, possibly in order to give more time to the Namibian internal parties to consolidate their position"

"It is also possible South Africa is hoping the Reagan administration will be more favorably disposed towards them," he said

If South Africa refuses to go along with the independence plan, the UN Security Council, which is to meet at the end of the week, may decide to impose sanctions against the country

Even before the Geneva talks began on Wednesday, the South African Government said it would rather face such sanctions than see Swapo in power in South West Africa

The conference is scheduled to end on Wednesday, and Western diplomats anticipate that South Africa may only indicate which way it intends to go just before the conclusion

Meanwhile, South Africa is taking a back seat to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the internal party which has 41 of 50 seats in the South West Africa's Assembly

It has been rejected by the UN as an illegal body only supported by Pretoria

At a news conference yesterday, DTA leader Dirk Mudge repeated his daily demand that the UN cease to recognise Swapo as South West Africa's only representative party

Besides going into detail on the independence plan and how it would be monitored by a 7 500-man UN peacekeeping force, UN officials have been

kept busy arranging a series of backstage cocktail parties and excursions to try to relieve the atmosphere of bitterness between Swapo and the other parties

Yesterday was set aside for private contacts and consultations between the South African and Swapo delegates and observers from the six Frontline states and the five Western nations behind the independence plan

Today 200 delegates will take a train ride to Glion, a village near Lake Geneva, at the invitation of the Swiss Government

The officials, chairing a conference with a decidedly shaky beginning, said they hoped the weekend programme would break down some barriers, but receptions held every evening since the conference began last Wednesday have failed to prevent continued sharp clashes between South Africa and Swapo, involved for 14 years in armed struggle over the vast, mineral-rich territory

"And on Monday the real hard part will begin," a UN spokesman said

Between Monday and Wednesday, when the conference is scheduled to end, agreement is supposed to be reached on a firm date for implementation of the independence plan — UPI.

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For the best woman student

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

satisfactorily completed

For a student who has

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Dunkley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-

of Architects' Prize

Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

THE GENEVA TALKS ARE HALF OVER, BUT ONE QUESTION STILL WANTS AN ANSWER...

What does SA really want?

S. Express
11/1/81
221



GENEVA — As the UN conference on Namibia nears its half-way point, the main question puzzling diplomats here is the one they have been asking for more than two years: what are South Africa's intentions?

On one level, there are indications of progress in the talks, which the UN hopes will bring agreement for a March 30 ceasefire in the 14-year conflict.

Then, according to the UN plan accepted by the warring sides in 1978, the process should begin which will lead to internationally-supervised elections and, before year's end, independence for the territory which has been ruled by South Africa for 60 years.

The latest sign of progress was, paradoxically, a sharp argument. At a closed meeting yesterday afternoon, Swapo and the South African-led delegation of Namibian parties reportedly let

and attacked each other freely.

Although the session focused generally on what the Namibian parties see as UN partiality towards Swapo and on ways to reverse this, a Western diplomat present said tempers flared so much that there was hot personal abuse of Swapo President Sam Nujoma.

Still, as the diplomats said, "They have been fighting each other so long, it's to be expected. It's probably even healthy. The important thing is that they're talking."

There is more talking this weekend. Informal consultations have been set among the delegations — the South Africans, the five Western nations that helped negotiate the UN plan, and the Frontline African states — followed by a session where the UN specialists are to respond to

DAVE CLEMENS reports from Geneva

plan

With all the discussion, the South African position remains unclear. Pretoria's men, led by Foreign Ministry Number 2 Brand Fourie, have kept a low profile and let the internal parties do the talking.

But the fact remains that South Africa controls the territory and any decision to agree to a ceasefire and move to elections must be South Africa's.

There are, basically, two schools of thought about Pretoria's intentions, conversations with diplomats and participants have revealed.

The first is that South Africa is stalling without any particular goal because the Government dreads not risk a settlement that might allow Swapo to come to power. Adherents of this school

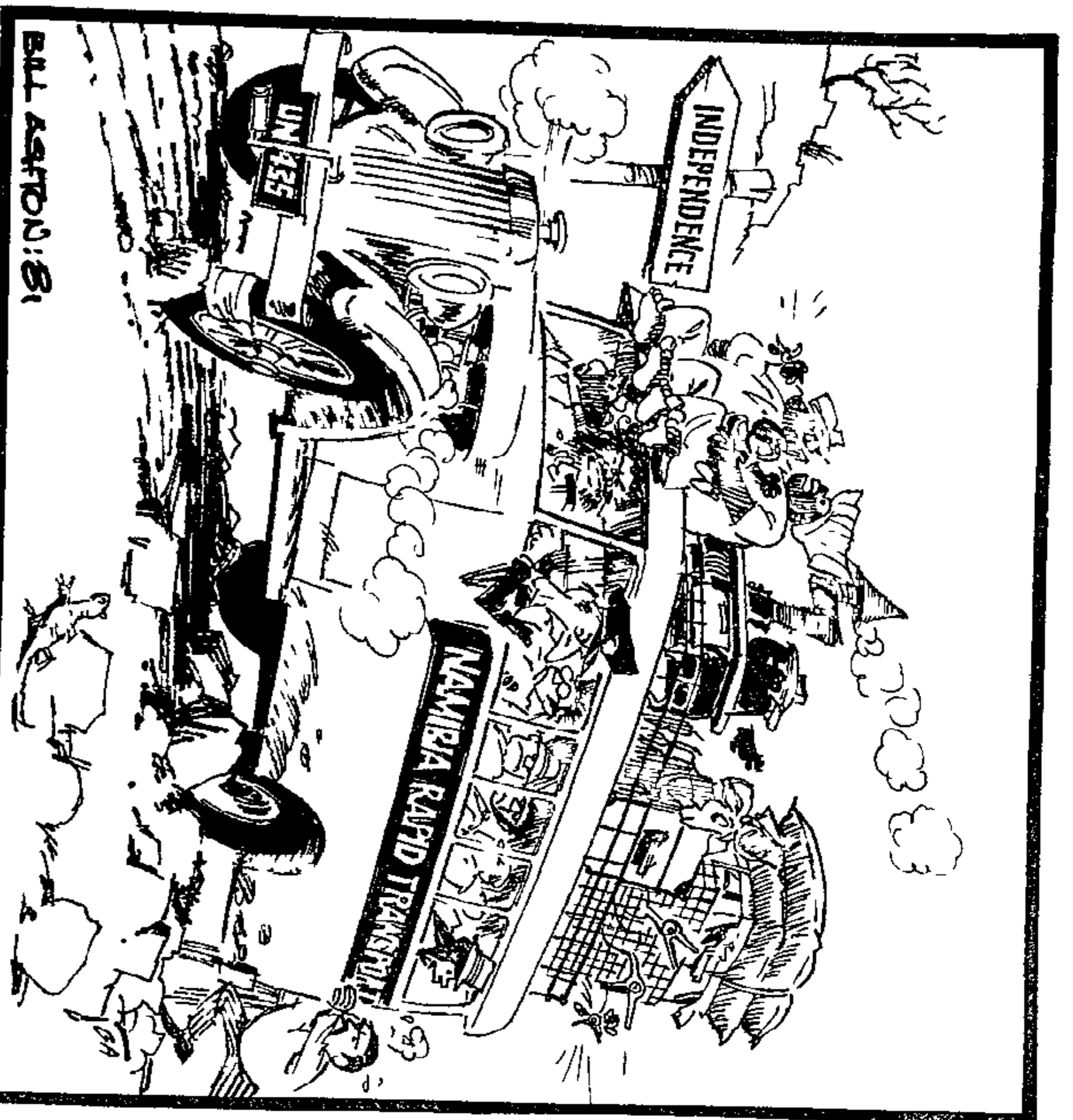
take over the National Party through a White backlash.

The other analysis is more complex. It holds that South Africa is willing to unload the vexing Namibian problem — but for a price.

Under such strategy, diplomats say, Pretoria would seek to guarantee both a place in the future Namibian government for a political Opposition — presumably multiracial and southward-looking — and the security of private investment in the mineral-rich territory. The interests are both South African and Western.

But there are indications that South Africa is seeking more than an acceptable post-independence situation in Namibia.

A Western diplomat noted that if Pretoria had scored one vic-



OK, EVERYBODY, LET'S GET THE SHOW ON THE ROAD!

international forum, it had gained another for itself contact with Black African states under UN auspices, despite the apartheid policy which the Africans denounce.

Reports from both Western and South African camps indicated that Pretoria might set this condition for its agreement to a ceasefire permission for both its delegates and those of the internal parties to address the UN General Assembly debate on Namibia that is to begin on Thursday — the day after these talks are supposed to end.

South Africa has been excluded from participation in the General Assembly for several years and an invitation back into the fold, with the other considerations, might be worth Namibia.

One Western diplomat has noted that perhaps the only way for Pretoria to get temporary relief from international pressure would be to play its cards right

SWA talks — West ^{Angus 12/1/87} is worried ⁽²²⁾

From Gerald L'Ange

GENEVA. — The Western nations largely responsible for arranging the Geneva conference on South West Africa are growing increasingly worried as the talks near their scheduled end with no agreement in sight.

Some diplomats here believe the conference has provided a unique chance for settlement that will probably never be repeated. If no settlement is achieved by the time the talks end on Wednesday, it will be difficult to get them restarted at some other place and time and much more difficult to reach a solution, they feel.

One diplomat with long involvement in the peace efforts said the Geneva talks had brought together for the first time influential delegations from the UN, the African frontline states, the OAU, the South African Government, the internal parties in SWA and Swapo.

And many had come in a spirit of compromise, looking for a settlement.

"It may never again be possible to get such an opportunity, such a gathering, and such a favourable climate," he said.

DTA MOVE

Another working session of the conference was due to begin behind closed doors at the Palais de Nations here today, but sources said it could be delayed by attempts by the DTA to force it into open session.

The DTA last week demanded that all sessions be held in public. It apparently wants to get maximum publicity for itself to try to force public acknowledgement that the internal parties have equal status with Swapo, which has been given exclusive recognition by the UN General Assembly.

The UN General Assembly, whose majority almost regards Swapo as the rightful heir to power in the territory and endorses its guerrilla war, is primed to convene on Thursday.

The African bloc is expected to sponsor a resolution referring the situation to the Security Council for a sanctions vote if no progress is evident.

SWA salvage operation

STAR 12/1/81 221

West seems to end Geneva deadlock

By Kevin Jacobs, Gerald L'Ange and Chris van Gass

Geneva

Signs of optimism began to emerge today from intensive private consultations being conducted by delegates to the SWA/Namibia conference in a bid to reach agreement in the remaining three days.

Western representatives today met leaders of the South African delegation at their hotel and then had talks with Mr Brian Urquhart, the UN Under Secretary-General, presiding over the conference

OAU to host party for SA officials

Own Correspondent

GENEVA — In a historic demonstration of their desire to help achieve an independence settlement for SWA/Namibia, black African diplomats have invited South African Government officials and political leaders from the territory to a social party

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Frontline states and Nigeria are hosting a cocktail party tonight to which all participants and observers to the United Nations-sponsored conference have been invited

ANIMOSITY

For the fourth time since the "preimplementation" talks began last week, otherwise bitter foes will courteously greet each other over drinks and cocktail conversation

Brotherhood is not necessarily spread about the UN's Palais Des Nations as thickly as the snow veiling its picturesque host city

But there is a remarkable absence of the animosity and hostility that usually characterises public duelling between the South African Government and its favoured Namibian political groups and Swapo

HANDSHAKES

Correspondents have noted some resentment on the part of individuals to

Sources close to these talks said it now appeared likely that a solution might be found to the dispute over the UN's alleged partiality to Swapo that has been the main obstacle to progress at the conference

The Western moves today were believed to be a continuation of the new initiative launched by the West at the weekend which was said to involve giving the South Africans and the internal parties guarantees on the impartiality issue in return for agreement to a fixed date for the start of the independence exercise

Sources close to the discussions say the West-sponsored move is intended to overcome what seems to be deadlock half-way through the conference's erratic course

In secret

Another working session of the conference was due to begin behind closed doors at the Palais des Nations today, but sources said it could be delayed by DTA attempts to force an open session

A Frontline African observer said last night "We are waiting for tomorrow to see what happens. But definitely something must happen"

He said his group had heard 'rumours' of the deal said to be under consideration

"But until a document is in our hands, we cannot comment," he said

The UN General Assembly, whose majority almost regards Swapo as the rightful heir to power in the territory and endorses the war, is primed to convene on Thursday, a day after the scheduled close of the Geneva conference, to take up a shelved debate on the territory's future

But overall the functions have been at least marginally successful in achieving cool handshakes between Mr Sam Nujoma and Namibian officials and politicians, and between hostile OAU opponents of apartheid and senior representatives of the Government perpetuating the policy

The African bloc is expected to sponsor a resolution referring the SWA/Namibian situation to the Security Council for a sanctions vote if no progress is evident from what Swapo regards as "the meeting to end all meetings on Namibia"

See Page 13 — Swapo gives it a Swiss miss.

Red Cross^{RDM} asked^{3/1/81} to aid^{20/1} Swapo^{20/1} captives

WINDHOEK -- The International Red Cross has been approached to look into the alleged detention of hundreds of Swapo dissidents, who are reported to be languishing in so-called 'refugee' camps in Zambia, it was learned in Windhoek yesterday.

The move was inspired by the Caprivan authorities in remote north eastern South West Africa who believe that the plight of the dissident, -- who are mainly Caprivians -- should be brought to the attention of the outside world, and effort made to obtain their release.

Swapo defectors returning to SWA during the past few months have claimed that more than 1,000 Swapo dissidents are in jails and concentration camps, or being forced to stay in refugee camps in Zambia and Angola.

Most of the dissidents they say are Caprivians loyal to the Capriva African National Union revived in August as a result of a split from Swapo 16 years after the two guerrilla organisations merged.

In a letter to the local Red Cross Society in Windhoek, in which the international body is requested to try and secure the release of the Swapo dissidents, the Caprivan authorities have listed the names of 24 Caprivians allegedly being held in appalling conditions at the Machaba Refugee Camp about 50km north west of Jansba.

The author of the letter, Chief J M Morabuan, a prominent member of SWA's ruling Democratic Front De Allance whose son, Mr Eric, Mulya, recently defected from Swapo, said he had been informed that conditions in the Zambian 'refugee' camps were extremely poor.

Medical facilities were virtually nonexistent and there was a real danger that the dissidents might be handed over to Swapo and transferred to concentration camps in Angola.

"Keeping a small group of people here already included by Swapo and having lost touch with the rest of the world of Swapo, we are in a difficult position and we appeal to the Red Cross to help us in our efforts to obtain their release."

**Tswana said
His letter calls for the immediate
release of all 'unlawfully
held' people in the
CARDS**

The names of the 24 Caprivians being detained by the SWA authorities are listed below:

- 1. M. M. M. M. M.
- 2. M. M. M. M. M.
- 3. M. M. M. M. M.
- 4. M. M. M. M. M.
- 5. M. M. M. M. M.
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- 24. M. M. M. M. M.

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22778 SWAN CHENEVA 13HH15 (13 JANUARY 1981)
SECXTEPH CAPE TOWN
FOR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION OF MINISTER

RECEIVED
13 01 931
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

NO. YF 11

STATEMENT BY ADV. E. VAN ZIJL ON BEHALF OF ACTUR
13 JANUARY 1981

IN PRESENTING OUR CASE LAST FRIDAY, WE VERY DELIBERATELY
REFRAINED FROM TAKING OVER THE PAST, EXCEPT FOR REFERRING TO
RESOLUTIONS STILL IN FORCE AND AID MEASURES STILL BEING CARRIED
OUT COMMITTING THE UNITED NATIONS INDISPUTABLY TO THE SOLE CAUSE
OF SWAPO WHILST, AT THE SAME TIME, OFFERING ITSELF AS THE
IMPARTIAL UNBIASED PREPARED TO SIT IN JUDGMENT IN THE DISPUTE
BETWEEN SWAPO AND THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA
IN VIOLENT THE FACT THAT WE HAD OUR RESERVATIONS CONCERNING
RESOLUTION 435, WE CONFINED OURSELVES TO THE PRACTICAL
PRACTICAL MATTERS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION THEREOF
MATTERS THAT GO TO THE VERY ROOT OF THE CASE. IN ORDER TO PUT
THINGS RIGHT WE MADE CERTAIN VERY REASONABLE DEMANDS, THE OBJECT
OF WHICH WAS TO PLACE PARTIES ON AN EQUAL FOOTING AT THE SAME TIME
AFFORDING THE UNITED NATIONS THE OPPORTUNITY (PERHAPS UNDESERVED?)
TO PROVE ITS SO FREQUENTLY LAUDED IMPARTIALITY. WE COULD HAVE
RESORTED TO TECHNICAL MATTERS: WE COULD HAVE REFERRED TO THE
FACT THAT SOUTHWEST AFRICA, BEING A C-MANDATE, WAS NEVER SUPPOSED
BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO BECOME INDEPENDENT: WE COULD
HAVE REFERRED TO THE FACT THAT GENERAL SMUTS CONDUCTED A PLEBISCITE
IN 1946 CONFORMING WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS WHEREBY WE, THE
INHABITANTS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA, EXERCISED OUR RIGHT TO SELF-
DETERMINATION, BUT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS STOPPED US FROM
IMPLEMENTING THAT DECISION ON THE GROUND THAT THE POPULATION
WAS NOT FREE TO EXERCISE ITS INALIENABLE RIGHT - THEREBY CAUSING AN
INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE ABOUT SOUTHWEST AFRICA: WE COULD HAVE
REFERRED TO EARLIEST ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE SAID DISPUTE SUCH AS
THE A DEN-CLARK COMMISSION WHOSE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNITED

NATIONS REFUSED TO IMPLEMENT, THE CAPPIO COMMISSION WHOSE REPORT LAYED IN THE WASTEPAPER BASKETS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN OFFER DURING THE INTERNATIONAL COURT PROCEEDINGS IN 1970/71, TO HOLD A PLEBISCITE UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT WHICH OFFER WAS REJECTED, THE INVITATION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN 1972 LEADING TO AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE (DR ESCHER), THE IMPLEMENTATION OF WHICH AGREEMENT SOME PEOPLE SITTING HERE TODAY, WERE INVOLVED WITH, BOTH WHICH WAS IGNORED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. WE COULD HAVE MADE ALL THESE ALLUSIONS AND MANY MORE. WE DID NOT. WE CONFINED OURSELVES TO THE POINT IN ISSUE. IT WAS CONSEQUENTLY AN UNEXPECTED AND UNQUALIFIED DISAPPOINTMENT TO HEAR HOW THE CHAIRMAN, WITHOUT EVEN REFERRING TO OUR REASONABLE DEMANDS, SPECIFICALLY TRIED TO EXCULPATE THE UNITED NATIONS, TO HIDE BEHIND FLIMSY EXCUSES AND TO MAKE SOUTH AFRICA THE SOLE SCAPEGOAT FOR THE PROBLEM. WE ARE NOT HERE TO DEFEND SOUTH AFRICA OR TO TRY TO JUSTIFY THE APPROACH THEY HAVE ADOPTED OVER THE YEARS. WE ARE HERE IN AN ATTEMPT TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF OUR COUNTRY. WE WANT TO DO SO SERIOUSLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY. WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN A PING-PONG GAME BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS ON MATTERS SUCH AS STABILITY, ETCETERA, WHILE SOUTH WEST AFRICA HAS TO PAY THE PRICE.

WE RAISED THE QUESTION OF IMPARTIALITY AND EQUAL CHANCES FOR PARTICIPATING PARTIES, WHICH WE CONSIDER NOT ONLY TO BE CARDINAL, BUT ALSO IN LIMINE. ONCE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THESE VITAL ISSUES, AND IMPARTIALITY SEEN TO BE APPLIED, ONE CAN TACKLE SUCH IMMENSE DIFFICULTIES SUCH AS INTIMIDATION, THE DMZ, THE IMPARTIALITY AND ABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL OFFICIALS, UNTAG, ITS COMPOSITION, -NUMBERS, ACTIVITIES, ETC. BUT WE DO NOT MAKE ANY PROGRESS. WE ARE TAKEN TO THE PALACE FOR A MEETING. ON OUR ARRIVAL WE FIND THAT WE HAVE TO WAIT FOR UP TO AN HOUR BEFORE COMMENCING. SHORTLY AFTER HAVING COME TOGETHER, THE MEETING IS ADJOURNED AGAIN.

WHILE ALL THESE THINGS ARE TAKING PLACE, SOUTH WEST AFRICA IS GOING THROUGH A VERY DIFFICULT PHASE: OVANBOLAND IS WAR RIDDEN, LARGE PARTS OF THE COUNTRY ARE SUBJECT TO A SEVERE DROUGHT, UNEMPLOYMENT HAS SHOT UP TO ABOUT 10 PER CENT, MONEY IS LEAVING THE COUNTRY. STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE MUST BE RESTORED - AND RESTORED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.



WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND NOT ABOUT OUR PERSONAL POSITIONS. WE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THIS CONFERENCE IS A FUTILE EXERCISE BECAUSE THERE IS NO EARNEST ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE UNITED NATIONS OR SWAPO TO GET TO THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM.

IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES WE ARE LEFT WITH NO OPTION BUT TO GO HOME AND TO TRY AND WORK OUT SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS SET OUT EARLIER, AND TO WORK OUT THOSE SOLUTIONS WITH ALL THOSE WHO REALLY HAVE OUR INTERESTS AT HEART AND WHO ARE GENUINELY PREPARED TO CO-OPERATE WITH US.

IMJA



DD 13/1/81
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Swapo won't give up status

GENEVA — Proclaiming "no progress", Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said he would call on the United Nations Security Council to "punish" South Africa until it submits to UN-monitored independence for South West Africa.

Repeatedly stressing his acceptance of a March ceasefire tied to the UN plan, Mr Nujoma told his first press conference at the pre-implementation talks that he was challenging the South African Government to do so too.

He would have no dealings with the internal groups, he insisted. "We have a clear mandate to negotiate with the South African delegation and not with the so-called South West African parties."

Under intensive questioning, Mr Nujoma jealously guarded Swapo's unique status within the UN and made it clear he would give nothing away until forced

to by terms of the ceasefire agreement and the impartiality doctrine under which the UN troops and task force would enter the territory.

Asked if at that point Swapo would accept the same treatment as other competing parties, he said "That is correct. It will be the responsibility of the Namibian electorate to decide the sole representative then."

Pressed to say whether he opposed the internal groups receiving UN recognition, Mr Nujoma said that was entirely up to the UN.

He said he believed the incoming Reagan administration would "continue to support the struggle of the Namibian people" and stand firm with the rest of the West in pressing for the UN plan.

"I really don't know," he said, when asked if he believed South Africa was stalling in hopes of gaining advantage through the Reagan accession. — DDC.

1000 in Geneva

DD 13/1/81

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PERSONNEL PHILOSOPHY

THE COMPANY PLEDGES ITSELF TO PROVIDE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES TO ALL EMPLOYEES REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED

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DEVELOP ALL EMPLOYEES TO THEIR FULL POTENTIAL

PROVIDE EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

RECOGNISE THE BASIC RIGHTS OF ITS WORKERS, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.

BE AWARE OF ITS OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE BENEFITS FOR ITS WORKERS.

GENEVA — Deadlock threatened to turn into tragedy when Artur leader Mr A. H. du Plessis collapsed after a heated confrontation with Western envoys at the South West Africa independence talks here yesterday.

Mr Du Plessis who had demanded a prior constitution incorporating veto powers for minority groups, was found sprawled on the ground after he had left the meeting. He was treated for a suspected heart attack.

The incident, which happened on Sunday night, added to the depression of key officials, who through yesterday were fighting to keep the Palas des Nations meeting alive.

By midday the UN peacekeeping chief and meeting chairman, Mr Brian Urquhart, was threatening to call an immediate halt. His colleagues demurred and a cable was dispatched to

implementation of the UN plan to see the territory through to independence by the end of the year.

Breaking his silence, Mr Nujoma repeatedly stressed that he was not prepared to give up anything until there is a ceasefire and the UN operation begins. But then "it will be the responsibility of the Namibian electorate to decide who is the sole representative," he said.

The internal delegation's response to Mr Nujoma's stand was to issue a statement accusing Swapo of "a coldly calculated" plan to eliminate all moderate leaders in the territory.

BRUCE STEPHENSON : RICHARD WALKER

Daily Dispatch men on the spot.

Pretoria seeking a precise response on South Africa's position

Western sources professed frustration that the South African team here, led by the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, was diverting all its

It suggested that since 1976, 27 had been killed and 26 kidnapped with Chief Clemens Kapuno among the victims

A packaged ceasefire proposal was meanwhile presented here to Dr Fourie by UN officials. He was diverting all its

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~~approaches to DTA leader~~
Dirk Mudge and the other
internal leaders.

These sources complain-
ed that Mr Mudge was
polite, but only referred
them on to Mr Du Plessis,
who presented the most
unbending line of all.

Speaking from his hotel
room, where he rested all
day, Mr Du Plessis stress-
ed lack of time and
progress. "It doesn't seem
hopeful. It is very difficult
to foresee success," he
said.

Not one formal meeting
took place all day. By the
end Swapo leader Mr Sam
Nujoma was speaking of
escalated warfare and UN
Security Council action to
"punish" South Africa un-
til it submitted.

Mr Urquhart is schedul-
ed to leave here tomorrow
and the OAU liberation
committee is due to meet
on January 20, when it is
expected to decide
Africa's follow-up
strategy.

Mr Richard Luce,
British Deputy Foreign
Minister for African Af-
airs flew in last night to
bolster the Western team,
which was expressing
growing frustration with
South Africa.

The crisis factor
remains the internal
groups' insistence that the
United Nations must total-
ly disavow Swapo before
they will begin to consider

~~to sources, who dese-~~
it as going further in some
aspects than Pretoria's
own demands.

According to these
sources, Mr Mudge has
submitted that he has no
chance of winning at the
polls and wants 18 months'
grace to bolster his
position.

The UN is now priming
a showdown for tomorrow
with plans to make public
the ceasefire package that
Swapo would be expected
to sign instantly — with
the West's blessing.

South Africa would
meanwhile be given a
brief respite — February 9
has been suggested — to
sign too, according to the
scenario that is right now
before the SA cabinet.

Meanwhile, the bizarre
spectacle of South Africa's
UN ambassador, Mr
Adriaan Eksteen, with
arm locked around Zam-
bia's Council for Namibia
president, Mr Paul
Lusaka, epitomised sur-
prise scenes here at the
first-ever OAU reception
open to South African
diplomats.

Picasso porn

LONDON — A book entitl-
ed Pornography or Art?,
with illustrations by
Picasso, was judged
obscene yesterday by a
court here which ordered
that the book be burned.
— SAPA-AFP.

By Gerald L'Ange,
Kevin Jacobs and
Chris van Gass

GENEVA — The SWA/Namibia conference has failed to achieve its major objective — final agreement on a ceasefire and election leading to independence this year, according to diplomats involved in the negotiations here as the conference today entered its second last day

Despite the arrival here of Mr Richard Lucc, Secretary of State at the British Foreign Office, in an apparent bid to save the talks, there appeared to be consensus that the best that can be hoped for now is a measure of agreement narrowing the area of further negotiation

The most elaborate exercise is undertaken to solve the 30-year-old SWA/Namibia dispute appeared today to have failed to find the political will necessary to overcome the mutual distrust pre-

Geneva talks on SWA face threat of collapse

STAMP
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venting the opposing parties from implementing the ceasefire and election they have agreed on in principle

Several of the negotiations have expressed deep disappointment at what they believe is the failure to achieve final agreement in the formal meetings at the Palais des Nations, and the more important informal talks in hotel suites

BLAME

"The conference has to all intents and purposes failed and it is nothing short of a tragedy because it held out so much promise," said a senior Western diplomat

"There will never again be an opportunity like this"

Many Western African and UN delegates blamed South Africa for the failure to reach a final solution

But South African and internal party representatives blamed the other side for failing to appreciate the seriousness of their demands for an end to the UN's alleged bias toward Swapo

They saw this as the crucial aspect of the conference and the main area of failure.

Another reception which brought together members of all delega-

tions last night appeared to have failed to bridge the gap still separating the opposing sides

The reception, given by Nigeria at the Palais des Nations, was attended by the leaders of the South African delegation including Mr Brand Fourie, and the Swapo delegation including Mr Sam Nujoma, but they did not appear to have met face to face

The most widely circulating suggestion for compromise projects a document which would address South African Windhoek arguments against perceived UN favouritism for the guerillas, and a date for the start of a ceasefire and an election countdown

Sources have suggested that if such a compromise is acceptable to all sides, both points could be endorsed by a Security Council resolution that could neutralise the "sole and authentic representative" status accorded Swapo by the General Assembly and which is the basis of the impartiality argument

Internal groups clash on deaths

By Chris van Gass, Kevin Jacobs and Gerald L'Ange
GENEVA — Bitter accusations were traded here yesterday between internal SWA/Namibian groups and Swapo over claims about who was responsible for the killing of civilians in the territory

In the first direct clash of words between the internal parties' delegation and Swapo since the conference began, a

statement issued by the internal groups accused Swapo of making "specious" claims on civilian deaths.

The row broke out after remarks by Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma at a Press conference when he accused South African authorities of intensifying "arrests, detentions, torture and cold-blooded murder of Namibians who

dared to oppose South Africa's illegal occupation of our country"

He had also claimed Swapo did not murder innocent civilians. But that it was "attacking and liquidating South African armed soldiers carrying out repressive methods among innocent Namibian citizens"

In its statement, the SWA/Namibian delegation

claimed Swapo had killed 412 civilians in 1980 alone, 121 of them by landmines

"Swapo's murdering of political leaders puts a very sinister stamp upon its campaign of terror

"It is clear Swapo's policy is to deprive the people of their moderate leadership and eliminate any democratic opposition"

P A Rappoport

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'Don't let UN light the flames'

Professor John Hutchinson, professor of industrial relations at the University of California, is spending a year at the London School of Economics as a visiting academic. In a letter to the Financial Times he has attacked the UN plan for SWA/Namibia and set out his own ideas for closer American involvement in the move to bring independence to the territory.

It treats Swapo as a government in exile, but denies the courtesies to the internal parties. It is Swapo's main source of money, and through the General Assembly has long declared Swapo to be the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

The UN is thus seen by much of Namibia and the world as Swapo's chief sponsor and friend. In such circumstances a fair election under UN auspices is not available. Not all the formal disclaimers by UN officials will erase the widespread Namibian belief that the UN wants Swapo to prevail. Swapo will almost certainly win a UN-conducted election, but hardly on the merits.

The Western Five seem numb to the point and set on respectable evacuation. Swapo is a Marxist party bent on political retribution and the expulsion of Rio Tinto and other Western corporate presences. The internal black Namibian leaders do



War in SWA/Namibia... the UN plan is not the best solution.

not believe that either they or the Namibian economy will survive a Swapo victory. South Africa has made it fairly plain that it will not accept a Soviet-backed enemy on its borders.

The probability is that Swapo will not accept an election if it loses, while the black and white internal parties will not accept an election that Swapo wins.

The deadlock, the geographical ethnic sectionalisation of Namibia, the South African resolve to take a UN economic boycott rather than a Red Namibia, and the awakening American interest in a hard-eyed look at southern Africa and a stop to UN sanctions of any kind against South Africa will make ruin of any UN intercession. The UN peace can only start a larger war.

Two countries and a durable guerrilla have a common interest in a Namibian settlement and can probably enforce it. President Reagan should propose a regional peace a cease-fire in Angola, the departure of the Cubans and a Government of national unity.

He should also propose fair elections, endorsed by Angola and Unita and South Africa, based on a constitution prepared with Western advice and under arrangements supervised

by Kenya, Botswana, Yugoslavia and the United States, and then both recognition and large scale aid to both countries. Failing Angolan agreement, Reagan should then invite all Namibian parties to meet with him, strengthen Savimbi in the northern reaches, advise on constitutional matters, help to monitor an elec-

A full Western counter boycott strongly led by the US might change Nigeria's tune in rapid order. A new means to Namibian freedom is needed at speed. There is a near consensus in Namibia — even including internal Swapo elements increasingly embarrassed at Sam Nujoma's limited abilities — that the US should take the lead before the UN lights the flames.

the Geneva Conference. Namibia should fail. The UN election plan will usher Namibia into the Soviet embrace, greatly to our strategic disadvantage. The Western powers are the undertakers. The United States should retrieve the Namibian prize and rescue its people. No other nation can.

Namibia is on the Cape route with access to a deep water harbour. The Mossing Mine in central Namibia owned by Rio Tinto is the world's largest producer of uranium. While the French Guinean group might have struck an even larger lode nearby.

The territory's other resources in a mineral rich continent have not been fully appraised. The loss of Namibia to Soviet control would set an early pace for the final Red imperial move on South Africa, without whose minerals the West cannot easily prosper or defend itself.

The proposal at Geneva provides for an election in Namibia for delegates to a constitutional convention. An election based on a constitution might work. An election prior to a constitution will guarantee a deadlock between the internal groups and the external Swapo, who have incompatible ideas about representative government.

The victors would impose a constitution on the vanquished and fratricide would begin.

In any case the UN is not the proper body to administer a fair election.

CON

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13 Jan 81
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Lancaster, Geneva: similarities are few

Southern Africa watchers are understandably drawing parallels between the successful Lancaster House conference that ended the Rhodesian logjam and the still delicately poised Geneva talks on SWA/Namibia.

But the similarities between the two are, initially at least, very few.

The Lancaster House marathon started with the belligerents thrashing out a constitution for a future Zimbabwe

Only once they had battled through this did they go on to negotiating the pre-independence arrangements

And, having cleared these two substantial hurdles, they tackled the detailed and tricky ceasefire agreement

At Geneva the combatants are starting with the ceasefire. Ostensibly the run-up to elections, or pre-independence arrangements, has already been covered in the agreed United Nations settlement plan.

The future Namibian constitution will, in terms of this plan, be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly returned after the United Nations-supervised elections

Lancaster House was presided over by an all-powerful single figure in the form of Britain's Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington.

He was able to force the pace by driving the participants to breaking

The current Geneva meeting on SWA/Namibia was initially billed as a Lancaster House-type conference. But is it? Here, London staffer Jean-Jacques Cornish, who was a special correspondent at the United Nations and covered the Lancaster House talks, makes a comparison.

point on each of the main issues — refusing to go on to the next subject until agreement had been reached.

The UN chairman at Geneva is answerable to many bosses — theoretically each of the member states, but certainly to every one of the power blocs keenly interested in the SWA/Namibian struggle.

He cannot dictate the form or momentum of the deliberations. The business is therefore much less disciplined

Lancaster House started with both sides clearly identified. Geneva kicked off with nominally three teams, one of them — the internal parties — still desperately trying to gain an official place on the league table

But even facing two-to-one odds, Swapo has gone to Geneva with a similar advantage to the guerillas who sat down at Lancaster House.

They can justifiably tell their electorate that they are the only men able to bring peace to their country

The main similarity be-

tween Geneva and Lancaster House is that the parties involved have been driven to the negotiating table by their respective backers

Swapo's Angolan patrons are feeling the effects of the war on their southern border, just as the Zambians and Mozambicans suffered the economic price of supporting the Patriotic Front factions.

Like the Salisbury authorities who held secret talks with the Zambian Government, the South Africans have managed surreptitiously to persuade the Angolans of the advantages of peace in SWA/Namibia.

However, the South Africans are under as much, if not more, Western pressure as the Smith/Muzorewa authorities were to legitimise conditions in their respective territories.

The Western powers have told Pretoria in no uncertain terms that they cannot easily hold off the inevitable sanctions demands from the African and Socialist blocs if a breakdown at Geneva can be pinned to the South Africans

SWAZI BARRIERS COOLAPORE

DD 14/1/81

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GENEVA — Efforts to end South West Africa's bush war collapsed yesterday after internal leader Mr Dirk Mudge tore into a Western-backed ceasefire package.

The coup de grace was executed by Administrator General Mr Danie Hough after Mr Mudge delivered a blockbuster manifesto demanding that the United Nations submit to a lengthy period of probation before it is welcome in the territory.

Discussing a timetable would be "premature", Mr Hough told the Palais des Nations meeting that had been called to clinch a March 30 end to the fighting, with U.N.-monitored independence by the end of the year.

This first gathering of all sides in the fight for the territory breaks up this morning with Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma planning to pledge his acceptance of the ceasefire deal rejected by South Africa, the called

dramatise this in such a way that it will be politically impossible for the incoming United States President, Mr Ronald Reagan, to break the Western alliance upon which the United Nations plan is based.

Swapo held its fire and merely had a spokesman dismiss the Mudge manifesto as "straight down-the-line rejection of the United Nations". The in-fighting here has been emotional and grim. Among those most visibly distressed is exiting United States Ambassador Donald McHenry, who was observed in heated conversation with Washington.

With only five days left on the job, his Western lead role has been taken over by the British Deputy

BRUCE STEPHENSON, RICHARD WALKER
report for the Daily Dispatch.

PRESENTATION - UNIVERSITY O.

BUSINESS SCIENCE HONOUR

OCTOBER 2, 1980

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for simultaneous agreement on the ceasefire and the elimination of Swapo's special UN privileges, plus assurances of minority rights in the future nation

Mr Nujoma and his men will immediately head for United Nations headquarters in New York, and an all-out campaign in the General Assembly and Security Council to press for punitive sanctions — including a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa

Western envoys are warning South Africa that rejection would be a diplomatic disaster, while UN strategists aim to

Foreign Minister, Mr Richard Luce.

At one stage Mr Luce suggested a one-week delay to allow South Africa time to ponder South Africa's team, led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, protested that their arms could not be twisted in so short a time

"You've had four years, not one week," he was curtly told, according to sources present

Mr Luce then directed his efforts at urging the powerful African team here to cool their ardour and not demand immediate sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council

Following a cocktail party conversation with South Africa's United Nations envoy, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, the Zambian ambassador and Council for Namibia president, Mr Paul Lusaka, charged that South Africa was now seeking "bilateral agreements" with the individual frontline states

"We remain united behind the UN plan and in support of Swapo," Mr Lusaka said.

Aktur leader Mr A H du Plessis remained out of action following his collapse on Sunday, but his executive colleague, Mr Eben van Zyl, said his party was not interested in "a ping pong game" between South African and the UN. He vowed to go home to try to work out the future "with all those who really have our interests at heart"

Sapa reports that Dr Fourie has been recalled to South Africa for consultations on developments at the conference.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town last night that unless the UN adopted a more reasonable attitude and displayed greater fairness he considered the chances of a successful peaceful solution "just about zero"

Editorial opinion, page 8.

STAFK 14/11/81

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UN laments great chance lost for ceasefire

not relax its efforts to ensure for the people of Namibia their right to self-determination and independence through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control."

variety of contacts to create new confidence and understanding.

were also some good things to come from it," he added

hart, have come away with a better perspective" Asked about alternatives for finding a recognised solution in the territory, Mr Mudge said he did not want to bind himself to "any specific option" which in the past had meant problems

viewpoint were the accentuation of the "central issue," UN impartiality and Swapo recognition, and that SWA/Namibian internal parties had been placed on the map

A Western diplomat said the situation was "not all negative" He predicted "greater pressure" on the South African Government

"I believe that all participants and observers here will wish to consider urgently the events of the last few days and the course which must be taken to expedite the attainment of the objective we have set ourselves"

Mr Urquhart, in his low-key closing statement apparently intended to avoid implying the death of the UN independence plan, said "Even if we have not as yet achieved our objective, we in the Secretariat have been impressed by the great efforts which have been made through a wide

"By and large, and despite everything, I think it was worthwhile. A lot of unholiness happened at the conference, but there

"We learnt a lot and all the parties involved, even the UN Under-Secretary General, Mr Brian Urqu-

to ensure for the people of Namibia their right to self-determination and independence through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control."

He emphasised that the United Nations will

recovered this decrease in value (power) is declining with time

Two of the major achievements at the conference from the DTA

be an important concept and should therefore

in discussions with construction staff, the effect

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UN laments great chance lost for ceasefire

STAFK
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14/11/81

By Kevin Jacobs, Gerald L'Ange and Chris van Gass

GENEVA — The United Nations closed its unsuccessful conference on SWA/Namibia here today regretting "that a great opportunity has been missed" to achieve a ceasefire in the territory, but pledging that the UN "will not relax its efforts" to ensure independence there

Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart, chairman of the meeting which sought to end the war and begin a transition to independence, appealed to the South African Government and internal Namibian political parties "to reconsider their position at the earliest possible time" and to a UN independence formulation

Mr Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, told the closing session that his organisation would now resume its political and military struggle

It would ask the General Assembly meeting scheduled to reconvene in New York this week to urge the Security Council to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, including an oil embargo

He said the responsibility for the continued loss of life and suffering would lie with the South African Government

Mr Nujoma added it was now clear that South Africa feared free and fair elections in SWA/Namibia because it knew its "puppets" in the territory would lose.

Asked whether in the event of coming to power through elections or a military victory Swapo would ensure that democratic practices were followed, Mr Nujoma said "Certainly. The people would have the freedom of electing their own Government."

DTA VIEW

The chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said what had happened at the conference had not "upset the applecart"

Although little had been achieved by the conference the exercise had held other advantages, Mr Mudge said in an interview

And the people of the territory had no reason to panic or feel unhappy about what happened here

"We must not now try and reach hasty conclusions, but should reflect soberly on the matter," he said

"We, as well as the UN are going home with the message that we should take realistic stock of the situation"

Two of the major achievements at the conference from the DTA

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cept and should therefore

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Now war in SWA may escalate

15/1/81 RDM 15/1/81
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By RICHARD WALKER and
BRUCE STEPHENSON

GENEVA — The African Frontline states are eyeing escalated firepower for Swapo as a priority over the quest for effective sanctions against South Africa

They made this clear amid the ruins of the Palais des Nations ceasefire conference which broke up with key figures now heading for New York and confrontation at the United Nations

"We know that in a protracted armed struggle we would win. Swapo president Sam Nujoma vowed as he departed "We are going to fight"

Mr Nujoma also warned that a Swapo-dominated SWA/Namibian Government would regard the banned African National Congress as "the true representative of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed people of South Africa"

A weary UFI under Secretary General Brian Urquhart said in a final speech that he had sought from South Africa, and Swapo, a ceasefire "declaration of intent", to be confirmed in writing by February 10

In the intervening 28 days, "specific measures" were to be taken to ensure UN and South African impartiality throughout the independence process

A 500-word document was meanwhile leaked outlining these measures. Those included

- Scrapping of the National Assembly and Council of Ministers

- Administrator-General Hough to re-assume his full role

- UN special representative, Matti Ahtisaari to quit his post as Commissioner for Namibia and concentrate solely on running the UN operation

- All UN funds propagandising against South Africa's presence

Dangerous stalling game in Geneva — Page 10

in SWA/Namibia to be re-channelled into publicising the UN operation

- A Western and African-backed "understanding" to be sought whereby the General Assembly and all other UN bodies "take no step which might prejudice the holding of free and fair" elections

In Johannesburg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the Government was proud of the way in which the South African observers had acquitted themselves of their task at the talks in Geneva

Sapa reports he was addressing a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after an hour-long briefing by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, who had been recalled after the Geneva talks ended in an impasse yesterday.

Mr Botha said South Africa would continue to remain true to its standpoint that the SWA/Namibian parties should decide their own future and that they should be enabled to do so without threats or intimidation

Asked about his discussions in Cape Town yesterday with the ambassadors of the five Western countries involved in the Geneva discussions, he said "They are as much concerned as we are"

He could not reveal what had been discussed but the ambassadors were not as much concerned about basic goals as they were with the methods to achieve them

On the role played by West Germany in the discussions, Mr Botha said he was reluctant to comment in his counterparts' absence but would describe it as "unhelpful"

London

paper

regrets

ROM 15/1/81

failure

of talks

on SWA

London Bureau

LONDON — The major conservative Fleet Street newspaper, the Daily Telegraph, yesterday warned the West of the importance of South West Africa, and the danger of it falling under Russian control.

While all the serious British newspapers carried lengthy reports on the deadlock at the Geneva talks, the influential Telegraph devoted a strongly-worded editorial to the failure of a plan "that could have led to Soviet domination in the territory".

The newspaper stated insofar as an end to the guerrilla war in South West Africa (Namibia) is desirable the failure of the talks must be regretted.

What is not to be regretted, can indeed be positively welcomed, is that a plan which would have led South West Africa straight into the Soviet orbit has been aborted, for the time being at least.

"The basis on which the Geneva conference was held was a false one. Only if that basis could have been modified at the outset would there have been any chance of a fair and equitable outcome."

It said the basis for the conference had been false because it proceeded from the premise that supervision of a ceasefire, and subsequent elections, should be undertaken by the United Nations which recognised Swapo as a government-in-exile and had provided money to set up a New York office and UN representation.

The Telegraph then stated that Swapo derived its support from bases and supplies in neighbouring Soviet controlled Angola.

"South West Africa is strategically a territory of great importance because of its position on the Cape route, and its mineral resources.

"It would be a colossal setback for the west for it to fall under Russian control, which would result if the present external wing of Swapo were foisted into power.

"There must now be a period of cool reflection. The immediate need is for the UN to give concrete demonstration of its claimed impartiality."

The importance of the Telegraph leader is not only that it carries considerable weight in authoritative circles but also that it tends to reflect the attitudes of Mrs Thatcher's Government.

Swapo promises step-up in war

DD 5/18
 (24)

GENEVA — The African frontline nations are eyeing escalated firepower for Swapo as a priority in the quest for effective sanctions against South Africa

They made this clear amid the ruins of the Palais des Nations ceasefire conference, with key figures now heading for New York and confrontation at the United Nations.

"We know that in a protracted armed struggle we would win," Swapo President, Mr Sam Nujoma, vowed as he departed. "We are going to fight."

"Africa continues to be behind Swapo," the frontline states, Nigeria and the OAU declared in a joint communique. "Africa pledges increased material and financial assistance until final victory and total liberation of Namibia."

Meanwhile, the world must "rise to the occasion" and enforce punitive sanctions against South Africa, it urged

At Jan Smuts airport, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday South Africa should of necessity maintain a low profile if it was to remain true to its earlier decision that the internal SWA parties be allowed to make their own decisions, about their future

He was speaking after being briefed by the Director General for Foreign Affairs Dr Brand Fourie, who had just returned from Geneva

Mr Botha said he could not make predictions about the future except to state the government's view that the internal parties should be put into a position where they could decide freely about their

future without intimidation or threats.

The SA Government was committed to defending these rights for the people of SWA

Speaking on behalf of the Frontline States at Geneva, Zimbabwe Cabinet Minister Mr Ed-dison Zvobgo said "The most effective tool we have is Swapo"

Zimbabwe is one of several neighbours of the Republic to have warned the UN that they are not in a position to support full economic sanctions — something they are now formally pledged to seek

The Western team here is slipping away as quietly as possible, after failing to interest South Africa in any ceasefire tied to a UN-monitored independence. But SWA Administrator General, Mr Danie Hough, said internal leader Mr Dirk Mudge's assertion that it was "the end of the road" was "premature"

Mr Nujoma spent all the week stressing his readiness to sign here and now.

A weary UN Under-Secretary-General, Mr Brian Urquhart, stated in a final speech that he had sought from South Africa, and Swapo, a ceasefire "declaration of intent," to be confirmed in writing by February 10. In the intervening 26 days "specific measures" were to be taken to ensure UN and South African impartiality throughout the independence process

A 500-word document was meanwhile leaked outlining these measures

These were

- Scrapping of the National Assembly and Council of Ministers.
- Mr Hough to resume his full role.
- UN special represen-

tative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, to quit his post as Commissioner for Namibia and concentrate solely on running the UN operation

• All UN funds propagandising against South Africa's presence in SWA to be rechannelled into publicising the UN operation

• A Western and African-backed "understanding" to be sought whereby the General Assembly and all other UN bodies "take no step which might prejudice the holding of free and fair" elections

The document concluded "Since the implementation of the settlement proposal requires equal treatment by the UN of all political parties in the forthcoming elections, it is inconceivable that the UN would be supporting or funding only one party. It is expected that South Africa would do the same."

It is this formula that Mr Hough dismissed as "woolly" and which was quickly made meaningless by the 22-page manifesto of Mudge demands.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman said last night the UN peace plan was not dead

Though the United States was disappointed at the breakdown of the talks which it had hoped would have brought a resolution of the conflict closer, there were several positive results of the meeting

It had helped clarify the issues, and the US was encouraged by the personal contacts made at the meeting — DDR-SAPA

More reaction, page 13.

SA cautious over Geneva impasse

DD 15/1/81

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CAPE TOWN — There was a cautious response in local political and diplomatic circles yesterday as the breakdown of the Geneva talks on South West Africa threatened to precipitate a new international crisis

The two principal questions — whether an international settlement for the territory is still possible and, if not, whether sanctions against South Africa are imminent — remained unanswered as officials are still studying the implications of the Geneva impasse.

The government is certain to come under increasing international pressure to reach an agreed solution but the sanctions threat would not be immediate if there was agreement that there was at least a little progress in Geneva

The five Western powers would confer soon

to decide future action on the SWA. Western diplomats said yesterday

One senior diplomat said "The door is open for an agreement and our hope now is that the parties will think over their positions coolly"

SWA is expected to be on the agenda when the British Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, fly to the United States next month for talks with the new Reagan Administration

The chief opposition foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Derick de Villiers, described the breakdown as cause for serious concern, but hoped moves towards a fair settlement could be resumed while favourable circumstances lasted

Western diplomats are disappointed that the conference did not yield more positive results. There is some appreciation of ob-

stacles such as United Nations partiality towards Swapo, but also a feeling that a solution could have been reached had South Africa and the internal parties in the territory been more accommodating

Attention is now focussed on today's UN General Assembly debate on the issue, which is certain to see allegations of unreasonable delay on South Africa's part and renewed calls for total or selective sanctions

Diplomats do not believe, however, that the Security Council — the only UN body which can enforce compulsory sanctions — will meet before Mr Ronald Reagan is installed as US President next Tuesday

The SWA issue is certain to be one of the main topics at next week's lengthy pre-Parliamentary cabinet meeting and a more detail-

ed government response is expected either before or during the no-confidence debate

Mr de Villiers said "For South Africa, contemplating internal reform with heavy investment in growth and employment, a respite from international tension and military commitment would have been particularly valuable

"In the meantime one can only hope that, there will be a resumption of progress towards an equitable and peaceful solution."

Two of the SWA's largest newspapers, Die Suidwester and the Republikein, stated in front-page articles yesterday that some measure of success had been achieved during the week-long talks

Both agreed, however, that only the internal SWA parties had benefited from the talks

Swapo talks to FM

(22) FM 16/1/81

As the Geneva talks aimed at securing a target date for a ceasefire in Namibia and the start of the rundown to independence neared breakdown this week, the FM's European editor put a series of questions on Swapo attitudes to its president, Sam Nujoma

FM: Would Swapo be agreeable to the entrenchment of white minority rights in Namibia?

Nujoma: Clearly this is a constitutional question, which, important as it is, can only be dealt with at a later stage. But Swapo has stated time and again that it is committed to the creation of a democratic and non-racial society in which the rights of all citizens, regardless of race, religion or ethnic origin will be specially protected. For we who have suffered so much under racial discrimination this is not just a mere slogan but a matter of fundamental principle.

But we make a clear distinction between entrenched rights and entrenched privileges of any given section of the society. On this basis the rights of whites in Namibia will be protected under the law of the land.

How do you see the future status of Walvis Bay?

Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia.

Do you plan to nationalise, or seek direct State participation in, the exploitation of Namibian resources such as minerals?

Review of resources

A Swapo government will certainly carry out a comprehensive review of all existing agreements regarding the exploitation of Namibia's resources by various companies and will reserve the right of direct state participation in such exploitation of resources.

After political prisoners have been released, will you reconsider your position in relation to Herman Toivo ja Toivo, president of Swapo until 1968?

It is incorrect that Herman ja Toivo

was president of Swapo until 1968. The incumbent president of Swapo has been the first and only president of the organisation since its inception in 1960. It is alleged by Danie Hough, the SWA Administrator-General, that Swapo is holding dissidents in detention camps. If this is true, can you say how many, and when they will be released?

Swapo is holding nobody against his



or her will. This has been confirmed on numerous occasions by the host countries in which many Namibians live under Swapo's care.

When will Swapo hold its next internal party elections?

Under normal circumstances Swapo should hold a congress every five years. The last Swapo congress was held in Walvis Bay in 1976 where the top leadership was re-elected, immediately thereafter other officials were

elected or re-elected at the enlarged meeting of the central committee in Lusaka. Furthermore the central committee meets at least once a year to review all policy or even make changes in the leadership where necessary. What would a Swapo government's attitude be towards the ANC of SA?

A Swapo government would regard the ANC of SA as the true representative of the legitimate aspirations of the oppressed people of SA and also the vanguard of the national liberation struggle in apartheid SA.

Does Swapo's programme incorporate anything similar to the ANC's Freedom Charter?

Rallying point

Swapo defines itself as a national liberation movement rallying together on the basis of voluntary association all Namibian patriots who are committed to the struggle for genuine democracy, freedom and independence. Swapo's concept of social order in a liberated Namibia is that all those who want to live in Namibia and are prepared to obey the laws of the country will be welcome to stay.

Would Swapo consider a pact or coalition with Swanu if this was necessary to secure a working majority over the other Namibian parties after elections?

While Swapo is confident of winning an overwhelming victory, it will nevertheless be open to the idea of conciliation and accommodation of other Namibians.

Will Swapo continue to co-operate with the Angolan government in its efforts to eliminate Unita resistance in Angola?

A Swapo-governed Namibia will definitely respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the neighbouring African states, including Angola, and will not therefore allow its territory to be used as a springboard for subversion and destabilisation against friendly neighbouring states.

UN sought to enable a 1981 launch of independent Namibia. No-one, not even the UN, doubted the validity of the internal parties' suspicions that the "sole authentic representative of the Namibian people" title accorded to Swapo by the General Assembly (not, however, by the Security Council) would give it an unfair and psychological advantage in any election. Brian Urquhart admitted "a number of things" would have to change. He also emphasised that the UN for its part would

seek undertakings to establish the impartiality of the SA administration in Namibia.

The UN proposed, and the Western contact group vainly persuaded the "South African delegation" to accept, a simultaneous deal-for-deal package, measures to assure impartiality in exchange for agreement on implementation.

It was not only turned down flat — accompanied by a long litany of the UN's history of partiality and Swapo atrocities

— but the DTA remained infuriatingly vague, as far as UN officials and the Western five were concerned, about what it would accept.

Mudge did not specifically return to the seven demands enunciated by Kaura last week when he spoke on the DTA's behalf. Those, ranging from rescindment of the General Assembly resolution on Swapo's "sole authentic" status to its UN observer position and closure of its New York office, were clearly beyond the ca-

capacity of the UN team to even offer to consider within the time scale of the meeting.

Instead Mudge hinted elusively the DTA "would be glad to have a UN-financed office in New York." But it would not consider a mere terminating of Swapo's special UN privileges enough. The DTA wanted equal rights of access to the UN's deliberations to counter the nine years through which Swapo has "had a voice in the highest UN councils." The UN must create a new balance although it was not "for me to supply a shopping list."

Then the tender plant of "trust and confidence" could begin to grow "over a period of time," requiring "careful nourishment." That period of time was carefully unspecified. According, however, to some Western observer groups, Mudge is thinking in terms of 18 months. Even if what one Western observer called the DTA's "Alice in Wonderland" ideas were acceptable, independence for Namibia would not be achieved before 1983.

If SA agrees with that time-scale — although it looks more like an opening bid

than the DTA's bottomline — it will have bought several months in which to build new bridges to Washington.

Equally the delay will allow the SWA territorial force to grow as an indigenous force which could throw a nasty spanner into the works of eventual ceasefire talks.

Near the end of the meeting the UN's Brian Urquhart's frustration got the better of his tact when he told the BBC he feared "we will cross the mountains of impartiality only to face the Himalayas of something else."

His never-say-die farewell sought to portray the abortive meeting as just another phase in the Namibian history. Lessons had been learned by all sides, unprecedented contacts, albeit often perfunctory, made at the three cocktail parties and the Alpine outing, and while the UN had no plans for another face-to-face encounter, he hoped the process of negotiation would continue.

Time will tell. I hope not too much time, he said, adding however, that no hint of how long SA had in mind was forthcoming.

The cost of this brinkmanship could however, be measured in millions of rands and many lives if Swapo lives up to its threat to escalate violence in the operational zone.

From Geneva the main diplomatic action will switch to New York and the Security Council. It will mean inevitable calls for mandatory sanctions and an oil embargo when the General Assembly debates Namibia. It will switch also to Washington where the Reagan administration will pick up the reins of power next week.

High stakes

And while SA foreign affairs officials were not looking for changes in policy, a different emphasis was expected. If SA's pamble on this shift pays off, Botha might win the glittering prize of a diplomatic coup (perhaps White House talks) and so reap an enormous boost in pushing through reforms at home. If not, there may be a risk that the evident commitment to the DTA could become an albatross around SA's neck.

Stonewalled gambie

FM 16/1/71 (22)

Two invisible and uninvited guests stalked the corridors of the Palais des Nations in Geneva where this week United Nations hopes for long overdue positive moves towards Namibian independence degenerated into angry despair in the face of implacable obduracy from the SWA Na-

ton PW Botha has undoubtedly scored heavily with his *verkrampste* doubters. No-one witnessing events at the Palais des Nations would have found a scintilla of evidence to suggest any "sellout" of Namibia's whites to Swapo.

That said what, apart from political

mitment to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 and 439 on the grounds that it cannot force agreement on the elected government of SWA/Namibia. And, *vice versa*, any hypothetical attempts by the DTA, Aktur and so on to negotiate directly with Swapo and, say, Angola (using anti-Unita help as a bargaining lever) could be vetoed by Pretoria because SA is responsible for Namibia's foreign relations.

That was admitted by Mudge in the DTA's carefully scripted and fluent avalanche of words which finally snuffed any remaining glimmers of hope on the penultimate day of the meeting. Confirming Brand Fourie's earlier sideline admission that whatever happened in the sessions "certain decisions will have to be made in Pretoria," Mudge said SA has assumed "responsibility" for Namibia's defence. Consequently "judgments and decisions about technical matters, deployment and demilitarised zones, monitoring and troop strengths are not essentially within the province of the DTA's concerns," he said.

A ceasefire will thus require another meeting at which SA will have to be a fully mandated participant — as Swapo ("we came ready to sign") was this week.

When such a meeting will take place became a matter of pure guesswork after Mudge's statement.

It was the ill defined rock of impartiality which sank all attempts to establish the "climate of trust and confidence" the



UN's Geneva team . (from left) Urquhart, Waldheim and Djornakoye

mbian camp and its South African 'advisers and/or observers.

The guests were a predictable pair in the intertwinings of SA domestic politics and foreign policy aspirations, both of which may or may not be relevant to the "peaceful and splendid future" for Namibia. Dr Andries Treurnicht, and that sector of the SA electorate he symbolises, was one. Incoming US President, Ronald Reagan, and SA's hopes in him, was the other.

Their names were not mentioned — at least openly — but the presence of their shadows was irrefutable. Indeed it is hard to fault deductions in Geneva that when SA agreed in October to the dates of the pre-implementation meeting it had more than half an eye on the US opinion polls which showed Jimmy Carter riding comfortably towards November 4.

The new faces coming in at the US State Department, Alexander Haig (with his well known views on the geo-political importance of Walvis Bay, for example), Chester 'Chet' Crocker for African affairs and Jeane Kirkpatrick at the UN, rightly gave hope for a new *turning* after years of deterioration in SA-US relations.

The big question is whether the tactics used in Geneva have enhanced or damaged the prospects of a fresh understanding between Pretoria and Washing-

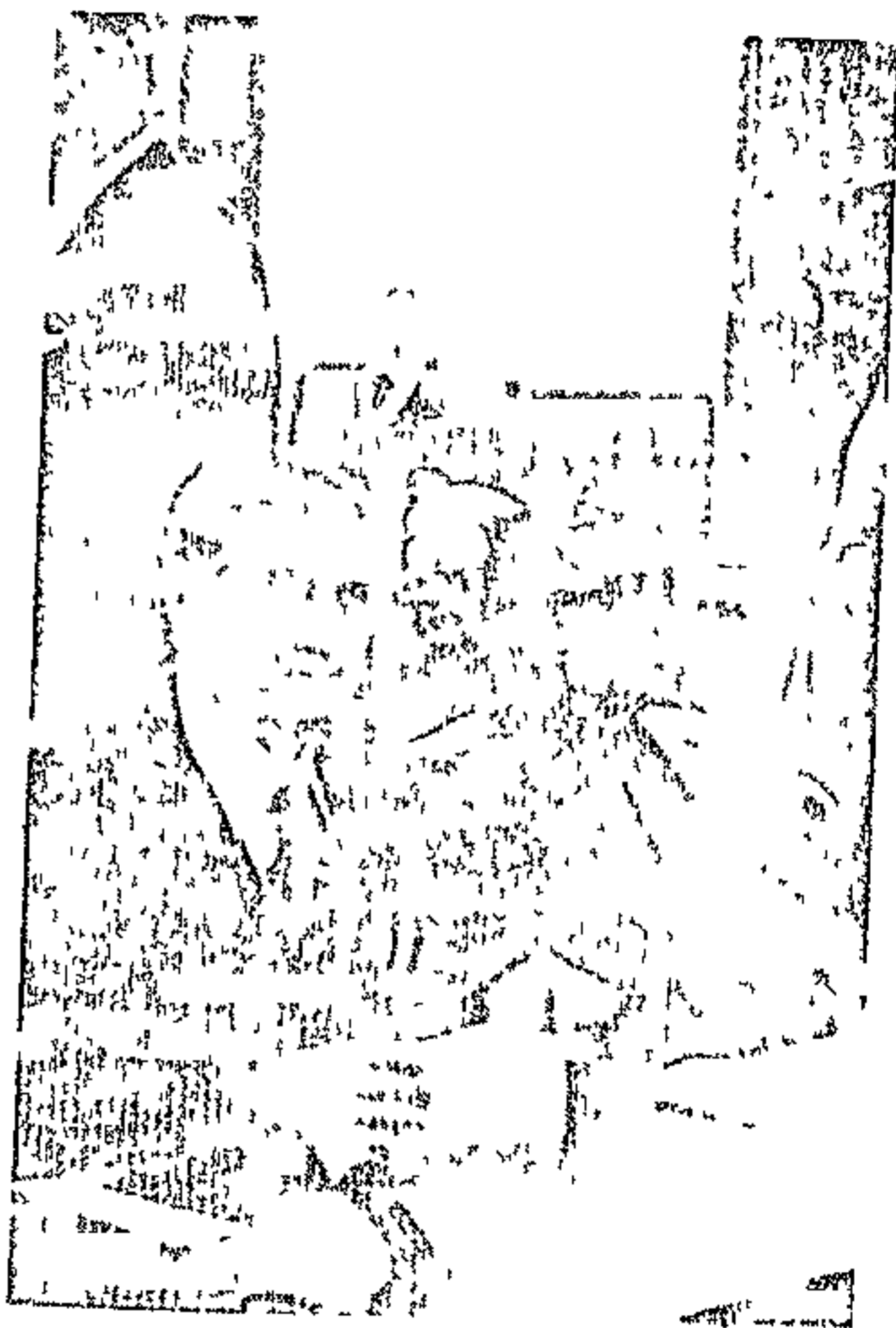
ton. Has the "mileage at home, has been achieved?" Foreign Affairs officials, with Director-General Brand Fourie, reckon — as does Pretoria appointee Dame Hough, the Administrator General — that the major point was the *de facto* participation of the internal Namibian parties in a UN forum.

"It has been a great success for the internal parties," said Hough. "For the first time they have the opportunity to participate in a conference where their own future is at stake." It was Hough who delivered the *quotus* when he formally told the UN meeting that as trust and confidence had not been established, it was premature to discuss a ceasefire.

What Pretoria has also created by cajoling the DTA and others into attending is unmistakably a new party, separate from SA, in the Namibia debate. Turk Mudge, the fiery and undiplomatic Katulila Kaura, and other internal leaders represent a new, potentially volatile element.

In its efforts to distance itself from SA, the DTA, seething with resentment at UN chairman Brian Urquhart's references to the "South African delegation," even allowed some members to bite the hand that has been protecting them during 14 years of violence. Kaura stated bluntly "Even if SA reaches a decision with the UN, it (SA) should not take it for granted that Namibians will accept."

By implication SA can defer its com-



For the DTA Mudge and Africa

Namibia: US stance will be the key

There is little doubt here in London that neither the South African Government nor the slightest intention of clinching a Namibia settlement at the Geneva talks

Indeed, one South African official who should know what's going on told me with a poker face at the height of the talks "Of course, you don't negotiate new contracts when conditions are unfavourable to you"

Geneva was a tactical exercise and it is being ruefully admitted here that the UN initiative was in many respects virtually doomed from the start

Because expectations were so low, there are no visible signs of anger in Western capitals over the breakdown

Instead you can almost hear the deep diplomatic sighs as Western officials get ready to start a fresh round of consultation

South Africa has won the breathing space it was looking for How valuable

Reagan's more hawkish line on Africa, based on the thesis that it is primarily a battleground between Russia and the West, guarantees that, for the foreseeable future, sanctions can be ruled out as a weapon to force Pretoria to settle. CLIFF SCOTT, The Star's London Editor, reports.

Will this prove to be?

Politically, the pace at which fresh negotiations on Namibia proceed will depend largely on the stance taken by the Reagan Administration.

It would be a serious mistake for anyone to assume that Washington will go entirely "soft" on Namibia.

The Anglo-American "special relationship" which became decidedly shaky during the Carter era, will begin to play a more significant role in European politics and no doubt elsewhere as well.

The professional diplomats in Whitehall and Washington would welcome a strengthening of accord, and it is in this context that Mrs Thatcher's visit to Washington next month should be

seen

She will be the first Western leader to be received by President Reagan, and she will be taking with her aides assigned to discuss today's pressing current issues — including Namibia

Reagan's more hawkish line on Africa, based on the thesis that it is primarily a battleground between Russia and the West, guarantees that for the foreseeable future sanctions can be ruled out as a weapon to force Pretoria to settle on Namibia

Reagan will be more concerned than Carter about Namibia's strategic minerals and the value of the Cape sea route

But he will also be anxious to get the new Washington-Whitehall liaison off to a good start so

It is expected here that he will co-operate with his four Western partners in keeping up the pressure on Pretoria

It seems possible that President Reagan's reluctance to hand over Namibia to an out-and-out Marxist regime, or to create a new state vulnerable to Marxist take-over, will mean more attention being paid to the call for constitutional guarantees raised by Dirk Mudge at the Geneva talks

There is concern in London over the strategic impact of the Geneva breakdown

Sam Nujoma plans to intensify the guerilla war, and it is feared that the war will be "internationalised" with Swapo getting much more aid from Cuba and Russia

It is recognised that

this would make it more difficult to get Sam Nujoma back to the negotiating table for another round of talks

It is a bleak prospect for South Africa's "troops" (and their parents).

The "sad" failure of the Geneva conference is the Kremlin's gain and the people of Namibia's loss. And it is South Africa's fault, according to the British Foreign Office Minister Mr Richard Luce.

Having briefed the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, on the talks, Mr Luce yesterday authorised a Foreign Office statement which laid the blame for the failure squarely at the door of South Africa.

And, in an interview later on BBC radio, Mr Luce dismissed South African fears of pro Swapo bias by the UN "It is our belief that the UN can and will implement a properly free and fair election, he said

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'A weakened Swapo can't intensify war effort'

By Alan Dunn, The Star's Africa News Service
 WINDHOEK — The DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, today raised doubts about Swapo's ability to intensify the bush war on the territory's northern borders in the wake of the failure of the Geneva talks

Mr Mudge, chairman of the territory's Council of Ministers said he did not see how Swapo would be able to step up hostilities over a long period

"We are not at all afraid of war

"We don't want violence in this country, but we will fight Swapo militarily and politically," he said

Mr Mudge was reacting, on his return from Geneva, to a statement by Mr Sam Nujoma that Swapo would intensify its military efforts

Mr Mudge said he was not sure there would be an intensification

"I am under the impression that Swapo is desperately looking for a ceasefire

"I believe the reason is that Swapo is very much in trouble

"They have serious problems. They are divided as a political party and their military wing has suffered severe setbacks lately"

He added that it was not only possible to impose a time schedule on an internationally supervised election "It depends on many things, including the reaction of the United Nations"

The General Assembly debate would be an opportunity for the body to prove its impartiality

Mr Mudge, who was met at the airport by about 250 blacks singing pro-DTA songs, said the next immediate step by the Council of Ministers would be to increase the rate of socio-economic and political development in the territory

Page 11 — US stance the key.

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BUILDING

(Continued)
 ARCHITECTURE

Mudge uncertain on next step over SWA

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the South West African Ministers' Council and of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said yesterday he was uncertain what the next step towards independence for SWA would be.

He was speaking to reporters on his return from the multi-party talks on the future of the territory which ended in deadlock in Geneva on Wednesday.

At the airport the delegation was met by about 200 DTA supporters.

Mr Mudge emphasised that the United Nations, which was sponsoring the initiative for a solution, would have to demonstrate its impartiality clearly before the process towards independence could be continued.

The first step the world body could take in this process would be to allow the DTA to address the General Assembly in the same way that Swapo was.

"In the meantime we'll carry on with the work we have to do in the territory, just as we have been doing all along," Mr Mudge said.

He returned to Windhoek yesterday with other top DTA members, including its presi-

dent, Mr Peter Kalangula.

On the same flight were members of the Rightwing alliance, Aktur, and the seven-man team from the "internal wing" of Swapo, three of whom had restriction orders lifted by the authorities to allow them to attend the conference.

SWA would be able to withstand and beat any intensification of the bush war raging in the northern part of the territory, Mr Mudge said.

Swapo's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, is waging a guerrilla war in the north.

Swapo has threatened to step up its insurgency campaign following what it considers an intransigent attitude by the South Africans at Geneva.

"I don't think Swapo is capable of doing this," Mr Mudge said. "But if it does we will be able to cope with it and, if necessary, act more aggressively."

Meanwhile, the Council of Churches of Namibia has issued a statement saying it fears an escalation of "violence, murder and bloodshed following the failure of the Geneva conference."

The executive committee of

the council said. "We feel strongly that minor matters concerning status, partiality or impartiality, should not be allowed to affect the peaceful future of our nation and that every effort should be made to rise above such pettiness."

The council said it was in the interests of all the people of the territory that every effort should be made to re-convene immediately discussions aimed at a ceasefire date and a start to the implementation of the UN plan for elections in SWA.

The South West Africa National Union (Swanu), one of the first black liberation parties to be formed, strongly criticised the DTA yesterday for its performance in Geneva.

The Swanu secretary for publicity and information, Mr Kuzeeke Kanguuechi, said: "It is clear there is jubilation among the DTA cadres about the 'success' they have achieved in letting the Geneva conference fail."

"These people are happy because they now believe they have an opportunity to steal our country the same way Smith and Muzorewa did in Zimbabwe. However, they must take cognisance of the Smith-Muzorewa cul-de-sac."

5/10/81 13/1/81

SA is blamed for SWA talks failure

Own Correspondent

BONN — The West German Government is putting the blame for the failure of the SWA/Namibia conference in Geneva squarely on Pretoria

South African diplomats in Bonn have been filing detailed reports of the West German reaction to Pretoria, where officials are said to be now considering whether and how to reply

The first blow came when Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher reported to Wednesday's regular Cabinet meeting

The Foreign Minister regrets, particularly, that the conclusion of a ceasefire between Swapo and South Africa foundered on South Africa and that, as a result, also the free election of a constituent assembly foreseen for this year cannot be carried out. Government spokesman Mr Kurt Becker quoted Mr Genscher as telling Chancellor Helmut

Mr Hans-Dieter Genscher
Pretoria to blame

Schmidt and his Ministers. Mr Genscher's State Minister, Mr Klaus von Dohnanyi, echoed his chief in a radio interview a day later

"It is certain that the Republic of South Africa did nothing in Geneva to give the conference a chance," Mr Dohnanyi said. "So one must agree that the fact that we made no progress in Geneva must be credited to South Africa"

"If one does not find a way to resolve the problems in a peaceful manner, then the liberation movement will have no choice but to continue its struggle," the State Minister went on

"The Government in Pretoria must realise there are black majorities in Namibia and that undoubtedly these black majorities are most nearly represented by Swapo"

London, reports Sapa, Swapo repeated its call for international sanctions against South Africa and demanded that Britain make a first step by halting uranium imports from SWA/Namibia

Mr Peter Manning, Swapo's information officer for Western Europe, said it was only through such total isolation that South Africa's acceptance of United Nations supervised and controlled elections in SWA Namibia under the UN settlement plan could be achieved

Soldiers killed in Swapo encounter

'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK. — Two South African soldiers were killed in action against Swapo insurgents in the South West African operational area on Thursday night, the Second in Command of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Willie Meyer, announced in Windhoek yesterday.

Corporal L. T. H. Wessels, 21, of Bloemfontein, and Rifleman L. Truter, 20, of Sea Point, died in an exchange of fire during a follow-up operation in which 35 insurgents were killed.

Brig Meyer said the Swapo death toll so far this month was 126.

He said papers found on a guerrilla shot dead in an Owamboland shop proved he had murdered the former Owambo Minister of Works, Mr Thomas Shikongo, a year ago.

Mr Shikongo was shot dead near his house.

Meanwhile, the Secretary of the Owambo Administration, Mr Carel Reyneke, said in an interview that the latest tally of this week's landmine casualties in Owamboland was five dead and 19 injured.

He said there were unconfirmed reports of other landmine incidents in the area, but no further details were available.

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Geneva: Tim and games in the snow

SOUTH Africa has called the West's bluff in the boldest manner imaginable

Thrust nose-to-nose with a Swapo ready to sign up for a ceasefire and United Nations-monitored elections underwritten by the West, Pretoria paraded the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in the world spotlight for a week. Then it said: No, not now, not soon, maybe never.

"Don't be naive this is final," distraught United States Ambassador Don McHenry shouted down the phone to Washington on rejection night.

He was quitting the scene with years of carefully-crafted diplomacy in ruins. He knew he was being overheard and he wanted to be overheard.

Now comes hulahalloo in the General Assembly, nastiness in the Security Council. The Africans are seething, their ire magnified by the frustrations of their chronic weakness.

They are formally committed to seek economic sanctions against the Republic, while key elements among them — Frontliners Zimbabwe and Botswana included — are on record at the UN stating that for practical reasons they cannot support them.

Fresh from its unique direct contacts in Geneva, South African diplomacy will press for bilateral deals — constelation of statesmanship geared to breaking the Frontline bloc through threat and promise — the mailed fist clutching hard cash.

Glum UN strategists insist that Pretoria has badly miscalculated, that the legacy of bitterness will undermine such efforts.

Sanctions are not the only option. It was more firepower for Swapo, more "maternal assistance", that the Africans were stressing as they headed for Dar es Salaam and an OAU Liberation Committee meeting to plot vengeance. Moscow has to be smiling.

What happened in Geneva was a peace conference with one side insisting it was only an observer. It was Catch 22 gone wild. Here was the strongest-possible team of South African diplomatic pros deferring to local SWA Administrator-General Dame Hough, who in turn deferred to local politician Dirk Mudge, who was being represented by some wild-talking underlings.

South Africa said: No, you must talk to the South Westers, yet at the same time it denied them any authority. Pretoria had the final say, Foreign Affairs Director Dr Brand Fourie made clear at the start.

It was "brilliant, but brutal," said one Western observer. He was French, which makes this an awesome compliment. With a final twist of the knife, the bedraggled UN team was informed that Mr. Mudge's projection of 18 months probation (when the world body would have to reform itself to his satisfaction) was rather modest. Pretoria was thinking in terms of two to three years; they were told.

Next week UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim goes through the motions of producing a report for the Security Council. It will mourn a lost "historic opportunity."

"But that's not going to be enough," one of the losing team nervously reflected. "They're out for blood." What he means is that it is witch-hunt time — time for sacrificial scapegoats.

Obvious easy target is Martti Ahtisaari, the would-be UN operations chief who bears starkly different responsibilities in his other role as UN Commissioner for Namibia.

A year ago he was sick of it all and ready to quit, but the Finns are proud of him and there have been hints of high reward. He is signed on as commissioner for another year. Will he last it out? Will he want on?

The fate of his UN transition (UNTAG) squad is in the balance. People like little election specialist Neville Kannekarne have been drawing hefty salaries for three years, simply to wait, for how much longer?

New York Correspondent RICHARD WALKER covered the Geneva talks on South West African independence for the 'Mail'. In this report he surveys the wreckage amidst melting DTA snowmen and discarded Swapo ballpoint pens.

221 EDW 17/1/81

Also in deep trouble are those African diplomats most responsible for delivering up Swapo, trussed and bound.

The Palais des Nations, that pyre of brave hopes since its League of Nations days, will come to haunt their dreams. I watched the wake, held in the foyer of the nearby R80 a bed, Ré a drink, Intercontinental Hotel. As apologetic UN officials saw off the stream of disgruntled Africans and a small Swapo army, the Western team slipped away as quietly as possible. "I kept to my room all night," said one American with a weak smile.

I also checked on the assassins, who were celebrating in the slightly more expensive, gilt and tapestry-laden President Hotel, a couple of kilometers away. The South African team was having a jolly debate over whether the conference had been 80% successful, or just 75%. As the losers fanned out around the world, the South Africans took in a little pilgrimage to the spot near here where Paul Kruger died.

Don McHenry headed for the Geneva conference with a private assurance that "only the booze question" was left to be settled. He meant UNTAG's right to PX-style duty-free status.

In fact, the booze question was the only one successfully addressed. There has never been anything quite like Monday night's OAU party at which foes got thoroughly sozzled together on liquor bought by the Nigerians. The spectacle of General Janne Geldenhuys in animated conversation with the Angolans, and UN envoy Adhnan Ekstein with arms wrapped around Zambia's Namibia Council President Paul Lusaka, was memorable.

So what was it all about? "It's simple," one UN strategist raged, "South Africa doesn't want a ceasefire right now."

Pleced together here are the facts. Three months ago, the UN made a confidential offer to Pretoria of a package deal, whereby Swapo privileges would fall away simultaneously with the ceasefire.

Leaked after the talks collapsed, it was a 500-word presentation on "the question of impartiality."

It demanded the scrapping of the SWA National Assembly and Council of Ministers from the ceasefire date and the restoration of full local authority to the Administrator-General. In return, it pledged an end to Mr. Ahtisaari's role as Namibia Commissioner.

All UN funds spent on the campaign to oust Pretoria from Windhoek would be switched to publicising UNTAG, while a Western and African-backed "understanding" would see to it that the General Assembly and all other UN bodies did nothing to prejudice "free and fair" elections.

Since the UN plan required equal treatment for all parties, "it is inconceivable that the UN would be supporting or funding only one party", the paper concluded. "It is expected that South Africa would do the same."

This is the document that Mr. Hough dismissed as "wooly". The blockbuster formal response was not delivered until the end, however, after all possible publicity for the DTA had been squeezed out of the occasion.

Swapo's big moment came right at the start, as it confronted the "internals" with a mass salute to leader Sam Nujoma's declaration. "We are one." From that point on, its tactic was ceaselessly to repeat its readiness to sign the ceasefire in Geneva and submit to the UN formula.

The SA/SWA/DTA response was to throw in the second team first, for them to hurl personal abuse at UN person-

nel, as well as carve up the plan. This climaxed with Mr. Katulua Kaura threatening, on behalf of the DTA, a violent and totalitarian "African solution." If it was not satisfied with the way things went, all Swapo supporters would then be liquidated, he told the world's Press.

It was about this point that the chairman, UN peacekeeping chief Brian Urquhart, wanted to call a halt to the whole charade. The British and French quickly professed optimism. They pressed on.

Another 24 hours and things got murkier. The South Africans were declining to talk to the Western team, instead passing them on to Mr. Mudge, who referred them to Aktur's redoubtable Mr. A H du Plessis, who demanded a prior constitution with veto powers for minorities.

Mr. Du Plessis then walked out and collapsed in the corridor outside. The Western envoys were agitated, convinced he had suffered a heart attack. Mr. Du Plessis insisted later he had suffered only a fainting spell, but he took to his bed and withdrew from the action.

It was "the bottom of the pit", a UN negotiator lamented. "The very worst day."

He was wrong. Things got worse. The UN now began leaking their "simultaneous" package, lacing it with assurances said to have been squeezed out of Swapo by the Frontliners.

Sought in Geneva was a "declaration of intent", to be followed by a written undertaking by February 9 — the UN and South Africa, meanwhile, to prove good faith by instituting the impartiality formula.

Thumbs down from Dr. Fourie, and the UN-Western side tried again, offering some delay, say until July. Again, no. Quite desperate now, the West cabled Pretoria direct while the UN team leaked their most drastic option — they would let Swapo sign that declaration, so as to maximise Pretoria's embarrassment and make it impractical for incoming President Reagan to undermine the essential Western underpinning of the whole plan.

That was when the South African consortium played its final card, an ace that sent the chairs and chips flying. Into the gilded conference chamber, crawling with grandiose murals of freed slaves, there marched Mr. Mudge to deliver a 5 000 word manifesto that might just be the most brilliant presentation of the Pretoria propaganda line ever fashioned.

The session was in camera, as the author Mr. Mudge is said to have appeared curiously unfamiliar with the text he was delivering. But no matter, it was a blockbuster. Impartiality was nowhere near enough, the conference was now told. Millions of dollars of support for Swapo had to be "counteracted", and the UN had to make amends for "years of unequal treatment" by reforming itself and performing to Mr. Mudge's satisfaction "over a reasonable period".

Only then would DTA concerns "thaw", much as the snow around this beautiful city will gradually disappear with warmer weather.

Alas, the snow continued to pile up, as did Mr. Mudge's demands. He wanted a UN-financed office in New York, the right to address the General Assembly and Security Council, and a "long term" UN campaign to stress the "authenticity and equality" of his and other parties.

There were other things. He charged that the UN troops had "not the slightest hope" of surveilling the border, and

Swapo would be free to intimidate and build up its forces during the electioneering phase. Since the Soviets would be able to veto any Security Council censure of Swapo, a method had to be found to determine if and when the UN agreement had been breached.

Mr. Urquhart was visibly irritated, as well as annoyed by slurs being cast on his blue-bonneted troops. Their dedication and worthiness were accepted in far more complex and dangerous situations than this, he noted.

Intellectually bored with the business, he observed that if this "mountain" was overcome, there would be some new "Himalaya" ahead. In fact, South Africa had made it clear that it was not satisfied with details of the demilitarised border zone that is fundamental to the plan.

Mr. Hough hammered the spike into the corpse. A ceasefire deal would be "premature", he announced. It was all over.

British Junior Minister Richard Luce promptly used the same word — "premature" — to shoo away sanctions. Instead he spoke of exploring "fresh avenues", and the cycle back to nowhere was complete.

UN officials insist they are puzzled as well as hurt. They claim South Africa was saying last October that talks to clinch the plan would be tough, but promised success. Then attitudes grew colder.

They doggedly refuse to accept that the Reagan victory in America was the reason, yet observers here suspect that a final blow was General Alexander Haig's failure to support the UN plan when the Senate confirmed him as Secretary of State.

South African strategists suggest that Swapo's "uncharakteristic and impassive" silence backfired, that it might have done better to take up the DTA challenge. But Western officials say Swapo had the South Africans rattled, that it won all the political points except the crucial one.

The UN squad tried very hard indeed, and the cocktail handshake routine was aggressively promoted. It edged on the ludicrous when everybody was made to sit together through a hotel management training film, in French, which was the Swiss Government's contribution to this quest for "trust and confidence."

The UN team diligently went about explaining the duties they would assume in the territory. The soft-spoken Irish chief inspector with the police chief role stressed how polite and tactful his men would be, how they would watch, but not order about, the local police. Then he'd tell anecdotes about the old "troubles" in Ireland and how bitter enemies became friends again.

But nobody was interested, Mr. Urquhart admitted. This was a propaganda war, not a UN seminar.

Intent on not provoking Pretoria, no UN material on the territory was made available to the sources of the Press. The gap was filled by a welter of DTA-backing pamphlets and booklets. And even films were made available.

But a highly successful SWA/Namibia calendar distribution was countered by a Swapo calendar, and the Swapo ballpoint pen was a hot item that had the field to itself. Virtually all the "internals" publicly was orchestrated around the DTA.

Despite rumours, nobody from Uruta was spotted, and there were no Reagan observer. Several "Reaganauts" had dearly wished to come, but all were fearful of damaging their job prospects.

Zimbabwe Cabinet Minister Eddison Zvobgo seemed to actually enjoy it all. A veteran of these affairs (he was the Zanu spokesman at Lancaster House), he flung himself energetically into the fray and started the DTA's Chief Rurako by demanding over a drink "We know our puppets in Zimbabwe, but we don't know you Explain yourself."

For the DTA's other ranks, there was always the soft, flaky, picturesque snow. Some of them built a snowman.

HAIG BOOSTS SA GOVERNMENT'S HOPES OF SUPPORT AS SPECULATION OVER US FOREIGN POLICY GROWS

THERE is unlikely to be any significant progress towards achieving a ceasefire in SWA/Namibia until the incoming Reagan administration states its policy towards South Africa, and its attitude to the settlement process in the territory

The South African Government is clearly counting on US support for its uncompromising stand on UN impartiality. This was made clear this week by Mr P W Botha's positive reaction to comments made by the US Secretary of State designate, General Alexander Haig, who expressed favourable and supportive views on South Africa's role at the Geneva talks

Both the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brasd Fourie, and the chairman of the SWA Minister's Council and of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, have been at pains to emphasise that they do not regard the Geneva conference as a failure

In an interview with the Sunday Express, Mr Mudge said he had been "really impressed" by the understanding he had met "on all sides" at Geneva

"Of course I do not include Swapo. I did not meet Mr Sam Nujoma, and am not interested in doing so as long as he continues the game he is playing," Mr Mudge said

"But I believe we have succeeded in getting across to the world for the first time that the DTA is a political party in its own right and not a puppet of the South African Government. "With a little more international goodwill towards the

Reagan may tip the SWA scales for SA



● Dirk Mudge, hopeful

By JOHN BATTERSBY Political Correspondent

moderate parties, I believe we can make headway towards a settlement," he said. Mr Mudge emphasised that,

although the talks had collapsed on the impartiality issue, he did feel some progress had been made

"But building up confidence will take time," he said

Mr Mudge felt it was premature to comment on General Haig's comments, although he had read them with interest

However, diplomatic sources representing the Western Five have warned that it would be injudicious to attach too much importance to the "off-the-cuff" remarks made by General Haig to the US Senate foreign relations committee

"There can be no doubt that a Reagan administration will be more supportive to SA than the outgoing administration, but it would be naive to expect the US to take any step which would harm its own interests," one diplomat said

There are hopes in certain Government circles that the Reagan administration will not only distance itself from the UN but go so far as to use its financial influence in the UN, and even take the initiative in the settlement process

But the diplomat regarded such actions as "far-fetched — although possible"

It was unlikely, for instance, that the Reagan Administration would want to begin its four-year term by alienating the Frontline states and hence the Third World

Meanwhile, there are widespread fears that the war could

intensify if the growing impatience of the Frontline states and the African bloc are not allayed

But the as yet unanswered question is who won, and who lost, this first Geneva round?

The talks were a defeat for the Frontline states, which are eager to see an end to the war which is draining their coffers

Although Swapo gained a diplomatic victory by emerging as the harbinger of peace ready to sign a ceasefire, the organisation also lost some status by implicitly recognising the status of the internal parties

South Africa succeeded in buying more time and warded off the sanctions threat, so imminent only a few weeks ago

The SWA/Namibian internal parties scored a significant short-term victory by achieving a platform from which they displayed themselves to the world

The Western contact group was deeply disappointed, but there is still no tangible evidence that their credibility with the Frontline states suffered a major blow

Probably the clearest winner of the Geneva talks was the Soviet Union. The Russians do not want the war to end as it gives them a reason to maintain a presence in the area

All parties, however, are quietly confident that they will get together again — though it seems unlikely in the near future

ck Association Prize
student who has made
e of bricks in his
work.
kman
Award
best project in
re and design.

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in
first year.
Miss M F J Sandilands

ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

Sanctions out 'in spite of SA raids'

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LISBON — South African forces based in SWA/Namibia made a new series of raids into southern Angola during the unsuccessful Geneva talks on the territory, the Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

A South African Defence Force spokesman told the Star's Pretoria Bureau he did not want to comment on Angop's allegations.

"It must be emphasised that SWA security forces pursued terrorists responsible for acts aimed at the local population and have no interest in involving local Angolan forces in the conflict," he said.

Angola is not yet ready to demand a tightening of UN sanctions against South Africa even though it blames Pretoria for the failure of the Geneva talks and for making new military raids on Angola over the past few days.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, said yesterday he did not consider the collapse of the Geneva talks "a final breakdown".

NEW STEPS

New steps were needed to restart dialogue between South Africa and Swapo within the framework organised by the UN, he said.

Mr Jorge was speaking in Luanda shortly after the Defence Ministry issued a communique accusing South Africa of new attacks on Angolan territory.

The communique said that last Thursday, the day after the Geneva talks ended, South African ground troops, backed by

six Puma helicopters and a squadron of Mirages, attacked Angolan troops in Cuamato, about 40 km north of the border.

On Saturday the South African troops were still in the area and fighting continued, the communique said.

Both sides had suffered casualties. No figures were given.

South Africa had also stepped up its reconnaissance flights over Angola, penetrating as far as Lubango, almost 500 km inside the country.

The Defence Ministry said South Africa did not stop its flights over Angolan territory while the Geneva talks were in progress.

It listed five places where South African aircraft had penetrated Angolan air space during the talks.

CONCERN

It added that on the last day of the conference South African ground troops had made reconnaissance trips into Angola.

Mr Jorge stressed Angola would continue to help Swapo whatever happened.

Angola viewed the incoming Reagan Administration in the United States with concern.

"A Washington-Pretoria axis would be very serious, and if the Reagan Administration begins to be more sympathetic towards South Africa, the situation in southern Africa would become very tense, encouraging South Africa to harden its position on Namibia," Mr Jorge said.

ENEVA — South Africa has led the West's bluff in the latest manner imaginable. Thrust nose-to-nose with a rapo ready to sign up for a ceasefire and United Nations-

Geneva seen as 'brilliant but brutal'

monitored elections derelict by the West, Pretoria for a week paraded the A in the world spotlight. Then it said 'No, not now, not now, maybe never'. Now comes hullabaloo in the

contacts here. South African diplomacy will press for bilateral deals — geared to breaking the Frontline bloc through threat and promise — the mailed fist clutching hard cash.

Glum UN strategists insist that Pretoria has badly miscalculated that the legacy of bitterness will undermine such efforts.

What happened here was a peace conference with one side insisting it was only an observer. It was Catch 22 gone wild. Here was the strongest possible team of South African diplomatic pros deferring to local administrator Mr. Danie Hough, who in turn deferred to

him, goes through the motions of producing a report for the Security Council. It will mourn a lost 'historic opportunity'.

Next week, the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, would have to reform itself to his satisfaction) was rather modest. Pretoria was thinking in terms of two to three years, they were told.

Also in deep trouble are those African diplomats most responsible for delivering up Swapo, trussed and bound.

The Palais des Nations, that pyre of brave hopes since its League of Nations days will come to haunt their dreams.

In fact, the booze question was the only one successfully addressed. There has never been anything quite like last week's OAU party at which loes got thoroughly sozzled together on liquor bought by the Nigerians. The spectacle of General Jamme Geldenhuis in animated conversations with the Angolans and UN envoy Mr. 'Kudu' Eksteen with arms wrapped around Zambia's Namibia Council president, Mr. Paul Lusaka was memorable.

So what was it all about? 'It's simple.' One UN strategist raged, 'South Africa doesn't want a ceasefire right now'.

They are formally committed to seek economic sanctions against the Republic, while key elements among them — outliners Zimbabwe and swana included — are on ord at the UN as stating t for practical reasons they not support them.

South Africa said no, you must talk to the South-Westerns, yet at the same time it denied them any authority. Pretoria had the final say, the Foreign Affairs Director-General, Mr. Brand Fourie, made clear at the start.

It was 'brilliant, but brutal,' said one Western observer. He was French which makes this an awesome compliment.

With a final twist of the knife, the bedraggled UN team was informed that Mr. Mudge's projection of 18 months' proba-

ties in his other role as UN Commissioner for Namibia.

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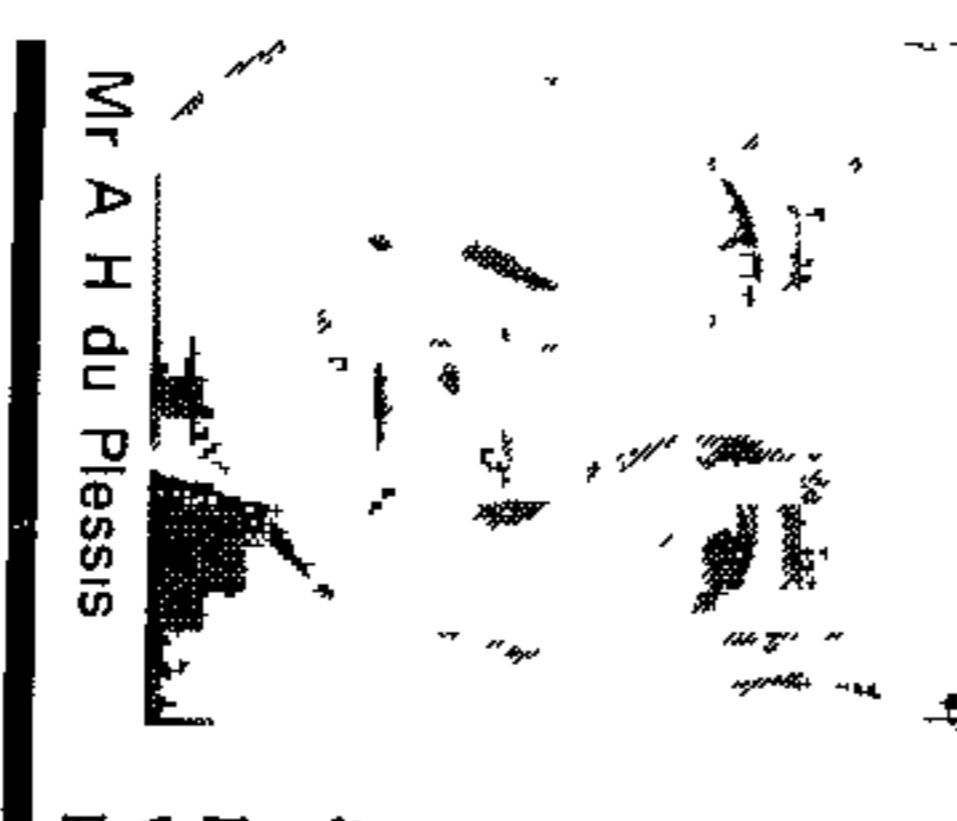
Mr. Dirk Mudge



Dr. Kurt Waldheim



Mr. Marti Ahtisaari



Mr. A. H. du Plessis

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South Africa had made it clear that it was not satisfied with details of the demilitarized border zone that is fundamental to the plan.



Mr. Danie Hough



Mr. Sam Nujoma

Quite desperate now the West cabled Pretoria direct while the UN team leaked their most drastic option — they would let Swapo sign that declaration so as to maximize Pretoria's embarrassment and make it impractical for incoming President Reagan to undermine the essential Western underpinning of the whole plan.

That was when the South African consortium played its final card an ace that sent the

repeal its readiness to sign the ceasefire here and submit to the UN formula.

The SA/SWA/DTA response was to throw in the second team first for them to hurl personal abuse at UN personnel as well as carve up the plan.

It was about this point that the chairman of the UN peacekeeping chief, Mr. Brian Urquhart, wanted to call a halt to the whole charade. The British and French quickly professed optimism. They pressed on.

Another 24 hours and things got murkier. The South Africans were declining to talk to the Western team instead passing them on to Mr. Mudge who referred them to Akkur's redoubtable Mr. A. H. du Plessis who demanded a prior constitution with veto powers for minorities.

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in this

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David

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D H Pryce Lewis

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For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

For the best work in

third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

Hope is
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already
fading
for deal
in SWA

CAPE TOWN - It only January
but hope is already fading fast
to make South Africa an
independent state at the end of
the year.

The new South African
Government in Cape Town the
United Nations and its pro-
cess of change. It is a firm
and determined intention of an
independence plan in 1961 by
the Government and four other
Western powers.

The Government has
been told by the United
Nations Secretary
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At the end of the year
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SWA 'must go it alone for a settlement

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The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia would have to find its own solutions because the United Nations could not be relied on to find a peaceful settlement for the territory, the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said last night

The DTA called for unity among the inhabitants and political groups of the territory in what is seen here as a decisive step closer to total self-rule

The Alliance's executive said in a statement after a lengthy meeting to discuss the abortive Geneva talks that it had again become clear it could not rely on the UN to solve the territory's problems and lead it peacefully to independence

"The inhabitants of SWA/Namibia will have to find solutions to the problems themselves," it said

The DTA said the largest possible degree of unity was necessary to withstand the political and military attack on SWA/Namibia.

The solution did not lie in a loose co-operation between the internal political groups which regarded the "common enemy" as the only binding factor.

STRIVING

"What is needed is a unity based on a common striving and political ideology with a loyalty to the common Fatherland," the statement said.

The DTA urged all political parties to support the interim government, which it dominates, as a unifying factor and as the effective government

"The DTA agrees that the signing of a ceasefire agreement and the implementation of Resolution 435 is, in the current circumstances, impossible"

● Page 9: Rethink needed on UN SWA plan.

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467
Danish ^{SNR}
refugee aid ^{22/1/81}

COPENHAGEN - The Danish Church Aid organization sent a refugee specialist to Angola yesterday and granted 175,000 aid to young blacks fleeing from SWA Namibia to avoid being drafted into the Defence Force.

DanChurchaid aid refugees were pouring from SWA/Namibia into neighbouring Angola, Botswana and Zambia after a decree from Pretoria ordering all men from the age of 16 to report for military service.

The flow of refugees began increasing after the recent collapse of the United Nations conference on free elections in SWA/Namibia, the DanChurchaid said.

It said the Lutheran World Federation, with which the Danish organization is affiliated, had launched an emergency operation to bring tent, blankets and food to refugee camps — Sapa Vi.

Now The Weighings Of Geneva

By PETER KENNY
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The situation in South West Africa following last week's multiparty talks in Geneva would have to be totally re-evaluated the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday.

Mr Hough, who led the inter-nal parties from SWA at the Geneva conference was speaking to journalists for the first time since the deadlocked talks.

He emphasised that it was

not possible to talk about the practical proposals for the implementation of the UN peace plan for SWA at the conference before the horn sides of the UN had been demonstrated.

When asked if there had been any bargaining over rights and protections for minority groups at the Geneva talks, Mr Hough said these could not be discussed before the South African parties had been satisfied with the credentials of the UN.

The SWA parties had gone to Geneva seeking parity with

Swazopi and Mr Hough said they had gone a long way to achieving this.

He would not however say, as South African Foreign Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, said the night before, that the South Africans would in future take a far lower profile in negotiations on SWA while the internal parties would play a far greater role.

Mr Hough said the South African Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and the Foreign Minister had been consulted during the Geneva conference and had

been kept fully informed.

He would however, report back to them soon. He expected the South African attitude to become clear within the next few weeks.

The South African Government regarded Resolution 435 as 'still alive'. But the last word at the pre-implementation conference had been that it was premature to discuss the implementation of the resolution further until such time as the obstacles of trust and confidence had been overcome. When it was put to him that

there was talk in Windhoek that the South African Government was going to 'drop' Mr D. T. Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Hough said the Government had no intention of 'dropping' anyone.

He emphasised that Mr Mudge had been introduced at Geneva as the chairman of the Minister's Council and had always been introduced as the "Honourable" Mr Mudge.

Mr Hough said in answer to another question that his role was not to seek white unity at

all costs as had been the role of his predecessor.

In Moscow, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, Pravda, yesterday accused South Africa of seeking to retain control of SWA's natural resources by turning the territory into a pseudo-independent bastion.

Pretoria had caused the failure of last week's Geneva conference by refusing to agree to a ceasefire and the other aspects of the UN plan, Pravda said — Sapa-APF

ART & ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

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Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osborn Prize
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize
For the best work in third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

Rethink needed on UN SWA plan

By Alan Dunn,
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The South African Government and the internal SWA/Namibian parties would have to "totally re-evaluate" the United Nations settlement plan after the Geneva conference, the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday.

He said they would now have to reconsider their attitudes on Resolution 435 in the light of what had happened at the talks.

Mr Hough told a Press conference he thought South Africa would make its position on the SWA/Namibian situation clear "within a few weeks."

He said it was desirable that the Government consult the territory's internal parties before it finally formulated its view.

CLARITY

"I can't say the talks brought us anywhere nearer the implementation of Resolution 435.

"But I think it brought clarity on what we want," he said.

He said the settlement plan had not been destroyed at the Geneva conference.

"The last word at the talks was that it was premature to talk further about possible implementation because the question of trust had not been solved."

Mr Hough said the UN had not answered any of the objections and doubts raised by the internal political groups during the closed-door sessions of the conference.

THREAD

He said a point which ran through the talks like a "golden thread" had been that South Africa and the internal parties were expected to make ceasefire undertakings in return for certain concessions.

"I think this is where the emphasis in the differences came between the internal parties, the UN and other people there," he said.

"They (the internal parties) said, 'Let us first remove the obstacle and then we can talk about other things,' said Mr Hough.

Nujoma pledges a Bill of Rights

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By JOHN MATISONN
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Swapo is committed to a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary if it takes power in South West Africa, said the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma

Interviewed at the Geneva conference by the New York Times, he said his political foe, Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, and other whites could stay in SWA.

"We would encourage the minority white settlers to stay I hope they would stay, especially those who were born in SWA They would have the same rights as all of us. Some of them may not have any other home than SWA."

Asked if Mr Mudge could keep his farm in the disputed territory, Mr Nujoma said: "Yes, why not? He's a Namibian citizen"

He also promised to abolish all repressive and discriminatory laws.

Asked if he expected a reappraisal of Swapo after independence on the lines that Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was described as reasonable and moderate, though once he had been called a "Marxist terrorist", Mr Nujoma said "This kind of blackmail statement mainly comes from the enemy news media because we are at war fighting against South Africa and therefore South Africa does its level best to blackmail Swapo as a terrorist organisation"

He added that he did not think the Geneva conference would have taken place if it were not for Swapo, whose members were shedding blood

Cape Provincial Institute
of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

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For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

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of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osborn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

For the best work in

third year.

R A van Rosenfeld.

Call for 'security council' on Swapo

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — A top member of the SWA National Party, Mr Jan de Wet, has called for the establishment of a "security council" in the territory to combat Swapo militarily and politically.

Action on both fronts in the fight against Swapo had to be "smartened up," he said.

Knowledgeable people of all population groups could serve on such a council, aimed at co-ordinating joint action against Swapo.

Mr de Wet, and other members of the SWA National Party delegation which attended the Geneva talks, said the United Nations, Western countries, African states and even Swapo now recognised the crucial role white people played in the territory.

"TRUMP CARD"

The Vice-Chairman of the National Party, Mr Eben van Zijl, said his party held the "trump card" after the international community's realisation of who represented the whites in SWA/Namibia.

He said it placed the NP in its strongest position since 1977.

The leader of the party, Mr A H du Plessis, said the NP was fully recognised at the conference "particularly by the representatives of the five Western nations" who emphasised the role of the NP in SWA/Namibia.

Mr du Plessis said in the party's mouthpiece, Die Suidwester, that the NP's win in the recent white ethnic election for a second-tier representative authority had definitely contributed to this attitude.

Mr van Zijl said there was a growing realisation by Swapo that white people had to stay in the territory.

He said there were two alternatives for the future — to beat Swapo militarily and politically or to try to accommodate it.

The second option depended to a large degree on the UN's attitude and whether it could lead the way to a free and fair election.

UN plea to SA on Namibia

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim has appealed to the South African Government to 'review with the utmost care' the implications of the Geneva conference on SWA/Namibia's future.

Dr Waldheim says the Government's refusal to join a ceasefire agreement and allow an independence process to begin in the territory at the end of March "must give rise to the most serious international concern".

And he is urging Pre-

toria "to reconsider its position at the earliest possible time".

Although he and senior UN aides have not publicly conceded an end to the organisation's hopes of supervising a transition to independence in the territory, he indicated yesterday that the bitter argument over continuing South African administration was in the hands of the UN Security Council.

"Members of the Security Council, and all those concerned, will wish to consider the proceedings and the situation which has now arisen," Dr Waldheim concluded in a review of the Geneva conference prepared as a re-

port to the Security Council, which authorised a seven-month transition plan for the territory.

Swapo, with African backing, wants the issue taken up immediately by the General Assembly for reference to the Security Council in the form of a recommendation for comprehensive and mandatory economic and oil sanctions against South Africa.

But African opinion seems divided on tactics, and it is unlikely that South Africa's refusal to go along with the UN plan will be thrust into the Security Council just yet.

Discussion in a meeting of the UN Council for Namibia indicated that

the African group was awaiting decisions from the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity, currently meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

Also, the new United States Administration would probably be unwilling to face an early sanctions confrontation before southern Africa policy has been shaped, say observers at the UN.

They say the African group would probably be content to wait until President Reagan's new ambassador to the UN was in office before calling the Security Council into session.

Sapa reports that Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Mr Botha, said yesterday he had not yet received the full text of Dr Waldheim's report, "but it is already clear to me that the report is incomplete and that it underlines the partisan role the UN has been playing regarding Swapo."

"One would have expected that this extremely sensitive issue would have been kept in mind by the compilers of the report — but it was not."

"The report is going to make the finding of an internationally acceptable solution within the UN framework more difficult. But I will take a more comprehensive view once I have studied the full text of the report."

Herero politician knows how to make his point

By Andrew Walker

Outspoken, supremely confident and undoubtedly a man with the "gift of the gab," Mr Katullila Kaura is one of the formerly almost unknown DTA politicians who have come in from the cold of Geneva.

While the abortive talks on SWA/Namibia may have done little to bring peace, they thrust the "shadowy" figures of internal party members into the glare of world publicity.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg last night Mr Kaura, part of the Herero group in the DTA, showed clearly how he must have impressed the Western delegates and TV viewers with his ability to put across his policies in style.

While Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma is far from a gifted orator, men such as Mr Kaura show that the internal parties have members of calibre, well able to put their views across intelligently.

He told the Press conference:

● The DTA would win a fair election in SWA/Namibia.

● Aktur, the right-wing group was a political dinosaur.

● The internal parties could call a ceasefire. The

decision did not rest with South Africa.

● Swapo leadership was divided and morale low.

● Peace had to be achieved so work on improving the country could progress.

Although outspoken and direct, Mr Kaura likes to bring a little humour into his attacks.

"Nujoma knows that he must stay in politics. If he is not the next President of Namibia he will have to go back to the railways and ride a bicycle."

Swapo, says Mr Kaura, has the support of only about seven percent of the population of SWA/Namibia.

Mr Kaura (39), appears to be one of the "up and coming" men of the internal parties, and has already come a long way.

Born in a hut to peasant farmers, he started his uphill battle when at the age of 23 and armed with R28, he trekked for days across the bush to Botswana.

"I escaped. We were not allowed passports."

He travelled to the United States on a scholarship he received in Tanzania and studied at US universities. He holds two degrees.

SA blamed for failure at Geneva

Own Correspondent

BRUSSELS — Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community last night blamed South Africa for the failure of last week's talks on SWA/Namibian independence.

The Ministers said South Africa had "failed to seize the opportunity offered" by the Geneva talks and urged all parties in the dispute to avoid actions which might "prejudice a solution" before the talks resume.

Reliable sources say the Ministers also decided to call for further discussion on SWA/Namibia by senior foreign policy officials from member governments.

EXAMINE WAYS

The committee of political directors will be asked to examine ways in which the EEC could assist efforts to find a settlement.

The Foreign Ministers, including Britain's Lord Carrington and France's Mr Jean Francois-Poncet, expressed continued support for UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim and his "efforts to find an internationally acceptable solution to the Namibian problem."

They also expressed "satisfaction" with the efforts of the Western Five "contact group," including three EEC countries — Britain, France and West Germany.

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cont

Questions about South Africa's negotiating strategy at the Geneva conference on SWA/Namibia

Namibia — SA's 'bottom line'

would have been answered had South Africa made commitments in an agreement, but no agreement was reached

South Africans stubborn players, they refused to show their hand

in negotiations

that South Africa is afraid of but a Swapo victory in an election that was not clearly free and fair

the impartiality to be demonstrated over a long period, not suddenly "like switching on a light"

The parties at the conference, however, should now have a very good idea — if they didn't have it before — of what must be done to set agreement, or at least to call South Africa's bluff

But it is very likely that the South African bottom line has already been set out in government declarations, most recently by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on SABC television last Sunday night



The 64 000-dollar question at the SWA/Namibia conference in Geneva — whether South Africa was negotiating in good faith in a sincere attempt to reach agreement, or was simply using the talks to stall for time — was never answered. The editor of The Star's Africa News Service, Gerald L'Ange (left), who attended the talks, puts South Africa's strategy into sharper perspective.

If this is the Government's fundamental position, its "bottom line", it is entirely consistent with its insistence that the internal parties, and not South Africa, should negotiate their own future at Geneva

No attempt seems to have been made to test South Africa by granting her conditions and putting them up against Swapo's reiterated assertion that it would easily win free and fair elections

Throughout the Geneva meeting the Western group kept searching for South Africa's "bottom line" as though it were the touchstone for success.

He touched again then on a line that has run through various utterances by Government representatives on SWA/Namibia which, in any case, is fairly obvious to any knowledgeable observer of the South African political scene



Under this commitment the Government can no more be blamed for what happens to the whites in SWA/Namibia than it can be blamed for making the commitment — an entirely proper one — in the first place

And it is the basis of the insistence by South Africa and the major internal parties at Geneva that no agreement could be reached on implementing the United Nations-supervised ceasefire and election without adequate assurances of UN impartiality

Rather than call South Africa's bluff it was decided to call off the game. Undoubtedly there was behind this a real fear that by granting the demands for time-consuming demonstrations of impartiality, the other side would be playing into the internal parties' hands and giving them the time they need to build up their electoral strength and weaken Swapo's.

By "bottom line" they meant South Africa's minimum terms for settlement, the point beyond which Pretoria would not budge.

This appears very simply to be that the Government cannot be seen to be co-operating in putting into power in SWA/Namibia a Government (especially a Swapo one) that was not elected through patently free and fair elections

The Government has publicly committed itself to allowing the people of SWA/Namibia to decide their own future. This involves accepting whatever government the people

might elect and presumably whatever constitutional system they devise of their own free will

Thus it is imperative that Swapo should not appear to have at last succeeded in its efforts to seize power through the barrel of a gun — and by Pretoria's default, at that

These assurances were not given at Geneva and the main reason probably was that the UN negotiators felt that giving them would take too long and involve too much political backtracking at the UN

But by abandoning the negotiations and going off to launch a probably doomed attempt to get sanctions imposed against South Africa they are doing that anyway.

If they could establish this, the Western delegates felt, they could get a clearer view of what concessions might have to be negotiated on either side to get agreement on a date of the start of the ceasefire and independence election

To do so would be to expose the South African Government to a crippling onslaught from the right wing in the Republic. It

publicly committed itself to allowing the people of SWA/Namibia to decide their own future. This involves accepting whatever government the people

But to appear to cooperate in the installation of a black majority government not freely chosen by the people would seem like sacrificing the whites, especially the Afrikaners, to political

the polls is to be acceptable there must be no doubt about the freeness and fairness of the voting, no doubt that the election of Swapo was the choice of the people in deciding their own future

African and Western suspicions that the impartiality issue was being used by South Africa to stall for time were strengthened when the DTA revealed only towards the end of the conference that it wanted

the impartiality to be demonstrated over a long period, not suddenly "like switching on a light"

The SWA/Namibia negotiations, being a high-stakes game and the

Government to a crippling onslaught from the right wing in the Republic. It

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But by abandoning the negotiations and going off to launch a probably doomed attempt to get sanctions imposed against South Africa they are doing that anyway.

Consequences of the failure in Geneva

There are several immediate consequences of the failure of the Geneva conference on SWA/Namibia. An intensified guerrilla war between South Africa and the South West Africa People's organization (SWAPO) in northern SWA/Namibia, renewed demands at the UN for economic sanctions against South Africa, and a general hardening of the black-white confrontation in southern Africa.

Perhaps the most serious setback of all at least in the short term, has been for Western diplomacy. The five members of the UN Security Council — Britain, Canada, France, the US and West Germany — were the instigators of the UN plan, and have kept it alive through intensive shuttle diplomacy for more than three years.

Their commitment was a recognition of the key strategic importance of SWA/Namibia. On the one hand, it is a territory of considerable economic potential, with substantial mineral reserves, especially of uranium and diamonds, as well as base metals (see

The collapse of the Geneva conference on SWA/Namibia brings into question the future of a strategically important area of the world rich in scarce mineral resources, Quentin Peel of the Financial Times reports from Johannesburg.

map) and some unexploited offshore gas.

More important is SWA/Namibia's political and geographic position. The political development of SWA/Namibia is likely, both through example and direct contact, to have an important effect on the political development of South Africa.

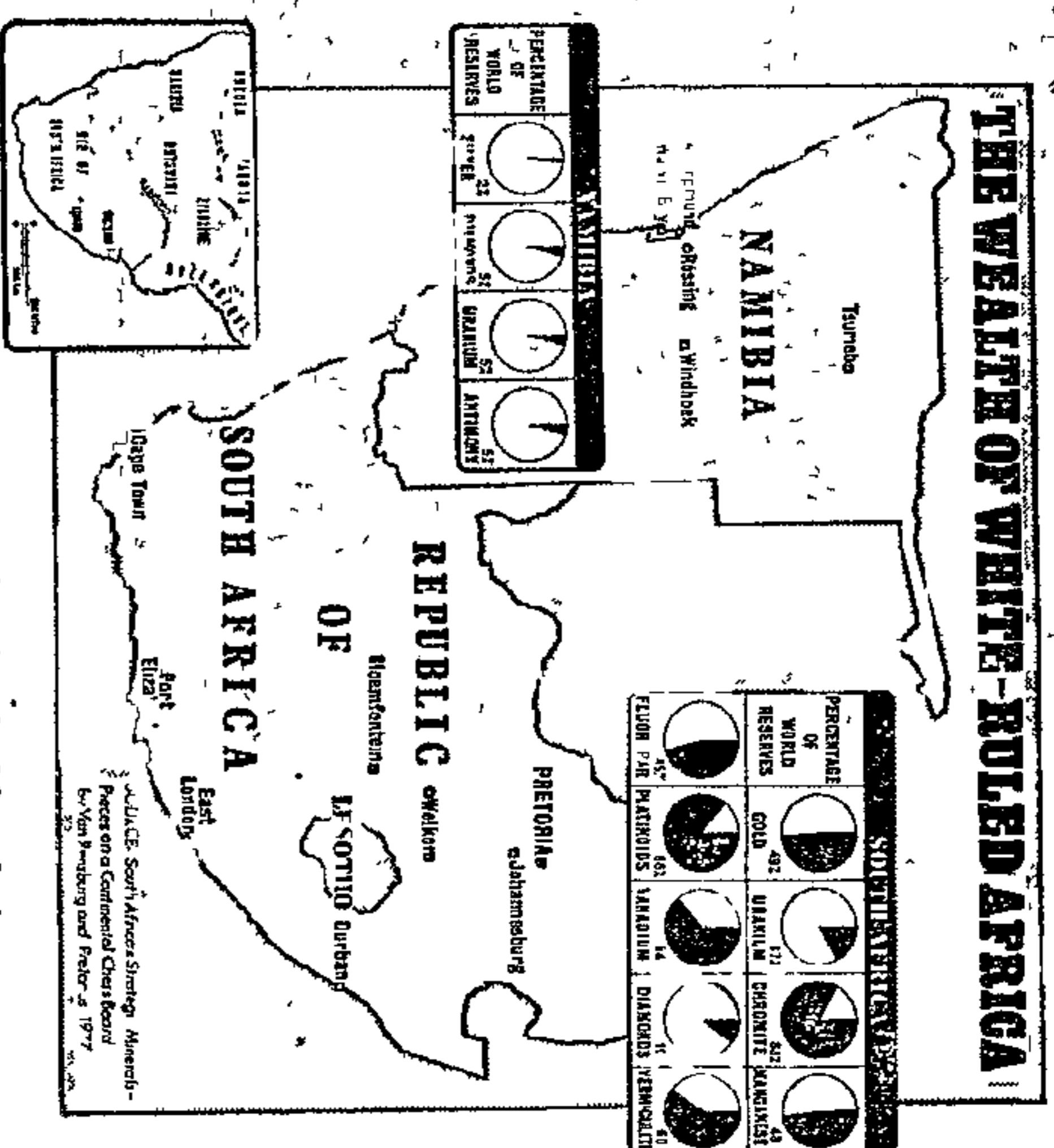
A SWAPO victory in SWA/Namibia could have two dire effects for Mr Botha in South African political terms. First, it would make him appear weak in the eyes of the white conservative majority, when he is still uncertain of his control of the ruling National Party. Second, it could provide a big fillip to radical black politics.

On the other hand, the risks of not doing a deal in Geneva have not seemed that immediate in Pretoria. While talk of sanctions will be revived

at the UN, it will be more of the same "heavy breathing", it is argued. Neither Mrs Thatcher, in Britain, nor President Reagan of the US would go along with it.

Moreover, the front-line states are in no economic state to set out on a path of total confrontation with South Africa, still relying as they do on South African Railways and harbours for their imports and exports, and South African farmers for emergency food supplies. As for the military threat from SWAPO, that is considered insignificant.

The obvious advantage of a delay is that it gives Pretoria a chance to see if Mr Reagan will be more sympathetic to the South African cause. South African diplomats argue that no great change should be expected, but the politicians certainly hope for



SWA/Namibia cannot compare with South Africa's huge reserves of minerals, many of them of considerable strategic importance to the West. None the less, SWA/Namibia is already the fourth largest non-fuel mineral producer in Africa. And De Beers' Consolidated Diamond Mines there is the biggest producer of gem diamonds in the world, and contributed 18 percent of the South African company's profits in 1979. Already, Britain's Rio Tinto-Zinc has the world's largest uranium mine at Rossing.

much more cordial relations. Mr Botha's overall strategy remains the one put to him by his military advisers, like General Malan, the former chief of the South African Defence

Force and now Defence Minister. It is to resist what is seen as an international marxist onslaught, implemented by the likes of SWAPO, while instituting enough reforms internally to ensure that

the grievances of the black population do not provide a fertile breeding ground for revolution. The domestic policy is paramount, whereas relations with neighbouring states can be resolved by a strong military arm.

But Mr Botha may be underestimating the extent of the international pressures on him. Although the initial South African reaction has been that the Geneva conference was a success, because it enabled South Africa to present its SWA/Namibian allies as the main negotiators, others see it as something of a diplomatic disaster for Pretoria. Certainly SWAPO managed to present itself as reasonably moderate, and willing to compromise.

For the front-line states, the underlying realities remain unchanged by Geneva. Angola in particular and to a lesser extent Zambia, have suffered military action and disruption as a direct result of the war in SWA/Namibia. The Angolan Government believes that if it could get a settlement in SWA/Namibia, it would cut off

South African support from the Unita guerrilla movement, which controls much of southern Angola, and prevents the Benguela railway line from carrying Zambian and Zaire copper.

As for the Western powers, there are no easy options. They must understand that in Pretoria the sort of solution produced in Zimbabwe by the Lancaster House conference is regarded as a disaster. If South Africa is to agree to a solution involving SWAPO in Namibia, then one of two things must happen: the alternative must seem a worse risk, or Mr Botha must feel strong enough at home to abandon Namibia, and its 100,000 whites, most of them Afrikaners, to the fate of the ballot box.

It is possible that Conservative Administrations in Britain and Washington, making sympathetic noises towards Mr Botha's cautious racial reforms, will give him some of that necessary self-confidence. But they can hardly help him win votes (indeed, international sympathy might even prove counter-productive in a traditionally isolationist electorate). For the foreseeable future, however, there is little that the international community can do.

The one hopeful sign from Geneva is that for the first time, South African Government officials set down at the same table as SWAPO, a black nationalist movement they had previously refused to have anything to do with. Moreover, the conference, however abortive, was a direct result of negotiations between South Africa and the marxist Angolan Government. The lesson was not lost on one leading Afrikaner Nationalist commentator, who is particularly close to Mr Botha. In an article headed "Like SWAPO the ANC lies ahead" Mr Tom Vosloo, the editor of the Nationalist newspaper, argued that "the day will come when a South African Government sits down at a negotiating table, with the (banned) African National Congress." That is certainly a sign of a change of attitudes.

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SWA

faces

bloody

year

of

war

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cont.

Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — South West Africa faces its bloodiest year in the history of its 14-year-old bush war if both contenders in the conflict — Swapo and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — stick to their promises.

After the collapse of last week's multiparty talks in Geneva, Swapo pledged it would step up the war effort in SWA and a number of African states said they would stand by them.

On his return to Windhoek from Geneva, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the SWA Minister's Council and chairman of the DTA, said his forces would hit back.

Mr Mudge said he did not think Swapo was capable of stepping up the war effort because they did not have the manpower.

“But if it does, we will be able to cope with it, and if necessary act more aggressively,” he said.

old, has already toll.
Two South African soldiers were killed in action against Swapo insurgents in the northern operational area last Thursday.

The second-in-command of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Wilhe Meyer, said Corporal Hermanus Wessels, 21, of Bloemfontein and Rifleman Leonard Truter, 23, of Strand, were killed in action.

In the hot pursuit, 35 Swapo insurgents were killed. So far this year 126 Swapo raiders have been killed.

Seven civilians have died in landmine operations this year. Five were killed in two explosions — one in the Kaokoveld and one near Ruacana — last week.

Last year 1 467 guerrillas were killed in the war, while 76 South African soldiers were killed in operations. About 400 civilians were killed by Swapo infiltrators or in landmine blasts last year.

The Council of Churches of Namibia warned in a statement that there could be an escalation of "violence, murder and bloodshed following the failure of the Geneva conference."

One of the DTA delegates at the conference, Mr Katuutire Kaura, chief secretary of the National United Democratic Organisation (Nudo), the Herero component of the DTA, caused a stir in Geneva when he advocated the massacre of all Swapo supporters.

He said the only way to hammer Swapo was to do it the "African way" by eliminating them. Mr Kaura said the South African Police were, however, preventing his people from doing so and suggested that the police were aiding Swapo.

But many people in Namibia were worried by Mr Kaura's "warmongering" talk.

The leader of the Swapo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga, accused Mr Kaura of advocating genocide of one section of the Namibian population — the Ovambos.

As the spectre of war hung over SWA, the first blacks to be called up for compulsory military service left their homes for training.

The concept of compulsory conscription has met with resistance from some quarters in the territory.

Five churches in the territory which sent a petition to the State President in October last year on the matter revealed the contents of the petition last week.

The five churches were the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Owambo-Kavango, the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the African Methodist Church.

The churches said they had decided to release details of the petition to the public because they had received no communication from the State President's office apart from a letter acknowledging receipt of the petition.

The churches said the proclamation for compulsory military service could escalate the proportions of a bloody civil war and anarchy.

DTA man: We can't depend on the UN

RDM 21/1/81 (221)

WINDHOEK — The people of South West Africa could not depend on the United Nations to solve their problems and would have to find a solution themselves, Mr Peter Kalangula, president of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Mr Kalangula issued a statement after the DTA executive had met to consider the Geneva conference.

He said strong unity among the people of the territory was needed to combat the military and political onslaught.

"It has once again become quite clear that we dare not depend on the United Nations to solve the problems in our country and to lead the country to peaceful independence," Mr Kalangula said. "The people of Namibia will have to find the solution to these problems themselves."

The solution did not lie in a multitude of political parties, many of which existed in name only, and loose co-operation against a common enemy.

What was needed, he said, was unity founded on a common goal and a common political ideology and loyalty to a common fatherland.

Mr Kalangula appealed to the people of the territory to support the DTA in its efforts "as the only party which has proved itself as an effective opposition to Swapo."

He asked political parties to support the interim government in SWA, the Council of Ministers, and the National Assembly.

On the Geneva conference, Mr Kalangula said the DTA had succeeded in convincing the international community and the world media that Swapo was

not the only political party in SWA.

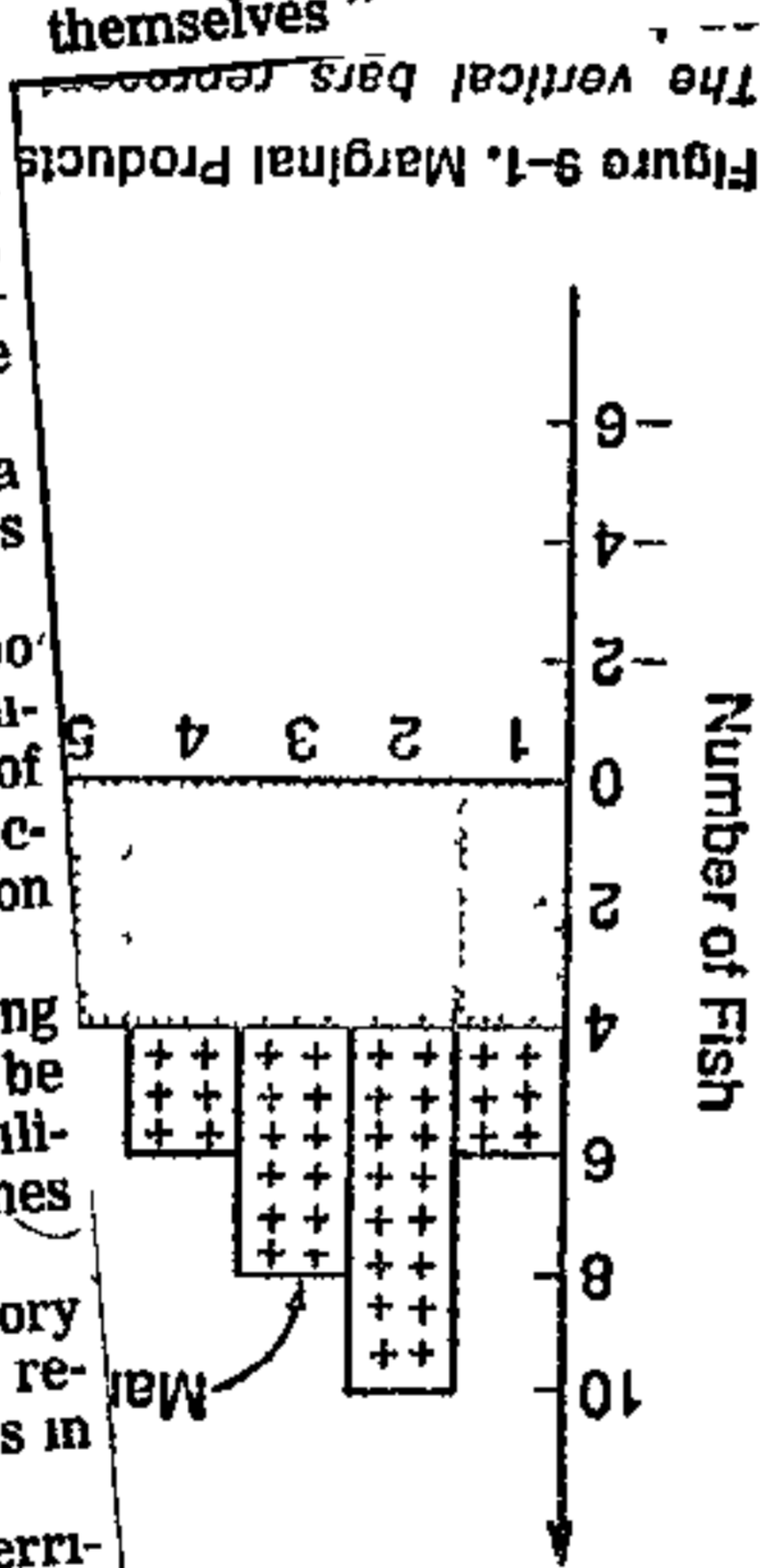
The UN bias towards Swapo had been effectively conveyed, using the pre-implementation conference as an international forum.

The DTA had held five news conferences, attended by hundreds of newsmen, and six members of the alliance had spoken in the conference chamber.

"There can no longer be any doubt that the matter of impartiality and mutual trust had been driven home," Mr Kalangula said.

The DTA agreed that signing a ceasefire, and the implementation of Resolution 435 was impossible under current circumstances.

It was now up to the UN to prove its impartiality and credibility, he said — Sapa.



Production
Joint, Team
We examined specialization in the preceding chapter; now we examine another source of enhanced output, teamwork. People work with other people or with other people's resources to jointly produce something. Two of us, navigator and pilot, operate an airplane. Two of us operate a steel mill, as crane operator, you as rolling mill controller. Three of us operate a fishing boat, as helmsman, as engineer, and handler of the nets. Four people perform surgery on a patient: a surgeon, an anaesthetist, surgical aide, and attending nurse. Five lawyers work together on a law case jointly creating their strategy. The magic of increased output from joint physical or mental effort is taken as a fact that need not be explained here. We need not explain for example why two people...

Richard A. Nelson
Exchange and
Product

RDM 21 Jan 81

From Tim Patten

LONDON. — One of the first issues to mar the 'honeymoon' which is about to begin between Mrs Margaret Thatcher of Britain and President Ronald Reagan of the US is likely to be a stance on SWA/Namibia.

This is the view of Western diplomats on the eve of the inauguration of the new President in Washington.

It may not manifest itself in the early stages of their blissful co-existence on the same platform of conservatism, but there is little doubt that the two leaders will be looking at the problem of SWA/Namibia from a different vantage point

Mrs Thatcher, on the reasoned advice of her able Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, is deeply committed to the unsponsored efforts to achieve independence in the disputed territory, and is unlikely to step out of line with the stance adopted by the big five, prior to Reagan.

Mr Reagan, however, is expected to look at the issue anew, refusing to accept President Carter's posturing.

Although diplomatic observers admit that speculation at this stage on what President Reagan thinks about SWA/Namibia is guesswork, it is known that General Haig is a quiet admirer of South Africa — not of its internal policies, but of its role as bastion of the West and a bulwark against communism in Africa

As Supreme Commander of NATO in the mid-1970s, General Haig was responsible for the drafting of a contingency plan for the defence of the Cape oil route in the event of war. Much of the plan depends on South African co-operation and the use of the Silvermine naval monitoring station, a fact which underlines his contact, and defence sympathies with the South African authorities.

Many of Mr Reagan's advisers as well as General Haig look on Africa as primarily an area of competition between the West and the Soviet Union.

With many African countries falling into an area of the unknown, East or West supporting, the

Where Reagan, Thatcher may differ

Argus
21/1/81
22/1

Reagan Administration will draw comfort from South Africa's firm stance.

The British Government, on the other hand, is deeply committed to the UN-sponsored efforts on SWA/Namibia, although it is a commitment the Thatcher Government inherited from the Labour Government at the time of the first Big Five initiative.

So while Mrs Thatcher might personally wish to take up a position more in line with the Reagan thinking, the commitment and the disastrous repercussions it would have on

Differences over South West Africa may provide the first rift in the liaison between Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

relations with African Commonwealth countries must prevent this.

This difference, diplomats feel, is likely to lead to one of the first minor quarrels between the two 'honeymooners'. They will have the opportunity to discuss this and other issues when Mrs Thatcher visits Mr Reagan in Washington.

She will be the first Western leader to do so early in the new President's term of office.

Mrs Thatcher has noted how close Mr Reagan's views are to her own on a wide variety of subjects. They are both ardent believers in Milton Friedman's monetarism policies, they both want free marketing competition and less Government interfer-

ence and are both hardliners on Soviet expansionist aims.

The British Foreign Office, which does not always share Mrs Thatcher's foreign policy views, at least until Lord Carrington is able to help her reshape them, has also pointed to every available sign of British compatibility with the Reagan foreign policy team.

But there remains the potential for a number of points of conflict in which Britain could find itself torn between the 'special relationship' with Washington and its efforts to be an increasingly foreign policy partner in the European community.

Besides the differences over SWA/Namibia, there is likely to be strong disagreement about Allied defence preparedness and European relations with the Soviet Union.

There is also the question of just how far Britain, and other Western European countries, are willing to follow the US in deep-freezing diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union if it intervenes militarily in Poland, or stage-manages Angolan-style adventures elsewhere in the world.

Some diplomats believe the fall-out between the two leaders may come sooner than generally expected, but that they would be able to live together, at least, as one observer put it, 'in greater compatibility than with Jimmy Carter'.

BUILDING

(Cont)

ARCHI

Geneva showed that 'blacks are on own'

RDM

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By ARNOLD GEYER

THE lesson of the recent Geneva conference on a settlement for South West Africa was that blacks were "on their own" in their struggle for liberation and could not bargain on the international community for help.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said this at the weekend when he addressed a meeting of the movement's central committee at Ondini, KwaZulu.

"I am not saying the international community is insincere when it comes to fighting the evils of apartheid," said Chief Buthelezi. "But when it comes to the push, we are very much on our own."

Despite the efforts of the international community, blacks had seen on the SWA issue "how few hat tricks are left to try to force South Africa to fall in line."

"South Africa remains

intransigent. The South African white power minority elite strikes terror into the hearts of world leaders. And how do they do it? They do it with gold, uranium and other strategic minerals."

The Government's arm could be twisted if the world community was determined to do so, but "at what cost?", Chief Buthelezi asked.

"We are, therefore, in for dull politics in these parts, because we have to take each step slowly but surely. We have to realise that we are in for very sober politics, where over-excitement is simply fatal."

This was bad, said Chief Buthelezi, because those who "could not think further than their noses" misinterpreted Inkatha's strategy.

Turning to critics of the strategy, he said: "If they have the key, why don't they open the door for us. Let us stop chasing spooks and each one of us do his bit seriously and

sincerely.

"Let us, in the 1980s, not allow those who think that ideological stands are the pavements to a political heaven waste our time arguing the point among ourselves."

Referring to his political opponents who argued that "it would be better to let things drift to a showdown", Chief Buthelezi warned against those who allowed "anger to have a free sway", and therefore "opted for brute force".

"History has given us a great responsibility in this land. We are called upon by destiny to save the whites from being strangled by ramifications of their own greed and selfishness."

"If there is any commodity we blacks need desperately in these circumstances, it is cool minds. It will be the greatest disservice we can do ourselves, and our future generations, to lose our cool."

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ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

New bid to get mission sister out of Ovambo

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Ovambo Executive Committee has withheld a R220 000 subsidy to the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church to try to force a Finnish mission sister out of the region.

The chairman of the committee, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, said earlier this month the subsidy for the health services which the church provided in Ovambo — about R1-million a year — would be stopped until the woman was "transferred".

Pastor Ndjoba has twice demanded the expulsion of Miss Kaino Kovanen (54), after a Swapo killing at Nakayale Hospital on November 1 last year.

The executive committee claimed Miss Kovanen, who has served in the area for 23 years, was responsible for the removal of a special police guard from headman Mr Lisius Aluuma hours before he was shot dead in his hospital bed.

A spokesman for the Ovambo administration today confirmed that a quarterly instalment of the subsidy, due to have been paid last month, had been withheld.

The move came after a refusal by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, to take any steps against Miss Kovanen.

Mr Hough reached his decision late last month after a "thorough" police investigation of the incident, which established that Miss Kovanen had not been involved.

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Call for total ban on Swapo by DTA man

By PETER KENNY
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Swapo can be totally eliminated without having to resort to genocide. That is the view of Mr Katuure Kaura, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegate to the Geneva talks who raised eyebrows in Europe with his fighting talk.

Mr Kaura, publicity secretary of the National United Democratic Organisation, the Herero component of the DTA, also said the actions of the South African police in South West Africa were aiding Swapo.

He advocated an "African solution" to eliminate Swapo.

But Mr Kaura's strong words raised fears in some quarters in South West Africa, including in the Swapo-Democrat leader, Mr Andreas Shipanga, that he was advocating "genocide".

A columnist in the hard-hitting English weekly newspaper, the Windhoek Observer, accused Mr Kaura of being SWA's Idi Amin.

But the quiet-spoken academic, who was exiled from the land of his birth for 14 years, said the last thing he wanted was genocide.

But he felt the dual role Swapo played in SWA — on the one hand as a guerilla army and on the other as a legally participating internal party — was a contradiction.

While the military wing of Swapo, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, is waging a guerrilla war in the northern part of the territory, the party is still allowed to officially function.

It draws large crowds to its occasional meetings, but a number of the leaders have had restriction orders placed on them.

Mr Kaura said that by referring to an "African solution" he meant that no country in Africa would allow a movement like Swapo to function legally while it was undermining law, order and the basic fabric of the society, and was "terrorising" the very people it claimed to be liberating.

He said he believed Swapo was just "a gang of poorly organised thugs and bandits who lay landmines which kill innocent men, women and children".

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ARCHITECTURE

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He believed Swapo should be totally banned and its leaders in the territory given the chance to join the forces of law and order.

He accused some representatives of Swapo's internal wing, who were present at Geneva, of planning violent acts in the territory while they were given the freedom to return peacefully.

Mr Kaura shrugged off the "Idi Amin" accusation and did not feel particularly inclined to comment on it.

He said he was quite content to work through the DTA by peaceful means for the liberation of SWA's people.

While he felt SWA was lagging still in school opportunities for black pupils, he felt the situation had changed drastically since he fled to Tanzania, politically and educationally frustrated, in 1964.

While he did not think Swapo stood a chance of winning a "free and fair" election supervised by an unbiased United Nations, if Swapo won he would not be staying.

"In the unlikely event of Swapo taking over, I will leave because there will be killing with impunity."

He felt the majority of Owambos, who were ordinary supporters of Swapo, and not active, merely, did so for fear of the alternative consequences.

The DTA, he said, had no pressure exerted on it by South Africa when it decided to attend the Geneva talks.

The DTA felt it could gain more by being in the international spotlight at the talks than by staying at home.

OAU meets 'to plot more aid for Swapo'

By JOSÉ CAETANO

THE Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee is meeting in the Tanzanian city of Arusha to discuss ways of stepping up military and financial aid to Swapo following the failure of the Geneva talks.

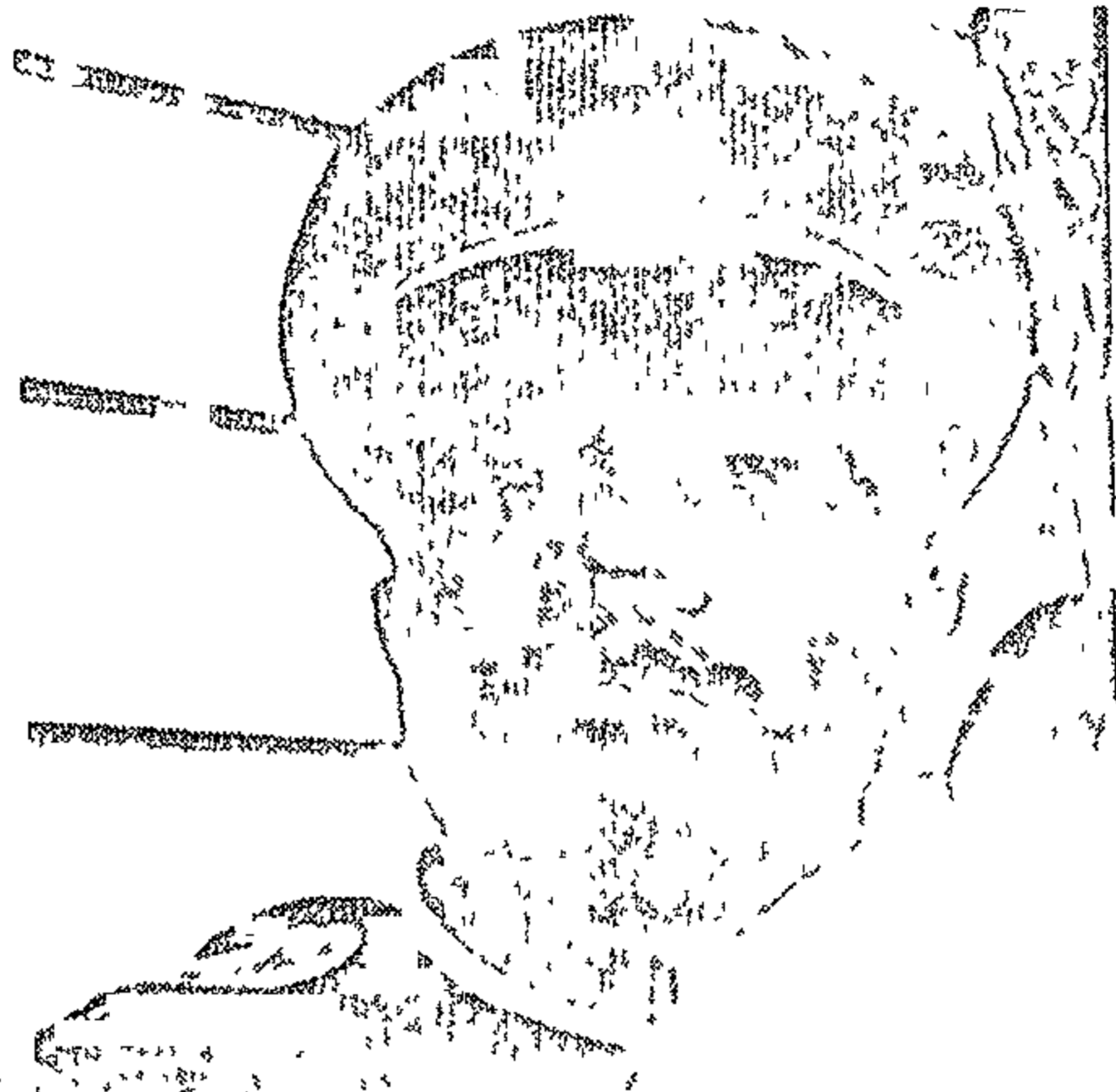
The 18 nation committee is meeting under the chairmanship of its executive secretary, Colonel Hashim Mbita of Tanzania, and is being attended by delegations from the Frontline States.

Radio Tanzania reported that the leader of the Tanzanian delegation, the Minister of Information and Culture Mr Benjamin Mkapa, told the opening session the meeting's objective was to "plot increased aid for Swapo's armed struggle after failure of the Geneva talks".

Colonel Mbita, 47, an ex-Press officer to President Julius Nyerere and secretary-general of Tanzania's African National Union (renamed Chama Cha Mapinduzi in 1977), was appointed after the OAU Rehat summit meeting in 1972 found the performance of his predecessor, Mr George Mngombi less than effective.

In February, 1973, he was described by the now defunct Info funded magazine, *To The Point*, as "a dynamic organiser".

The Liberation Committee



Mr Benjamin Mkapa, a Tanzanian MP, leads his country's delegation at the OAU meeting.

was created in terms of Article II (1) (d) of the OAU Charter to evaluate, supervise and coordinate planning and performance of guerrilla movements in Africa and the allocation of arms and supplies donated by OAU member states.

At its first meeting in April in Dar-es-Salaam the committee

decided to

- Increase aid to the ANC and Swapo
- Aid Frontline States in case of attacks by South Africa
- Intensify diplomatic activity aimed at achieving the complete economic and political isolation of South Africa

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ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

THE 64 000 dollar question at the SWA/Namibia conference at Geneva was never answered for reasons that can now be put in sharper perspective

The question was whether South Africa was negotiating in good faith in a sincere attempt to reach agreement or was simply using the talks to stall for time.

It was not answered because the answer could only have come through South Africa making commitments in an agreement and no agreement was reached.

But the parties at the conference should now have a very good idea — if they didn't have it before — of what must be done to get agreement, or at least to call South Africa's bluff

Throughout the Geneva meeting the Western group kept searching for South Africa's 'bottom line' as though it were the touchstone for success.

By bottom line they meant South Africa's minimum terms for settlement, the point beyond which Pretoria would not budge.

CLEARER

If they could establish this, the Western delegates felt, they could get a clearer view of what concessions might have to be negotiated on either side to get agreement on a date for the start of the ceasefire and independence election.

The SWA/Namibia negotiations being a high-stakes game and the South Africans stubborn players, they refused to show their hand.

But it is very likely that the South African bottom line has already been set out in Government declarations, most recently by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on SABC television last Sunday night

This appears very simply to be that the Government cannot be seen to be co-operating in putting into power in SWA/Namibia a government (especially a Swapo one) that was not elected through patently free and fair elections.

To do so would be to expose the South African Government to a crippling onslaught from the right wing in the Republic. It would be bad enough to be seen to be co-operating in putting a Swapo government in power through

Question Geneva did not answer

Argus 22/1/81

22/1

If a Swapo victory at the polls is to be acceptable there must be no doubt about the freeness and fairness of the voting, no doubt that the election of Swapo was the choice of the people in deciding their own future.

If this is the Government's bottom line, it is entirely consistent with its insistence that the internal parties and not South Africa should negotiate their own future at Geneva.

And it is the basis of the insistence by South Africa and the major internal parties at Geneva that no agreement could be reached on implementing the United Nations-supervised ceasefire and election without adequate assurances of UN impartiality.

African and Western suspicions that the impartiality issue was being used by South Africa to stall

mands for time-consuming demonstrations of impartiality — the other side would be playing into the internal parties' hands and giving them the time they need to build up their electoral strength and weaken Swapo's.

But by abandoning the negotiations and going off to launch a probably doomed attempt to get sanctions imposed against South Africa they are doing that anyway.

By GERALD L'ANGE, editor of Argus Africa News Service.

for time were strengthened when the DTA revealed only towards the end of the conference that it wanted the impartiality to be demonstrated over a long period, not suddenly 'like switching on a light.'

The suspicions were further strengthened by the DTA's late introduction of constitutional issues at the conference, which was supposed to confine itself to implementing agreement already reached in principle on the ceasefire and election.

No attempt seems to have been made to test South Africa by granting her conditions and putting them up against Swapo's reiterated assertion that it

Cont

ARCHITECTURE

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free and fair elections. Allowing Swapo to get into power without clear majority support would be inviting political disaster at home.

would easily win free and fair elections. Rather than call South Africa's bluff it was decided to call off the game. Undoubtedly there was behind this a real fear that by granting the de-

FREE WILL

The Government has publicly committed itself to allowing the people of Namibia to decide their own future. This involves accepting whatever government the people might elect and presumably whatever constitutional system they might of their own free will devise.

Under this commitment the Government can no more be blamed for what happens to the whites in SWA/Namibia than it can be held for making the commitment — an entirely proper one — in the first place.

But to appeal to cooperate in the installation of a black majority government not freely chosen by the people would seem like sacrificing the whites, especially the Afrikaners, to political expediency. Clearly no South African government could do this.

Thus it is imperative that the Government should not appear to have at all succeeded in its effort to seize the initiative from the barrel of a gun — and by Swaziland's default.

LE

Republic
wrecked
talks on
purpose

LONDON — Britain's Opposition Labour Party has accused the South African Government of intentionally wrecking the conference on South West Africa in Geneva

Mr Dennis Healey, Labour's chief foreign affairs spokesman, told the House of Commons "The responsibility for this tragic breakdown rests unequivocally with the Government of South Africa"

Mr Richard Luce, Foreign Office Under-Secretary, declined to lay blame on any party to the talks

He repeated the government's belief that there should be a "reconsideration" of attitudes

"Looking back over several years of negotiations, it has required compromise on all sides by all the parties. It would not be right to cast the blame on one party solely," he said

Failure to reach agreement on the implementation of the UN plan for independence was a setback for the people of South West, he said

"The only people who stand to gain from discontent and violence are the Soviet Union and her satellites," he added

Mr Healey praised Swapo, saying the organisation had shown "more flexibility and moderation in seeking to relieve the United Nations of its responsibility for recognising Swapo as the only representative of the people of Namibia"

He said he hoped that when the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, visited Washington next month to see President Reagan, they would "make clear that the credibility of the West in Africa is now at stake" — Sapa

18 Council members back from the 'front'

CAPE TOWN — Members of the President's Council returned to Pretoria yesterday after a three-day tour of the operational area in South West Africa/Namibia

Among 18 members of the planning and scientific committees who went were the Vice-State President and chairman of the council, Mr Alwyn Schiebusch, the chairman of the planning committee Mr Braam Raubenheimer, and the chairman of the scientific committee, Professor Ernst Marais

The group visited Windhoek for briefings by some of the territory's political leaders before travelling to operational bases in Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi for briefings on the military situation

Brigadier-General Charles Lloyd commanding officer for the territory, outlined its strategic importance and said South Africa could learn a great deal from the situation

He stressed that the South African military presence did

not constitute an "occupation force" but was there at the request of the local population to protect them from acts of terrorism and intimidation by Swapo

Swapo had no need to wage an armed struggle for independence, he said, because that was also South Africa's desire for the territory

However, Swapo did not want to take part in the normal democratic process because it wanted total power

South Africa's aims for the territory were to end the war, make SWA/Namibia independent and ensure security and stability Swapo had to be made to see it could not possibly succeed militarily and that it should submit to the democratic process

Gen Lloyd said Swapo needed a ceasefire now more than ever because of successes against it in the field. Its fighters were going hungry through lack of supplies

Military success against Swapo, however would not mean much unless political and social developments in SWA/Namibia were accelerated

To neutralise Swapo's propaganda war the territory needed a political organisation which could reach and unify the entire population by realising people's aspirations

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Minister's Council and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, told the Council members that a united political front was needed to defeat Swapo, but that it had to take into account the heterogeneity of the territory's 11 population groups

What was needed was a single country with one flag, one anthem and one State President — "One nation, free of racial discrimination, and with that we can beat Swapo"

Swapo could be beaten politically by the internal parties, but they still needed military assistance, said Mr Mudge — Sapa

Swapo revives demand for sanctions against SA

NEW YORK — Swapo has revived its demand for total economic sanctions against South Africa, following the failure of the Geneva talks

Its United Nations spokesman, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, also welcomed a statement by General Alexander Haig, the United States Secretary of State-designate that he might visit Southern Africa soon after taking office

"It would be a good beginning," Mr Gurirab said. "I hope that when he visits, he will leave preconceived ideas

about Africa behind in Washington and come to Africa to understand it"

Mr Gurirab said consultations had begun among Security Council members on the outcome of the Geneva conference, which collapsed in disagreement on a UN plan for free elections leading to independence of the territory

He said March was a "likely time" for a council meeting to consider a proposal for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, which rules the territory. The embargo should in-

clude a ban on oil shipments to the country, he said

Mr Gurirab also served notice that his guerrilla group wanted a special session of the General Assembly to be called to dramatise the South West problem

He said Swapo was not deterred by the possibility of Western vetoes to block a mandatory sanctions resolution in the council

The five-member Western contact group, comprising the US, France, Britain, West Germany and Canada, had asked Swapo for time to prepare and obtain implementation of a plan for UN-supervised elections

Now that the Geneva conference had been "wrecked" by South Africa, the chips must fall where they may, Mr Gurirab said. At the same time, he declined a reporter's suggestion that the Western members were partly to blame for the breakdown — Sapa-Reuter

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FM 23/1/80

Namibia: a welcome failure

(22)

The *London Daily Telegraph* in a leader on January 14.

Geneva has been the scene of many deadlocked international conferences. Another has been added to the list with the failure of the UN-sponsored attempt to agree on a ceasefire and subsequent elections in SWA (Namibia). Insofar as an end to the guerrilla war in that country is clearly desirable, the failure must be regretted.

What is not to be regretted, can indeed be positively welcomed, is that a plan which would have led SWA straight into the Soviet orbit has been aborted, for the time being at least. The basis on which the Geneva conference was held was a false one. Only if that basis could have been modified at the outset would there have been any chance of a fair and equitable outcome.

The basis for the conference was false because it proceeded from the premise that supervision of a ceasefire, and subsequent elections, would be undertaken by a body — the United Nations — which had already declared itself for one of the contending parties.

The UN General Assembly, which is dominated, under the one-nation-one-vote principle, by an Afro-Asian bloc, has voted that the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) is the "sole representative" of the people of Namibia. It recognises Swapo as a government-in-exile and has provided it with money to set up a New York office and UN representation.

In fact, Swapo, which is backed and armed by Russia, is based entirely on the Ovambo tribe in northern Namibia, one of 11 different ethnic groupings in the country. It derives its support from bases and supplies in neighbouring Soviet-controlled Angola.

SWA is strategically a territory of great importance, because of its position on the Cape route and its mineral resources. It would be a colossal setback for the West for it to fall under Russian control, which would result if the present external wing of Swapo were foisted into power. There must now be a period of cool reflection. The immediate need is for the UN to give concrete demonstration of its claimed impartiality.

Diplomatic SWA deal sought by Angola

Argus

24/1/81

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Weekend Argus Bureau

NEW YORK -- Angolan leaders still want to achieve with Western powers a 'diplomatic' independence settlement for South West Africa, holding out hope that Cuban troops could leave Angola if the issue is solved.

Unlike many other African representatives angered by the apparent failure of a recent conference in Geneva, leading officials of the Angolan Government and the ruling MPLA party seem intentionally to be avoiding demands for United Nations sanctions against South Africa.

And they suggest that a settlement in SWA could mean a pragmatic relationship with the South African Government in spite of its universally abhorred apartheid policies.

SECRET

Mr Lucio Lara, secretary of the MPLA, says that if we have no more direct conflicts with South Africa, conditions will be created for discussion and a way of getting on in spite of apartheid.

And Foreign Minister Am Paulo Jorge — believed to be the most senior Angolan

official at a secret meeting with South African Government representatives on Ilha do Sal last year — says bluntly that Luanda has told the United States: 'When the threat from South Africa disappears we won't need the Cuban presence here.'

WALDHEIM

The meeting in the Cape Verde is understood to have precipitated proposals that led the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, convening the Geneva meeting.

Mr Jorge, speaking to New York Times writer Anthony Lewis in Luanda, appeared optimistic that Pretoria would still accept the United Nations formulation for an independence settlement in the territory.

In a dispatch from the Angolan capital Lewis quotes Mr Jorge as saying: 'We were disappointed in South Africa at Geneva. But we do think it was an important step to sit together with the South Africans and talk.'

He added: 'The South Africans are beginning to change, not the change that we want, but they are convinced now that they must change.'

'How they do it is their problem. We understand that they have their difficulties, they have their

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OAU doubles aid to Swapo, urges sanctions against SA

ARUSHA, Tanzania — The OAU has decided to double its material aid to guerillas fighting in SWA/Namibia and last night Zimbabwe gave 30 000 dollars (R37 500) to a special SWA/Namibia fund

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, chairing a meeting of the OAU's "Liberation Committee" in this north Tanzanian town, appealed to all OAU members to give generously to a "special emergency fund" it had established for the Angolan-based Swapo

He said the West had to realise its continued good relations with black Africa depended on its performance over SWA/Namibia

Earlier the Committee, which channels OAU funds to southern African liberation movements,

passed an 18-point resolution in which it called on the UN to impose mandatory sanctions on South Africa

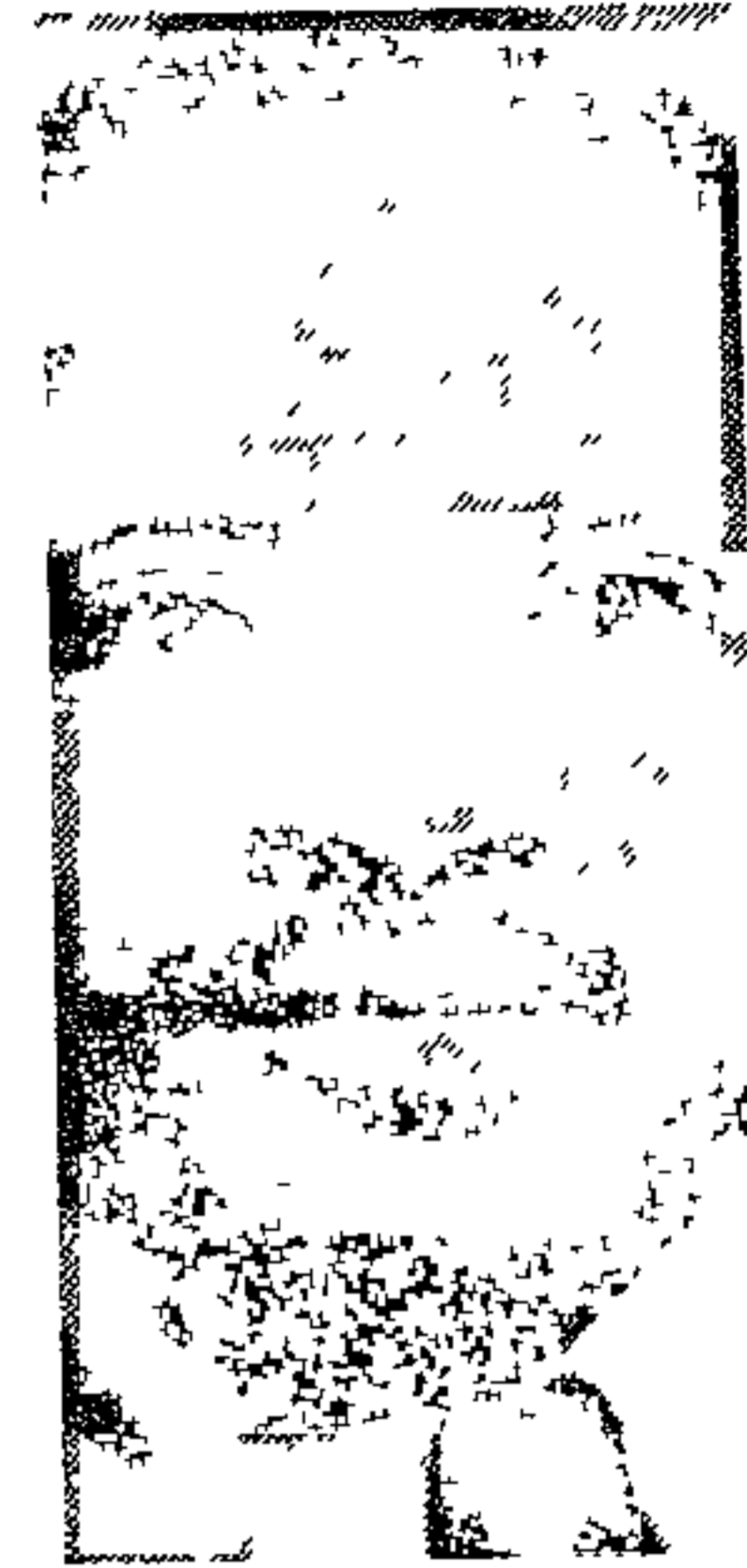
The resolution blamed the five-nation Western contact group — France, Britain, Canada, West Germany and the US — for failing, "because of vested interests" to put pressure on Pretoria to negotiate seriously at the Geneva peace talks which ended in deadlock earlier this month

Delegate sources said the OAU's allocation to Swapo had been doubled in the 1981/82 budget to 30 000 dollars (R52 500) and, as last April's Zimbabwe independence had freed more funds, allocations to the banned South African nationalist movements, the Pan-African Congress and African National Con-

gress, would also be doubled

However, a report by the Committee's executive secretary, Colonel Hashim Mbita, said the situation over arrears of contributions by OAU members to the Liberation Committee was "alarming" — at the start of this year they stood at 14 880 000 dollars (R10 million)

● LUSAKA — President Kaunda yesterday pledged Zambia's continued support for Swapo, which he said was being forced to turn to armed struggle to achieve independence in SWA/Namibia, the Zambia news agency reported. Dr Kaunda was greeting Swapo's President Mr Sam Nujoma, who called on the Zambian leader to brief him on the breakdown of the recent Geneva conference — Sapa-
Reuter.



Mr Witness Mangwenda . appeal to give generously

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Kaura: A new star on the Namibian political scene

S. Times 25/1/81 (221)

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

MR Katuutire Kaura went to this month's Geneva conference as a practically unknown member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's negotiating team. He came home as Namibia's political shooting star.

This week in Johannesburg he said he believed he had sufficient influence inside the DTA to help direct policy, but he dismisses the idea that he is Namibia's new political strong man or the successor to assassinated Herero Chief Clemens Kapuuo.

It was Chief Kapuuo's death in 1978 which brought Mr Kaura back to Namibia from the United States to engage in active politics inside the country

Part

"Chief Kapuuo was my cousin

"At the time of his death I felt that positive changes were happening in Namibia and felt I must come back and participate," he said

Does he believe that he will eventually succeed the dead chief?

"I have no idea where my political future lies

"Politics are prey to unpredictable human variables I will just keep going as long as I am useful" he said "The chief's successor is already in control.

"I do not know what the future will hold in this regard"

Mr Kaura's political philosophy is based on practicalities rather than theories

"I am neither a dogmatist nor an idealist, but I am intolerant of injustice

"I don't believe that I am an angry young man but I get very intolerant, very uptight when people are not treated with respect

"I am interested in what can be done I like to see things done in a logical, orderly way.

Pragmatist

"My views are neither left nor rightwing.

"I am a pragmatist," he said

Tall, handsome, athletic and, above all, an articulate and forceful speaker, he not surprisingly became chief spokesman for the Herero group in the DTA at the abortive UN-administered conference which sought to find a way to begin an ending of the guerrilla war

His oratorical prowess was amply demonstrated this week when his charm and ease of manner at a Press conference showed the flair which has thrust Katuutire Kaura



Mr Katuutire Kaura at the Press conference this week

into the spotlight of international power politics

Not for him the headline-blasting bluster of a Joshua Nkomo nor the communist cant of Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe's early speeches in London's Red Lion Square

Already he has run into trouble by saying that he would deal with Swapo in the "African way, by eliminating them"

This type of statement has had him branded the Namibian Idi Amin by a Windhoek newspaper columnist and he caused something of a stir at the Press Club South Africa in Johannesburg to where he was specially flown by discount house king Mr Tony Factor to report on his views of the Geneva talks

He refused to accept the comparison with Mr Mugabe's

former Minister of Manpower; but with equal firmness he declined to retract from the "African solution"

"Calling me the Amin of Namibia was cheap sensationalism. The only comparison is that we are both black

"What I abhor is that Swapo kills people and yet its members walk around freely in Namibia I don't accept that this should be the case, you cannot kill people openly and be free yourself at the same time," Mr Kaura said

A keen sense of history and the transience of politicians dominate his outlook

At present he is adviser and publicity secretary to the Herero chiefs in the National United Democratic Organisation, which operates under the wing of Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA.

Where did he come from, this man who in two brief years in active politics has risen to become the spokesman of a nation?

Born 39 years ago of a humble family he graduated from high school in Namibia but, in 1964, he opted to "escape"

Without a passport and with R28 in his pocket he trudged across Namibia to Botswana on a journey to discover the outside world

Today he chuckles as he recounts the long trip by foot, lorry, ferry, and train to Dar es Salaam with a small party of other determined Namibians.

Precious

At the time it was hard going. They were obliged to spend precious food money hiring vehicles and were sometimes refused lifts as they hitched on the long road to a new future

Five months at an American training college in Dar es Salaam and Mr Kaura qualified for a leader exchange scholarship which took him to the United States and Long Island University, New York, where he read for a bachelor degree in history and minority education and went on to graduate as a Master of Science in the same subjects

From 1972 until 1978, Mr Kaura taught at a high school near New York by day and by night gave classes at the Rockland Community College

Between classes he studied for yet another degree, this time a Master of Education in Administration

Despite the pressure of academic work and teaching he also fitted in time to devote to his family. He married his Namibian wife, Victorine, when he was 21 and brought up his two sons, Kaenda, 18, and Tjivee, 16

Victorine is also involved in politics. She works for the DTA's Directorate of Social Welfare

Scorn

Mr Kaura talks about the Geneva conference with some scorn

- "We were terribly disappointed by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim. He seems to think he is talking to South Africa and not Namibia and that goes to the heart of the matter because they refuse to accept they are talking to the internal parties

- "It was a R10-million fiasco.

- "The internal parties would be prepared to accept further talks under a combination of one or more of the Western five power blocs even though most of those countries have a vested strategic mineral interest in the country

- "Sam Nujoma's position was very shaky — he has lost support inside his party. (Although he didn't name them Mr Kaura said that some of the "big names" in Swapo were missing at the talks).

- "Our territorial forces could pull off a ceasefire without UN help. We would have to ask South Africa to stop fighting.

- "The immediate priority of any government in the area is to build a nation and that is never finished. We need more schools and houses

- "For the next 100 years Namibia will not be a guerrilla base for anti-South African troops if the DTA group wins power.

- "The UN could not prove impartiality after years of supporting Swapo only"

New talks expected on SWA/Namibia plan

CT 26/1/81 (22)

LONDON — Most people involved in or closely observing the SWA/Namibia conference at Geneva, meant as a prelude to the execution of a generally-agreed plan for a ceasefire and UN-supervised independence elections, are now convinced that there will be another meeting between the parties, perhaps even later this year.

Some say that this postponement of the pre-election bargaining session is to the advantage of South Africa and the "internal parties" of Namibia. Others maintain that the advantage will continue to grow for the South West African People's Organization, Swapo (Why, I wonder, hasn't it changed its name to Napo?)

Three reasons

In the rest of the world outside Pretoria it is believed that South Africa engineered the collapse of the conference for three reasons

(1) The government wanted to see how much the Reagan presidency would be able to tilt the international balance in South Africa's favour,

(2) Mr P W Botha was fairly sure that Mr Sam Nujoma would achieve a Mugabe-like victory in any Namibian elections open to all parties, and

(3) Mr Botha wanted to secure his own position at home before angry groups of Afrikaners retreated from a black-ruled Namibia with tales of woe and ill-treatment and panicked all white South Africans further about making compromises with black nationalists.

Should this be a true reflection of the reasoning in the inner councils of the cabinet, there still remain a great number of ifs and buts. In the first place, could either the representatives of Pretoria or the internal parties, DTA and others, allow the UN sponsorship of Swapo to go unchallenged? With the UN posing as the ultimate in impartiality as a supervisor of any Namibian elections, how could it expect that the other contestants would ignore the fact that one of the major contenders was to all intents and purposes its adopted son? The UN authorities should have got themselves out of this position before these preliminaries — if only by ceremonially cancelling the adoption papers.

Of course all 50 members of the UN Africa lobby would have raised all hell about such a cancellation at first, but they would have finally seen the logic of it if Dr Waldheim's officers had put the case before them properly and vigorously. If the UN administrators did not see the cogency of arguments for such a move, why on earth didn't the governments of the Big Five (US, Canada, Britain, West Germany and France) have the matter thoroughly thrashed out? Finally, if the Swapo leadership was as confident of winning by ten lengths as it declared, why was it not willing to dispense with the sponsorship by some gesture at the Geneva conference, at least.

However, with President Reagan in the White House, a bluntly anti-communist General Haig heading the State Department, and a white conservative, Mrs Jackson, replacing



From ANTHONY DELIUS



Mr Sam Nujoma he is no Mugabe

a black career-diplomat, Mr McHenry, at the UN, are things going to change all that much for South Africa? After all, it has been agreed between the five Western negotiators for two years now that in order to get the Namibia problem peacefully settled it is worth risking that nearly 2 000 continuous kilometres of West African coast from Zaire river-mouth to Orange river-mouth may become more hospitable to Soviet shipping than they are today. A longer stretch of East African coast running from Kenya to the top of Natal has already existed in that condition for the last five years and the heavens haven't fallen.

Algeria

One wonders whether President Reagan and General Haig, because they are more tolerant of South Africa's policies than President Carter was, are going to drop a toughly negotiated position on Namibia hammered out together with four of the US's most powerful and reliable allies. There is also to be considered the affront this could cause to one of the Republic's fiercest critics in Africa. That is Algeria, which has just earned America's gratitude in the matter of the hostages in Iran.

Angola, which has helped to get negotiations between Swapo and South Africa going, has done so partly because she wants to broaden relations with the outside world, particularly including America.

Angola has a lot of problems, from the uneasy relations with Zaire along her northern borders to those with South Africa along her long southern border. The government in Luanda is eager to settle the territory as far as it can and has in recent months conducted elections for a national assembly, drawing as many of the common people into the process as it can. Rebuilding the country's economy and selling its coffee, oil and minerals depends on Western markets and Western development aid, however many Cubans and East Germans there are helping in the work.

So it is significant that the Angolans greeted the collapse of the Geneva talks with a statement that new talks must be started eventually. Together with this they have also pub-

licely doubted whether trying to impose world sanctions on South Africa will be very effective or even desirable. Although the Angolans blame many of their difficulties on South Africa and Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerillas, and reaffirm their support for Swapo, they don't want the economy of Southern Africa to become more disturbed than it already is.

The possibility that UN-supervised elections will result in a sweeping victory for Nujoma's Swapo is just that — a possibility, not a certainty. The South African administration, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and the majority of the whites have all wasted their chances to build up greater confidence in their intentions among the blacks, but Swapo has made its mistakes, too.

It must also be realized that Sam Nujoma is no Mugabe in either intelligence or political ability, and probably does not command the loyalty among the Ovambo that the Zimbabwean leader did, and still does, among the Shona.

White skill

On the other hand an election victory by the "marxist" Nujoma may leave him in more or less the same position as the "marxist" Mugabe, of having to reconcile the many ethnic divisions among the population. Proportionately the percentage of whites who have already shown they are willing to work with a black government is far greater than the percentage in Zimbabwe, and Namibia depends even more heavily on white skill for the upkeep of its economy than does Zimbabwe. Little has been done over the years to build up black skills or train blacks for even the lesser positions in the civil service.

A wholesale withdrawal of the whites, or possibly their expulsion, and their replacement by platoons of UN "experts", or maybe Cubans or East Germans, is a prospect which the more balanced and trained part of the Swapo leadership may have no wish to contemplate. The conditions in Namibia are such that the best-intentioned and skilled outsiders will find them difficult to understand or accommodate. Swapo, if it won a Namibian election, would not want to have to rebuild the administrative machinery for this huge and empty territory out of a thinly-spread chaos. Better to make use of what's there already if co-operation can be assured.

ARCHITECT

WCC plans

R400 000

Swapo aid

Own Correspondent

GENEVA — The World Council of Churches has launched a R450 000 appeal for SWA/Namibian refugees and also plans an airlift of goods to Swapo headquarters in Angola.

The WCC, whose support of African liberation movements has long been the subject of controversy, said Swapo's leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, had personally requested "urgent assistance".

Mr Nujoma wrote to the WCC when he was in Geneva for the failed pre-implementation talks.

Mr Nujoma outlined the immediate needs which included tents, blankets and foodstuffs, including foods for babies.

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General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

D H Pryce Lewis

For the best student of
Architecture (or Quantity
Surveying) in the subject
of Professional Practice.
David Haddon Prize

Miss C Tredgold

For the best woman student
in third year.
Molly Cohn Memorial Prize

P A Rappoport

For a student who has
satisfactorily completed
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.
Helen Gardner Travel Prize

P F Duncley

Sixth Year

For the best student in :-
of Architects' Prize
Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

Three ⁽²²⁾
killed ^{RDM}
by SWA ^{27/1/81}
landmines

WINDHOEK — Three people, including a baby, were killed and three injured in two landmine explosions in Owambo, northern South West Africa, the Secretary of the Owambo Administration, Mr C C Reinecke, said yesterday.

He said both incidents had occurred on Friday.

In one incident, two adults and a four-month-old baby died when their light van struck a landmine near Endola.

The driver of the vehicle was seriously injured in the blast.

In the other incident, where a landmine was set off by a large truck near Ongandjera, a woman and her baby were injured. Two other passengers escaped without injury.

Ongandjera is the birthplace of the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma — Sapa

^{RDM}
DTA is ^{27/1/81}
to send
delegation
to US ⁽²²⁾

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance will send a delegation to America next month to establish contact with the Reagan Administration, the Republikein newspaper reported yesterday

The DTA mouthpiece quoted the party leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, as saying the DTA also considered it necessary to establish contact with Mr Ronald Reagan's Government.

He added that the DTA mission would probably also meet leaders of the youth wing of Mr Reagan's party, known as the Young Republican National Federation, who had adopted a resolution urging the Reagan Administration to stop its contributions to the UN until it stopped supporting Swapo financially

Newspaper reports in Windhoek yesterday also said the internal SWA political parties would soon be given an opportunity to discuss the abortive Geneva Conference with the South African Government. — Sapa.

WCC call
RDM 28/1/81
to help
221 387A
refugees
from SWA

LONDON — The World Council of Churches' Commission on Inter-Church Aid Refugee and World Service, has launched a R400 000 appeal for refugees from South West Africa following this month's abortive United Nations sponsored settlement talks on the territory.

The Ecumenical Press Service said reports reaching the Geneva headquarters of the WCC indicated that during the past few weeks there had been an increased exodus of young refugees from SWA to Angola, Zambia and Botswana.

"The principal reason for this," said the EPS, "is given as the pressures from the authorities on young people from 16 years of age to be conscripted into the South African army to fight against the South West African Peoples' Organisation."

"It is estimated that 5 000 fled to Angola during the first two weeks of the new year."

The EPS continued "Swapo authorities and Namibian church leaders, in Geneva for the UN conference, appealed to the WCC for urgent assistance to alleviate the suffering of these people."

The EPS said an airlift to the Angolan capital of Luanda was being planned — Sapa

Swapo leader sees 'liberation struggle growing daily'

LUBANGO — We met him by chance shortly after dawn in the southern Angolan province of Cunene, a tall, broad-shouldered figure dressed in combat fatigues with a red badge of Lenin on his forage cap.

A dozen young soldiers were travelling with him through the bush in two pick-up trucks.

Peter Nanyemba, Defence Minister of the South West African People's Organisation which is fighting against South Africa's rule in SWA/Namibia, was on his way back from "the front" as he put it.

He had been to review the military situation since the collapse of the UN-sponsored Geneva

talks. He was in a hurry, but next day we talked to him in Lubango, where he sometimes uses a pleasant villa built in the dying days of Portuguese colonialism.

From the outset he emphasised that the war would go on. "Geneva never meant that we should reduce our military activity," Swapo continued to fight during the conference and it will continue now.

Commander Nanyemba called the Geneva talks "a waste of time" from which Swapo derived no benefit. He evinced markedly less hope in the process of UN negotiations than the Angolans have.

There have been hints that Swapo was divided over whether to attend the talks and the Defence Minister showed he was on the side of the sceptics.

"We knew there would be diplomatic manoeuvres, but we went to Geneva because we didn't want to be accused of being afraid of elections and of not wanting to talk to South Africa."

"We are not political cowards or selfish if new talks on the lines of Geneva

Jonathan Steel, a reporter on The Guardian, talks to Peter Nanyemba, Swapo's Defence Minister whom he first encountered somewhere in the Angolan bush. Nanyemba believes Swapo has the overwhelming support of the people anyway, and doesn't really need UN recognition as "the sole authentic voice."

va were organised, Swapo would still go, but not at the same level again."

In a reference to the internal parties in SWA/Namibia, he said it was "totally unacceptable for South Africa to parade its puppets before the Western Press."

The Geneva talks collapsed when South Africa insisted that the United Nations recognise the internal parties as equal in status to Swapo before South Africa would accept a date for a ceasefire.

"Even if the United Nations were to withdraw its endorsement of Swapo as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, we will remain the vanguard of the Namibian people," Commander Nanyemba declared.

The decision to call Swapo the only representative of SWA/Namibia did not come from the United Nations. The UN was only following the lead of the people of the country who had shown by their actions that they supported Swapo.

"Go to Robben Island, in South Africa, and count the Swapo political prisoners. See how many are in concentration camps in Namibia. Talk to the exiles from Namibia studying in different parts of the world. You will find Swapo everywhere. This is proof of our support."

The West should put more pressure on South Africa to make it serious about accepting a ceasefire and elections. He expressed bitterness about Western arms supplies to South Africa which he alleges are still taking place despite the UN arms embargo.

On the military front, Commander Nanyemba claims that the situation is improving all the time. In August last year, South Africa introduced a conscription for SWA/Namibian blacks.

He calls it "South Africa's Vietnamisation of the war" and says it has caused a mass displacement of SWA/Namibian refugees across the border to escape the call-up.

On his trip to the border last week he met a group of 150 coming over. He would not give any figure for the number of armed Swapo guerrillas, but most estimates put it at around 8,000, not all of them inside SWA/Namibia at the same time.

He denied that Swapo had any bases in southern Angola already. Swapo had 30,000 SWA/Namibian refugees in camps, but none was permitted to settle in the two border provinces of Cunene and Cuando Cubango.

All that Swapo had in the south were "transit feijútes" where guerrillas slept for a night before passing on to SWA/Namibia. The "Liberation struggle is like a plant" Commander Nanyemba

concluded optimistically "It grows every day." For their part, South African military commanders sound equally confident. Major General Charles Lloyd, who commands the South African forces in SWA/Namibia, is reported to have said in his new year message "Our forces have taken the initiative and are in total control of the situation."

While both sides talk tough, the signs are that neither can knock the other out in the foreseeable future. The war is a stalemate, and the only hope for an end to the death and destruction lies in the negotiated ceasefire which the United Nations has proposed.

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Pik's letter slams Waldheim report

RDM 30/1/84 (221)

CAPE TOWN — Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has told United Nations Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim that his report to the UN Security Council on the Geneva conference is disillusioning in its bias towards Swapo and its failure to recognise the internal parties reports Sapa

Mr Botha's comments are contained in a letter to Dr Waldheim released yesterday

Mr Botha told Dr Waldheim the immediate impression left by his report was that as far as the UN was concerned the internal parties in South West Africa did not exist and had not taken part in the proceedings in Geneva

"This overt omission of any reference to them and the at-

tempt to expunge their remarks from official documents of the UN is indeed serious

"On the other hand, prominence is given to the few remarks uttered by Swapo

Mr Botha said the internal parties had made it clear they were ready to engage in constructive discussions in Geneva on resolution 435 and other practical proposals

They had made clear what they considered the objective of the conference in Geneva

"Had any attention been paid to the genuine concerns of these parties, as expressed in their statements in Geneva, it would have been realised that the question of the creation of trust and confidence which is

so closely linked to the question of impartiality was of paramount importance and had to be overcome or resolved if a date for implementation was to be considered seriously

"No one could have expected real progress without that basic objective having been achieved," he said

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that African nations are calling for an immediate Security Council meeting on South West Africa as part of a new strategy which threatens to climax in a bruising General Assembly brawl right at the time of the South African General Election

They are demanding that the council be convened within the

next 24 hours and that UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim explain personally what went wrong in Geneva

Their aim is to have the official blame for the failure of the talks placed on Pretoria before next week's meeting of Non-Aligned States in New Delhi

At that meeting they will press for a strong endorsement of Swapo and further support for sanctions against South Africa

Then they plan further action in the council, their present intention being to force the issue to a Western veto and so set the scene for an extraordinary session of the full assembly — probably in April or May

Geneva report disillusioning, SA tells Waldheim

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pk Botha, has told United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, that his report to the Security Council on the Geneva conference is disillusioning in its bias towards Swapo and its failure to recognize the internal parties.

Mr Botha's comments are contained in a letter to Dr Waldheim released in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Botha told Dr Waldheim that the immediate impression left by his report was that as far as the United Nations was concerned, the internal parties in SWA/Namibia did not exist and had not taken part in the proceedings in Geneva.

"This overt omission of any reference to them and the attempt to expunge their remarks from official documents of the United Nations is indeed serious.

"On the other hand, prominence is given to the few remarks uttered by Swapo."

Mr Botha said he hoped that the United Nations, if it wanted to find an internationally acceptable settlement, would give serious attention to his appeal to acknowledge the role of the internal

parties in all deliberations on the political and constitutional future of the territory.

"I feel constrained to remark that a promising opportunity was missed by the United Nations in Geneva in the first place to encourage Swapo, who remained mute virtually throughout, to engage in a constructive, confidence building dialogue.

Secondly, to address the concerns of the internal parties who have to contest the election in SWA/Namibia.

"The United Nations has painted itself into a corner by improper bias in favour of Swapo for years, and must itself find a way of rectifying the position.

"I cannot expect the South African Government or the internal parties to accept United Nations' promises of action at a later date or to accept a mere token redress of the Swapo bias.

"The actions required must eliminate Swapo's unfair advantage and must be seen to do so."

Mr Botha enclosed with his letter copies of statements delivered during the closing sessions of the Geneva conference by Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr K Kaura of the Democratic Turnhalle

Alliance and Mr Eben van Zyl of Aftur.

He said the omission of any reference to the internal parties in Dr Waldheim's report and "the attempt to expunge their remarks from official documents of the United Nations is indeed serious."

He said Dr Waldheim could not be unaware of the abductions, assassinations and murders perpetrated by Swapo since the settlement proposal had been submitted to the UN in 1978.

"These acts of terror have been brought to your attention on a regular basis as the official records of the Security Council will bear out.

"Up to this day, Swapo has not been condemned outrightly by Your Excellency nor by the Security Council.

"Instead the South African Government, responsible for the security of the territory and the safety of its inhabitants, has been subjected to vicious attacks in the Security Council and to uncalled-for and unjustified criticism by yourself.

"The South African Government has throughout maintained that the successful implementation of the settlement proposal, or of any proposal designed to achieve a peaceful solution, will

continue to be jeopardized seriously if all the parties are not treated on an equal basis."

The internal parties had made clear that they were ready to engage in constructive discussions in Geneva on Security Council Resolution 435 and other practical proposals.

They had made clear what they considered the objective of the conference in Geneva.

"Had any attention been paid to the genuine concerns of these parties, as expressed in their statements in Geneva, it would have been realized that the question of the creation of trust and confidence, which is so closely linked to the question of impartiality, was of paramount importance and had to be overcome or resolved if a date for implementation was to be considered seriously.

"It is astonishing that the UN and all those working to establish a date for implementation, failed to see the necessity of first creating a climate of trust and confidence.

"No one could have expected real progress without that basic objective having been achieved," Mr Botha said — Sapa



Mr Pk Botha

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UN missed golden chance — Botha

CT 30/1/81 (221)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — South Africa was extremely dissatisfied with the latest report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim to the Security Council on the recent SWA/Namibia talks in Geneva, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday

Speaking in the no-confidence debate he said his reply to Dr Waldheim had been sent on Wednesday and was released yesterday

"I feel that a golden opportunity was missed by the United Nations in Geneva to encourage Swapo to engage in a constructive, confidence building dialogue

"In his report, Dr Waldheim made no mention at all of the position of the other parties in Geneva

"We cannot continue in this way. It's up to the United Nations now to change their attitude," he said



Dr Kurt Waldheim

Mr Botha said lack of impartiality was at the heart of the breakdown of the talks in Geneva and pointed out that the United Nations had told its team there to favour Swapo

"They were given clear instructions to do so"

Referring to a speech earlier in the debate in which Mr Derick de Villiers (PFP Constantia) claimed that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was responsible for the talks breaking down, Mr Botha warned against propagating such a line of thought

He said Mr De Villiers also challenged the assumption that Swapo was communist dominated

Mr Botha pointed out that Swapo had been born of communism in Cape Town and had been directed and sponsored by communism ever since

He quoted from various documents in which Swapo had officially acclaimed the assassination of SWA/Namibia leaders such as Clemens Kapuuo

"South Africa faces dire consequences if we should be punished in the form of sanctions by the United Nations

"If we are punished for insisting on fair treatment of all parties in the territory, free and fair elections and a condemnation of acts of terrorism, then we would rather enjoy that punishment than become traitors to the principles and commitments we have made to a neighbouring territory

"The time has come for whites and blacks to speak straightforwardly to each other

"We must tolerate each other's basic norms and values"

South Africa had not under-estimated the seriousness of the situation

"Every effort is being made to overcome our problems. We are working hard and building for the future," he said — Sapa

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Helen Gardner Travel Prize
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 For the best student in :-
of Architects' Prize
Cape Provincial Institute

ARCHITECTURE

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

SADF denies reports of brutal killings by secret units in Angola

JOHANNESBURG — A Defence Force spokesman yesterday dismissed a British newspaper report about a secret battalion of South African troops operating in Angola under the guise of guerrillas opposed to the Luanda government.

In response to an interview with a man who claims to have been a mercenary in the 'SADF Buffalo Regiment' the spokesman said the Defence Force was not prepared to attach any value or ever 'comment on the allegations of the self-styled deserter who was obviously trying to commercialize these allegations.

The interview appeared in the Guardian newspaper yesterday.

Similar allegations are made in a film from Angola, that was due to be screened to a vast television audience in Britain last night.

Guardian correspondent Jonathan Steele reports from inside Angola that "covert units are engaged in a brutal campaign north of the SWA/Namibian border

In London the Guardian has interviewed Trevor Edwards who claims to have been a mercenary in the 'Buffalo Regiment', also said to be known as the '32 Battalion'. Edwards claims he deserted because he could not stand the killing of defenceless Angolan civilians.

The Guardian said yesterday its investigation into South African military activities inside Angola 'show that South Africa has decided that an essential part of its war is the deliberate killing and terrorizing of Angolan civilians in any area where Swapo might find support or help. A further refinement is that the covert units of 32 Battalion pass off much of their dirty work as that of Unita, the Angolan liberation movement.

The Defence Force spokes man here said people who had written such reports or produced last night's TV programme had clearly not taken into account that there was a civil war in progress in Angola. Typical examples of this were the stories of the hun-

ABOUT 40 members of foreign news media had been invited to visit the SWA/Namibia operational area next week, a Defence Force spokesman said in Cape Town yesterday.

He said the media representatives, whose visit had been arranged in co-operation with the Foreign Correspondents' Association, would be accorded "every facility to go into and report on the scurrilous allegations in the Guardian newspaper, which will apparently also be reported in the Thames television programme". — Sapa

dozens of refugees who had come over the Angolan border during the past few years. Even the international press could testify to the atrocities committed against them the spokesman said.

South Africa had repeatedly stated that it was not at war with Angola, he said. It was South Africa's declared policy to avoid Angolan troops and civilians while tracking down and wiping out Swapo gangs. South Africa had never made a secret of how its forces had crossed the Angolan border in follow up or hot pursuit operations.

These operations had been aimed against Swapo, to call them to account for the atroc-

suffering and destruction inflicted by its forces — both regular and secret — goes well beyond what has been previously publicly known.

The Guardian report says that on paper there is nothing to distinguish "32 Battalion" from the dozens of other South African units fighting against Swapo — "But unlike other units, 32 is almost entirely composed of foreigners."

"It has a few South African regulars, but most of its white NCOs are mercenaries, many of them British and its ranks are filled with Portuguese-speaking black Angolans, all recruited from the FVLA — another Angolan liberation movement."

Dressed in unmarked camouflage uniforms, under strict orders to carry no documents of any type and using East European weapons, they move into Angola for sweeps through groups of villages. White officers and NCOs black their faces.

"A typical operation, as described by Edwards would involve a formation of one or two

platoons moving through a village area gunning down men, women, children and livestock."

Edwards, who was to be interviewed on television here last night, gives a detailed account of operations he claims he took part in.

"Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people everything. We are out to stop Swapo, and so we stop them getting into the villages for food and water. He is reported to have said

Edwards who says he fought in Zimbabwe during the guerilla war as a member of the Rhodesian Light Infantry before going south and signing a one-year contract last March with the SADF continued

"Some of it is pretty heavy. Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. Its rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them. We've got Angolan Government soldiers and taken them back to

base for proper questioning. Sometimes you have to take to the children to make adults talk. There was a year-old boy. We wanted to know what was going on. I wanted his mother to talk. We tied him up like a chair with his wrists up behind his back strapped to his ankle.

"Then we played water with him. We put him in this dam and pushed him about. He just wet himself. In the we just left him in the water and he drowned. "I just don't like that sort of thing."

The Guardian asked South African Ambassador London Mr. Marais Steyn comment on the gist of the reports and quote him saying

"From what we have told of the contents it seems to be such a concoction of untruths to a large extent emanating from a single individual. The moral fibre of a deserter we feel it is impossible to comment on it unless we have the full text." — Sapa

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Britain

claims

SADF is using mercenaries in Angola

SADF dismisses allegations

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — An SADF spokesman said today that the SADF was obviously not prepared to attach any value to or even comment on the allegations on self-acknowledged deserter Trevor Edwards, who was obviously trying to commercialise on these allegations.
 The spokesman said the producers of these reports apparently never took into account that there was a civil war in progress in Angola.
 South Africa had on occasions been directly and indirectly involved as a result of this war. Typical examples of what was going on were told by the hundreds of refugees who had come over the Angolan border during the past couple of years.

Even the international Press can testify to the atrocities against them. It therefore does not ring true that the refugees would run to those people who were terrorising them.
 In this respect it can also just be said that South Africa repeatedly stated that it was not at war with Angola. It is South Africa's declared policy to avoid Angolan troops and civilians while tracking down and wiping out Swapo gangs, he said.
 South Africa had repeatedly warned Angolan forces that they would have to bear the responsibility if they became involved in these clashes.
 South Africa had never made a secret that they had crossed the Angolan border in follow-up or hot pursuit operations.

These operations are aimed against Swapo to make them answerable for the atrocities which they committed against the local population in South West Africa.
 The SADF therefore found it strange that a television company in Britain was prepared to transmit such a one-sided report while the whole world was aware of the murders, landmine explosions and kidnapping of innocent and unarmed people in Ovambo.
 In this respect the SADF does not even have to provide concrete proof because everyone who has visited the operational area is aware of this.

Nick Dawes of the Guardian talks to a mercenary, now in London, who claims he fought for South Africa in Angola

TREVOR EDWARDS was leading his platoon through a patch of scrubland in southern Angola last October, tracking a small group of Swapo guerrillas. Suddenly two children jumped up from behind some bushes and began to run.

I said "Don't shoot them". There was one of our guys who started shouting to them in the local language. Then these other kids popped up and started to run as well so obviously I said "Put them out". We started shooting.

More and more of them kept jumping up and running. Some of them completely naked. They'd taken their clothes off to show they weren't armed. We shot this young girl. She must have been about five. And we shot her father. We shot about nine in all.

I don't know how, but somehow this girl's mother and her sister didn't get shot. Well, we left them there and carried on with our patrol, moving on in block formation. She followed us — his mother and her little kid.

She followed us all day, just walked along about 50 metres behind us. She

Force is a military conjuring trick, manned by 1200 soldiers who were supposed to have been killed by the Cubans in 1975, led by mystery officers from a base which officially does not exist.

It was formed by South African military intelligence in late 1975 as Cuban soldiers and Russian weapons began to turn the tide of the Angolan civil war against the two pro-Western guerrilla armies, the FNLA and UNITA.

The FNLA, which had fought its way to within 28 km of the Angolan capital of Luanda, was rushed northwards into Zaire where President Mobutu offered it aid and shelter.

The South Africans plunged into the Angolan civil war that year, sending a South African-led column, whose troops included UNITA soldiers and Portuguese mercenaries, far into the country.

'For 32 life was just beginning'

But the two columns had to retreat when the MPLA the eventual winner...



TREVOR EDWARDS — self-confessed mercenary with a story of secret operations in Angola

SOUTH AFRICA'S military operations in southern Angola have grown to such an extent that it is now waging a full-scale war far from its own borders, according to the Guardian (London) newspaper.

It says that apart from increasingly frequent incursions into Angola with regular ground and air forces, South Africa is using covert units which, posing as anti-government guerrillas, are engaged in a brutal campaign north of the border between South West Africa and Angola.

The war, says the Guardian, followed South Africa's decision to make Angola its front line against guerrillas of Swapo. In the face of South African assertions that operations conducted by regular forces hit Swapo installations in response to Swapo strikes on South West Africa, the Guardian claims South Africa is using a secret regiment — the Buffalo Regiment, more formally known as 32 Battalion.

It says covert units of 32 Battalion pass off much of their dirty work as that of UNITA, the Angolan liberation movement.

It says South African claims of restraint are pure fiction and the scale of the suffering and destruction inflicted by its forces — both regular and secret — goes well beyond what has been previously publicly known.

In his tour of southern Angola, Jonathan Steele reports that South

African attacks are directed at least as much against Angola as against their official enemy Swapo.

Within that larger campaign is the 'secret war' — which it claims is almost entirely directed against villagers — waged by, among others, Trevor John Edwards, a British mercenary who told Television, which broadcast an interview with him last night.

Edwards claims that men of the secret battalion, dressed in unmarked camouflage uniforms and under strict orders to carry no documents of any type, and using East European weapons, move into Angola for sweeps through groups of villages. White officers and NCOs black their faces.

A typical operation as described by Edwards would involve a formation of one or two platoons moving through a village area gunning down men, women, children and livestock.

Asked to comment on Edwards's story, the South African Ambassador to London, Mr Marais Steyn, said: "From what we have been told of the contents, it seems to be such a concoction of untruth, to a large extent emanating from a single individual with the moral fibre of a deserter, that we feel it is impossible to comment on it unless we have seen the full text and have had a chance to analyse the full extent of the distortions published, even though unwittingly, in your newspaper."

cont

Target of raid was 'beyond doubt'

CUAMATO (Angola). — The small town of Cuamato lies about 40 km north of the South West African border, set in the typical countryside of this almost invisible war — a dense covering of scrubby trees, mostly little more than the height of a man but thick enough to provide good cover.

In the late afternoon two weeks ago the whirr of rotor blades burst in on a settlement just west of Cuamato.

From the air the stockade and half a dozen thatched huts must have looked like one of many similar settlements but South African intelligence had pinpointed a military camp around the stockade

Six Puma helicopters machine-gunned the village and South African troops leapt to the ground in a blaze of firing

Their work seems to have been brutally efficient.

JONATHAN STEEL of the Guardian (London) reports

Angolan Army and has no trucks so close to the border

The Angolans say South African forces operate regularly inside the country

Further to the north at Xangongo (formerly Rocadas) we saw the remains of the old bridge across the Cunene river which the South Africans blew up. Even further from the frontier 240 km inside the country, the Angolans showed us where

South African sappers had destroyed the struts holding the zigzag road which snakes down the Serra de Leba, linking the town of Lubango with Mocamedes on the Atlantic coast

In no way could the highway be called a Swapo-related target

From the evidence which is gradually accumulating it is clear South Africa is conducting a systematic policy of striking economic and military targets in Angola.

There can be no more doubt that Angola's complaints that it is facing South African aggression is true, in spite of South African denials.

SURPRISE

Visiting the camp a week later we saw the burned out wrecks of seven lorries still close to their dugouts under charred branches, evidence that the defenders had been taken completely by surprise

A convoy of 100 Angolan troops in two Land Rovers and eight lorries, some equipped with anti-aircraft guns, drove us for over an hour through the bush to reach the site

Our escorts were taking no chances. At dawn two days after the attack reinforcements sent to the scene had been attacked by another eight South African helicopters

The Angolans were cagey about what happened next. They claim to have shot down three helicopters and an Impala Mark 11 fighter-bomber, but when we asked to see African helicopters.

The Angolans were cagey about what happened next. They claim to have shot down three helicopters and an Impala Mark 11 fighter-bomber, but when we asked to see the wreckage they said the South Africans had successfully winched it out by helicopter as they normally try to do in order to deny Angolans a propaganda coup

EVIDENCE

Finding out exactly how many people died in the attack was difficult. What was clear beyond doubt was that the camp was entirely Angolan

Swapo teams cross the border into SWA invariably on foot. The movement is not motorised to the same extent as the

Cont

she stopped. We went back and tried to shoo her away, but she just came back and followed us. This freaked me out. Every time you turned round, she was there. It started me thinking.

'We are out to stop Swapo'

Apart from its effect on Trevor Edwards, the incident was pure routine for the men from 32 Battalion. It is an explicit part of the strategy of their secret war against Angola that civilians must be killed and their villages destroyed.

'Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. We are out to stop Swapo and so we stop them getting into the villages for food and water.

'But half the time the locals don't know what's going on. Some of the guys get a bit carried away. And Swapo still get by us and cross the cut-line between Angola and Namibia. It's not as if we are stopping them.'

By Christmas Eve, the units that had set in when his platoon was followed by the bereaved mother had grown much stronger. He set out from his base at Buffalo on the Kavango River in northern SWA for four weeks' leave.

But instead of staying in Cape Town, he got on a plane to London. 'I had enough of it and I thought people ought to know what we have been doing out there.'

32 Battalion of the South African Defence

war

Although the columns came out, South Africa had by no means given up. Pretoria produced its first sleight of hand the following (northern) winter, while the world's attention was focused on the retreating INLA in the north and on the fate of the blundering band of British mercenaries who had been flown out to try to save the day.

The demoralised FNLA guerrillas had little choice but to take up the offer. The South Africans offered them a home where they could take their families, and a chance to fight the war again.

They were marched south through Zaire and then into south-east Angola and finally the Caprivi Strip, the desolate northern corridor of SWA.

They built themselves huts and houses by the river, retrained and re-armed. Some of them got their families down from Angola. The world could see that the FNLA had been destroyed but, secretly life for 32 Battalion was just beginning.

Finding the right white officers for the unit was not so easy and it remained in the control of South African intelligence officers until last year, when Mr Robert Mugabe's election victory in Zimbabwe gave them the material for their next piece of conjuring.

When Mr Mugabe won power hundreds of mercenaries were suddenly looking for work. The South African mission in Salisbury was busy all day as disenchanted foreigners queued up to see the military attaché.

Trevor Edwards was there. Like his colleagues he wanted to join a combat unit. That was why he

bar in Kent in 1978.

'I was getting into a rut, getting fat and I'd always wanted to join an army. I just got on a plane and flew out to Salisbury.'

He was given a trial in the Rhodesian Light Infantry, the all-white unit which led the assault on the guerrilla armies.

He survived the training and became a corporal. 'It was a good life. The contacts were good. The kills were good. I enjoyed it.'

'We told the military attaché that we wanted 32 and he wanted to know how we had heard about it. Anyway, he said we couldn't have it.'

They decided to sign up all the same and try again for 32 in Pretoria.

'That day we lost 16 dead'

Trevor Edwards and 15 colleagues signed one-year contracts with the South African Defence Force last March. They waited a few weeks in Rhodesia before hiring a mini-van, stealing some weapons and going absent without leave across the border.

Then they badgered their officers in Pretoria into contacting 32's administrative headquarters in Rundu in the Kavango.

The officers at 32 took their chance and agreed to take the mercenaries. They spent their first week at 32's Buffalo base finding their way around and learning pidgin Portuguese. Please, thank you, stand up, don't hoot.

On May 20 they set out for their first operation at Savate, 60 km inside Angola.

With a total force of 300 men — two companies and

they drove in South African-made Scammell from their reconnaissance base at Omani over the border and stopped 15 kilometres before Savate.

The next morning, the white officers blacked up their faces and led their men on to Savate. Each man was carrying about 36 kg of equipment, including six mortar shells.

As they approached the town, two platoons peeled off, one to the north and one to the south, to deal with possible reinforcements or anyone trying to escape.

'The trouble was that our intelligence was lousy. We were expecting them to have a few companies in the town, but they had a full battalion. The assault force only got through on the third attack and it took us all that day and most of the next to clear the place up. We had 16 dead, six of them white.'

While 32 was taking Savate, two representatives of Unita were waiting at the tactical HQ down the road, one white intelligence officer and one black soldier. When the battle was over, they came up to claim the town for Unita.

'The point is that Unita are a load of c—. They hang around in the south-east where their tribe is and they can probably defend themselves, but they can't go out and take something like Savate. We do it for them because it improves their bargaining position, gives them more talking power.'

'We just beat up the locals'

The South Africans could not use their regular troops at Savate. They have been able to justify incursions in the past only when they could show that they were pursuing Swapo.

There were no Swapo at Savate. It was a base for Angolan Government soldiers and we knew that when we went in there.'

It was after this battle that the troops had to turn back from their journey home to return to the scene of the battle and retrieve a white body, which might otherwise have disclosed their presence.

A week later the Angolan Government protested to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and blamed South Africa for the attack on Savate. South Africa denied having anything to do with it.

was unusual in that it involved a specific objective — 32's regular job is to go into the Angolan bush with a couple of companies and spend four or five weeks clearing a designated area.

Some of it is pretty heavy. Sometimes we take the locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we've finished with them, we kill them. We've got Angolan Government soldiers and taken them back to base for proper questioning.

'Sometimes you have to do it to the children to make the adults talk. There was a 12-year-old boy. We wanted to know what was going on. We wanted his mother to talk, so we tied him up like a chicken with his wrists up behind his back, strapped to his ankles.'

'Then we played water polo with him. We put him in this kind of dam and pushed him about, let him sink. Every so often we took him out. He wouldn't cry. He just wet himself. The mother didn't tell us anything. In the end we left him in the water and he drowned. I just don't like that sort of thing.'

'Some of our guys get very involved in it, talk about it all afterwards and keep going on about it. That's part of soldiering. But they're going too far and I don't enjoy it.'

The strongest opposition to 32 comes from the MPLA. In my last operation, in December, they really f— us up, pushed us right out of the area. We had a lot of casualties.'

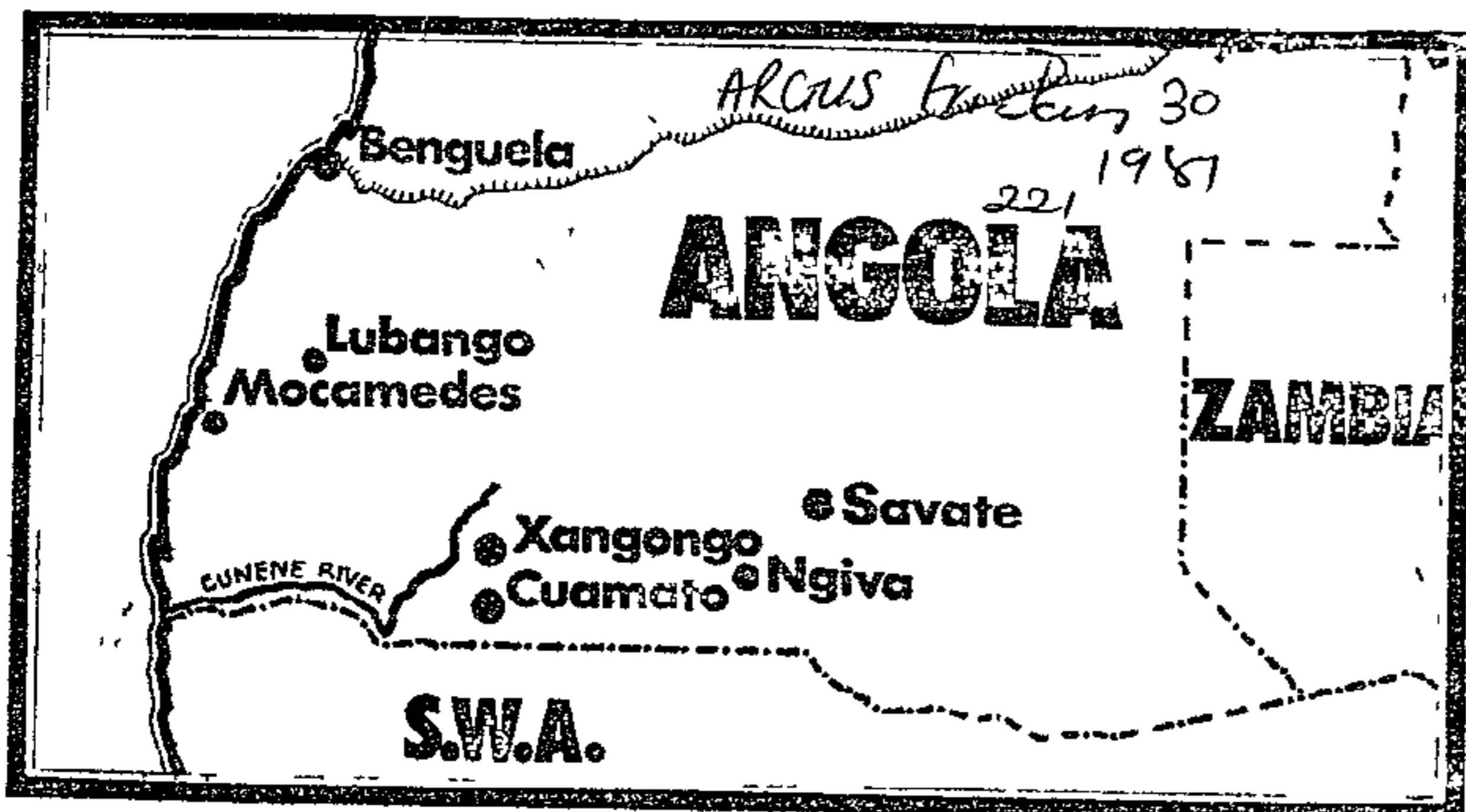
Thirty-two's response was to call South African helicopters and beat a tactical retreat to Omani. There they spent a day relaxing and drinking while a South African paratroop company was called in to reinforce them.

'We changed into regular SADF uniforms and went back in with this extra company. We swept through the area but we couldn't find them. They'd gone back to base in Cuamatu.'

That was in mid-December. Four weeks later, while Trevor Edwards was in London, Cuamatu was taken.

Edwards speaks affectionately of some of his colleagues.

But when it comes to killing women, hanging them and things, there are some of them who laugh about it. They take photographs of themselves with bodies. They don't see them as people, just as things that are there.'



MAP shows the towns and villages in Angola mentioned in the Guardian interview with Trevor Edwards.

SA seems sure to face more UN criticism

RDM 2/2/81

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GENEVA — It appears South Africa will face renewed criticism from the United Nations when a six-week session of the Commission on Human Rights opens in Geneva today.

Background documents for the conference refer to South Africa's "slavery-like practice of apartheid"

The African countries are already angry with South Africa, blaming the country for the collapse of the recent Geneva talks on South West African independence because it refused to sign an agreement ending the 14-year-old conflict with the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (Swapo)

Last November, the UN General Assembly called on banks, multinational companies and other firms trading with South Africa to sever links with the country to apply pressure.

South Africa has been excluded from taking part in the assembly since 1974

Another major theme of the commission's session will be the alleged Israeli repression in occupied Arab territories, and delegates will also discuss allegations of human rights viola-

tions in El Salvador, Chile, Bolivia, Guatemala and Equatorial Guinea.

Israel is expected to come under fire, as in the past, for alleged mistreatment of the million Palestinians living under its administration on the West Bank of the Jordan

The assembly has condemned Israel's expulsion of the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, its settlement policy in the area and its "systematic campaign of repression" against Arab universities there

The United States has so far made no request for discussion of the seizure of the 52 hostages recently freed after 444 days of detention in Iran

A US spokesman said he did not know yet whether the US delegation planned to raise the subject

A convention is expected to be adopted setting 18 as the universal age of adulthood and stating the right of every child to nationality and a tolerant family upbringing

The session may also adopt a convention on the protection of migrant workers — Sapa-
Reuter

student average

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FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Town slept through a Swapo rocket attack

Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK - Residents of Oshakati slept through a five-minute Swapo rocket attack in the early hours of Saturday in Ovamboland, source said yesterday.

Nobody was hurt or killed when five 122mm rockets crashed into the town. People first heard about the attack much later. Many ignored it at first, thinking it was a town fire.

The rockets were fired from a position in the north of the town. The source said the rockets were fired from a position in the north of the town. The source said the rockets were fired from a position in the north of the town.

land since July when Swapo launched an unsuccessful mortar attack on the small border town of Biacana.

A source in Oshakati, which is the administrative centre of Ovamboland and has a population of about 1500, said the Swapo rocket firing position was between six to 10 kilometres north of the town.

Three rockets landed in the vicinity of the premises of the... The source said the rockets were fired from a position in the north of the town.

station, did not explode. It was later detonated by security forces.

The attack followed last month's stalled SWA talks in Geneva when Swapo threatened to step up its war effort.

Recently military leaders in Windhoek said Swapo's hitting potential was at an all-time low.

More than 1500 Swapo guerrillas have died in the bush war in the past year and security forces have killed about 1000.

CHET

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Most people slept through Swapo attack

Soldier tells of Angolan 'raids'

By ANDRE VILJOEN
"Mail" Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Residents of Oshakati slept through a five-minute Swapo rocket attack in the early hours of Saturday morning, an Owamboland source said yesterday.

Nobody was hurt or killed when five 122mm rockets crashed into the town. Some people first heard about the attack much later in the morning, after they had got up. Others had ignored it because they thought it was a routine army operation.

The second in command of the South West Africa Territory Force, Brigadier Willie Meyer, said yesterday that security forces were engaged in a follow-up operation.

The bombardment on Saturday was the first in Owamboland since July, when Swapo launched an unsuccessful mortar attack on the little border town of Ruacana.

A source in Oshakati, which is the administrative centre of Owamboland and has a population of about 1500, said the Swapo rocket-firing position was between six to 12km north of the town.

Three rockets landed in the vicinity of the premises of the Department of Water Affairs, where a warehouse burst into flames. One of the three rockets exploded in a private garden, shattering window panes and scarring a wall.

A fourth exploded in the vicinity of the State Hospital, but only a few windows had been broken.

A fifth rocket, which landed near the police station, did not explode. It was later detonated by security forces.

The attack follows last month's stalled SWA talks in Geneva, when Swapo threatened to step up its war effort.

Recently, military leaders in Windhoek said Swapo's hitting potential was at an alltime low.

More than 1500 Swapo guerrillas have died in the bush war in the past year and security forces have taken swift and thorough revenge each time the guerrillas showed a hand.

After the abortive Ruacana attack, South African troops seized the southern Angolan town of Chitudo, killing 27 Swapo and MPLA men in the battle.

A SECOND soldier claiming to have defected from a secret South African battalion operating in Angola has given details of military actions against civilian targets in that country.

Last week a British mercenary, Mr Trevor Edwards, made similar claims. These were dismissed by Defence Force headquarters as an attempt to "commercialise a fabricated story".

The Guardian reported yesterday that Mr Belmundo described himself as an Angolan whose family had gone into exile in Zaire in 1961. In 1975 he fought with the FNLA, and after its defeat he went to South West Africa and joined the South Africans.

He said he attended a two-year commando training course in Pretoria and Durban, and was instructed partly by French and Israeli officers.

After promotion to second lieutenant, he joined 32 battalion at Rundu, under the control of a Colonel Carpenter. He became part of a small unit called "Reconnaissance Command Number 5", which made scouting trips, raids and "cleaning up" operations inside Angola.

"Large-scale operations took a long time," he is reported to have told the international commission into the "Crimes of the racist and apartheid regime".

"We would bomb villages, kill cattle, burn houses and destroy everything we found. First we would get within a mile of the target then our planes would come and destroy."

He said his unit attacked civilian and military targets belonging to Angola and Swapo.

Mr Belmundo, who claims he was made a captain, said he took part in several operations in Angola's Cuando Cubango province at the request of Unita, the Angolan rebel movement. "Unita didn't have the capability for everything. The South Africans would parachute food and armaments on secret flights."

He also said his unit took Angolan prisoners.

He claimed that from June 1979 the battalion started using 155 mm field howitzers smuggled into South Africa from the United States.

The Guardian report noted that several questions were left unanswered — why Mr Belmundo deserted after four years service and the rank of captain, and why the Angolans had taken a year to produce him. He will face a Press conference later this week.

The commission is headed by Mr Sean McBride, a former UN commissioner for SWA.

CHRIS MARAIS reports that an SADF spokesman said he would not comment on "vague, unfounded and unsubstantiated allegations by a person obviously under pressure from his captors".

Leaders in SWA to meet Botha

By ANDRE VILJOEN

WINDHOEK — Leaders of about 10 South West African internal political parties and alliances are expected to meet the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and other Cabinet Ministers in Cape Town on Thursday and Friday.

All invited groups, including those which boycotted the Geneva talks on SWA last month, were expected in Cape Town this week, a spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General in Windhoek, said yesterday.

The groups would meet Mr Botha and would have separate meetings with Mr Botha and his colleagues to discuss independence strategy for the territory. The first groups would leave for Cape Town tomorrow.

Yesterday, spokesman for Swapo, the Namibia National

Front (NNF) and the Namibia Independence Party (NIP), all of which boycotted the Geneva talks, said they welcomed the chance to talk with Mr Botha.

NIP's publicity secretary, Mrs Ottile Abrahams, said the NIP would promote the idea of a multi-party conference which it had proposed since May.

Swapo's labour secretary, Mr Solomon Mifima, said "We are going to listen. We are happy to talk with South Africa but not to attend talks as part of a South African delegation".

Most groups have been invited to send two delegates. Some may send extra delegates at their own expense. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and Aktur are expected to send about six representatives each. The Herstigte Nasionale Party, which boycotted the Geneva talks, is also expected in Cape Town.

15 Swapo terrorists, one SADF man, die

WINDHOEK — Fifteen Swapo terrorists had been killed in a hot-pursuit operation in the South West African operational area at the weekend, Brigadier Willie Meyer, second officer commanding the SWA Territory force, disclosed in Windhoek yesterday.

In a brief statement, he said the terrorists had been killed in northern Owambo.

One member of the security forces was killed in the operation. Defence Headquarters in Pretoria later identified him as Lance-Corporal James King Park, 21. He was not married and lived at Susanne Crescent in Northcliff, Johannesburg. — Sapa



Dr F van Zyl Slabbert . . . "Boys dying on the border"



Mr Jaap Marais . . . his HNP is "exploiting the SWA situation"



Mr P W Botha . . . may be prey to criticism from those he has reassured



Mr P W Botha . . . "PFP had brought SWA into political arena."

Fightings gutter politics with lofty ideals

Peter Sullivan

Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — "If he (Mr P W Botha) is prepared to drag the whole SWA/Namibia issue into the gutter politics of a general election, we in the official Opposition are not prepared to do so — people are dying on the border, we are not prepared to make political capital out of such a matter."

These words were expressed angrily and with feeling by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert in his summing up of the no confidence debate in Parliament last week.

But it will not be easy and might well be impossible for him and his party, to stick to them.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party is the first reason. With some success, this party has been exploiting the situation in SWA/Namibia for political purposes ever since Mr Dirk Mudge first split the territory's National Party.

The Prime Minister felt compelled in the latter half of last year to deny in every public speech he made that his Government had "sold out" the whites of South West.

HNP speakers harped on the fact that apartheid had become a crime in Windhoek and warned their audiences to expect the same in South Africa if the P W Botha regime stayed in power.

Cynics believe the Geneva debacle was staged merely to give South Africa and the National Party in particular some breathing space because of right-wing pressure on both Mr Botha.

To expect the National Party not to proclaim to the faithful that Geneva had "proved" they would not sell out the whites would be expecting too much.

Secondly, it is generally accepted that the election would be fought by the National Party on the basis of a slogan similar to say "Unite before the total onslaught".

If Swapo is left out of the total onslaught, and America and Britain under their respective administrations can no longer be seen as enemies, the

SWA burning issue for election

STAR 3/2/84 221

total onslaught might look a little thin

So the Swapo threat, and the situation in SWA/Namibia, must form part of the National Party's campaign manifesto. In fact, the Minister of Foreign Affairs has already revealed his intention

POLITICAL ARENA

Speaking in the no confidence debate, he said Mr Derrick de Villiers, Opposition foreign affairs spokesman, had put "the SWA question into the middle of the political arena."

"He (Mr de Villiers) gives it as one of the reasons why there should be a motion of no confidence in the Government."

"I assure him that in the days ahead — the election days — we will ensure that the voters of South Africa take notice of this spirit of abdication

which the PFP is now already showing, also with regards to SWA

"We will not let this matter lie here. This will be repeated from platform to platform throughout South Africa during the forthcoming election," Mr Botha said

When you are attacked from platform to platform it is difficult not to respond

In fact, during the no confidence debate the national chairman of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, brought the question of United Nations impartiality into the election

Mr Eglin said to Mr P W Botha "As the man under whom the SABC falls, are the SABC and the SA Information Service going to show the impartiality during the three months (of the election) which he expects the United

Nations to show when it comes to elections?"

"Is the Opposition going to be treated fairly during the election period?"

"Will the Opposition have equal time with the Government on TV during the election period?"

"Are we going to have the interminable Cliff Saunders-type shows with slanted questions in order to try to influence the people of South Africa? Is the impartiality he expects of others going to be shown by the SABC?"

While the election campaign is on, the central question of independence for the territory is likely to move into a hiatus, a sort of suspended state with nothing concrete being achieved.

Unfortunately this is not the worst of it. After the election, if the issue has been used for party political purposes, Mr P W Botha will be unable to move very fast for some time at least, otherwise he will be prey to criticism from those he has reassured.

The discontent in the National Party which would have made the SWA/Namibia question an election imperative, would surge again if Mr Botha strikes swiftly after getting a mandate on the platform of National Party unity.

Of course Dr Slabbert did not say the SWA/Namibia question would not be an election issue — he merely said his party would not drag it into the gutter politics of an election.

But it is difficult to fight gutter politics with lofty idealism, even if people are dying on the border.

Call to ^{KDM}
free ^{4/2/81}

Swapo (221) dissidents

WINDHOEK Amnesty International has been called on to try to secure the release of several hundred Swapo dissidents in so-called refugee camps in Angola and Zambia.

The Caprivian authorities have written to the international organisation urging it to intervene in what it said was fast becoming a major headache for anyone concerned with a solution in SWA.

According to Swapo defectors who have returned to SWA, the majority of Swapo dissidents being held by Swapo or the Angolan and Zambian authorities are supporters of the Caprivi African National Union (Canu).

Canu was revived last August after splitting from Swapo 16 years after the two organisations united in an effort to oust South Africa from SWA.

Returning Canu supporters claim that more than 1 000 of their comrades are being held in appalling conditions in jails and concentration camps or being forced to remain in 'refugee camps' in Angola and Zambia, which border the Caprivi Strip.

The Caprivian authorities feared Swapo might take revenge on the prisoners in the wake of the abortive Geneva conference. Sapa

Politics and war change the way of life in SWA

EDM 4/2/81 (221)

By DON MARSHALL
Pretoria
Bureau Chief

TRIBESMEN who have lived relatively undisturbed lives in the remote northern regions of South West Africa are being jostled into the 20th century by the pressures of politics and war.

As a counter to Swapo influence, the South African authorities are energetically conducting a crash programme to create a bureaucratic infrastructure which they hope will tilt towards Pretoria in the event of a South African pullout.

Tragically, there is no evidence of the authorities taking steps to monitor the effects that these radical steps will have on the lives of the tribesmen.

This was one of the impressions gained from a visit last week to ethnic training camps operated by the police in the SWA operational area, where hundreds of tribesmen are being recruited to become policemen, and the transition could be traumatic.

Caprivians in the east are being encouraged to put aside their fishing nets and to administer law and order in a region where tribal law is still the paramount authority.

Police officers in Oshakati told Pressmen that young men from Ovambo were enthusiastically joining up in spite of the region being a Swapo stronghold.

Little wonder, therefore, that police in Ovambo have suffered the highest casualties in the new force, with 97 killed in two years.

In Kaokoland, a remote region of dry broken hills and rugged mountains, the Himba men are being coaxed to leave their cattle herds and their women who smear their bodies with a mixture of butterfat and ochre to undergo training in a dusty base camp near Opuwo.

The promise of earning good money is what lures these men into signing up. In a society where money is a scarce commodity, these men earn R6 a



Himba women in tribal dress watch their menfolk doing parade drill at a police training base in Kaokoland. Three months ago the men also dressed in tribal apparel, but today they form the elements of a South West African police force.

day, and the effect of this new-found earning power on life in the various regions is dramatic.

After undergoing three months basic training at one of the camps, the recruits are posted out to protect tribal headmen who are the targets of Swapo guerrilla attacks.

They are also used in police follow-up operations against Swapo guerrillas.

The white police training officers are genuinely enthusiastic about their mission to train the new force, and they speak in glowing terms of the progress

the raw recruits have made since the first training base was opened three years ago.

Only occasionally does an officer express frustration at his mission, saying things like "You can take a man out of the bush, but you can't take the bush out of the man."

This attitude obviously embarrasses the other officers, who say in private afterwards that it is more the instructive ineptitude than the inability of the tribesmen to learn new skills.

The officers enjoy passing on anecdotes of the difficulties they experience in training their men for operational duties.

For example, they teach the recruits left from right by placing stones in their left hand (a trick learned on South African parade squares).

Then there are tribesmen who have to be killed out with one size 10 and another size 8 shoe because they have never worn shoes.

Once the jokes have been dispensed with, the white officers question whether they would be able to survive in the SWA bush without the assistance of the men they have trained.

"They are our eyes and ears. They have saved white policemen's lives. We would not be able to carry out our duties without them," a white police officer said.

White policemen drawn from dorps and cities throughout South Africa for terms of border duty are total strangers in remote places like Kaokoland and Caprivi. They do not speak the languages, nor do they know the customs of people they are working with.

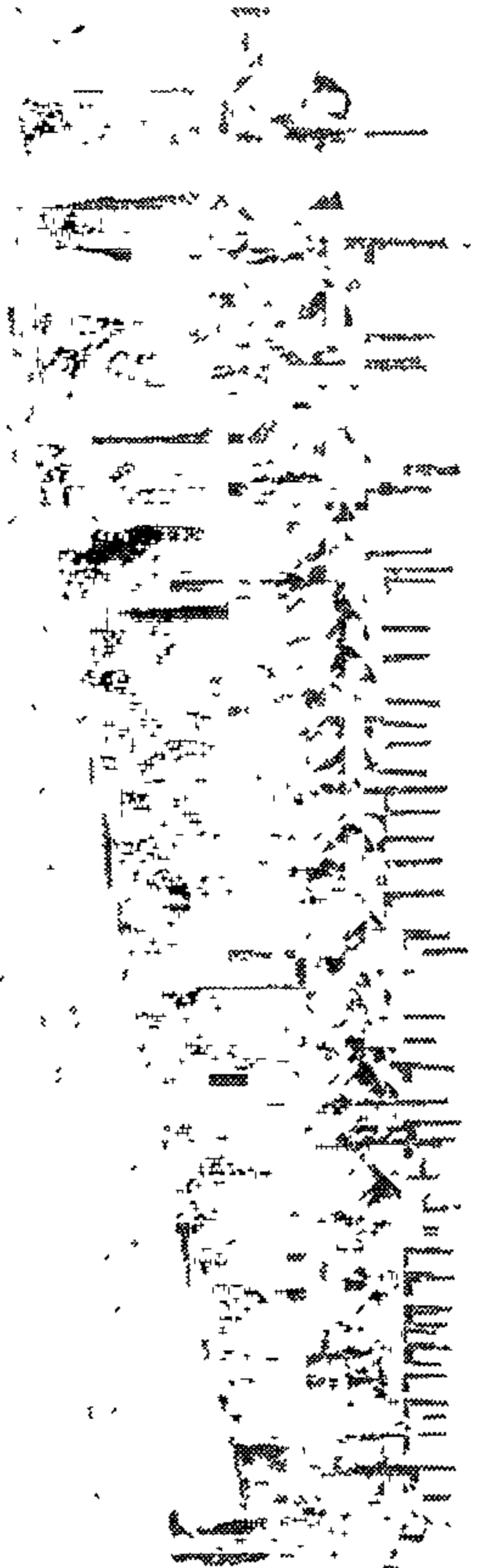
Whether patrolling in the dense bush of the east or the geographically remote regions of the west, the whites must be seen as intruders who are disrupting the harmonious balance between nature and the tribal people. But politics dictates this.

The police officers who are responsible for the training of the black police force cannot say what will happen in the event of an SA pullout.

I asked the question many times and almost as many times I got the rhetorical reply "Don't you think we have started too late?"



Caprivian policemen surge through the bush with their rifles firing during a mock battle with guerrillas at a camp in Eastern Caprivi.



Himba policemen with rifles in a straight-up position drilling in dusty Kaokoland ground.

Pictures DON MARSHALL

SWA parties meet PW to discuss future

(22)
SIR
5/2/61

By Peter Sullivan
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance met the Prime Minister today in the first of a series of post-Geneva meetings scheduled to last for two days.

Mr Botha started off the series of meetings with the internal political parties from SWA/Namibia by seeing Mr Dirk Mudde and other members of the DFA executive.

Mr Botha is to have discussions with each of the parties separately with the possibility of a joint meeting tomorrow.

Besides the DTA, Mr Botha will be talking to Aktur, the Liberation Front, the Liberal Party, the Namibian Peoples

Liberation Front, the Federal Party, the Herigte Nasionale Party, the Namibian National Front, the Namibian Independence Party and Swapo-D.

The Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Danie Hough will also attend the meetings as will the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said no statement on the meetings was expected today but it seemed likely that the Prime Minister's Office would issue one tomorrow.

The failure of the Geneva conference was only a temporary setback to the efforts to get independence for SWA/Namibia, President Quett

Masire of Botswana has said, reports The Stars Africa News Service in Gaborone.

Speaking at a ceremony yesterday to receive the credentials of the new Indian High Commissioner to Botswana, President Masire said no amount of military force could delay the independence of an oppressed people indefinitely.

"The people of Namibia will achieve independence by the only means open to them," he said. He added that the achievement of majority rule in Zimbabwe had "brought pride to all in Southern Africa."

President Masire expressed the support of Botswana for the people of Namibia.

PLATE II

STRUCTURE OF THE TERMINAL AIR SPACES

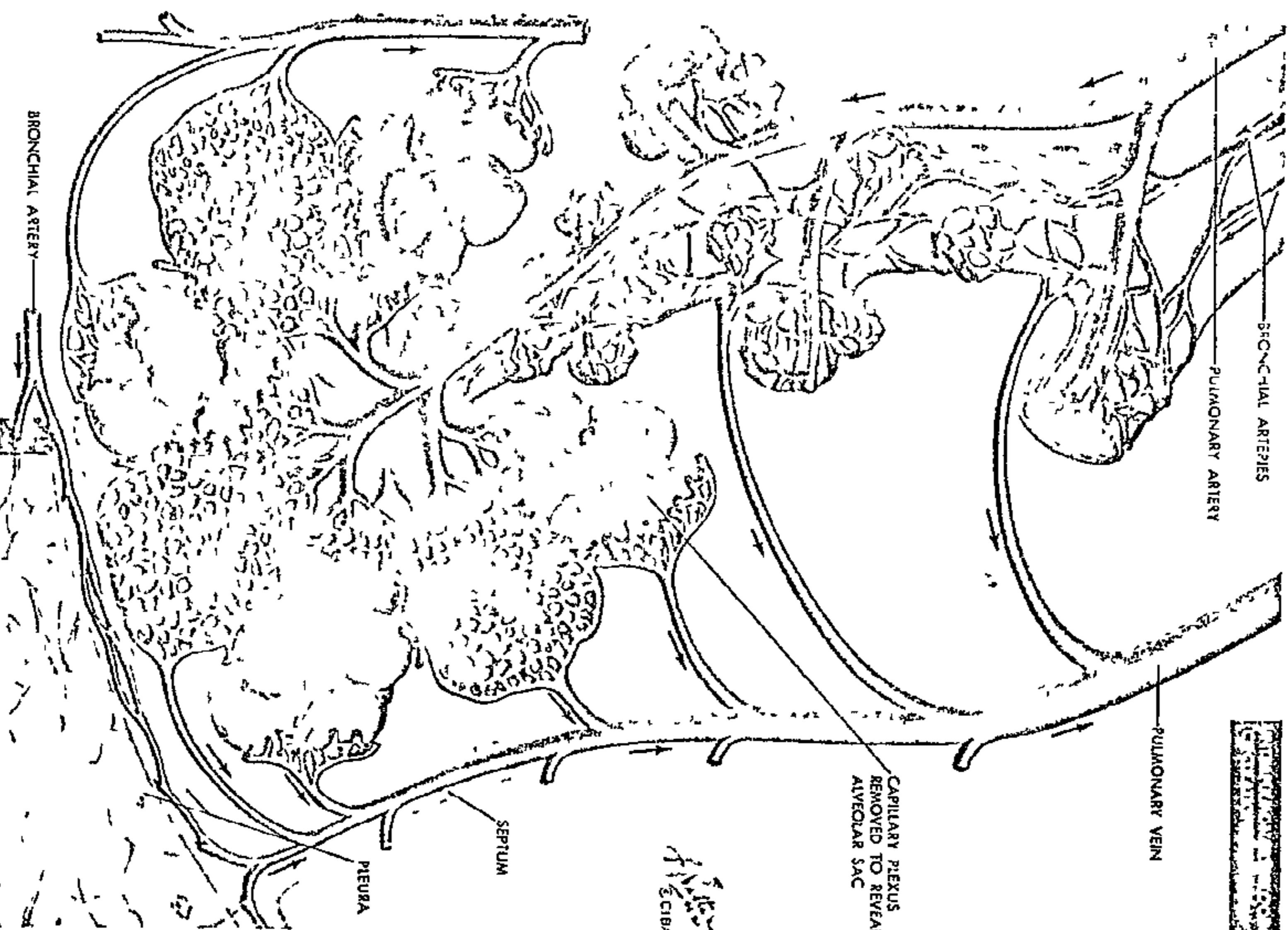
PLATE III

see Page 11(c) /



PLATE III

INTRAPULMONARY CIRCULATION



Sanctions call likely at Third World talks

Argus Bureau

LONDON — Delegations from Swapo and the African National Congress are heading for the Non-Aligned Movement's meeting of foreign ministers in New Delhi next week in determined mood.

They believe they have a cast-iron case for mandatory United Nations sanctions against South Africa for

⊙ 'Wrecking' the Geneva conference on South West Africa and refusing to implement the UN settlement plan, and

⊙ Attacking ANC exiles in Maputo and — according to new allegations from ex-mercenaries — killing civilians in repeated military operations inside Angola.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma will call for punitive action against South Africa. He will be backed by his UN representative, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab.

The ANC will be represented by their UN man Mr Johnstone Makatini.

NO DOUBT

There is no doubt that both Swapo and the ANC will get the strongly worded statements out of New Delhi that they want.

These will follow the declarations last month of the OAU liberation committee and the front-line foreign ministers calling for South Africa's economic isolation.

The African group is planning to submit all these to the United Nations Security Council next month when they call for enforcement action against the Republic. But they are bumping against the ceiling.

Butain said on Wednesday that it was opposed to sanctions.



Mr Sam Nujoma

Everyone expects the new US administration to veto any sanctions call.

The machinations in New Delhi, therefore, can lead only to increased pressure for change and to embarrassment for the Western powers at having, once again, to leap in and defend South Africa.

The 95 member Non-Aligned Movement will not have too much time to spend on Southern Africa — it is fraught with diverse issues.

The Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict emerged as the main sticking point during preparatory talks this week.

But when the meeting starts, the leadership issue is expected to loom large.

ASPIRATIONS

Yugoslavia is trying to regain its traditional senior role in the movement, which was largely conceived by the late President Tito.

Algeria has for years been trying to develop its leading role in Africa into a top-power position in the movement.

Cuba has not given up its campaign to lead the Third World closer to Moscow.

The Star Bureau
 LONDON — Top flight delegations from Swapo and the African National Congress are heading for the non-aligned movement's Foreign Ministers meeting in New Delhi next week in determined mood.

They believe they have a cast iron case for mandatory United Nations sanctions against South Africa for

○ Wrecking the Geneva Conference on SWA/Namibia and refusing to implement the UN settlement plan for the territory and

○ Attacking ANC evildoers in Maputo and — according to new evidence from ex-mercenaries — killing civilians in repeated military operations inside Angola.

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ANC PLEDGE

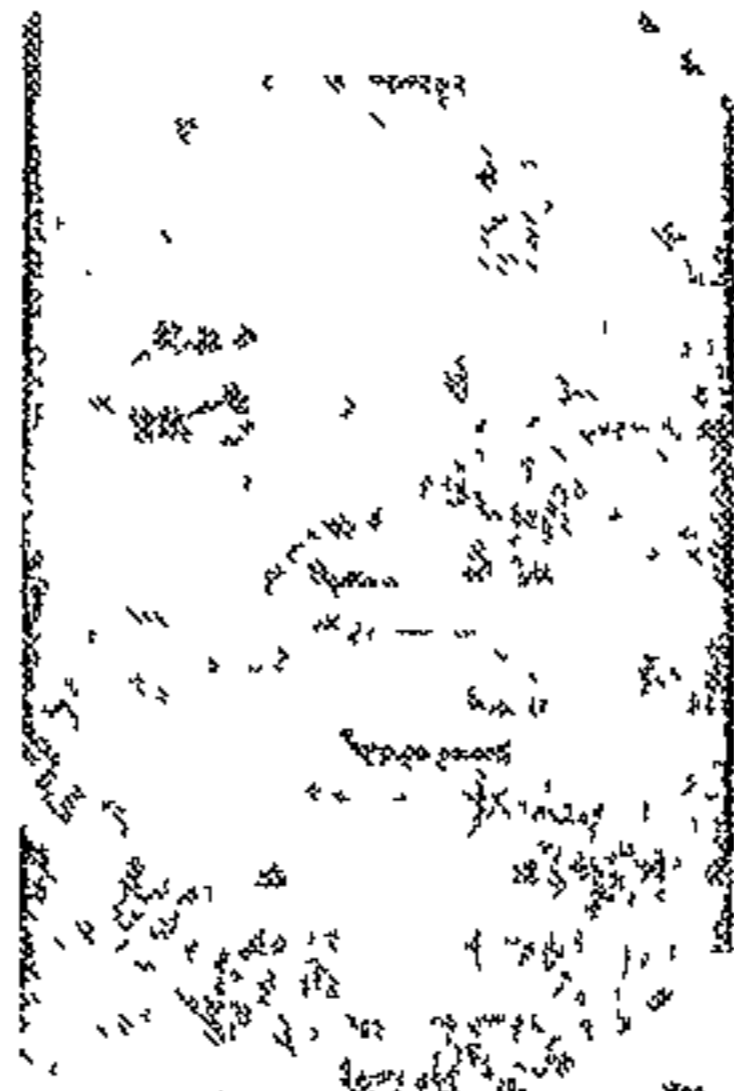
The ANC will be represented by its UN man Mr Johnstone Makatini.

On his way through London this week Mr Makatini said there was no plan to 'avenge' the killing of his colleagues in Maputo. Future ANC strategy would be determined by its military and diplomatic goals.

He repeated the ANC pledge not to attack "soft" or civilian targets but to concentrate on strategic installations.

There is no doubt that

240 (221) 1544
Swapo and ANC
STP 6/26
 to press for
SA sanctions



Mr Sam Nujoma will call for punitive action.

both Swapo and the ANC will get the strongly-worded titmets they want from New Delhi.

These will be taken with the declarations last month of the OAU Liberation Committee and the frontline Foreign Ministers calling for economic isolation of South Africa.

The African group is planning to submit all

these to the United Nations Security Council next month when it calls for enforcement action against South Africa.

But they are bumping against the ceiling even as they make preparations.

OPPOSITION

Britain went on record this week as being in opposition to sanctions.

No one expects the new US administration to do anything but veto any sanctions call against South Africa.

The machinations in New Delhi can therefore lead only to increased pressure for change on South Africa and to embarrassment for Western powers if having, once again, to leap in and defend South Africa.

The 95 member non-aligned movement will not have too much time to spend on southern Africa.

It is currently fraught with more divisive issues than at any time in its 20 year history.

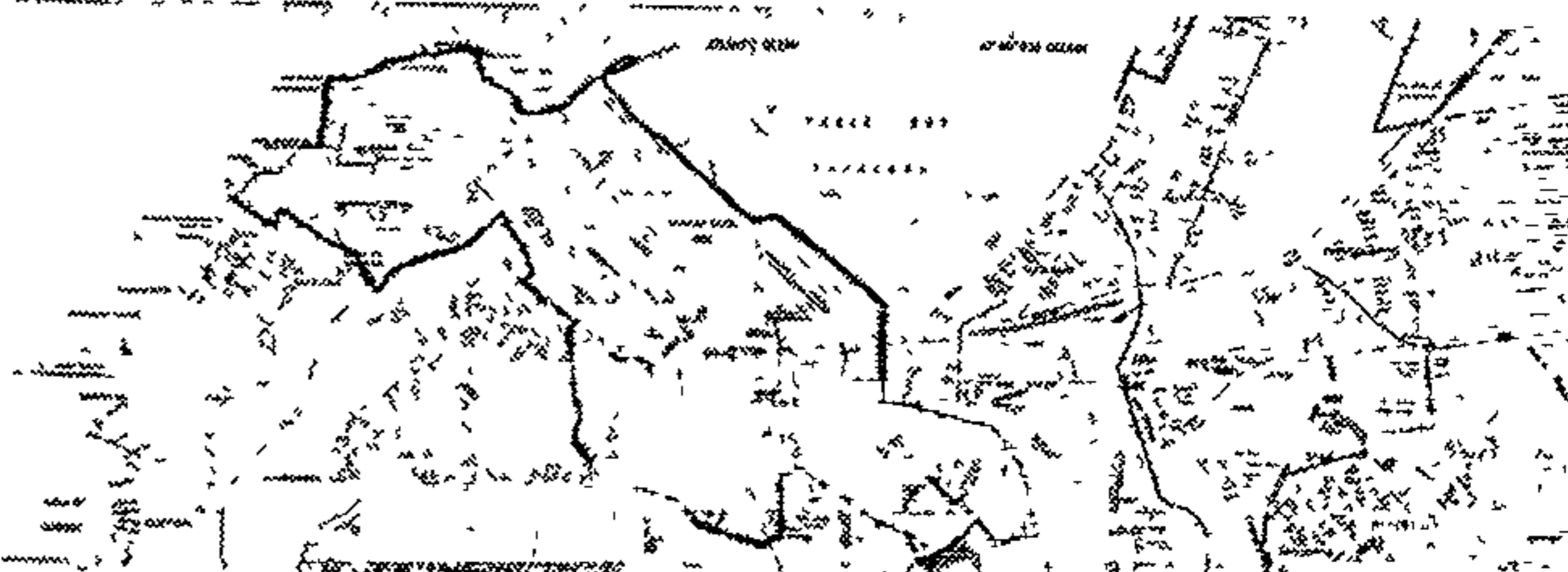
Handwritten notes and markings on the right side of the page, including a vertical list of numbers and some illegible text.

The greening of

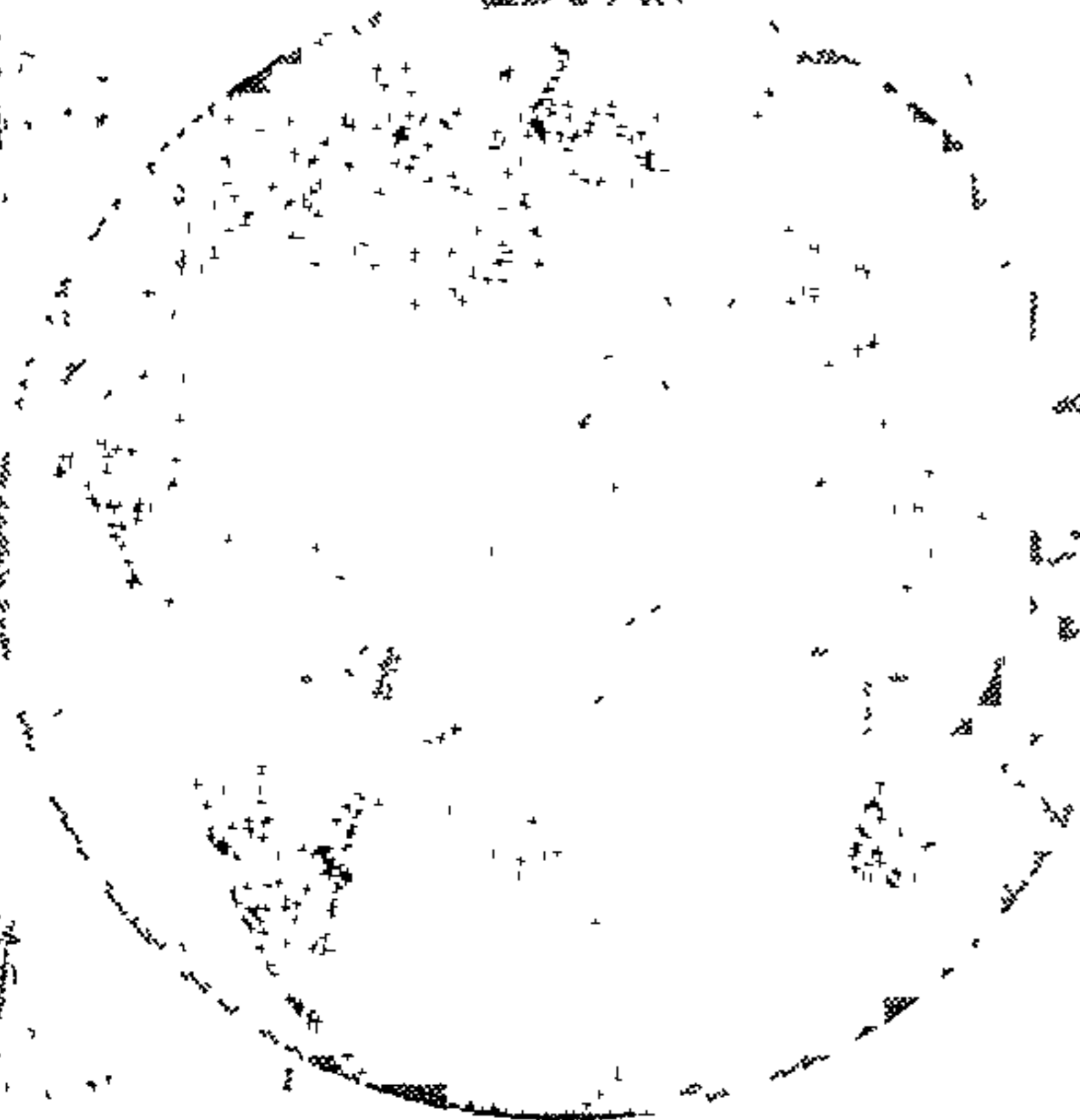
Election? What election?

221
Wargus

x/2/61



GREEN POINT (boundaries shown above) will be getting 3 000 more voters from Walvis Bay (below).



MRS S 'Tian' van der Merwe

Tough poll battle

By John Fensham

THE 'not entirely unexpected' announcement of an early general election, and the inclusion of Walvis Bay in the Green Point constituency under the new delimitation deal, could make the Green Point battle 'one of the toughest and most closely fought electoral confrontations in April,' PFP MP Mr Tian van der Merwe said this week.

'A tough, but not an impossible battle,' said Mr van der Merwe, who squeaked home in 1977 with a marginal 238-vote majority in a three-way contest. 'Had the election come later, or had Walvis Bay not been dumped in our laps, it would have been much easier. As things stand, we will have to fight all out, but I still think we have a very good chance.'

Nearly 3 000 of Walvis Bay's predominantly Nationalist electorate has been transferred to the Green Point constituency, of which about 25 percent are expected to vote opposition. But some votes have also been lost to Sea Point and others gained from Groote Schuur and Gardens.

'It is very difficult to make an assessment,' Mr van der Merwe said. 'But on a recent visit to Walvis Bay I gained the impression that a general decline has set in as far as the reformist image of Mr Botha is concerned. How far this has gone is difficult to say but it does indicate that if the election had come later we would have been far better placed to collect the disenchanting Nationalist votes.'

MANY SNIDE COMMENTS

He pointed out that the South West African enclave had never been exposed to the PFP, but he had noted 'many snide comments about Mr Botha — from both the left and right of his Government.'

'The Nationalists in South West Africa are no longer so strongly identified with Nationalists in South Africa — they feel socially, geographically, economically and politically more closely aligned with a country which is moving towards an all-people political solution. There is also the feeling that South Africa is holding on to Walvis Bay as an 'ace in the hole' for future bargaining over the territory.'

'It is a town of high population turnover (the PFP sent out 2 100 circulars, of which more than 300 were returned marked "unknown") and the electoral roll is also outdated. But one thing I am sure of — the PFP will fight all out for this seat. And I'm sure we will win it,' he said.

BY JOHN FENSHAM

GREEN POINTERS generally are indifferent, apathetic or uninformed about the tricky election battle they face in April, if a snap Weekend Argus survey is anything to go by.

close all the bottle stores?



● It is just stupid to lump Walvis Bay with Green Point. It is just fancy word-work to say both have harbours and are associated with the sea and fishing.



● Politics is just a bore. If the Nats can't win seats with the votes here, they bring them in from somewhere most of us have never heard of, and couldn't care less about anyway. Should I vote? What for? I've got better things to do with my time.



● People say Mr Botha started out to change the country and then just stopped. I think he had to stop because people in his own party were fighting him to keep things as they are. I am glad Walvis Bay is now part of Green Point because now we can really give the National Party a good seat. Then Mr Botha can really change the country.

● I didn't know there was an election.

● I am in danger of losing my flat. My maid can't even have her husband to visit her in her room. The streets are full of roughnecks and thugs. I don't think I'll vote because I'm scared to go out of my flat.

None of the people questioned had been contacted by a party organiser or canvasser.

Questioned in the street, in cafes, coffee shops and in their flats, most residents were off-hand or derisive about the election, many were unaware that the constituency had been vastly changed by the delimitation commission last year — and two did not even know an election was in the offing.

Some, however, were vociferously aligned, and already decided about the poll.

These are some of their remarks.



● I live in a flat opposite the beach and at the weekends I can't even get on to my own beach. I pay rates and taxes and then people from other places — coloured people — come here and push me off my own beach. What do you think I'll vote?



● From nowhere they've taken 3 000 safe Nat votes and shoved them into Green Point. If it happened in any other country there would be an outcry.

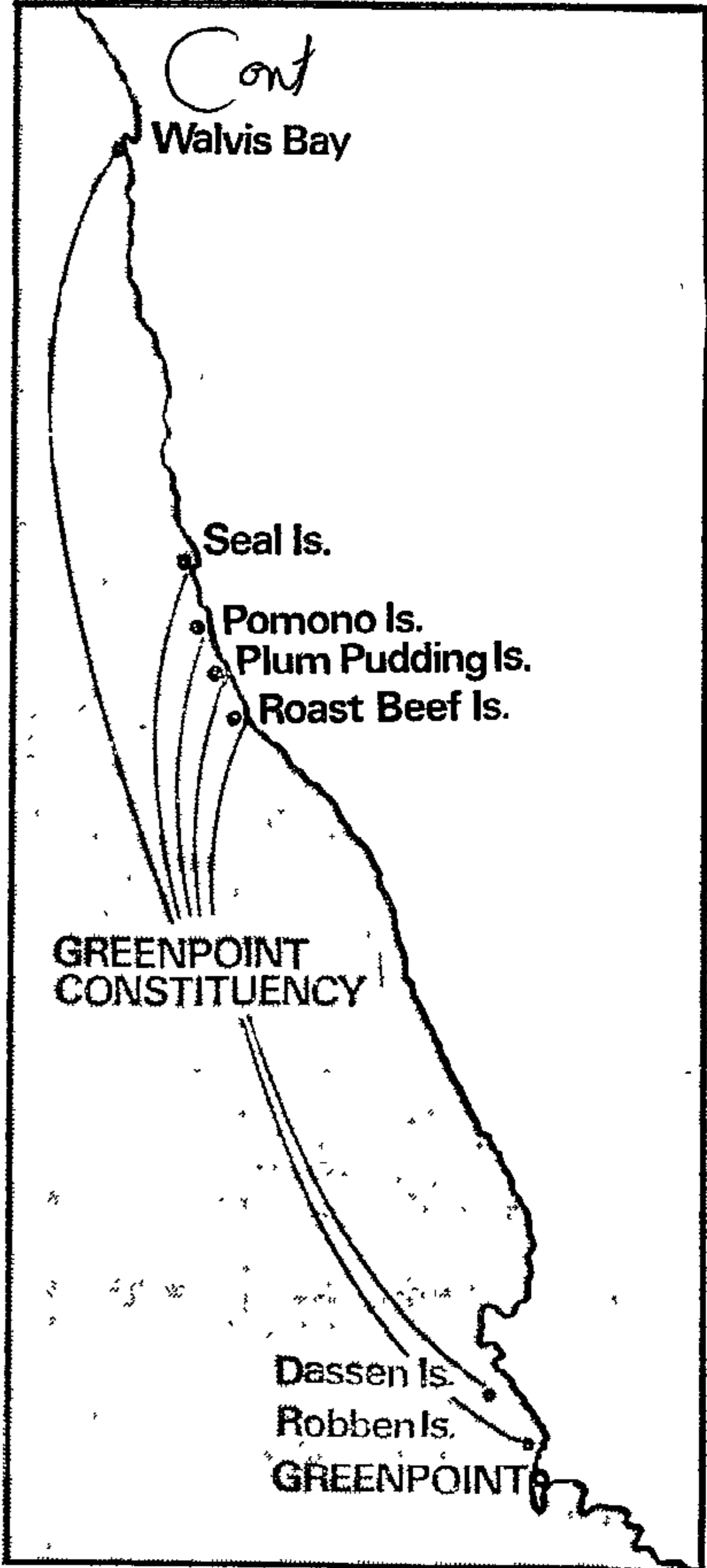


● Delimitation? Does that mean they're gonna

Roast Beef and Plum Pud...

A Roast Beef and Plum Pudding constituency — Green Point's voting area now stretches, fragmented, up the coast of South and South West Africa to include the enclave of Walvis Bay (about 3 000 voters), the prison community on Robben Island — but not the prisoners — and Dassen, Ichabo, Plum Pudding, Mercury, Pomono, Roast Beef, Sinclair, Halifax, Seal, Long and Holland's Bird Islands.

The Peninsula voters themselves are spread through Green Point itself, parts of Observatory, Gardens, Woodstock and Groote Schuur, but no updated voters' role is yet available to estimate the possible poll. None of the three parties contacted knew which islands were included in the constituency, nor how many voters live on them.



The National Party has an active organisation and three offices in Walvis Bay, but the PFP and NRP are virtually unknown there.

The PFP MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, has made one visit to Walvis Bay. Islands not shown on the map are Long, Halifax and Sinclair.

Weekend Argus

February 7 1987

Walvis

A confusing number of contestants

WHO will contest the Green Point seat? Contrary to early speculation, the New Republic Party has announced that it will fight for the seat, scotching rumours of 'an election pact' with the National Party and introducing a confusing three-way analysis problem for electoral strategists.

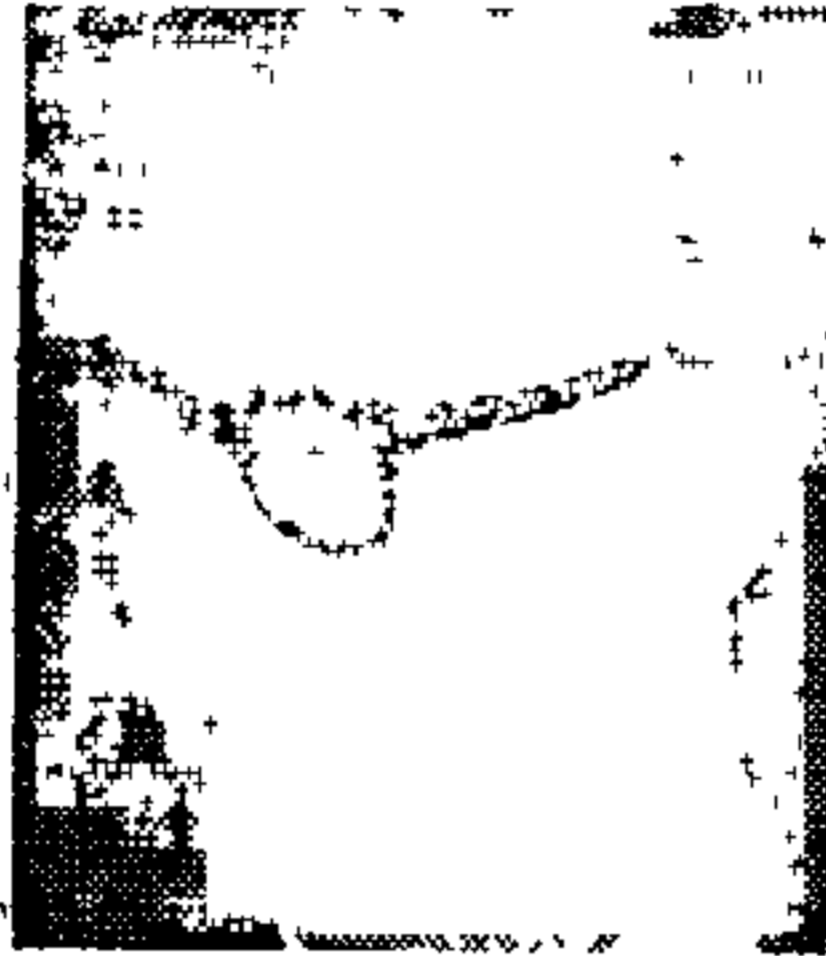
With no electoral rolls yet out on a constituency fragmented to include Green Point itself, parts of Gardens, Woodstock, Observatory and Groote Schuur, the West Coast islands and at least 2 200 'safe Nat votes' in Walvis Bay, observers believe any conjecture about voting trends could only be wild guesswork at this stage.

The National Party is widely expected to contest the seat. (They'd be fools not to, one commentator said) but when asked this week to confirm their candidacy, a spokesman replied: "No comment."

The NRP will contest the seat, but firmly blocked all attempts to have the candidate named. A spokesman said: "The candidate will be announced next week and I think his name will come as a big surprise to everyone, provided the divisional committee approves him."

A possible candidate for the National Party is Mr. Myburgh Streicher, former leader, first of the breakaway Independent United Party, and later of the South African Party, which won three seats in the 1977 election — but continued without him when he joined the National Party early in 1978.

He has been involved in politics since his youth, when he pedalled his way through Swellen-



Mr Myburgh Streicher

dam, helping to register voters. He came to Parliament in 1968 as MP for Port Elizabeth West, later named Newton Park. For 22 years he served on the United Party's central head committee.

But the links were not so strong that he couldn't break them, and in 1977 he broke away to form the IUP with six rebel 'Saps'.

In June that year Mr Streicher's party walked its way into Opposition history — by crossing the floor 70 times in one session to vote with the Government on contentious legislation. He sneered at the jibes of UP stalwarts who expressed concern about 'the path they have worn in the carpet.'

In January 1978, Mr Streicher joined the National Party, and the SAP continued under the leadership of Mr John Wiley — who also later joined the NP and now sits, as MP for Simon's Town.

Commentators have described speculation on Mr Streicher's candidacy for Green Point as 'inspired guesswork'. The NP itself has refused to comment.

cont

We're the key, say Walvis Bay residents

Argus Africa
News Service

MINDHOEK. — The inclusion of Walvis Bay in the Green Point constituency is likely to tip the parliamentary seat in favour of the National Party in the General Election on April 29.

This is the view of observers in the South African enclave, which has more than 1 000 km from Green Point. They

National Party say support their amounts to at least 70 percent of the port's 2 976 voters.

Other estimates run as high as 2 500 votes for the NP from Walvis Bay, the remainder being 'no interests' or 'uke-warm Progs'.

There is little doubt that we shall play the key role in Green Point in the coming election, said a Walvis Bay official.

Inhabitants of the enclave last voted on a national level in 1974, during an election for the legislative assembly in SWA Walvis Bay was included in the constituency of Namaqualand on September 1 1977, but the voters did not go to the polls because the seat was uncontested.

Walvis Bay sources point out that the PRP won the Green Point seat in that election by only 238 votes. While noting that the delimitation last year altered the constituency's borders to possibly favour the PRP, they claim the PRP's gain would by no means match the weight of the NP bloc in Walvis Bay.

Most voters in Walvis Bay are Afrikaans-speaking civil servants and members of industry.

The enclave is administered from the Cape and is governed by South African legislation. The scrapping of the colour bar, pass laws, and racial segregation in urban residential areas and public facilities in South West Africa in the past few years do not apply in Walvis Bay.

Another advantage, the National Party has in Walvis Bay is the party's superior election machinery.

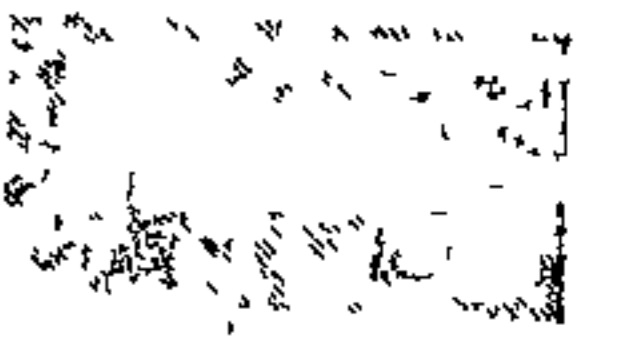
Talk in NP circles in Walvis Bay has even developed as far as the nomination of a candidate for Green Point. The favourite is Mr M C 'Boet' Botma.

A former mayor of Walvis Bay, Mr Botma has also represented the enclave in the Legislative Assembly in South West Africa, in Parliament, and was for some

years a member of the now defunct Senate. Mr Botma plans to visit Cape Town later this month to meet the NP organisation in Green Point and for discussions with the party's Cape executive.

The present Mayor of Walvis Bay, Mr Nico Reijer, announced this week that he was also available for nomination as the National Party's Green Point candidate.

1981
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Argus
Weekend



South Africa to honour its Paratrooper heroes

DAREDEVIL SQUAD

The men who flew into enemy territory to save trapped pilot

Tribune Reporter

A DAREDEVIL squad of crack paratroopers who refused to leave a trapped South African pilot to the mercy of Swapo guerrillas are to receive the country's fourth highest award for valour next week.

The six men, and an Air Force major and flight sergeant, who lured them on their courageous rescue mission are among 18 new recipients of the Defence Force who have been awarded Honours Cross Silver and Honours Cross decorations by the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, at a special parade in Bloemfontein on Thursday.

The team mounted its lightning rescue mission in October 1979 after the pilot of a blurring Impala jet had baled out and landed within 200 metres of enemy forces.

Two Puma helicopters, one piloted by Major Paul Everard Kruger, came under heavy ground fire as they neared the trapped pilot's landing site, but managed to land nearby.

The six-man paratroop squad led by Second Lieutenant John Parker, fought its way to the pilot under heavy fire and held off enemy attacks while Major Kruger's Puma

landed a second time to take the pilot and his rescuers aboard.

The helicopter, still under fire, made a quick getaway — but not before Paratrooper Brian Jeffrey Gibson, one of the rescue squad, was seriously wounded.

Major Kruger, the six-man team of Lieutenant Park, Lieutenant Gibson and Lieutenant Louie Brimley, Sergeant Neil MacLennan, Sergeant Sephanus de Lange and Ben Marc, as well as flight sergeant Siegfried Hoebel, who first spotted the pilot from the open door of the Puma, will receive Honours Cross decorations on Thursday.

Sergeant Hoebel's decoration citation also included details of an action only a month after the rescue mission. During this action, he gave first aid to his commander while their helicopter was in flight, and took over as co-pilot for the dangerous flight back to base in the damaged aircraft.

Also among the 18 to be decorated is Lieutenant Johannes du Toit, a 20-year-old soldier killed in Operational Smokeless, the South African incursion into Angola in June last year.

The posthumous decoration is being awarded for his brave defence

of a damaged Ravel armoured vehicle against a Swapo attack during which he was fatally wounded.

Honours Cross Silver Medals will be awarded to Commandant Cornelius Breytenbach of the SAAF and Captain Alwyn Johannes Meerholz (Army).

Other SADF soldiers to be decorated are Major Pieter John Starford, Sergeant Carel Petrus Greling (Army), Corporal Gavin Michael Carstie (Army), Corporal Jacobus Johannes Potgieter (Army), Corporal Kenneth Drien Rice (Army), Corporal Gareth Timothy Rutherford (Army), Rifleman Paul Phillipus de Kock (Army).

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Mudge bid to boost SWA autonomy

ROM 10/2/81

(221)

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the South West African Council of Ministers, yesterday signalled an attempt to broaden the base and increase the powers of the internal SWA government

Political observers believe this portends a "Muzorewa-type government of national unity"

Interviewed in Windhoek yesterday, Mr Mudge, leader of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said it was necessary to include more parties in the National Assembly, so that it could be recognised as a "unifying factor" in the territory

He said that after the recent Geneva conference, there was clearly no prospect for a speedy implementation of the United Nations settlement plan and that the country's constitutional development would have to continue in the meantime

DTA leaders have recently stated their view that since the UN could apparently not be

trusted, the people of SWA would have to solve their own problems

The DTA has made repeated calls on smaller parties to support it in a broader anti-Swapo alliance.

Mr Mudge said yesterday that a previously-spurned offer of 15 seats in the Assembly made to non-represented parties would probably be repeated

He said provision might even be made for the inclusion of non-DTA leaders on the Ministers' Council

But despite increasing autonomy in the executive sector of the territory, the South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, has so far retained his veto right

Yesterday, the Republiken newspaper, mouthpiece of the DTA in Windhoek, reported that the role of the Administrator-General could be reduced to that of a "symbolic" head without executive powers

The newspaper said Mr Hough's continued presence in SWA would serve mainly to

counter allegations that the territory was headed for a UDI

Another DTA-supporting newspaper, the Windhoek Advertiser, suggested Mr Hough's job would fall away

Mr Mudge declined comment on the future of Mr Hough, dismissing the reports yesterday as "just speculation"

He said proposals to broaden and strengthen the SWA government would be discussed at a DTA executive meeting before the end of the month

These proposals were not raised at last week's meeting in Cape Town with the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, he said

Observers believe the Cape Town talks could lead to closer co-operation between the DTA and the small Liberal Party led by Mr Andrew Kloppers

Other parties to the talks seem to have come away dissatisfied with their progress, and a recent attempt to arouse interest among groups to the left of the DTA in a new anti-Swapo alliance looks like failing

CHEMIC

B F McClelland
J H Rens
D P Weeks
T J Cumming
P M Salmon

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.
Corporation Medals

Hough may be recalled and his post scrapped

By Alan Dunn
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Speculation is growing here that the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Danie Hough, will be recalled to Pretoria and that the post will temporarily be scrapped.

This follows talks between the territory's internal parties and the South African Government in Cape Town last week on the failure of the Geneva

conference on the future of SWA/Namibia

It is understood the question of abolishing the post of Administrator-General, which still retains the veto over the interim government's decisions, was raised in Cape Town

Observers here say the move ties in with the DTA's call to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to "expand and strengthen" SWA/Namibia's National Assembly and

Council of Ministers or "Cabinet."

Informed sources say this appeal met with South African Government approval and it seems likely the Council of Ministers may take full control of the executive functions in SWA/Namibia.

"The council of Ministers should be given more powers than it has now," the chairman of the council, Mr Dirk Mudge, said today

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Star 10/2/81
Questioned on the scrapping of the Administrator-General's post and the creation of a "figurehead" Governor-General's position in its place, Mr Mudge said "There is nothing definite. It is only speculation at this stage."

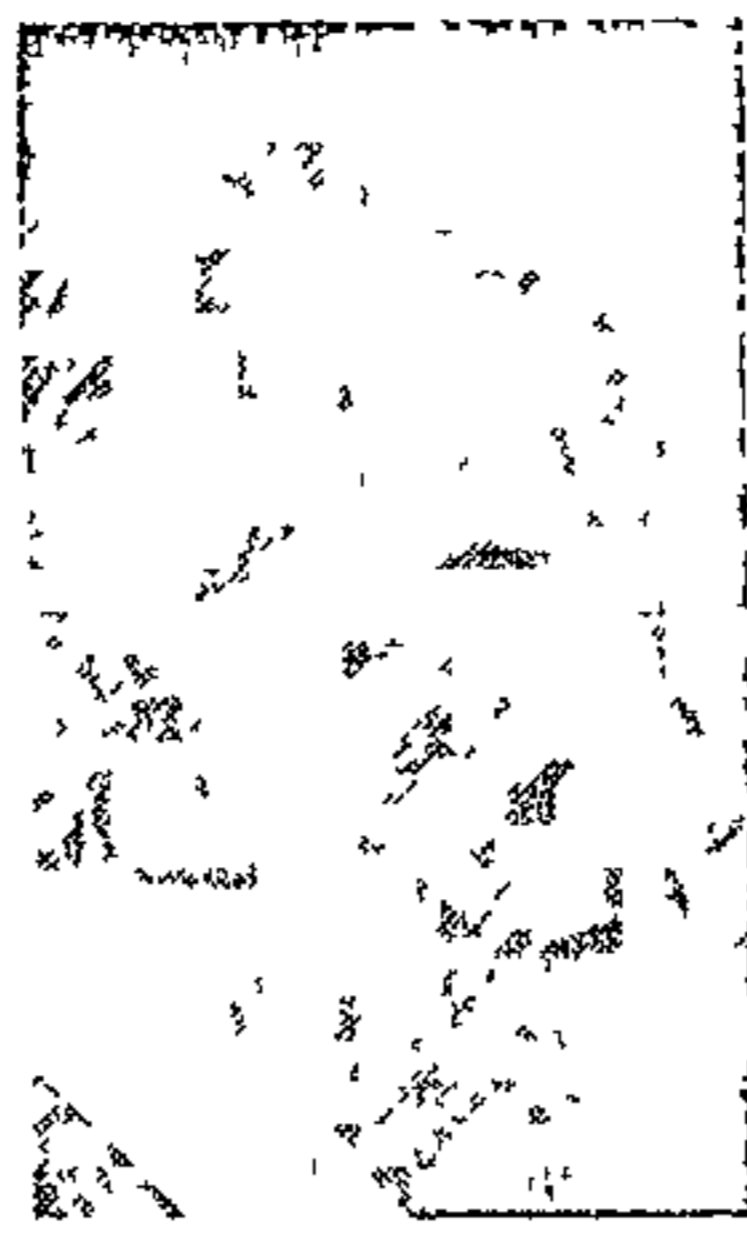
Said one source: "The move was mentioned rather than discussed in Cape Town as one of the ways to give the Council of Ministers greater powers. There was no talk of a Governor-General's post."

BROADER

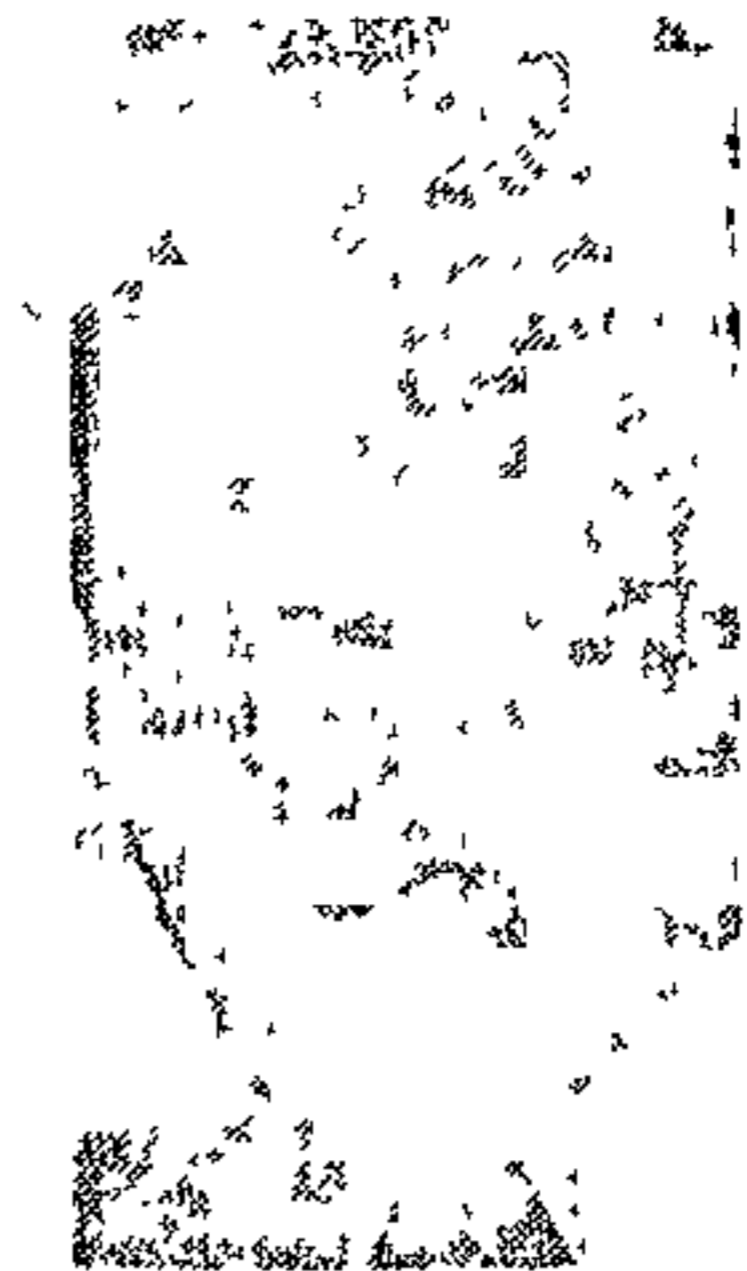
It is believed the DTA, which dominates the interim government, sees the takeover of executive functions as one of the only ways out in the vacuum left by the Geneva conference in the international negotiations for a settlement in SWA/Namibia.

Mr Mudge has made it clear he will try in the immediate future to broaden the base of the interim government. It is expected he will again offer 15 extra seats in the National Assembly and perhaps representation in the Minister's Council, in an effort to attract political parties which have so far stayed out of the internal process.

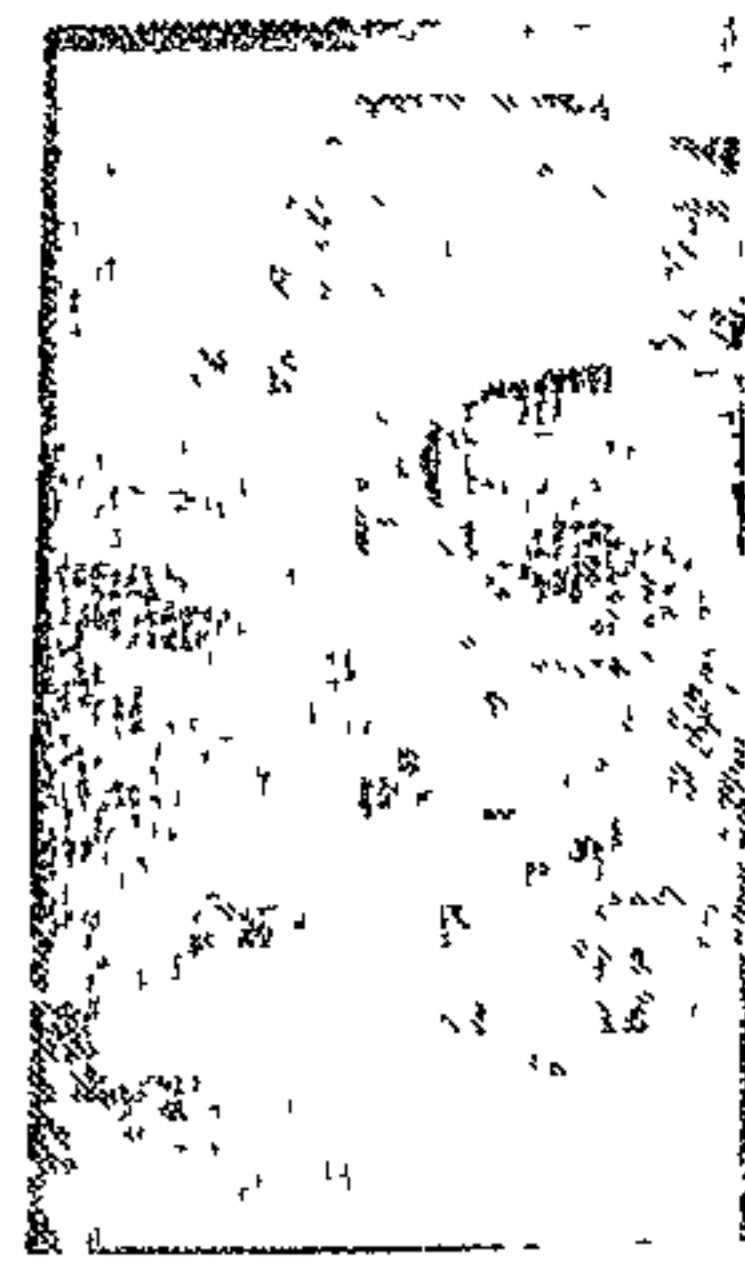
The suggestion to scrap the Administrator-General's post, apparently made by Mr Hough, would be regarded as a temporary move while international negotiations on SWA/Namibia still revolve around United Nations Resolution 435 — the UN Peace Plan — which outlines a key role for the Administrator-General in an election for independence.



Mr Dirk Mudge . . re-offering extra seats



Mr Andries Shipanga . . orchestrated campaign



Mr P W Botha . . no definite strategy.

Turnhalle ^{sim} sees ²²⁰ power ^{idea} as key to good image

By Alan Dunn
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia is nearing total self-rule as the territory's interim government prepares to make optimum use of the vacuum in the settlement issue left by the abortive Geneva conference last month.

Clearly determined to accelerate internal development in the time it has been given through the failure of the talks, the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance wants to expand its powers by taking over executive functions in the territory.

It apparently feels it could implement its changes far more effectively if it had full control, including authority over the public service in SWA/Namibia.

SYMPATHETIC

It would also give the DTA the opportunity to be seen to rule in the territory, distancing itself from Pretoria and creating a "strongman" image to counter a strong Swapo influence.

The South African Government, in talks with internal political groups in Cape Town last week, was sympathetic towards the DTA's call for an "extension and strengthening" of the interim government.

Now remains the question of how to do it. It seems various ideas were suggested to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, but no definite strategy has yet been set down.

One of the proposals, for instance, was that the post of Administrator General which still retains the power of veto

over interim government decisions, be scrapped to allow the DTA more powers.

It is understood this was put forward by the man who currently holds the post Mr Danie Hough. Sources say the South African attitude at last week's talks was to hear views rather than express them, indicating that the Government is still probing possibilities as to where it should go from here.

FACTORS

But political observers in Windhoek say two factors will play an important role in the Government's formulation of a plan for the future. The general election and the new Reagan Administration.

Certain quarters here feel South Africa is relying heavily perhaps too heavily on the Reagan presidency to create a favourable position for Pretoria in the international negotiations for a settlement in SWA/Namibia. "I don't think the Reagan Administration will make as much difference as South Africa hopes, but it will buy time," said one local politician. "It will be some months before the new Administration settles down to work out some sort of policy on the South West issue."

DEFUSE

It is also generally held in Windhoek that South Africa's stance on SWA/Namibia will be linked to the general election on April 29.

Observers say Mr Botha cannot afford to be accused in the election campaign, particularly by elements of his own party, of "selling out" white people in the territory. They say he must, to

defuse any such political ammunition, give the right wing in SWA/Namibia more say in the interim government following the SWA National Party victory over Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party in the white ethnic elections for a second tier representative authority.

Mr Mudge spoke after the Cape Town talks of broadening the base of the interim government. He said the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers should be the unifying factor against Swapo.

He has also mentioned the possibility of re-offering 15 extra seats in the National Assembly and representation in the Ministers Council in an effort to draw in political parties which have so far avoided any involvement with the internal process.

REPRESENTATION

But it seems likely the SWA National Party front, Aktur, would not be averse to increasing its say by accepting representation in the Council of Ministers.

Also on the cards are talks between the DTA and groups such as the Federal Party and the Demata Council to try to interest them in joining the National Assembly.

The creation of an "anti Swapo" alignment, however, will not attract black nationalist movements such as the Swapo Democrats, the Namibian Independence Party and the South West Africa National Union which have expressed concern at the possibility of such a front.

They say the post-Geneva behind the scenes developments point ominously to a deliberate polarisation of "pro-government" or "anti-government" parties.



Talks RDM on SWA 11/2/81 chief's (22) future in offing

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A proposal to withdraw the South West African Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, would probably be seriously discussed in the future, Mr John Viall, chief director of the Department of the Administrator-General, said yesterday

But, he said, there was no short term likelihood that Mr Hough's post would fall away

He said reports in the Press in SWA and South Africa that Mr Hough would become a "symbolic Governor-General" with no executive powers, or that he would be recalled to Pretoria, were "just speculation"

Mr Hough, who has been out of Windhoek since the SWA talks in Cape Town last week, could not be contacted for comment yesterday

Mr Viall said spokesmen for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and "certain other parties to last week's talks had suggested to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that South Africa should relinquish its control over SWA internal affairs through Mr Hough

They had suggested Mr Hough be withdrawn and that more power be accorded to the SWA Council of Ministers

"It was just one of the ideas thrown in. It wasn't discussed at all, although it will no doubt merit serious discussion at some later date," Mr Viall said

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Dirk Mudge, also dismissed the Press reports as speculation

He said neither Mr Hough's future nor proposals to seek a broader base and more powers for his internal government had been discussed at Cape Town

Mr Mudge said this week that he planned to offer political outsiders seats on the National Assembly and perhaps even on the council

Mr Justus Garoeb, leader of the Damara Council which soundly defeated the DTA in ethnic elections in November, said that although his party was opposed to the assembly, there was an even chance that it might consider it useful to be represented on the assembly

The party participated in the November ethnic elections after stating it opposed ethnic governments

Swapo Democrat leader, Mr Andreas Shipanga, said his party would reject any offers of seats

Mrs Ottilie Abrahams, secretary-general of the Namibia Independence Party, said she doubted whether the party would be able to reconcile its support of United Nations Resolution 435 with acceptance of seats on the assembly

DTA seeks full control

By ALAN DUNN
of Argus Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK. — South West Africa/Namibia is nearing total self-rule as the territory's interim Government prepares to make optimum use of the vacuum in the settlement issue left by the abortive Geneva conference last month.

Clearly determined to accelerate internal development in the time it has been given through the failure of the talks, the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance wants to expand its powers by taking over executive functions in the territory.

It apparently feels it could implement its changes far more effectively if it had full control, including authority over the public service, in SWA/Namibia.

It would also give the DTA the opportunity to be seen to rule in the territory, distancing itself from Pretoria, and creating a 'strongman' image to counter a strong Swapo influence in the territory.

The South African Government, in talks with internal political groups in Cape Town last week, was said to be sympathetic towards the DTA's call for an 'extension and strengthening' of the interim government.

Now remains the question of how to do it... it seems various ideas were suggested to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha,

but no definite strategy has yet been set down.

Sources say the South African attitude at last week's talks was to hear views rather than express them, indicating that the Government is still probing possibilities as to where it should go from here.

But political observers in Windhoek say two factors will play a very important role in the Government's formulation of a plan for the future: the general election, and the new Reagan Administration.

Certain quarters here feel South Africa is rely-

In the breathing space left by the unsuccessful Geneva talks, the South West African interim government is said to be hoping to take over all the territory's executive powers.

ing heavily, perhaps too heavily, on the Reagan Presidency to create a favourable position for Pretoria in the international negotiations for a settlement in SWA/Namibia.

'I don't think the Reagan Administration will make as much difference as South Africa hopes, but it will buy time,' said one local politician. 'It will be some months before the new Administration settles down to work out some sort of policy on the South West issue.'

It is also generally believed in Windhoek that South Africa's stance on SWA/Namibia will be

linked to the general election on April 29.

Observers say Mr Botha cannot afford to be accused in the election campaign, particularly by elements of his own party, of 'selling-out' white people in the territory.

They say he must, to defuse any such political ammunition, give the right wing in SWA/Namibia more say in the interim government following the SWA National Party victory over Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party in the recent white ethnic elections for a second tier representative authority.

Mr Mudge spoke after the Cape Town talks of broadening the base of the interim government. He said the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers should be the unifying factor against Swapo.

He has also mentioned the possibility of re-offering 15 extra seats in the National Assembly and representation in the Minister's Council in an effort to draw political parties which have so far avoided any involvement with the internal process.

It seems likely, however, that the SWA National Party front, Akur, would not be averse to increasing its

say by accepting representations in the Council of Ministers.

Also on the cards are talks between the DTA and groups such as the Federal Party and the Damara Council to try to interest them in joining the National Assembly.

The creation of an 'anti-Swapo' alignment, however, will not attract black nationalist movements such as the Swapo Democrats, the Namibian Independence Party and the South West Africa National Union which have expressed concern at the possibility of such a front.

They say the post-Geneva behind-the-scenes developments point ominously to a deliberate polarisation of 'pro-government' or 'anti-government' parties.

While partly blaming South Africa for this, they also note that the United Nations, the Western Five, and the Frontline states aided this division by allowing room for only two parties at the Geneva talks: South Africa and Swapo.

'We stayed out of the 1978 election and our views coincided with those of the Western Five. Then we found ourselves in the cold as far as Geneva was concerned,' said a political leader.

Said Mrs Otilie Abrahams, secretary-general of the Namibian Independence Party: 'It is fast becoming clear that there is going to be no place for centrist parties in this territory. People are being forced to choose either the left or the right.'

DTA not interested in a UDI, says Mudge

Jim

bl2/81

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The Star's Africa News Service
 WINDHOEK — The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance wanted autonomy for SWA/Namibia as quickly as possible, the chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said last night

"Our contention is we are wasting time internally and suffering damage. We want to make political progress in this country," he said

Mr Mudge stressed at a Press conference that the DTA was not interested in a unilateral declaration of independence, but the country had to be ruled while international nego-

tiations on the United Nations settlement plan for the territory were continuing

Turning to speculation about scrapping the Administrator-General's post, he said such a move would cause serious problems "Then the ties with South Africa would in reality be broken"

Mr Mudge denied there was any talk of scrapping the position or recalling the present Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough

The implications of withdrawing the Administrator-General were far-reaching "The post forms an absolutely unavoidable part of resolu-

tion 435 of the UN Peace Plan. The whole plan centres around the Administrator-General

"The recall of that person would be the clearest proof that United Nations Resolution 435 was finally dead," he said

"Our view in the past was that the Administrator-General's role would change when we reached a stage of autonomy, a greater degree of self government

"He will be more of a symbol of the South African presence we shall have to see when that stage is reached," said Mr Mudge

Such ideas were ex-

pressed in the DTA meeting last week with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and other Cabinet members, but no final decisions were reached

"The internal development must go on. We are busy deciding how," Mr Mudge said

The DTA caucus would discuss the future of SWA/Namibia and the ideas exchanged last week in Cape Town, and would try to hold further talks with Mr Hough and the South African Government if necessary

Mr Mudge said immediate internal development would include housing, a "drastic" re-think on education, health services, and farm ownership for black and brown people — a move away from communal farming.

Another priority was for people in SWA/Namibia to "scrap racial discrimination from their hearts," he said

"It does not help to scrap discrimination from the law while it still exists in peoples' hearts. We will have to foster a better disposition towards other people"

The situation was much better than it was five or six years ago when relations were "shocking," Mr Mudge said. Relations in SWA/Namibia were now better than they were in South Africa

"We still have problems in Ovambo, there are still serious misunderstandings. People are living there under abnormal circumstances which may contribute to this. It needs our serious attention," he said.

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 Awarded on results of final examinations to the best student in Land Surveying and Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize
 Awarded to the student with best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

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A E & C I Prize
 For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

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project, design and practical
courses over the 4-year
curriculum.

P M Salmon

L T A Construction Prize
For the final year Civil
Engineering student submitting
the best thesis.

G P Mitchell

S A Federation of Civil
Engineering Contractors' Prize
For the best final year design
showing constructional merit.

K N Hvidsten

S A Institution of Civil
Engineers Student Chapter
Prize

For the best written report
submitted in C E 214, design
P C Watt

New SWA
draft
aid Swaps

The Star's Africa
News Service
WINDHOK — The new
system of compulsory
national service for all
males in SWA/Namibia
would give Swaps over
more military recruits the
leader of the National
Party Mr Brian O'Lin,
said here yesterday.
He said more jobs
would be created in
the territory as a result
of the system's impact
against the system's
would lead to the hiring
of black people
from SWA/Namibia.
Mr O'Lin's remarks
were made at a press
conference in Windhoek
on Monday morning.
The new system would
require all males
between 18 and 25
years of age to serve
for a period of 12
months.

SWA landmine-kills 1

WINDHOKK — One person was killed and two others injured in a landmine explosion in Ovambo, northern South West Africa, the secretary of the Ovambo Administration, Mr C C Reinecke, said yesterday.

He said the blast occurred a few kilometres south-west of

Onesi in western Ovambo on Tuesday.

Security forces had safely lifted two landmines planted on a road just west of Okolongo in central Ovambo, Mr Reinecke added. They were pointed out to security forces by local inhabitants. — Sapa

~~112~~ ~~3322~~
Namibia
2017
Institute
192/81
evacuated

Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA — Zambian security forces have evacuated Namibia Institute staff and students belonging to Swapo and the banned African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa

Informed sources in Lusaka said the evacuation of more than 200 people from the United Nations built institute followed threats by South African commando units that they would raid any country which harboured ANC and Swapo supporters

It is understood the Zambian Government moved the staff and students to undisclosed places as a precaution against a South African raid similar to the one into Mozambique last month

There were unconfirmed reports that Zambian security forces had also evacuated Swapo and ANC refugees from camps known to South Africa

C 14/2/81
221

'Press-ganged into SA Army'

MAPUTO — Angolans and black Namibians were being press-ganged into joining the South African Army, a former Angolan soldier, Alfonso Ndondo, told a press conference here yesterday

The official Mozambican news Agency, AIM, reported that Mr Ndondo, 34 said he had been captured by South African forces in July 1978 near the Angolan town of Ngiva

He said that after his initial capture he was bound and blindfolded and taken by helicopter to a camp in Namibia called Iundu from which he was flown to another camp in Durban. He said that blacks and whites were rigidly segregated in the South African Army

'Forbidden contact'

The kidnapped Namibians and Angolans were forbidden any contact with the local population and since many Angolans knew no English, they were in any case totally reliant on English interpreters

Ndondo and other Angolans were later sent to Zimbabwe in Rhodesian uniforms and operated in the Lake Kariba area, sabotaging Zambian river traffic in the Zambezi River and laying diversionary ambushes while explosives were set to blow up Zambian civilians

On completion of these duties the Angolans were returned to Durban for a further year's training in paratroop and commando techniques

Early last December Mr Ndondo was among a group informed by the camp commandant that they would be moved to "a camp called Phalaborwa close to the borders of Zimbabwe and Mozambique"

Ndondo said he was told "you will be given a very important mission to carry out", but was given no details

Arrest claim

He and his companions were determined to find out the nature of the plans for them and their inquisitiveness drew them to the attention of the South African authorities, who had them arrested and handed over to the military police in Durban

Three of the press-ganged soldiers managed to escape and headed for the Mozambique border. A manhunt was launched for them said Ndondo and they were eventually sighted by a helicopter which machine-gunned them

Ndondo's two companions were hit and at least one died, he believed — he saved himself by hiding in a ditch and eventually succeeded in getting across into Mozambique

'Story full of flaws'

Reacting to the AIM report a South African Defence Force spokesman suggested that "the man who wrote this specific story must have quite a sense of humour. The alleged escapee must be the first prisoner who was armed as a soldier"

The spokesman expressed the hope that the story would be distributed throughout the Western World so that people could see to what a "cheap type" of propaganda South Africa was exposed

"The propagandist who invented these allegations should definitely arrange for some geography lessons because his story is full of flaws — Phalaborwa is a city very far from Mozambique and so is Durban"

the student with the highest average

Memorial Prize

George Menzies Prize

Gold Medal

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 Third Year (Silver Medal)
 Miss N C Davidson
 Gold Medal

No new moves on SWA before election

S. Times 15/2/81 (221)

Political Correspondent

THERE is growing despair that a settlement of the South West Africa/Namibia question has moved further away than ever before and prospects of a hoped for independence by the end of this year have been written off

In the wake of the collapsed Geneva conference, which all the parties except South Africa regarded as a major disappointment, the entire question has fallen into a state of hiatus

According to sources close to the negotiations, the entire process has stalled and is unlikely to be able to start up again for at least a month

Members of the Western Five contact group are understood to be still bitter over South Africa's performance at the Geneva conference. The atmosphere was described as "frosty"

There is a sense of having been let down after they went to considerable lengths to arrange, at South Africa's request, the multi-party conference in Geneva and to peddle the idea to the Frontline states

But there is a resigned acceptance that no major new thrusts on the SWA/Namibia issue can be expected until a number of matters have been settled

● First is the South African



SWA/Namibia is on Thatcher and Reagan's agenda

general election on April 29. Observers believe the pending election played a major role in South Africa's hardline approach at Geneva

It is believed the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had no wish to engage in an election after a settlement process had begun. The already rowdy right wing would have had a field day exploiting "the Government's abandonment of the whites and handing over the territory to a Marxist Sam Nujoma"

● Another delaying factor is the Reagan administration in America. There is an acceptance that until the new administration has formulated its position on the issue, there is little that the West, or the Frontline states can do

President Reagan's administration has already said in a statement that it will not be

pressured into a quick position on the matter, but will do so in its own time

As part of the process, the SWA/Namibia question is "very high and urgent" on the agenda of talks in Washington at the end of this month between the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and President Reagan.

● Another delaying factor lies in the Non-aligned Ministers meeting in New Delhi this week and the meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Ethiopia at the end of this month

Observers believe it is "logical to expect" that the two bodies will wish to co-ordinate on the issue.

But, in March the process may well begin to pick up steam again, informed sources believe. It is expected that, with the New Delhi and Ethiopian meetings over, a debate in the United Nations Security Council is likely to be called, where the cry will go up again for sanctions against South Africa

All of which puts the end of this year — the target date first mooted by Mr Dirk Mudge of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance during the United Nations visit to Pretoria last year — out of the question for

independence

"Sometime in 1982 or later" is the response now to questions about settlement

But some observers believe that South Africa is moving away from a commitment to a settlement in terms of UN Resolution 435

Mr Bryan O'Linn and Mr John Kirkpatrick of the Federal Party of SWA/Namibia suspect that the South African Government is preparing to abandon the UN plan in the hopes of achieving some sort of settlement deal with the backing of the Reagan administration

But informed observers warn that the Reagan administration is unlikely to make any deals without the remainder of the Western Five's agreement and hopes of hiving off into a bilateral accord between the United States and South Africa are, at best, unrealistic

Feeding the suspicions of an abandonment of Resolution 435 have been reports this week that the South African Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, is under pressure to withdraw from the territory.

Although the reports have been denied, informed sources say Mr Mudge's DTA is anxious to reduce the role of the Administrator-General

Injured

pilot

S. Times
15/2/81

relives

221

Swapo

danger

By RAY SMUTS
Military Correspondent

AN Air Force pilot shot down in the Operational Area told the dramatic story yesterday of how he stared death in the face for 40 minutes as Swapo terrorists combed the bush for him 200m away.

As fierce fighting ensued between Swapo terrorists and a solitary aircraft overhead, the injured pilot thought of his wife and children aged six and seven.

But his prayers were answered when a South African helicopter and six paratroopers snatched him to safety.

On Friday the 36-year-old citizen force pilot again grasped the hands of his rescuers and said "thank you" when they and 13 others received the Honoris Crux decoration for valour from the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha at a parade in Bloemfontein.

In an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times the pilot who may not be named for security reasons spoke of that day in October 1979 - a day he will never forget.

Hit

It was his first stint on the border and he and a colleague were on a reconnaissance flight. This is his story.

"I was flying 15m above the ground at a speed of 350 knots (about 600km/h) when it happened.

"Something hit my aircraft slightly behind me, more or less between the wings.

"My number two behind me radioed that I should descend even further and to achieve this I rolled the aircraft onto its back.

"This done, my number two said the whole rear end of the aircraft was on fire. He told me to bale out.

"The parachute had hardly opened when I hit the ground in a forward position breaking my left ankle on impact. Although I did not realise it at the time I had also dislocated my neck.

When I managed to raise myself I noticed my ankle was making a crunching noise. I somehow hopped to a clump of trees where I tried to make myself as inconspicuous as possible.

The gunfire was intense and my number two kept the enemy at bay by drawing their fire. He stated their position until his ammunition ran out and then continued harassing them by carrying out mock attacks. I owe him a lot, he was so brave.

Intense

"I was on the ground for about 40 minutes while Swapo kept up its intense firing close by. I have been trying to recall what went through my mind but I remember thinking about my wife and children. When I saw the helicopter approaching I thought 'Well maybe I am going to get out. The helicopter was guided in by two aircraft supplying top cover' (from above) and six paratroopers jumped out.

"I was hauled aboard the helicopter while heavy fire came from both sides.

"When I heard at Friday's medal parade that Swapo were actually coming towards us as we boarded the helicopter I felt quite ill.

"But I must fly again and my wife accepts that it is part of my life."

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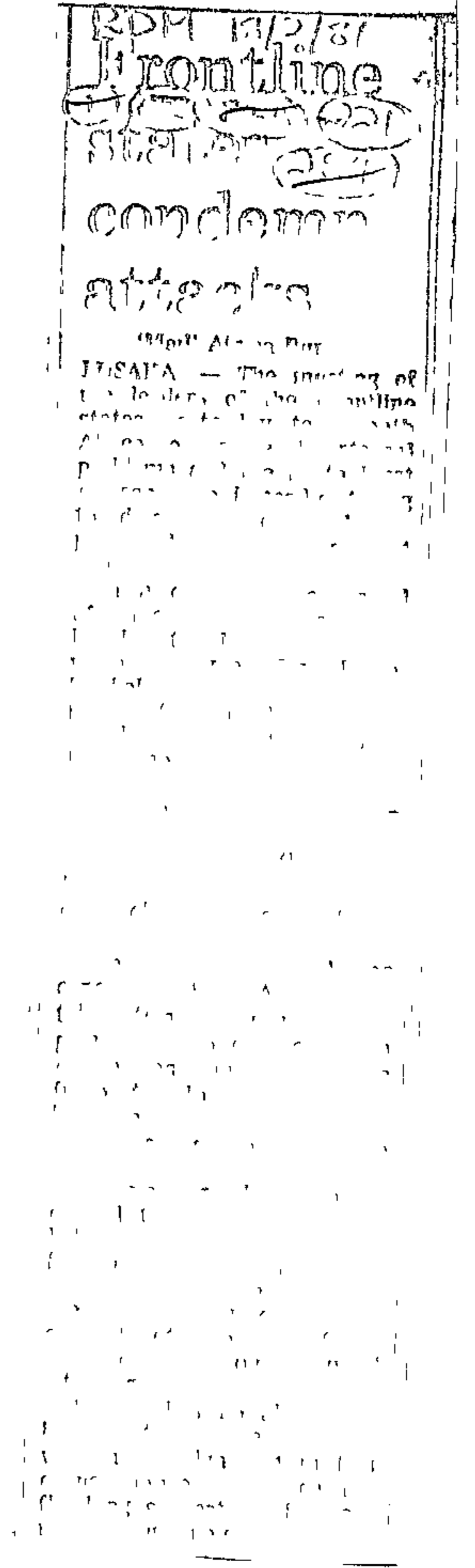
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best classwork in Engineering
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For the first year student
obtaining the highest average
mark.
G L Cragg



Doubt slows SWA progress — Hough

RDM 19/2/81

221

WINDHOEK — The uncertainty over South West Africa's political future was the biggest single stumbling block in the way of development of its resources, the SWA Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday.

The territory could only develop to its full potential through a political solution bringing internationally-acceptable independence, he told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Windhoek.

The problem was how to negotiate a political solution and independence without creating a power vacuum which might lead to exploitation by "undemocratic forces".

Uncertainty about the political future hung like "the sword of Damocles" over the territory, its people and potential foreign investors.

Undemocratic forces in the territory might exploit a vacuum of political power in the transitional period prior to independence and the problem was to avoid this, he said.

Such forces might resort to violence to seize power, which would have an even greater detrimental effect on economic growth and stability.

Action by these forces might prove fatal to the territory's economy and was a far greater danger than the existing

uncertainty. It was this problem which had led to long drawn-out international negotiations — an end to which was not yet in sight.

Mr Hough said South West Africans and South Africans were frustrated at the sluggishness of the negotiations, and the process might have to be expedited.

It was however essential that every step towards a political solution should be taken with the greatest care. Rash action might lead to fatal consequences.

"But this does not mean that we should sit back with our hands folded and wait for a miracle," he said.

There was a great deal the people of SWA and their allies could do to improve the economic position and lay the foundation for future growth.

- Further development of the territory's export market,
- Upgrading of the less-developed parts of the territory and "less developed" members of the population,
- Measures to retain existing trained manpower and utilise it to the utmost,
- Fiscal and other measures to ensure that all people were treated equally and
- Continuation and expansion of co-operation with other

states in Southern Africa. A precondition for the economic welfare of the territory was a high growth rate — needed to supply 10 000 new jobs a year.

SWA might at a future time become part of a Southern African constellation of states, Mr Hough said.

In this way it would share in the technological knowhow of other states.

Continued economic ties with South Africa after independence would also be to the advantage of SWA, but there were additional possibilities such as membership of the Lome Convention and aid from the World Bank.

Membership of the Lome Convention could, for instance, mean substantial development aid from Europe.

As part of a constellation of Southern African states, the territory would be able to co-operate in the technological field, with the proposed Development Bank of Southern Africa and with the Small Business Development Corporation.

But it has been pointed out to South Africa that this is not a commitment to any given point of view regarding the political future of SWA, Mr Hough said.

As SWA developed, interaction with the economies of

other countries would gain importance.

The territory might, after independence, be able to substitute South Africa as a trade partner while building an infrastructure which was more compatible with other African states, such as a rail link with Botswana.

Although this would have advantages, experts agreed it would be of far greater advantage for SWA to develop its economy in the Southern African regional context through full co-operation with South Africa.

It was not possible to estimate the economic implications of a severing of ties between SWA and South Africa.

But it could be taken for granted that the territory's gross domestic product and per capita income would decrease significantly if it took this step after independence.

Such drastic changes would probably also mean general dislocation which would further harm the economy.

However, South Africa had historical, economic, political and strategic interests in the welfare of its neighbour.

It was reasonable to expect that South Africa would in its own interest guard the economic wellbeing of SWA —

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K W Strickland

(Continued)

CHEMICAL

Reagan and Thatcher to focus on SWA

RDM 20/2/81 (221)

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
London Bureau

LONDON — The West's future strategy on South West Africa will be discussed by President Ronald Reagan and the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in Washington next week.

Mounting pressure at the United Nations for sanctions against South Africa is forcing the West to review the situation.

Unless the Western group can restart some movement in the deadlocked negotiations

after the collapse of the Geneva talks last month, observers believe it might find itself in the embarrassing position of having to veto sanctions resolutions at the UN, and thus appear to place itself on South Africa's side.

A special lecture on SWA was read to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington by the Nigerian Minister of External Affairs, Dr Ishaya Auda, in Lagos on Wednesday night.

Dr Auda said: "Our credibility and integrity to act as an effective voice for peace, change and stability will con-

tinue to be put into question and mistaken for complicity, as long as you fail to prove, by words and deeds, your abhorrence of the policy of apartheid."

President Reagan's first opportunity to discuss the matter on SWA with a European Head of State.

The United States and Britain, with West Germany, Canada and France, drew up the first plan to bring South Africa and Swaziland to the negotiating table.

But they have since been roundly condemned by Swaziland, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Organisation of African Unity for failing to secure agreement on SWA in South Africa.

The UN representative, Mr. ...

... of the SWA ...

... of the SWA ...

... of the SWA ...

... of the SWA ...

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4th Year (Gold Medal)

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J Cumming

M Salmon

Miss N C Davidson

Miss G C Littlewort

CHEMICAL

20-20/2/21
 Schoolbooks Vanish
 Africa Bureau
 WINDHOEK — English which since the beginning of this year has been adopted as one of the mediums of instruction at Owambo schools is not learning an easy ride into the classroom. On Tuesday a Swapo gang hijacked a 10-ton lorry loaded with English books worth about R1000.
 One of the crew of the lorry, Mr. Angula Mngongo, was kidnapped by the gang and taken across the border to Angola. The driver Mr. Abraham Mngongo escaped.

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 G L Cragg

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

'Proposals may be redrafted'

After weeks of relative quiet in the wake of the unsuccessful Geneva meetings, African representatives at the United Nations are beginning to discuss how best to present the anger and frustration precipitated by Pretoria's blunt termination of the UN-sponsored conference on SWA/Namibia.

Western governments, meanwhile, will be pressing the Reagan Administration to pledge its support for the three-year-old effort to negotiate an internationally acceptable independence formula for the territory.

US State Department policy under Reagan on the contentious international issue remains a mystery, but some sign of the new position may be given when senior British and French officials visit Washington in the next few weeks.

And Japan may be drawn into Western negotiating efforts soon. This week Martti Ahtisaari, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's special representative for Namibia, visits Japan to discuss with officials how Tokyo could be effective or influential in repackaging proposals for elections and independence under US supervision.

There seems little doubt that at least the style of new approaches to the South African Government will be markedly different if Reagan officials join the Western team which initiated the exercise in 1977.

Some sources at the UN speculate that the independence proposals — dropped by Pretoria and Namibian political groups in an argument over UN impartiality — could be redrafted in form or substance acceptable to all parties.

No specific new proposals or modification have been mentioned, and it is unlikely that any will be studied seriously before Reagan's southern Africa policymakers disclose their intentions.

According to one source here, Secretary of State Alexander Haig cabled a number of African

African diplomats are stoking up again for a verbal assault on South Africa's failure to use the January conference in Geneva as the start of an independence programme in SWA/Namibia. Kevin Jacobs of The Star's New York Bureau reports.



Flashback to Geneva . . . the anger over Pretoria's attitude has still to be felt.

governments recently to record continuing US interests in a settlement in Namibia, but African diplomatic sources could not confirm the communications.

But African diplomats are discussing their next moves, and Sierra Leone Foreign Minister Abudiah Conteh was in New York for consultations with UN Security Council members on major African concerns, including Namibia.

As an envoy for the President of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Sierra Leone Head of State Siaka Stevens, he is attending this week's OAU ministerial council meeting in Addis Ababa where a Namibia strategy is likely to be formulated.

Collectively, the Africans want to debate what is seen as South Africa's refusal to begin leaving the territory, in three forums — a resumed sitting of the suspended 35th General Assembly Session, a special emergency session of the general session devoted exclusively to Namibia, and the Security Council.

But Mr Conteh indicated there is no agreement yet among members

of the 50-nation African bloc on a scenario

Zambian Ambassador Paul Lusaka, President of the UN Council for Namibia, today was authorised by the council to discuss a resumption of the 35th regular session with the president of the Assembly, Rudiger von Wechmar of West Germany.

Recently, foreign ministers of "non-aligned" nations meeting in New Delhi agreed that the session should be resumed to debate Namibia in the light of the failure in Geneva.

Observers at the United Nations have suggested the Reagan Administration may urge the African group to delay pushing the issue into the Security Council until after the South African general election called for April 29, but debate in the General Assembly could be opened before then.

Some African diplomats, certain that a sanctions resolution would be vetoed by Reagan's UN Ambassador, are said to want a Security Council meeting before an emergency session of the General Assembly. A sanctions declaration in the Assembly would not be subject to veto, but would also not be a binding mandate.

27/10/77
23/12/87

Sue Garbett, Women's Page Editor, was one of 30 women journalists taken on an intensive tour of the SWA/Namibia border by the South African Defence Force last week. This is what she saw.

Children in War shadows

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27/11/81
cont

War is a game for children on the border. But while they play "territory and Boerland," their form of cops and robbers as terrorists and soldiers, their fathers wage a war that is increasing in intensity.

While the children play hide-and-seek in bomb shelters at the bottom of their gardens and play at "casualties" (casualty evacuations), their fathers tell of incidents or contacts with Swapo that have increased from 499 in '78 to 1194 in '80.

In a comprehensive tour 30 women journalists were last week taken on a trip from west to east along the SWA/Namibia border to see for themselves what life is like there.

SECURITY

The children are those of Permanent Force members of the SADF and they live with their families either in high security camps or in towns which have a military presence.

At the SAAF base at Ondangua we dropped like a stone out of the sky (to avoid enemy missiles) and met some of the 11 wives who live on the base.

The dryness, the powdery white dust and the dizzying heat were awesome, and admiration for these parents increased as we learned of their children being driven

to school in nearby Oshakati in hippos (armoured vehicles) supported by others called buffaloes, both bristling with armed troops.

"SWEEP"

The roads are swept daily for mines and when the area is considered too "hot" for safety, the children fly to school in helicopters. No wonder then that Richard Barron (5) of Ondangua said: "I love seeing planes but the best are the flashes (mortars) at night."

It's a tough world all right and the tale of the baby being christened in the Ondangua pub which doubles as a church emphasises this.

But life is as tough, if not more so, for the national servicemen, many of them straight out of school.

They learn fast how to survive both the enemy and army life in the latter instance, although they are naturally subjected to aspects of the army that include discipline, a fear of death, cold showers, institutional food, censored post and so on, I was impressed at the amount of trouble the SADF takes to make their lives liveable.

FACILITIES

In remote Ruacana, only a few kilometres from the Angolan border, in a small camp bristling with guns, bunkers and bomb shelters, there is a squash court, a bad-

minton court, a large pool and a rugby field of sorts next to the airstrip.

A soldier who drove us through the rugged terrain in a hippo to Ruacana power station said that in spite of severe homesickness and the death of a friend in action, he had applied to spend the last 10 months of his call-up at Ruacana.

He preferred that to coming back to "the states," as SA is known in the army.

He told of all-night patrols along the pipeline that carries life-giving water to Ovambo land and which is a target for much terrorist activity.

MOANS

At every SADF base we visited — Grootfontein, Ondangua, Oshakati, Ruacana, Rundu, Omega and Katima Mulilo — there was a variety of facilities which included pools, trampolines, snooker tables, films, TV (videod), badminton and squash.

One of the big means was the lack of newspapers — they felt so out of touch. The postal service seemed good. One of the big impressions this trip has left me with is the



Bomb shelters are used for more than taking refuge from mortars on the border, says Richard Barron (5) of Ondangua. He plays hide-and-seek in this one which comes equipped with electric lights.

Two musketeers surviving onslaught of women, Swapo

Gamat the lion-hearted lost heart only once — and that almost ended a long relationship between two bachelors

Gamat, who is not much bigger than an army boot, and his chum of 12 years standing, Commandant Dirk du Toit have together seen "action" several times on the South West African border.

The little dog, of uncertain parentage, is a common sight in the army base at Katima Mulilo, as he struts with shaved back and a lion-type mane alongside his master

But the fateful night Swapo attacked the base in August 1978 was too much for even his big little heart. As mortars and bullets flew and the lights

Bachelors on the border who have survived the onslaughts of both the enemy and of females — Commandant Dirk du Toit, seen with his dog Gamat

His heart ached for his pint-sized dog

went out he took off on his own

His heartsore chum wasted no time looking for him. He leapt into a vehicle and rushed around town, telling the civilians what was happening and also drove to the villages of Caprivians to warn them

Commandant du Toit wasn't to know he would later be awarded the Southern Cross for his valour. His heart just ached for a pint-sized dog with a heart as big as his own. But fate was smiling

on the two handsome bachelors who together survived both "wars" and female onslaughts on their happy companionship.

Two days later an officer on patrol near the town found Gamat wandering disconsolately along the road.

Great was the joy of their reunion and never again, even under duress, has Gamat ever left the big, blue-eyed, rugged commandant's side.

It wasn't his fault he was run over by an army vehicle and had

to be flown down to a veterinary clinic in Pretoria for treatment the following year.

But, like the little trooper he is, he emerged from that too and today melts the hearts of soldiers who think they have forgotten what tenderness is in the bush.

Commandant du Toit isn't happy this story is being written by 30 women journalists from all over South Africa who this week were given an intensive tour of border camps

"Oh no, not one bit! "Those women," he said in his heavy Western Cape accent, "they'll see it man, and then I'll have no rest."

Gamat wagged his tail in agreement.

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emphasis on non-racialism Troops of all colours fight side by side and relax in the same way

The Officer Commanding the SWA Military School, Colonel Herman Jansen van Rensburg said "We are all South Westers here. When you are issued, with a sleeping bag, anyone else could have used it.

CHOOSE

Civic action — winning the hearts and minds of the locals by building schools, dams, agricultural colleges, inoculating cattle, providing doctors and clinics — is also most impressive

It is a strange war when you can genuinely call some aspects of it good, beneficial and constructive. But whatever you may think of it, one thing seemed clear to me — it's going to go on for a long time

Intensify struggle, OAU is told

ADDIS ABABA — Intensified guerrilla war and economic sanctions must be used to make South Africa negotiate on the future of SWA Namibia, the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity said yesterday.

The stubbornness of South Africa hardly leaves us any choice," Mr Edem Kodjo from Togo said in his annual report to the OAU Council of Ministers.

"The struggle must be intensified. South Africa is deliberately hostile and consistently negative in its attitude to negotiations.

Referring to last month's Geneva conference, he said "South Africa alone must bear the responsibility for the failure of the conference which was the door to hope.

"The Council of Ministers must now take the necessary measures to break the deadlock. The question of sanctions must be taken up with the greatest determination to bring South Africa to reason. It is clear that the OAU must intensify support to Swapo," he added.

The OAU Liberation Committee, which channels funds to guerrilla movements in Southern Africa, has already doubled Swapo's annual allocation to about R525 000.

Mr Kodjo said the three

major crises confronting the 50-nation OAU were in Namibia, Chad and the Western Sahara.

A committee of OAU heads of state has condemned the proposed union between Chad and Libya and called for the withdrawal of Libyan troops.

Mr Kodjo said it was to be hoped that a durable solution to Chad's problems would be found within the context of the OAU Lagos agreement calling for supervised elections and an OAU peace-keeping force.

Meanwhile, the Polisario guerrilla movement fighting Moroccan troops in the Western Sahara continues to seek OAU membership after 26 member states supported its application at last year's OAU summit.



Morocco has threatened to withdraw from the OAU if Polisario's self-proclaimed Western Sahara Republic is admitted. A committee of OAU heads of state last year vainly recommended a referendum in the former Spanish colony.

Mr Kodjo said member states owed about R18-million in arrears and warned he was considering invoking a measure under which those states owing two years dues would be barred from participating in OAU votes or decisions. The 1991-92 budget would be about R14 500 000, he said. — Sapa Reuter

GENERAL NEWS

6 planes hunt for missing pilot

RPM 25/2/87



WINDHOEK — The search for the commander of 1 South West Africa Squadron, Commandant Piet Gouws, would be stepped up today with six planes taking part, Brigadier Bosman Huyser, Officer Commanding, Western Air Command, said in Windhoek yesterday.

The private aircraft of Cmdt Gouws has been missing since Saturday, when it was en route from Terrance Bay to Henties Bay on the SWA coast.

The search for the plane will be concentrated on the desolate desert coast. Five aircraft from Windhoek and an SAAF Albatross from Cape Town are taking part.

Cmdt Gouws, who was alone in the plane, is a senior banking official in private life.

Sources said he had had four people on board his aircraft on Saturday. Cmdt Gouws then dropped them off at Terrance Bay.

He took off for Henties Bay about 7.30pm on Saturday. A mining official just down the coast is believed to have seen Cmdt Gouws' aircraft heading inland and heard its engine cut

out, but nothing further was heard or seen of the plane.

Windhoek Press reports said the passengers, who were from the Free State, would be brought to Windhoek by car.

Cmdt Gouws was scheduled to pick up the passengers, whose names are not known, on Sunday after he had spent the night at Henties Bay.

Reports said the SWA coast was covered in thick fog on Saturday afternoon.

Cmdt Gouws is married and has three children aged 20, 19 and 11.

This is the second aircraft to be reported missing in SWA this month.

Earlier, a Piper Cherokee Arrow being ferried from the United States to South Africa, was reported missing by civil aviation authorities in SWA after it had failed to make a refuelling stop.

An extensive search was launched by the SAAF, but no trace was found of the aircraft or the pilot.

Reports later said the pilot Mr G Taylor, had landed in Angola but these were never confirmed — Sapa

CPM 26/2/87
Swapo launches two
artillery attacks (221)

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Swapo launched two long-range artillery attacks on security force bases in Ovamboland early on Monday morning, according to a statement released by the South West Africa Territory Force in Windhoek yesterday.

There were no injuries or losses on the side of the security forces, who returned in immediately, says the statement.

It says 82mm mortars and 122mm rockets were fired sporadically at a base at Okolongo for a short while before the attack was shifted to the kraal of 'Headman Lucas'.

In another attack about 15 122mm rockets were fired from the north at a base at Mahanene. None of the rockets landed anywhere near the base.

'Hello' to a white woman led to death

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A policeman who shot dead a black waiter because he thought he was a "terrorist" was convicted of culpable homicide yesterday by the Windhoek Supreme Court.

Mr Justice Strijdom said Louis Conrad Nagel 21, a constable with the Special Task Force, was a "product of his background and training".

He was acquitted of murder because the court could not reject outright his account of the shooting, the judge said.

The waiter, Mr Fritz Rainhold, 46, was shot on the night of May 6 near the Windhoek Wanderers Club where he had worked for many years. Three bullets struck him.

Nagel told the court he had been drinking that night and been removed from a hotel because he threw glasses in the bar after being upset by a man calling a coloured waitress "Lovey".

He told the court his father, a security policeman, had taught him to reject racial

mixing.

Nagel said he was walking in a street when he heard a black man call "Hello, my darling" to a white woman in a car.

He shouted to the man: "How can you speak like that to a white woman, you blkssem!"

Nagel said the man retorted: "You are just as much a blkssem, you boer", and made a movement towards his trousers.

Nagel said he fired at the man immediately because he had been trained that the term "boer" and a hand movement towards the trousers were signs of an urban terrorist.

A policeman had earlier told the court that Nagel walked into the charge office and said: "I have just shot dead a kaffir."

The policeman said he accompanied Nagel to the body. Nagel asked for a gun so that he could shoot Mr Rainhold again.

Nagel will be sentenced today.

WA is high on Big Two's agenda

London Bureau

FE problems of Southern Africa form one of four broad subjects down for discussion by President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher in Washington today and tomorrow

On the eve of the Prime Minister's departure, her aides confirmed that the most urgent of those problems demanded an American policy decision on the future of South West Africa

They noted, however, that the coordination of American and British approaches to SWA inevitably involved definition of their attitudes firstly to South Africa, secondly to Angola, which has an alliance with Moscow, and thirdly to the preservation of continued access to the mineral resources of the

subcontinent

"Both the American and the British Governments are looking at these issues in the context of their global interests," one senior official said.

"That means they will take into account what the Soviet Union aims to do in and around Africa. But it also means they have to bear in mind the reactions of the countries of Black Africa and the entire Third World"

It should not be assumed, therefore, the aide added, that President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher would automatically come out for a policy that would seem to benefit South Africa

The other main themes on the Reagan-Thatcher agenda are.

● East-West relations in the aftermath of the Soviet thrust into Afghanistan,

PDH 26/2/81 (221)

the implications of President Leonid Brezhnev's keynote speech to the 26th congress of the Soviet Communist Party on Monday, the Polish situation, the control and limitation of tactical and strategic nuclear weapons

● The Middle East and the Iraq-Iran war

● The situation in El Salvador, the Caribbean and Central America, where Washington claims the Cubans are pumping weapons into a variety of far-left guerrilla movements

The Reagan-Thatcher discussion of Southern African affairs comes at a time of mounting pressure by Organisation of African Unity countries for action against the Republic

Only yesterday in Addis Ababa OAU Foreign Ministers resolved to intensify

their campaign against South Africa by encouraging more guerrilla fighting and urging economic sanctions

And last week leaders of Nigeria - Britain's best customer in Africa - read Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington a lecture on the need to step up Western diplomacy in an effort to achieve a negotiated settlement over SWA

Mrs Thatcher and her Foreign Secretary have had no word yet whether the Reagan administration has yet formulated a coherent policy on Southern Africa, and in particular SWA

The expectation in Washington is that they will try to steer a middle course which will involve urging Pretoria to come to terms and thereby distract black African and communist attention from the region

Plans for SWA talks in May

221
S. L. K. A.
26/1/77

APPENDIX V

Proportion of total P

Proportion total Health Budget contributed by State

Provincial Govt.

?	LONDON — Tentative plans are being laid for a SWA/Namibia conference in Paris in May after the failed Geneva talks, European diplomatic sources say.	?	?
7.7		51	49
?		?	?
7.6		51	49
6.8		53	47
7.8		47	53
?		?	?
?		?	?
19.8		33	66
22.3		30	70
23.4		27	73
22.7		25	75
22.8		21	79
25.8		25	75

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Tentative plans are being laid for a SWA/Namibia conference in Paris in May after the failed Geneva talks, European diplomatic sources say.
A framework for such all-party talks was expected to be discussed between Britain's Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and US President Ronald Reagan in Washington today.
Diplomats said South Africa appeared willing to sit across the table from Swapo once again — although, with its general election on April 29, it might prefer the meeting to be held later in the year.

But it is in the Western powers' interests to nail down a firm date for a conference within the next fortnight.

Armed with demands from the non-aligned conference, the OAU liberation committee, the front-line leaders and the OAU Ministerial Council, the African group at the United Nations plans to call the General Assembly into session over SWA/Namibia next month.

Within days of that happening, it expects to be before the Security Council — the UN powerhouse able to turn sanctions calls into action.

But the Africans are aware that Western vetoes against sanctions are inevitable.

They are accordingly investigating the possibility of evoking the "uniting for peace" provision to override vetoes in the Security Council.

The Star's New York Bureau reports that the United Nations General Assembly debate on SWA/Namibia is likely to resume next week with the Reagan Administration admitting it is still not ready to tackle the problem.

The debate is tentatively scheduled for next Monday.

But the United States maintains candidly it does not know how it will deal with the issue.

According to Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, President Reagan's Ambassador to the UN, "the totality of our African policy is under review."

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Why they quit SWA

WINDHOEK - Mr. Eben van Zyl, a member of the /ktur opposition grouping in the South West Africa National Assembly, charged yesterday that unfair criticism from politicians was prompting many public servants to quit and return to South Africa.

They were being accused of disloyalty to SWA, he said. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Dirk Mudge, said the invaluable work of the majority of public servants was being spoiled by a handful of irresponsible people.

While Angolans reportedly are demanding for SWAPO leaders' capture or imprisonment

'Racists' send innocent to fight to death, says Angola

The Star Bureau NEW YORK — Angola has told the United Nations that "racist" South African military generals are sending innocent and young South African soldiers to their deaths in southern Africa. "Many will never return to their homes in South Africa," says Angola's Ministry of Defence.

In a communiqué to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim the Angolan Government (complaints of intensified attacks by South African airborne and ground units in the first two weeks of February).

Luanda authorities claim that in one surprise assault two military helicopters carried South African troops 250 km into Angola to destroy a shanty rail bridge between Moçimboa and Ilhango. The communiqué says the rail line supplies goods to the populations of Huila, Cunene and Kuando Kubango.

And the Angolan Ministry of Defence appears to reject South African defence force insistence that its targets are SWAPO strongholds. The communiqué says that every South African military operation across the border is aimed at the people of Angola and its army.

The communiqué details that airborne troops in South African troops between February 10 and February 16, and claims South African aircraft strayed a Papua column, causing Angolan casualties. It also says South African troops attacked a group of civilians, killing five.

The Angolan letter, dated February 24, says "South African troops still remain in Angolan territory and it is expected these troops will be annihilated."

The group split at a party left for the Okavango area to return later to Etate where the sections again met.

Ovambo civilian falls of capture by SWAPO guerrillas

The Star's Africa News Service WINDHOEK — An Ovambo civilian last night told how he spent five days in the bush as a prisoner of about 100 SWAPO in SWAPO Northern SWA/Namibia.

He said he was taken captive at a point by the guerrillas who accused him of being a security force informant. The chance to escape came when security forces made contact with the group.

The man, who may not be identified for security reasons, was speaking at a press conference at SWA territory Dorce headquarters last night.

He said he and others were herding cattle at Otjomuona in Dorce Ovambo, about 25 km from the Angolan border.

The man said the group which left for Okavango was apparently being traced by security forces which opened fire as they met at Etate.

He said the insurgents scattered, giving him the opportunity to escape and eventually return home. He said he was apparently affected by the treatment he was subjected to, which was treated by a doctor in Ovambo.



● Swapo leader Sam Nujoma

Namibia will be free

S. Express (22) 1/3/81
IN EXCHANGE'

the past 10 months, which had resulted in heavy casualties, he replied "Our commanders and fighting men can only gain from their experience in the conflict"

I was told by other African sources in Lusaka that the East German military advisers are held responsible for Swapo's new strategy of using larger groups to fight the South Africans

This enabled the South Africans, with their superior fighting power, to inflict as many casualties on Swapo in 10 months as in all the fighting of the previous years, according to South African claims

Swapo claims that the recent compulsory military drafting of Namibians of all races has led to a considerable exodus of young Namibians

And spokesman of the Instr-

tute for Namibia in Lusaka told me that Namibian youngsters were crossing the border at the rate of 100 a week

The institute — which trains young Namibians for administrative jobs in a future independent Namibia — has increased its capacity from 100 to 300 students, and the length of the course has been extended

Two weeks ago the institute, which is in the heart of Lusaka, was closed down for three days after reports that South African forces were going to attack it, following the Maputo raid

One Lusaka source claimed "We were tipped off about the time and date of the attack and the size of the attacking force"

However, when I visited the institute last week, everything was back to normal

Swapo

success with a Namibian settlement

The possibility of the private meeting between South Africa, Angola and Swapo arose towards the end of last year, when South Africa initiated direct links with Angola (The South African Ambassador in Paris contacted his Angolan counterpart)

The result was a meeting in Paris between Mr Brand Fourie, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Rodrigues, the Angolan Minister of Home Affairs

Swapo was prepared to sit down and talk with South Africa

It did not object to the composition of the South African delegation, and whether it included Namibian domestic parties, as long as there was one delegation, lead by a senior South African official.

However, Swapo did insist that there should be a UN observer, because it did not want to exclude the UN after its long involvement

If such a conference had failed Swapo claims. South Africa would not have gained any propaganda value from it

Swapo in any case was not optimistic about the outcome of such a conference, but believed it worth trying

Frontline and Swapo sources claim Mr Urquhart was outwitted by Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a private meeting the night before the UN team left Pretoria in October

Swapo and the Frontline states only agreed to the Geneva conference in the belief that there was an unequivocal commitment by South Africa that it would accept the UN plan and sign a ceasefire

It is claimed the UN withheld certain information from the Frontline states about what had happened in Pretoria

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was especially angry and threatened not to back the Geneva conference

He claimed that South Africa was not committed to anything, and pointed out that the phrase that the conference "would discuss the implementation of Resolution 435 and any other matters" gave South Africa a perfect loophole not to sign a ceasefire agreement and to break off negotiations,

conflict in SWA

What role will the Frontline States now play in this continuing Namibian conflict?

Well, the role that they have played in the past will continue I think they have been very reliable bases for liberation movements and they'll continue to do this

Will you give some additional assistance now to Swapo?

Well I believe that it's difficult for us to give anything more than we have done so far because we have been very genuine in what we have done, and it's difficult to improve on that

But on the other hand the international community must

be more forthcoming

For how long can countries like Angola and Zambia continue to make sacrifices in this Namibian conflict?

In Zambia, we sacrificed for Mozambique's struggle under Frelimo we won We sacrificed for Angola's liberation under MPLA we won

We sacrificed for Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front, both Zanu and Zapu we won

So really we have sharp lessons in history for our support — and therefore we'll continue to do our level best

This is not a question of White versus Black, it's a question of wrong versus right

A Summit with Sam Nujoma

S. Express 1/3/81

(221)

'SAPPER CAN COME HOME —

SAPPER Johan van der Mescht can come home — in exchange for "one or more of the political prisoners" held on Robben Island.

That is what burly Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, told me in an interview in Lusaka last week where I was the first White South African journalist ever to attend a summit of the six Frontline states, discussing the South West African/Namibia question

Mr Nujoma was just one of the implacable opponents of South Africa I spoke to in the Zambian capital. And his offer on Sapper Van der Mescht was just one of the revealing points he and other leaders made

- Some leaders of the Frontline states blame the United Nations for scuttling a possible direct meeting between South Africa and Swapo

- Swapo would definitely not try to "internationalise" the SWA/Namibia conflict by asking for outside military assistance

- East German advisors are being blamed for Swapo's apparently disastrous change in battle tactics, which resulted in a much higher kill rate by the South African soldiers

On Sapper Van der Mescht — the only South African prisoner Swapo still holds in captivity in Angola — Mr Nujoma said

"Mr Van der Mescht is an innocent child and a victim of the war. We are prepared to sit down and discuss with South Africa his release in exchange for some of the political prisoners on Robben Island"

Although Sapper Van der Mescht is held in an Angolan camp, he remains officially the prisoner of Swapo

In the interview, Mr Nujoma



● Sapper Van der Mescht . . . an innocent victim

categorically denied claims that Swapo would try to internationalise the Namibian conflict by asking for outside direct military assistance

Mr Nujoma added "Ours is a national struggle. We don't need to ask for foreign troops

to fight for our freedom

"We are capable, our troops are trained and they are in combat readiness to fight the enemy and to defeat it, until the ceasefire becomes effective

"Namibia's independence is inevitable, whether South Africa wants it or not. Either through the barrel of the gun or through negotiated settlement, Namibia will be free"

This statement reflects a change in the original Swapo strategy of 1976, spelled out to me privately by Swapo leaders in Lusaka

In the aftermath of the Angola war the idea was to internationalise the conflict with the assistance of some Eastern bloc, African and Latin American countries

It is clear that the Frontline states, after the costly experience of the Zimbabwean war,

are determined to keep outsiders out of the conflict to avoid Super-power intervention

They want to minimise the economic damage to their countries, and Zambia and Angola are already heavily burdened by the Namibian conflict

But Mr Nujoma stressed that the summit conference had decided without hesitation to continue supporting to Swapo

"Our struggle is also part of their struggle. It is the viewpoint of the Organisation of African Unity that as long as a part of Africa is not free, it presents a threat to all Africa"

"South Africa will be making a serious mistake if it believes that the Frontline states, or some of them, would abandon Swapo"

When asked about the alleged "wrong strategy" adopted in

UN failed us —

THE United Nations has been accused of preventing a private meeting between South Africa, Swapo and Angola — a meeting which could have gone a long way to a Namibian settlement

And Swapo and the six Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are holding the Western Five contact group and the UN responsible for the failure of the recent Geneva conference

They claim that both the UN and the West, because of their intimate involvement in the protracted negotiations of the last few years, should have known that South Africa did not

intend signing a ceasefire agreement, or accepting UN Resolution 4.5 which provided for a transitional phase and UN-supervised election

The UN and the West stand accused of deliberately walking into a trap, giving SA an international platform (the Geneva Conference) to make propaganda for the internal parties

These views emerged from extensive informal discussions with leading members of Frontline state governments at last week's Lusaka meeting, held to discuss the Namibian situation and the SA raids into Maputo, Angola and Zambia

I was the first South African journalist to attend such a meeting

The official communique after the summit meeting revealed very little

It denounced the South African raids, called for international assistance for Swapo, and reiterated the need to close ranks

It concluded that the international community would have to bring economic, political and diplomatic pressure to bear on South Africa

In an interview after the

meeting I asked President Kaunda whether he thought the Western Five had been outmanoeuvred by South Africa

He replied "I'm not sure. One doesn't want to say things without facts, but I would find it very difficult to believe that the Five did not know, for example, what South Africa had planned to do at Geneva"

But privately, the Frontline states were much harsher on the West and the UN

The anger of Angola, Swapo and to some extent Tanzania is especially directed at the UN and Mr Brian Urquhart, the deputy Secretary-General who presided at Geneva and led the negotiating team to Pretoria in October

I was told that it was direct UN intervention which prevented a private meeting between SA, Swapo and Angola to discuss the possibility of ending the war

This was attributed partly to UN internal policies and UN fears that it might be left out of any settlement

After Britain's success at the Lancaster House conference on Zimbabwe, the UN was determined to score a diplomatic

Kaunda's view of

AFTER the special summit meeting of the six Frontline States in Lusaka last week to discuss the Namibian situation and South African raids into neighbouring countries, J H P Serfontein had the following interview with Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr President, how do you view the failure of the Geneva conference and the part played by South Africa?

It's a tragedy, a real tragedy. Every sensible person wants to have the Namibian issue settled once and for all and one can only settle this by conduct-

ing free and fair elections under the supervision of the UN

The role that South Africa played in this is very regrettable to say the least, because it was quite clear, following that conference, even from this far away, that it was staged by South Africa and its allies

The consequences that will follow that failure may be too ghastly to contemplate, to use a popular phrase in certain countries

(A phrase used by Mr Vorster in 1974 when he spoke about the chances of the Rhodesian negotiations and the dangers if it failed)

By Henrie Serfontein

THE SIX Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe — and Swapo are holding the Western contact group and the United Nations recently responsible for the failure of the recent conference in Geneva on the future of Namibia.

And some directly accuse the UN of preventing a separate private meeting between South Africa, Swapo and Angola which possibly had more chances of "success" than the Geneva conference.

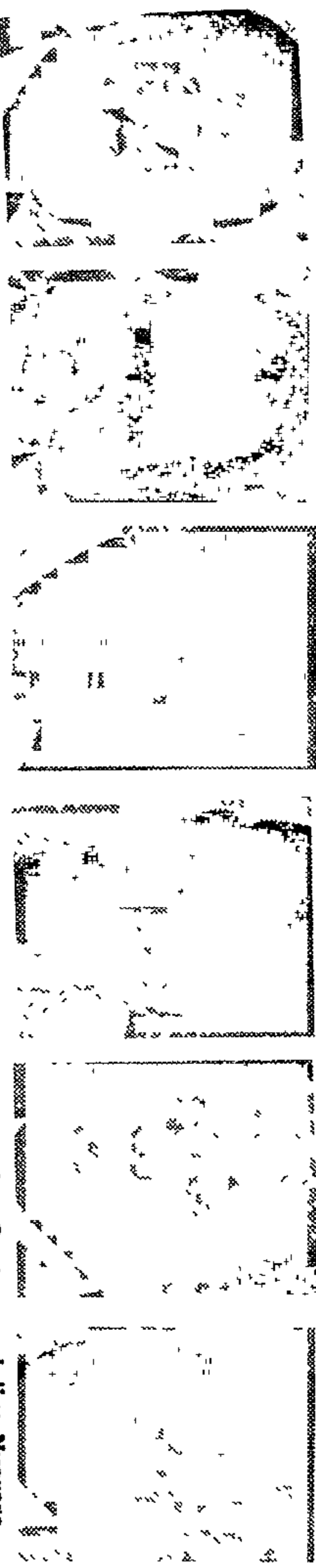
They claim that both the UN and the West because of their intimate involvement in the protracted negotiations of the last few years, should have known that South Africa never intended to sign a ceasefire agreement, nor to accept UN Resolution 435 which provided for a transitional phase and UN supervised election.

These two are accused of "walking with open eyes straight into a trap" which gave South Africa an international platform and "a golden opportunity" to make propaganda for the internal parties and "to slander the UN."

These views emerged from extensive informal discussions I had with

West blamed for failure at Geneva

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Robert Mugabe

Samora Machel

Kenneth Kaunda

Quett Masire

Jose dos Santos

Julius Nyerere

Leading members of Frontline State governments at the special summit meeting held in Lusaka last week to discuss the Namibian situation and the South African raids into Maputo, Angola and Zambia.

African raids, called for international assistance for Swapo; and reiterated the need to close ranks and for unity in the region so that states could defend themselves. It concluded that South Africa could only give in if economic, political and diplomatic pressure was brought upon it by the Western five contact groups and the international com-

munity as a whole. I asked President Kaunda whether he thought that the Western five was outmanoeuvred by the Pretoria government. He replied: "I'm not sure. One doesn't want to say things without facts. But I would find it very difficult to believe that the five countries did not know beforehand what South Africa had

planned to do at Geneva, for example." But privately the frontline states were much harsher on the West and the United Nations. The anger of Angola, Swapo and to some extent Tanzania is especially directed at the UN and Mr Brian Urquhart, the Deputy Secretary-General, who led the negotiating team to Pretoria at the end of

October last year and presided at Geneva. I was told that it was direct UN intervention which prevented a private meeting between South Africa, Swapo and Angola to discuss the possibility of ending the war.

This was attributed partly to United Nations internal policies. Also there were United States fears that it might be left out of any settlement. After the success of the British with the Lancaster House conference on Zimbabwe, the United Nations was determined that it too could score a diplomatic success with a settlement on the Namibian issue.

Reports by PETER MANN

N: NUJOMA IS JUST PLAYING C NUJOMA READY TO NEGOTIATE CS — HE IS NOT HONEST FOR 'SOME' ROBBEN ISLAND MEN

Sapper Johan van der Mescht (right) languishes in an Angolan jail, the only South African POW now held captive Nujoma (far right) says he's ready to talk about an exchange for Robben Island prisoners.

SWAPO PRESIDENT SAYS NUIJOMA IS JUST PLAYING C NUIJOMA READY TO NEGOTIATE

S. Tribune 1/3/81

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~~SECRET~~

By Hennie Serfontein and Peter Mann

SWAPO president, Sam Nujoma, is prepared to release South African prisoners of war Sapper Johan van der Mescht in exchange for "one or more" of the political prisoners being held on Robben Island.

And the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday he was prepared to negotiate a swap of Swapo terrorists held by South Africa for Van der Mescht, held in Angola since his capture by Swapo in February 1978.

General Malan said there was a difference between a prisoner of war and "common law" prisoners.

... South Africa would ...
... of Swapo ...
... point of prisoners ...
... said ...
... Nujoma of ...
... making a ...
... prisoner ...
... arrangements ...

Conf

Disclosing for the first time that there had been previous behind-the-scenes negotiations between the Government and Mr Nujoma. General Malan said if Mr Nujoma was honest in his apparently new humane view, he should have used the same channels he used before to contact the Government.

After the summit meeting of the six Frontline States on the Namibia question in Lusaka this week, Mr Nujoma disclosed to the Sunday Tribune that he was prepared to "sit down and discuss with South Africa" Sapper Van der Mescht's release in an exchange for some of the political prisoners on Robben Island.

"Mr Van der Mescht is an innocent child and a victim of the war," he said.

Although he is being held in an Angolan jail, Van der Mescht officially remains the prisoner of Swapo.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on defence Harry Schwarz yesterday held out little hope that anything would come of Mr Nujoma's statements. "Negotiations for the release of prisoners are not in the public interest and I do not see Mr Nujoma's comments having any effect on the situation," he said.

"I believe Sapper Nujoma has said this for political reasons and certainly not in the interests of Sapper Van der Mescht," said Mr Schwarz.

"Such negotiations should be conducted privately and through the international Red Cross. Public posturing of this sort will not help the young man."

In his interview, Mr Nujoma also stated that the failure of the Geneva conference was not a surprise.

It's inevitable

He said independence in Namibia was inevitable "whether South Africa wants it or not. Either through the barrel of the gun or through negotiated settlement, Namibia will be free."

It is clear that the Frontline States, after the costly experience of the Zimbabwean war, are determined to keep outsiders out of the conflict to avoid super-power intervention. Because they want to minimise the economic damage to their countries, some — Zambia and Angola — are already heavily burdened by the Namibian conflict.

But Mr Nujoma stressed the summit conference "decided without hesitation" to continue their support to Swapo. "Because our struggle is also part of their struggle. It is the OAU viewpoint that as long as a part of Africa is not free and occupied by foreigners, that it also presents a threat to the security of all Africa."

"South Africa will be making a serious mistake if it believed that the Front Line States, or some of them, would abandon their support for Swapo and order us to leave the countries. Regardless of their problems, they remain unwavering in their support," he said.

When asked about the alleged wrong strategy adopted in the past 10 months to confront the South African forces in large numbers, which resulted in heavy casualties, he replied "Our commanders and fighting men can only learn from their experience in the conflict."

I was told by other African sources in Lusaka that the East German military advisers are held responsible for this "disastrous change" in strategy in terms of which Swapo operated in "much bigger groups".

This enabled the South Africans with their superior fighting power to inflict as many casualties on Swapo than in all the fighting of the previous year, according to South African claims.

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Britain tells US of backing for SWA plan

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Britain has told President Ronald Reagan why it supports the United Nations plan for South West Africa in the hope he will back a speedy return to the momentum for implementation which was lost with his election.

The British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher took up the SWA issue with the President at their first meeting at the White House on Thursday.

And Lord Carrington the British Foreign Secretary raised it with General Alexander Haig the American Secretary of State as one of the two or three most important items discussed during Mrs Thatcher's State visit to Washington.

The British told the American leaders that the SWA issue should be dealt with 'reasonably soon'.

If the US Government does not agree to go ahead with the

UN plan then "they would have to come up with something better" the Reagan Administration was told.

Gen Haig made it clear that the Administration was not far enough along the process of assessing Southern Africa in policies to have any firm conclusions, both US and British officials said.

The British leaders felt it necessary to explain the complexities of Namibia and the Geneva conference to the Reagan Administration whose leaders are less familiar with Africa than their European allies.

Gen Haig promised to consult closely with the Allies, especially Britain, as the US developed its policy for the region.

The French and Canadian Foreign Ministers have already paid visits to Washington since President Reagan took office on January 20.

Their West German counter-

part is due to see Gen Haig next week.

Lord Carrington who relayed to Washington the Nigerian views which he established on his recent visit to that country, is concerned that any foot-dragging on SWA will lead to a serious call for sanctions in the UN Security Council.

The Reagan Administration would be likely to veto a resolution calling for sanctions against South Africa. And that would create tensions between European nations and their strong African ties.

Lord Carrington said the failure of the Geneva conference on SWA was unfortunate, but had a lot to do with the fact that the South Africans decided the UN plan was against their interests and felt they could get a better deal with the new administration in Washington. British officials said.

Lord Carrington then said the dispute should be addressed reasonably soon.

Lord Carrington put a strong case for 'generous' American aid to Zimbabwe which was a remarkable example of reconstruction in action.

The British Foreign Secretary had considerable confidence in the future of Zimbabwe despite its manifest problems.

Gen Haig did not react to Lord Carrington's plea for more aid.

Unfortunately for Zimbabwe, Gen Haig has agreed to cut the foreign aid budget by about 20% in line with the general budget cuts Mr Reagan proposes to restore the American economy to health.

The Administration has been slow in organising its foreign policy towards most regions of the world.

Most of the regional assistant secretaries of state have not yet been officially nominated — including Dr Chester Crocker chosen for the Africa slot.

Dr Crocker works from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa's office but cannot sign formal documents. Lower appointments including ambassadorships have also been held up.

The delay is caused mainly by conservative Republican Senator Jesse Helms and his political allies who have been discredited with the names that have come from the White House.

SA's exclusion 'could have serious effect on SWA talks'

Pik, PW meet over UN

221 STAR 3/3/81

Political Staff
Cape Town

The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister are meeting today to plan what to do next in the SWA/Namibia settlement moves in the wake of South Africa's expulsion again from the UN General Assembly last night.

Mr P W Botha and Mr Pik Botha are also discussing the issue with the Administrator-General of the territory, Mr Dame Hough.

The South African ambassador at the UN, Mr Adrian Eksteen, said South Africa would not take the decision to eject it from the General Assembly session lying down but today Mr Botha declined to elaborate on what further moves would be.

But he warned that South Africa's expulsion could have serious consequences for the SWA/Namibia settlement negotiations.

This is a serious situation coming at a time when everybody is considering how to proceed and trying not to upset the delicate balance.

Exception

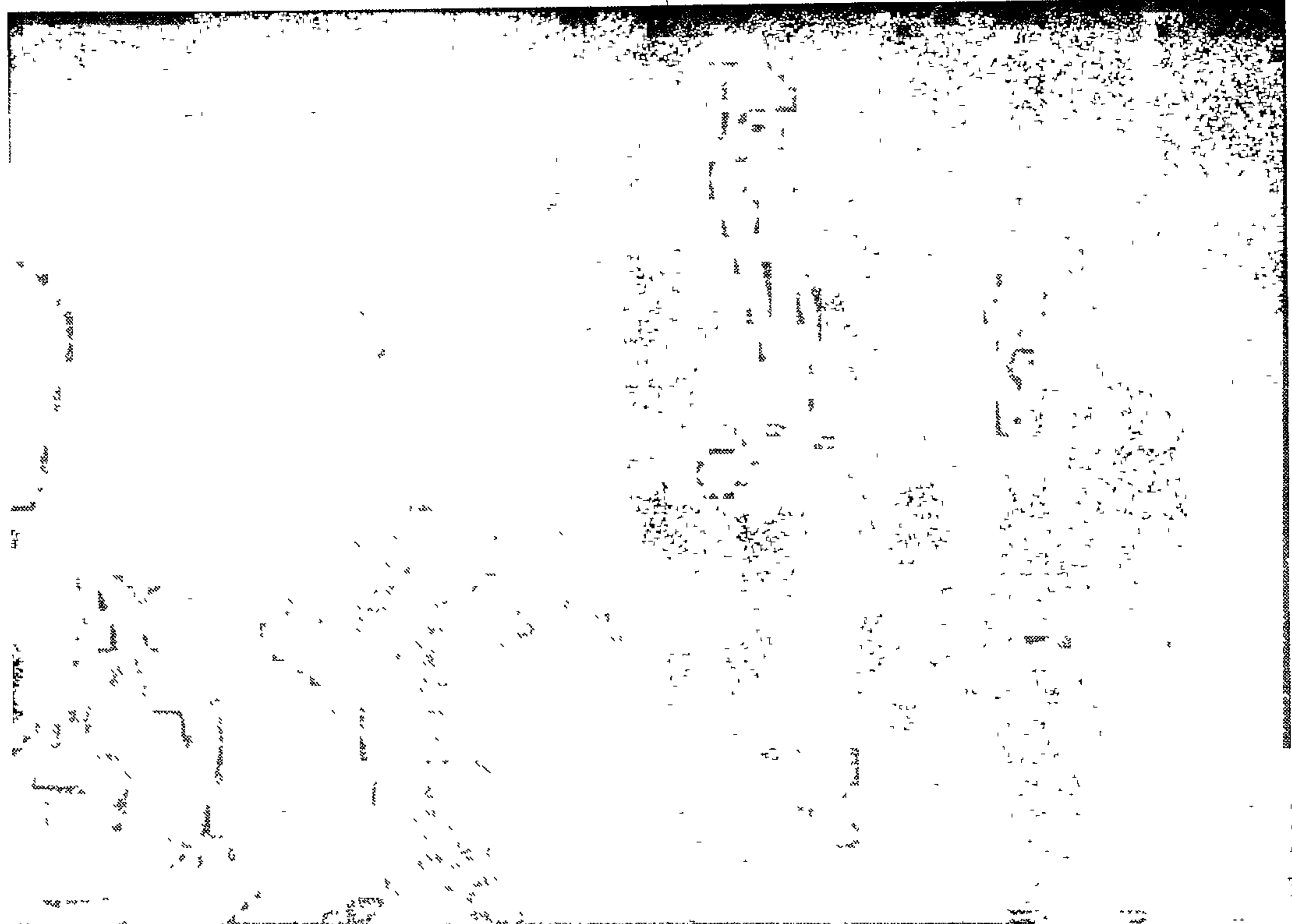
It particularly affects the democratic parties in SWA/Namibia because it confirms all the objections they expressed in Geneva. If the UN and its membership act with such unanimity, what concern must the internal democratic parties come to regarding the UN's ability to act impartially and reasonably in the territory, he asked.

Foreign Affairs sources denied suggestions that South Africa's action in trying to address the General Assembly was only a manoeuvre to attract attention to what it has in the past described as the one-sidedness of the UN in the SWA/Namibian dispute.

These sources said South Africa had genuinely expected that an exception could be made in this case as some African states had appeared to indicate that a more reasonable approach should be adopted.

South Africa was first ejected from the General Assembly in 1974 and since 1979 has not attempted to take a seat there.

The fact that the



South African Ambassador Mr Adrian Eksteen (right) followed by his deputy, Mr David Stewart, leave the General Assembly chamber after the UN body voted to refuse to seat them. The vote was in response to a Credentials Committee recommendation that South Africa not be seated because its Government did not represent the people of South Africa. It was the third time that South Africa had failed to leave the General Assembly.

United States in the UN Credentials Committee voted against a proposal that South Africa should not be allowed into the General Assembly, is a source of some satisfaction to the South African Government.

Apart from Spain, the US is at present the only Western member of the committee, whose resolution on the non-admissibility of South Africa was passed by 112 votes to 22 with six abstentions.

It was not a dramatic change of US attitudes as the Carter Administration was also in favour of South Africa participating in the UN.

But Foreign Affairs spokesmen felt today that the firm US stand in the Credentials Committee had percolated through to representatives of other

Western states in the Assembly and in the end 22 had voted against South Africa's expulsion.

Telegram

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Windhoek that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance sent a telegram to the Western Five last night asking them for the chance to address the General Assembly debate on SWA/Namibia. Previous requests to the UN were refused.

It is understood the DTA was unaware of last night's decision to exclude South Africa from the debate when it made the request.

The General Assembly had tied itself into a knot with its vote to exclude

South Africa, international law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers told David Brejer today.

Professor Wiechers, of Unisa, said the Assembly had recognised Swapo as the sole authentic representative of SWA/Namibia. At the same time Swapo insisted on negotiating with the South African Government and not with the internal parties.

"If the General Assembly does not accept the South African Government, then how can it accept its role as negotiators?" he asked.

Professor Wiechers said it was "impossible" for South Africa to withdraw from UN-supervised negotiations on SWA/Namibia because of yesterday's expulsion.

Mr I F A de Villiers, the Opposition spokesman on Foreign Affairs, said Mr

Pik Botha was exaggerating when he said the incident would have far-reaching consequences.

Mr de Villiers stressed that the UN Security Council, not the General Assembly, was responsible for carrying out Resolution 435 which aimed at a peaceful settlement in SWA/Namibia.

He said the General Assembly decision was therefore not as significant as had been made out as the Assembly had been bypassed in direct negotiations.

Mr de Villiers repeated his earlier statement in Parliament that South Africa was using its claims of UN partiality to withdraw from the plan drawn up with the help of the five Western nations and the Front Line states.

Call for more support for SWA fighters

ADDIS ABABA — The Foreign Ministers of the 50 nation Organization of African Unity (OAU) wrapped up a week-long conference early yesterday with a resolution calling for increased support for guerrilla groups fighting South African forces in South West Africa.

The conference held to lay the groundwork for an OAU summit to be held in Nairobi in June also called on the United Nations to impose mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa.

The resolution condemned South African raids into neighboring states and appealed for international assistance to those states to strengthen their defenses.

An African National Congress command post on the outskirts of the Mozambican capital of Maputo was the target of just such a successful South African commando raid last month.

The resolution urged OAU member states to take part in a May 20-27 conference on sanctions against South Africa.

In another resolution the Ministers expressed their deep concern about tensions created by increased foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean.

They said OAU members should refrain from any action which would aggravate the situation in an apparent reference to agreements by Kenya, Oman and Somalia to give the United States base facilities.

Presented by the Seychelles, Madagascar, Algeria, Mozambique and Angola the resolution said the Indian Ocean should be made into a zone of peace.

A third resolution expressed concern at the plight of Africa's five million refugees and appealed to all aid donor states and agencies to step up their contributions to deal with the problem.

The United Nations General Assembly was scheduled to meet late yesterday to discuss SWA which Pretoria administrators under an expired UN mandate.

SA storms in

UNO

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By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK
A DEFIANT South African delegation marched back into the United Nations General Assembly yesterday.

The appearance lasted five minutes before an irate African bloc protest emptied the chamber.

Then the United States recorded the only vote in favour of South Africa staying on, as the hastily-summoned assembly credentials committee rejected the legitimacy of the delegation.

Spain and Costa Rica abstained. Angola, China, Haiti, Kenya, Singapore and the Soviet Union all voted to oust the South African team, led by its UN mission chief, Mr Adriaan Eksteen.

South Africa seized the dramatic initiative just as the world forum reconvened to debate the collapse of the South West Africa settlement talks in Geneva and to consider 11 draft resolutions halting Swapo and seeking sanctions against the Republic.

Mr Eksteen led in a full complement of four diplomats to man the long-vacant South African bench in the bowl-like chamber.

Five minutes later he was out again, flushed, emotional, at his

respond to the African protest had been deliberately ignored by the assembly president, West Germany's Baron Rudiger von Wechmar

"Without South Africa, no solution can come to Namibia in any case," Mr Eksteen said as he left to await a full assembly vote on expulsion and a final announcement by Baron Von Wechmar expected later

It was Pretoria's first bid to reclaim its rights at a regular session of the assembly since the expulsion of the 1974 delegation Two years ago it returned during a special SWA session, but was voted out the same day

Adding edge to the South African timing yesterday was the presence of the US Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig, who arrived at UN headquarters at the moment of the assembly drama

He was holding his first discussions as Secretary of State with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, while the credentials committee met

One of Dr Waldheim's major tasks was to urge the new Reagan Administration not to waver in its support of the Western-backed plan for UN-supervised independence for SWA, agreed three years ago

Another was to counsel the US against reducing its support for the UN, financially or otherwise

Sapa-Reuter reports that South African sources discouraged speculation that the ban on their delegation's participation in the SWA debate might be followed by rejection of the UN settlement plan

The Assembly recognises Swapo as the only authentic representative of the Namibian people

The Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, had been expected at the UN yesterday for the start of the debate

Reporters who asked why he was absent were told he was attending the Soviet Communist Party congress in Moscow

The debate that opened yesterday was the assembly's first opportunity to discuss SWA since the abortive Geneva conference It was postponed from last November because of the talks

The debate is the first stage of a three-part plan prepared by the Organisation of African Unity, in an attempt to have sanctions imposed

Before the assembly is a resolution calling for a Security Council meeting, and if sanctions are vetoed in the council by Western permanent members — as the OAU expects — the black states plan to call a special emergency session of the assembly

During the debate, Third World countries are expected to attack Western governments for failing to exert sufficient pressure on South Africa to force it to implement the UN settlement plan

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DTA now turns to US for lead on SWA issue

By Alan Dunn
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance plans to raise the idea of an independence election for SWA/Namibia outside the United Nations settlement plan with the Reagan Administration when its delegation visits America soon.

It is reliably understood that the Reagan Administration will be sounded out on the possibility of taking a leading role in the SWA/Namibia issue.

This is believed to be the alternative most favoured at this stage by the DTA in the wake of its rejection of the UN as an impartial arbiter in the settlement effort.

OTHER WAYS

The vice-president of the DTA, Dr Ben Africa, said in the National Assembly yesterday that the UN peace plan, Security Council Resolution 435, was considered by the DTA to be dead as long as the UN failed to demonstrate its impartiality.

He said impartiality did not seem possible following the rejection of South Africa's credentials this week during the General Assembly debate on SWA/Namibia.

"We must now look for other ways to make the

country independent," said Dr Africa.

The chairman of the SWA/Namibian Council of Ministers, Mr Dirk Mudge, and two colleagues, Mr Peter Kalangula and Mr Kuaima Riruako, are due to leave for the United States on March 13 for a 10-day visit "to make the acquaintance of the Reagan Government" and to sound out its views on SWA/Namibia.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha today questioned the extent to which the UN could still play a role in SWA/Namibia, following this week's expulsion of South Africa from the General Assembly.

VEETO

But he said that Resolution 435 could still form the basis of discussions with interested parties.

He said interested parties included the internal parties as well as the Western Five nations.

Mr Botha predicted the General Assembly would vote for trade sanctions against South Africa which would be vetoed by the Security Council.

He said the assembly would then pass an illegal sanctions resolution which would not be binding on members.

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DTA turns to US over SWA

from page 1

stability would ward off the worst effects although sanctions would still hurt, he said. But the spinoff effect on Southern African trading partners could be disastrous, he added.

In New York, today, Japan, a member of the UN Security Council, told the General Assembly that strong international action should be considered if South Africa kept blocking independence for SWA/Namibia.

The Japanese ambassador, Mr Masahiro Nisibori, said "If the intransigent attitude of South Africa results in the failure of the international community's efforts, the international community will have no alternative but to consider further measures to assure South Africa's compliance."

And in Salisbury, Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister, Dr Witness Mangwende, has joined the escalating international campaign to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

On his return from the OAU's Council of Ministers meeting in Addis Ababa, Dr Mangwende called on the international community to oppose attempts by the West to veto any UN move to invoke mandatory sanctions on South Africa —

(Also Sapa-Reuter, AP)

S.A. Umpires' fire for 'straggled' UN chairman

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By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK

SOUTH Africa's sudden and abortive return to the United Nations General Assembly was a crafty scheme designed to achieve and exploit quick expulsion, the assembly's president, Baron Rudiger von Wechmar of West Germany, said yesterday.

Challenging the South Africans to answer a string of questions, he bluntly suggested that the drama that lasted all Monday was thoroughly stage managed — virtually a put-up job — to promote the Republic's South West African policy.

"With all due respect to the charter rights of a member state . . . the president cannot but assume the activities of representatives of South Africa were a carefully planned attempt to produce predictable decisions by the assembly majority which could later serve South Africa's own purposes," he concluded in a statement.

A South African spokesman quickly rejected the charges as ridiculous, while the South African Ambassador Mr Adrian Eksteen, called the president "mistaken".

And in South Africa yesterday the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. K. Botha, met in Cape Town today to discuss the events in the General Assembly on Monday.

Mr P. K. Botha said in an interview with the SABC after the meeting that there were indications the majority of countries in the General Assembly would call for sanctions against South Africa, and that the UN Security Council would be asked to impose them.

If the Security Council were

toed sanctions — which Mr Botha said he expected it would do — the General Assembly would probably then take steps itself as it had done in the case of the Korean War, he said.

Mr Wechmar asserted that he had carefully reviewed the sequence of events that climaxed with the assembly voting by 112 to 22 to outlaw the South African delegation asked.

Why had the South Africans tried to join the debate at the 102nd meeting rather than submit a letter of credentials when the assembly convened last September?

Why had they not chosen to appear when the assembly was tackling its agenda item on apartheid?

Why had they delivered to the secretary their credentials after the Monday meeting had begun and after they had taken their seats?

Why had he been given no advance warning if they were really interested in an orderly conduct of business rather than in an attempt to back-up their claim that the UN is biased?

Why a flurry of letters from Mr Eksteen commenting on the general assembly's decisions were submitted within minutes of the expulsion?

Meanwhile in Windhoek yesterday hopes for a peaceful solution in South West Africa plummeted further when the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance vice chairman Dr Ben Africa, said the UN Resolution 435 for a settlement was dead.

Dr Africa who was speaking in the National Assembly was reacting to South Africa's expulsion on Monday from the General Assembly.

PETER KENNY of the Mail Africa Bureau reports that Dr Africa did not comment elaborately on the expulsion, but said there was no hope for a settlement plan as long as the United Nations did not demonstrate its impartiality.

It follows that if Resolution 435 is not possible we must look for other ways of attaining independence, Dr Africa said.

The chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge also announced yesterday the SWA Council of Ministers would meet representatives of the Reagan administration in Washington soon.

What SA would have told the UN

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CAPE TOWN — The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday released the speech which the South African Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Adriaan Eksteen, would have made to the United Nations General Assembly on Monday — if he had not been barred from speaking.

He was barred during the debate on South West Africa by the Assembly's Credentials Committee.

His planned statement laid out the apprehensions of the internal SWA parties, fears that the UN's lack of impartiality, and belief that the world body could not judge fairly elections in the territory.

Mr Eksteen's statement, reported in part in Cape Town, said it was not good enough to hint at undefined and conditional assurances to the parties that impartiality would begin once the peace plan was implemented, the latest draft resolution on the territory, which claimed that Swapo and South Africa were the only two parties in the dispute showed that the Assembly had decided already who the representatives should be.

The democratic parties of SWA and South Africa had hoped that the Geneva meeting would have addressed the understandable concerns which had arisen.

Their hopes, that questions such as security, impartiality and equal treatment would be resolved, had proved to have been unfounded.

Little or nothing was done to give reassurances concerning the question of how the interests of inhabitants of SWA would be protected in the event of the continuation of intimidation and violence, or in the event of a major breach of the settlement plan.

Mr Eksteen labelled the proposal to support sanctions against South Africa as "a prime example of loaded dice."

"The complete disregard of the facts and reality constituted a travesty of justice of the worst magnitude," his statement said. "The issue of sanctions against South Africa has become a cause, an obsession, to the extent that it is support-

ed regardless of the consequences in human suffering that are certain to follow.

"If the concept of fairness still meant something, some fundamental truths in respect of the SWA issue should be pondered. What are the basic truths?"

"The people of SWA/Namibia refuse to be recolonised through a process which subverts their right of self-determination, while it is being given the appearance of democratic trappings. SWA is an African country.

"Does no-one in this Assembly realise that in the minds of the democratic parties of SWA, the UN stands branded as a partner of a terrorist group in the destruction of an African country with a promising future?"

"My Government stands ready to withdraw from the territory, but not in a way which must inevitably lead to the imposition of violence and intimidation as the decisive factors in determining the future government of the country.

"Compared with the rest of Africa, SWA/Namibia has developed remarkably well.

It is one of only three countries on the African continent exporting food — the other two being South Africa and BophuthaTswana.

"Tolerance and understanding are required in deliberations on the future of SWA — not this or that by the UN or any other entity. The imposition of sanctions on any country in Southern Africa will of necessity be self-defeating.

"There is no way in which a single country in our region can be singled out for sanctions without causing untold hardship in all the others.

"South Africa has not deviated from its commitment of granting genuine independence to the people of SWA, and will keep on insisting that they obtain independence in such a manner that it will, in fact, be through a free and fair procedure setting in motion a continuing process of democracy thus ensuring the realisation of their right to self-determination. Sapa.

Cont

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DTA to meet US leaders

Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) delegation, headed by the chairman of the South West African Council of Ministers, Mr. Dirk Mudge, will meet representatives of the Reagan Administration in Washington next week.

Mr. Mudge said "We hope to meet the US Secretary of State, Mr. Alexander Haig but we are not so optimistic about our chances of speaking with President Reagan."

He said he would be accompanied on the week-long visit by the president of the DTA, Mr. Peter Kalangula, and Mr. Kauma Riruako, a member of the Minister Council.

The delegation might also include a representative of the Directorate of Inter-State Relations.

He said the group's programme had not yet been finalised. The aim of the visit was to inform US officials about the problems in the country, Mr. Mudge said.

The talks would include reasons for the failure of the Geneva talks, problems with United Nations resolution 435 and UN partiality.

He said South Africa's expulsion from the UN General Assembly on Monday proved that the UN were not really interested in hearing the other side of the story.

"It will be interesting to see whether representatives of the Western Five contact group have the guts to respond to our request to them to help us get a hearing in the General Assembly," he added.

The request was sent to New York on Monday night.

(v) Expectation of life. This was calculated both at birth (e_0) and at 45 years of age (e_{45}) for both males and females. It expresses the average number of additional years an individual would be expected to live beyond birth and 45 years.

was the only index calculated.

PDM 4/3/81

Search for pilot lasted 220 hours

WINDHOEK — Members of No 1 SWA Squadron spent more than 220 hours in the air searching for their missing commander, Cmdt Piet Gouws, last week, says a statement issued by SWA Command Headquarters

Cmdt Gouws, commander of the Air Wing of the SWA/Namibian Citizen Force, disappeared on Saturday, February 21, while flying his private aircraft between Terrace Bay and Hen-

ties Bay on the SWA coast. The statement said Cmdt Gouws was first reported missing on Monday, February 23, and 10 aircraft of No 1 SWA Squadron, and an Albatross from 27 Squadron, stationed in Cape Town, began searching the coast and inland areas

Cmdt Gouws' colleagues made a final search on Saturday, February 28, over the Namib Desert Park. The search was then called off — Sapa

164,8/1 000 to 132,6/1 000, a change of only 19,7%. This is of particular

concern when it is appreciated that the greater the IMR the more easily should improvements be accomplished. The decrease in SMRs between 1941 and 1970 were 28,4% and 25,7% for Whites and Coloureds respectively.

The Age specific mortality rates are summarised in Fig. 4. Since death is inevitable, it is to be expected that decreases in the mortality experience

of younger age groups will give rise to a corresponding increase in mortality amongst elderly persons. Thus although it is to be expected that for both Whites and Coloureds the mortality rates for persons over the age of 65 years have shown a rising trend, it is of some concern that the mortality rates have also increased between 1960 and 1970 for Coloureds in the 25-44 and 45-64 years age groups.

The imbalance between the age specific mortality rates of Whites and Coloureds has improved or remained constant for persons between the ages of 5 and 64. However, for children less than 5 years of age the gap between Whites and Coloureds is widening. In 1941, White children under one year old experienced 28,0% of the mortality of Coloured children; by 1970 this figure had decreased to 15,7%, indicating that the Whites had improved disproportionately to the Coloureds. Similarly, for children 1 to 4 years of age, during the period 1941 to 1970 the White mortality experience as a percentage of the Coloureds had decreased from 15,2% to 7,1%. It should be noted that the 0 year age specific death rates are higher than the corresponding IMRs.

This is because the denominator for the former is the number of live births whilst for the latter it is the midyear populations under one year of age. Fig. 4 provides an indication of the proportional contribution of selected causes of death to the overall mortality experience of the White, Coloured

SWA soldier accused of raping tourist

12 DM 5/3/81

221

WINDHOEK — An attractive German tourist told the Windhoek Supreme Court yesterday a young South African soldier had raped her in a dry river bed while she was trying to stop blood pouring from two stab wounds in her stomach.

The woman alleged that the soldier had raped and stabbed her after offering her a lift in a military vehicle just outside Windhoek on December 12 last year. She was hitch-hiking to Cape Town after having toured SWA/Namibia.

The soldier, Mr Andries Albertus Bruyns, 23, of Brixton, Johannesburg, pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Jan Strydom to raping and attempting to murder the 22-year-old woman, who may not be identified.

He also pleaded not guilty to an alternative charge of theft. The State alleges he stole a number of her personal belongings after raping and stabbing her.

She told the court that friends had dropped her off at Aris, just outside Windhoek, and she had started hitch-hiking. A military vehicle, driven by Mr Bruyns, had stopped just outside Rehoboth, about

90km south of Windhoek. Mr Bruyns had indicated that he wanted to have sexual intercourse with her, but she had made it clear she was not interested and asked to be dropped off at Rehoboth.

Despite her protests, she told the court, Mr Bruyns had turned off on to a gravel road, telling her that he was taking a short cut. The vehicle had later developed engine trouble and Mr Bruyns headed back to the main road.

A short distance later, however, he turned off on to another gravel road, again ignoring her pleas to turn back.

The vehicle eventually came to a halt after getting bogged down in a dry river bed.

"I took a chance and tried to make a getaway. I managed to get out of the vehicle, but he ran around the other side and chased after me.

"He grabbed hold of me and threw me to the ground. I struggled desperately but he fought furiously, ripping my panties off and leaving me stark naked," the woman alleged.

She said she had tried to calm Mr Bruyns and had even offered to masturbate him in

return for her safety and freedom. He readily agreed.

He later turned on her and stabbed her in the stomach.

"He said he had stolen an army vehicle, that he was in the army and that he had nothing to live for.

"I really believed he was going to kill me and I tried to run away again. But he caught me and threw me down on the ground and raped me.

"I was trying to stop the blood pouring from wounds and was too weak to fight back."

The woman testified that she was taken to the State hospital in Windhoek, where she underwent two emergency operations. She stayed in hospital for a week.

According to the State's summary of facts, Mr Bruyns was captured three days later in Johannesburg and was later identified by the complainant during an identification parade. Several of her belongings were found in his possession.

An application for bail by the accused, who is undergoing national service in Windhoek, was turned down. He will remain in custody.

The hearing will resume on April 2 — Sapa

Border forces killed

73 Swapo last month

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces killed 73 Swapo guerrillas last month bringing total Swapo losses in the first two months of this year to 225, it was announced here today.

The Chief of Staff (Operations) of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Jan Klopper, said security forces were now acting

more aggressively in response to Swapo's threat to intensify its efforts in the bush war in northern SWA/Namibia.

He told a Press conference there had been no real increase in Swapo activity following the threat made by the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, at the Geneva talks earlier this year.

"Swapo does not have

the ability to do it," he said. "We can definitely cope with any kind of escalation Sam Nujoma can provide at this moment."

Brigadier Klopper said there had been a gradual decrease in the number of terrorist incidents since December — there were 133 incidents in December and 77 last month.

He noted there had

only been one sabotage incident in the operational area in February, an explosion at a bridge on the main tarred road in Ovambo at Ongwediva.

"At least 80 percent of the contacts between security forces and terrorists were initiated by security forces. The high percentage can be attributed to more aggressive actions by security forces."

A total of eight civilians were killed in February, three of them in landmine blasts. Brigadier Klopper said the local population in Ovambo detonated 10 Swapo landmines in this period.

Brigadier Klopper also announced that a "few" members of Angola's Government forces, Fapla, had been caught crossing into the Kavango region of SWA/Namibia, apparently in search of food.

He said indications were that Fapla was experiencing severe difficulties in finding food in south Angola.

He said the Fapla members were entering SWA/Namibia dressed as civilians, and without their firearms, paying high prices for food in Kavango.

US N-bombers for Diego Garcia

From The London Daily Mail

WASHINGTON — The US is to be allowed to send B52 nuclear bombers to Britain's tiny Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia, leased by the Americans as a military base.

The agreement — to match Russia's bomber build up in the Persian Gulf — is one of the results of British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's meeting with President Ronald Reagan in Washington last week.

Another is a decision to

enlarge the US Navy to help Britain guard the 'Iceland Gap' through which Russian cruise and submarines could slip into the North Atlantic with comparative ease.

From Diego Garcia the giant eight engine B52 bombers can command the entire Middle East's vital oilfields and tanker routes.

The B52s — which can deliver either nuclear weapons or a massive load of high explosives — are not expected to be permanently based on the island.

Olympic team claim

The Star's Africa News Service

SALISBURY — The Minister of Youth, Sport and Recreation, Mr Ernest Kidungure, yesterday claimed in parliament that there were black hockey players who should have been in the national team sent to the Olympics last year.

Pressed by Rhodesian Front members, he refused to disclose names.

AT YOUR SERVICE

National disaster looms for SWA

CT 6/3/81
own Correspondent

221

WINDHOEK — While rain has caused havoc in the Transvaal and Cape, SWA/Namibia is suffering its worst drought in 25 years

The worst hit areas are the south and north-west of the territory, especially Damaraland where there is not a blade of grass to be seen

If rain does not come to the stricken areas soon the drought will become a national disaster

In Damaraland the drought has felled hundreds of head of cattle and nearly 1 000 head of game are known to have died

Most boreholes in Damaraland have dried out and the Damara Legislative Authority is having to supply farmers with water delivered by truck

Some farmers in the south, who breed mainly karakul, sheep and cattle report not having seen rain for four years

The director of the South West Africa Agricultural Union (SWAAU) has asked the first-tier government and the various second-tier governments for more aid for stricken farmers

Subsidized emergency feed

Farmers are already getting aid in the form of subsidized emergency feed from the government

Cases of kwashiorkor and marasmus have been reported among some rural residents of Damaraland's klipveld and a disaster fund for the area has been started by a Windhoek newspaper

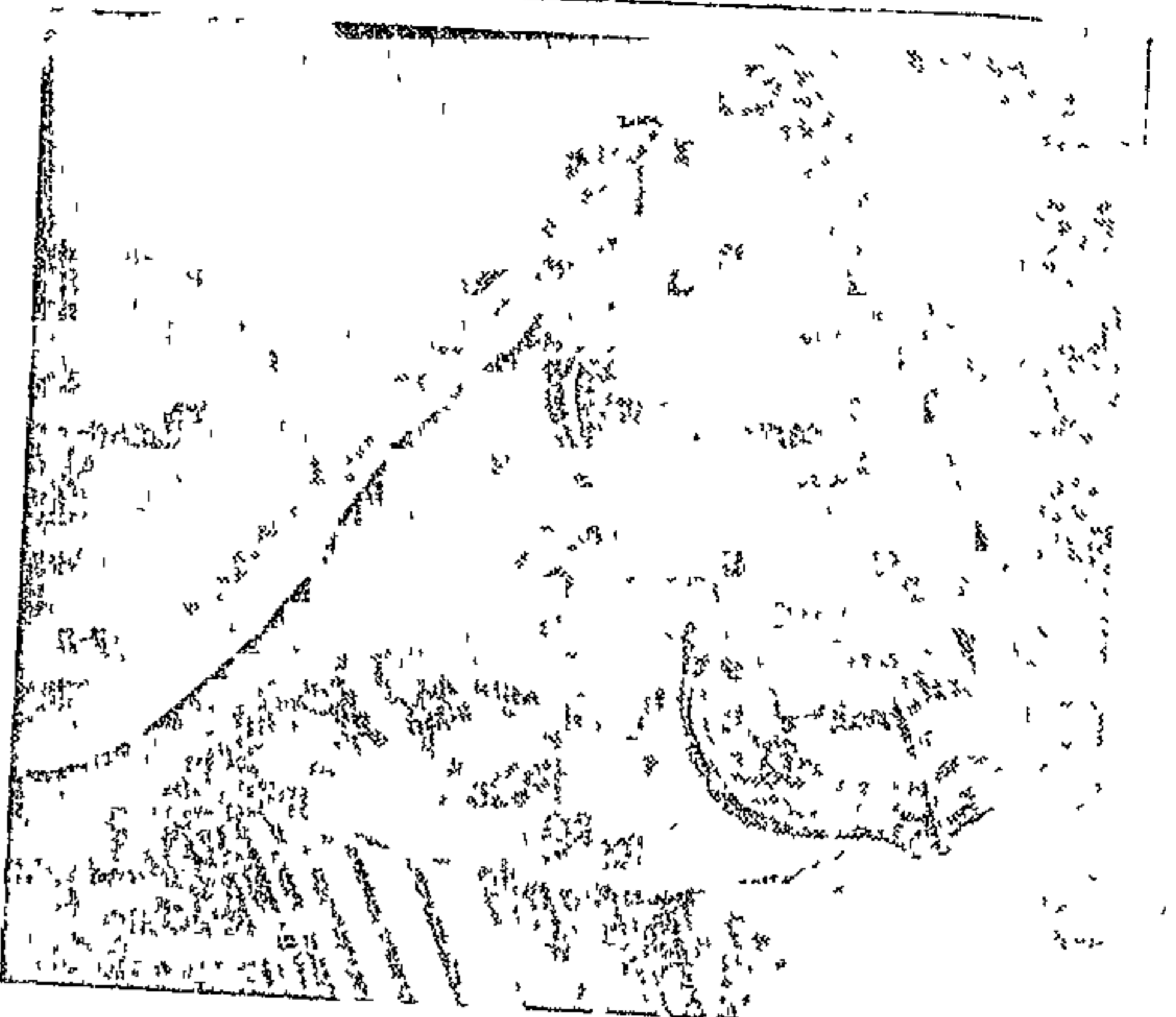
Even drought-hardened animals such as donkeys, ostriches and baboons are dying of dehydration

The supply of water to the capital, Windhoek, has reached critical proportions and unless there is substantial rain soon severe water restrictions will have to be introduced, despite the fact that Windhoek has its own water re-cycling system

Some farmers cannot afford to buy emergency feed for their cattle, if it is available, and are being forced to sell everything they can and abandon their farms

Ja Toivo's mother: I may not see him again

(221) Angus 6/3/81



Mrs Elzabeth Ja Toivo

THE blind, 73-year-old mother of Herman Ja Toivo, the founder of Swapo who is serving a 10-year sentence on Robben Island, fears each visit to her son might be her last because of her age.

After visiting her son for 45 minutes this week for the first time since 1977, the sad mother Mrs Elzabeth Ja Toivo said she had found him well and in high spirits.

Ja Toivo has served 13 years of his hard labour

term for offences under the Terrorism Act.

It is believed in some quarters he may yet play a leading role in South West Africa's independence.

At the recent abortive Pretoria conference on the 1st of April, Swaps kept a high profile in the chair at the table for him.

Ja Toivo was born in Ovamboland in 1924 and began his education at a Finnish mission school in Ovamboland where Mrs Ja Toivo had worked and met

her husband, a teacher at the school, Ja Toivo later returned to teach at the school himself.

At one time he worked in Cape Town and became the organizer of a group of militant Ovamboland workers in 1954, assisting their white counterparts in a recruitment drive.

The SWA formed the basis of Swapo as a nationalist organization.

In 1958 Ja Toivo was banished to a remote part of Ovamboland. In 1966 he

and other Swapo members were detained after the first clashes between Swapo and South African security forces in the territory.

He was found guilty in 1968 of offences under the Terrorism Act, for conspiring to overthrow the South African Government.

Mrs Ja Toivo said that after her son's arrest she was forced to move from Ovamboland to Windhoek with Ja Toivo's four children.

'He cared for me after my husband died', she said. 'I'm clinging to the hope that somehow there will be a settlement in Namibia which will allow my son to be released.'

'If not I am determined to wait for his release in seven years so that he can return with me to Ovamboland', Mrs Ja Toivo said.

Mrs Ja Toivo was accompanied to Cape Town by a daughter, Esther and a grandchild.

Americans (221) 'undecided' on Namibia

By JOHN MATISONN
Washington

BRITAIN has told President Ronald Reagan it supports the United Nations plan for Namibia and hopes he will back a speedy effort to restore the momentum for its implementation which was lost with his election.

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, took up Namibia with the President at their first meeting at the White House on Thursday.

Lord Carrington, British Foreign Secretary, raised the issue in parallel talks with General Alexander Haig, the American Secretary of State, where it ranked among the top items on the agenda.

The British told the American leaders the Namibian matter should be dealt with "reasonably soon" and that they regarded the United Nations plan formulated by the Western contact group as the best option, a British official said in Washington.

If the American Government did not agree to go ahead with the UN plan, then "it would have to come up with something better", the Reagan administration was told.

Gen Haig made it clear that the administration was not far enough along the process of assessing Southern African policies to have any firm conclusions, American and British officials said.

He added "The Americans have genuinely not decided what they are going to do."



MARGARET THATCHER
Hopes US will back plan

The British leaders felt it necessary to "explain the complexities of Namibia" and the Geneva conference to the Reagan administration, whose leaders are supposedly less familiar with Africa than their European allies.

Gen Haig promised to consult closely with the allies, especially Britain, as it developed its policy for the region. The French and Canadian Foreign Ministers have already visited the new administration and their West German counterpart is due to see the general next week.

These four members of the contact group all appear to retain a common position in support of the plan they helped formulate.

Lord Carrington, who relayed to Washington the Nigerian views which he established on his recent visit there, is concerned that any foot-dragging on the disputed territory will lead to a serious call for sanctions in the United Nations Security Council.

Though the Reagan administration would certainly veto sanctions, the affair would sour relations all round.

C. Head
All races
 2/3/81 (221)
to pay tax
in Namibia

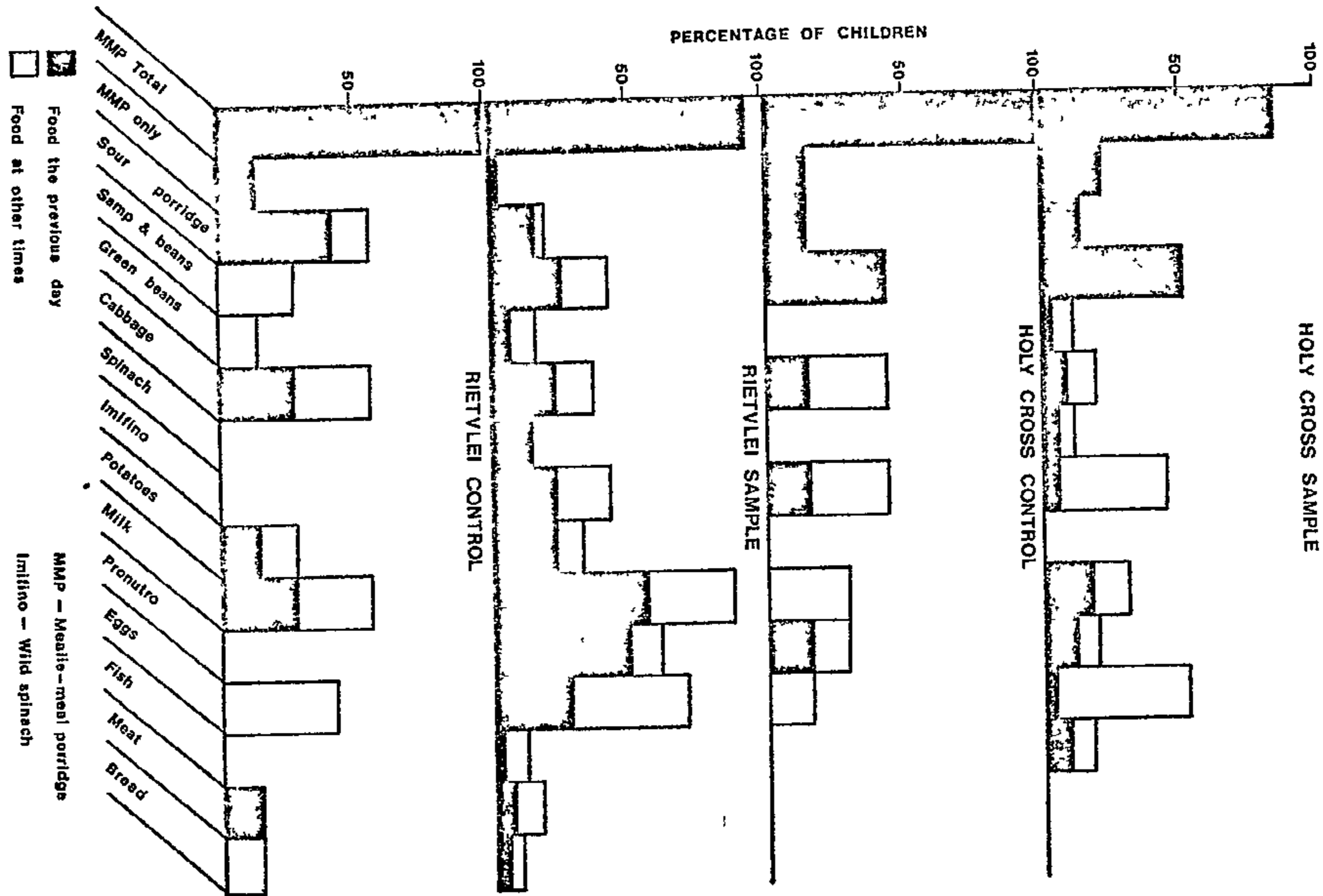
INCOME tax was last week extended to include all races in Namibia in terms of an amendment passed in the territory's National Assembly.

Taxes will, from March, be paid to the ethnic representative authorities which will use the funds as an 'advance' for their budget requirements.

The chairman of the council of ministers of 'Cabinet' Mr Dirk Mudge, who introduced the amendment, said the central revenue fund would then pay the second-tier authorities the balance of the amounts they budgeted for.

The only population groups which have until now paid personal income taxes are the Whites, Coloureds, Basters and Namas.

The Amendment Bill was unanimously accepted.



WORLD IGNORES BOTHA'S ATTACK

(221) August 7/3/81

From Donald Knowler
NEW YORK. — South Africa's attack on the president of the United Nations General Assembly, Baron Ruediger von Wechmar, has fallen on deaf ears at the world body.

South African Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha this week accused Baron von Wechmar of 'betraying his own principles' in denying South Africa the opportunity to speak during moves to have the Republic barred from the Assembly on Monday.

Mr. Botha also questioned West Germany's credibility regarding the South West African issue because Baron von Wechmar was West Germany's Ambassador to the UN before becoming assembly president last year.

In his attack on the baron, Mr. Botha recalled that the same man had voted against having South Africa expelled from the General Assembly when the issue was first raised in 1974.

TOUGH LINE

In 1979 — the last time South Africa had tried to regain its seat in the assembly — the baron had also opposed its expulsion.

But observers at the UN said this week the baron's

tough line against South Africa was in keeping with his policy of being 'his own man' as assembly president.

'As West German Ambassador to the UN he looked after his country's interests. As assembly president, the assembly as a whole must come first,' said an observer who follows West German affairs closely.

Mr. Botha's attempt to draw West Germany into the row surrounding South Africa's expulsion has also met with little response at the UN.

Although Mr. Botha, in a statement issued here, expressed concern about the possibility of Baron von Wechmar returning to the post of West German Ambassador, it has been known for some time here that the baron will leave the UN when his term of office expires later this year. He has been named as the new West German Ambassador to Italy.

South Africa said it was ignored on Monday when it tried to speak after the Cameroon delegate, representing black Africa, had objected to South Africa's presence during a resumed session of the 35th regular General Assembly.

South Africa was later expelled on the recommendation of the credentials committee, which ruled the SA Government did not represent the 'major portion of the South African population.'

French 'Red Baron' bites into SWA meat market

S. Express
8/3/81

221

By KITT KATZIN

THE HEAD of a French consortium, who is said to have strong communist leanings, has obtained a significant foothold in South West Africa's export meat industry.

And fears are being expressed that this is only the first step in a "master plan" to capture a huge slice of the beef exports of an independent Namibia for communist markets in Europe.

Behind the venture is Mr Jean-Baptiste Doumeng, chairman of a massive French wholesaling combine known as Socopa, and who has close business connections in the Soviet Union and in several East European countries.

Mr Doumeng is known to certain South African Cabinet Ministers — and is commonly called "the Red Baron".

Recently Mr Doumeng brought a delegation of the International Co-operative Alliance, an economic aid organisation that has close ties with a similar movement in the USSR, to South Africa.

Through a South African bank he has obtained a 20% interest in a new R1-million cold storage plant at Walvis Bay.

In addition, he is said to be connected with a company called Intermeat, which sources in Windhoek believe may lease the facilities of a new R13-million abattoir at Gobabis.

Mr Doumeng's consortium is also considering establishing cold storage plants in Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

Sources in Windhoek believe pressure had been placed on certain sectors of the SWA meat industry by the South African Government to "accommodate" the French consortium in the export venture.

However, Mr Doumeng, who had intended initially to invest between R10-million to R15-million in Intermeat, pulled out of the deal by saying he could not invest until SWA became independent.

It was intended at that stage to erect the Gobabis abattoir as a joint venture between the French consortium and SWA's First National Development Corporation.

The corporation decided to construct the abattoir itself.

This week Mr Johan Lerm, its chairman, conceded the French consortium would be permitted to compete for meat exports, but on price only.

Other sources, however, claimed Mr Doumeng had obtained an undertaking that he would have first option on export supplies.

Why, asked SWA cattlemen, should he be given that privilege when he had not invested a cent?

Mr Lerm, however, denied this, and said no preference would be given to Mr Doumeng.

But Mr A P Pretorius, chairman of the SWA Meat Board, believes Intermeat would control 74% of a holding company that would operate and lease the abattoir from the corporation.

While he obviously favoured developing export markets, he did not agree that a vast bulk of SWA's meat should be marketed in communist countries.

He warned that if large supplies of SWA beef were diverted to new European markets, beef prices in South Africa — and particularly in the Western Cape, which relies on SWA for 90% of its beef supplies — could rise sharply.

NAMIBIA:

THE South African Government is beginning to explore alternatives to a United Nations-supervised settlement of the South West Africa/Namibia question in the wake of this week's events in the world body.

At this stage, the process is not more than an examination of the options, but serious questions are being raised in Pretoria about the suitability of the United Nations as the organ to oversee the independence process.

Following South Africa's expulsion this week from the United Nations General Assembly, the Government's view that the body's partiality towards Swapo is hindering the independence process has strengthened.

The expulsion had proved the greatest embarrassment to parties which claimed there was an unbiased disposition by the UN, informed sources said.

They said the question being raised in Pretoria was whether the UN could still play a role as an honest broker in the SWA/Namibia settlement.

According to informed sources, Pretoria's options is to look towards a settlement programme supervised by one or more of the Western five nations.

Britain's mediating role at the Lancaster House conference which led to Zimbabwean independence is being mentioned as an option to be examined.

President Ronald Reagan's supportive statement on South Africa this week has raised



The search starts for alternatives (221)

By IVOR WILKINS. Johannesburg

Pretoria's hopes that a more "realistic" attitude might begin to prevail in the West, and it is likely that if the Lancaster House option were to be seriously pursued America would be asked to play a major role.

There are formidable obstacles in the way of such a course and Western sources are extremely sceptical about its viability.

They point out that SWA/Namibia is a UN-mandated territory and to attempt to exclude the world body from involvement in settling its independence would meet with extreme resistance.

Even assuming that one or more of the Western nations were prepared to consider a deal outside of the UN, it would be extremely difficult to find a

country acceptable to all the parties involved.

There are three main elements to the Western position on the settlement issue at the moment.

- The search for a peaceful settlement continues.

- UN Resolution 435, which outlines a package of proposals leading to independence under a UN-supervised election must remain the basis for continuing negotiation. This contrasts with the position of Dr Ben Africa, one of the internal leaders, who this week declared Resolution 435 dead.

- Until President Reagan's administration has formulated its policy on SWA/Namibia little progress can be expected (no progress is expected anyway until the South African general election is over).

Informed sources say, however, that there is an acceptance that Resolution 435 will have to be modified before agreement can be reached.

The main modification springs from demands expressed at the Geneva conference and since by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance for constitutional guarantees before independence.

The guarantees being sought take the form of a declaration of intent that minorities will be protected that SWA/Namibia will be a multi-party state and that freedom of speech, religion and association will be assured.

These guarantees are expected to be demanded for at least the duration of the first independence government in the territory.

Western sources are resigned to a new round of intense diplomatic endeavour to get the settlement process back on track.

Informed sources say their biggest headache is to convince the frontline states that South Africa is genuine about wanting a settlement.

Meanwhile, a United Nations Security Council debate on the question has become inevitable following the overwhelming vote by the General Assembly on Friday for sanctions against South Africa.

The five Western countries involved in the negotiations — The United States, Britain, Canada, France and West Germany — all abstained from the vote and it is expected that when the matter comes up before the Security Council, a sanctions bid will be vetoed.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, will probably fly to New York to attend the Security Council debate, which is expected sometime next month.

For once in the disputed territory, rivals agree:

THE United Nations peace plan for South West Africa will need surgery if it is to survive as a viable instrument for bringing the beleaguered territory to internationally recognised independence.

This is an opinion which ranges across a wide political spectrum in the territory this week after the UN General Assembly's expulsion of the South African delegation.

After the South Africans were ejected, before they could put their case, some members of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance seemed almost to be rubbing their hands with glee, because the UN had proved the DTA's claim that it was a very partial and biased body in terms of the Namibian dispute.

Dr Ben Africa, vice-president of the DTA and a member of the SWA Ministers' Council, described Resolution 435 as "dead" in view of the stance

UN plan will need urgent surgery

By PETER KENNY: Windhoek

taken by the General Assembly.

Dr Africa said other avenues towards independence for SWA would have to be opened.

His words aroused a fear that the DTA might be totally rejecting the UN resolution for a ceasefire and the implementation of UN-supervised elections.

But Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of both the DTA and the SWA Ministers' Council, softened Dr Africa's verbal blows by saying drastic measures needed to be taken to save the UN plan.

"Unless an emergency operation is carried out on Resolution 435, the plan will die," Mr

Mudge told the National Assembly.

What was needed was a change of attitude and a clear demonstration of impartiality on the part of the UN. Only this could revive the initiative.

Dr Kenneth Abrahams, editor of the Namibian Review, a former Swapo man on the other end of the political spectrum to Mr Mudge, also said the UN plan for SWA would have to be modified.

He said the UN's action in the General Assembly "will certainly not assist the people of Namibia in any way".

Apart from the legal merits of what the UN had done, Dr Abrahams thought it was a diplomatic error to exclude South Africa from the General Assembly debate.

"It makes it more difficult for them to demonstrate their impartiality," he said.

'UN resolution leads to ruin'

RDM 9/3/81, (22)

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK -- Nobody could blame the people of South West Africa for wanting an alternative to United Nations resolution 435 on the territory's future, the Administrator-General of SWA Mr Dame Hough said at an army parade at Katima Mulilo in eastern Caprivi on Saturday.

He said this after he presented the South African Sword of Peace of 1980 to sector 70 of the SWA Territory Force.

The annual award is made to a Defence Force unit which has contributed towards construc-

tive relations with civilians in its area.

Mr Hough said that after Geneva it became clear that acceptance of resolution 435 would lead to another 'political run' in Africa.

He said hints of 'realism and level thinking' from the United States and other Western countries had 'inspired us to do everything we can to seek a peaceful solution'.

Last week the Vice-President of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (dta) Dr Ben Africa, said resolution 435 was 'dead'.

SWA wants an *S.F. 9/3/81.* 'alternative'

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — Nobody could blame the people of SWA/Namibia for wanting an alternative to United Nations Resolution 435 on the territory's future, the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, said at an army parade at Katima Mulilo in eastern Caprivi on Saturday

He was speaking after he presented the South African Sword of Peace of 1980 to Sector 70 of the SWA Territory Force

The annual award is made to a defence force unit which has contributed towards constructive relations with civilians in its area

Mr Hough said sector 70 had "broken Swapo's back in south-west Zambia" and enabled officials and civilians in the eastern Caprivi to continue with peaceful, prosperous development

There have been no war deaths in the area since August 1978, when 12 South African soldiers died in a Swapo mortar attack

After Geneva, it became clear that acceptance of Resolution 435 would lead to another "political ruin" in Africa

He said hints of "realism and level thinking" from the United States and other Western countries in the past few days had "inspired us to do everything we can to seek a peaceful solution"

Last week the vice-president of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Dr Ben Africa, said Resolution 435 was "dead"

On Friday, the chairman of the SWA Council of Ministers, Mr Dirk Mudge, leaves for Washington with a DTA delegation, which will consult with the Reagan administration on the future of SWA/Namibia

Political comment by A H Heard, G E Shaw, R A Norval, J V Scott, W P Harris and M P Acott Headlines and sub-editing by A J Moth, L Raubenheimer, W Odendaal and T Stefano Cartoons by A Grogan All of 77 Burg Street Cape Town

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Germany
ROM 10/3/81
furious
over what
Pik said

London Bureau

LONDON - A heated meeting yesterday morning between the South African Ambassador to West Germany - who was summoned by the Bonn Government - and Germany's Secretary of State failed to calm the anger in Bonn.

Further meetings between the ambassador, Mr N van Heerden and the Secretary of State, Mr G van Well, are planned to discuss what has been called Mr Pik Botha's 'unjustifiable' attitude over West Germany's efforts to reach a South West African settlement.

Sources close to Mr Van Well said the cause of the anger had been Mr Botha's accusations that Germany's credibility had been called into question by the United Nations' incident.

That Mr Botha had questioned West Germany's credibility after his country had voted against South Africa's expulsion from the assembly and had voted against sanctions, was 'totally unjustifiable' the source said.

Controversial Bonn envoy is quitting UN

ROOM 7/3/81 (221) ~~338~~

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERGRADUATE AND POSTGRADUATE TRAINING

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — The West German Ambassador to the United Nations, Baron Rudiger von Wechmar, is quitting the world forum

The stern-voiced envoy who presided over the General Assembly this week when South Africa was expelled — and who suffered the wrath of the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha — is being reassigned as Ambassador to Italy

His post at the UN, and as a member of the five-power Western "contact group" on South West Africa, will be taken by Mr Gunter von Well, an official in Bonn

On Thursday, Baron von Wechmar abruptly cut short his fencing match with Mr Botha by refusing to comment on the Foreign Minister's emotional statement accusing him of betraying the principles of the West and risking any future role for West Germany in the SWA negotiations

A spokesman said the baron was "aware" of Mr Botha's remarks, but declined to respond

The spokesman stressed that Baron von Wechmar's assignment to Rome was decided some time ago

The Rand Daily Mail's correspondent in George reports that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday continued the strong Government attack on Baron von Wechmar

Speaking at the opening of a freeway near George, Mr Botha accused the baron of assisting "a mockery of justice" as president of the General Assembly in the special debate on SWA

His criticism follows strong protests over the baron's handling of the challenge to the South African delegation's credentials at the UN

South Africa maintains that its UN Ambassador, Mr Riaan Eksteen, should have been given the chance to answer the challenge in the Assembly, and has termed the baron's rulings "incomprehensible" and a violation of UN procedural rules

Mr Botha referred to the need for regional co-operation, and the maintenance of stability in Southern Africa

"Neither we nor SWA will take the path of chaos followed by the majority at the United Nations," he said

Sapa-Reuter reports from Bonn that West Germany has rejected South African allegations that Baron von Wechmar consciously prevented the

Republic from getting a hearing during the debate on its expulsion

It reported that a West German Foreign Ministry statement said the envoy had conducted his duties as Assembly president correctly and according to the statutes

Earlier this week the baron accused South Africa of stage-managing the attempt to reclaim its Assembly seat, knowing it would be rejected and could be used to support its claim that the UN was biased and unable to supervise elections in SWA for the plan for the territory's independence endorsed by the Security Council

The Ministry statement "emphatically" rejected South African charges against the baron as completely unfounded

"Choice of words, and tone of the remarks of the South African Foreign Minister speak for, or rather, against themselves," it said

South Africa was increasingly isolating itself, it added "Its policies against the proposals of the five Western states endanger a peaceful solution of the Namibia problem"

(George report by M P Acott 77 Berg Street Cape Town)

to Care - Person to Person" by Byrne and long observations to emerge is that the doctor-student relationship mirrors the doctor-patient relationship The teacher is encouraged to develop

of 1000 places a year By 1980 no doctor may become a principal in general practice unless he has undertaken a three year period of vocational training Canada has a two year period of training which is under the argis

ive, non-judgemental and equal relationship with his students - ents. This country Pretoria established a department of general 971 but this is based on the out-patient department of the ital Recently Orange Free State and the new Medical Univer- Africa have created chairs. U.C.T established a unit of ice this year. However, it is not enough to create depart- departments must be based in the community and must have resources to make a meaningful contribution to under- tion and the philosophy of the medical school. onal training. is general recognition of the fact that undergraduate is a 'basic doctor' and that the general practitioner re- al training as for any speciality. Training schemes have most developed countries. These schemes vary in duration they have some features in common. Part of the time is ee in a general practice or university unit, part is internship Throughout the period of training the course in the principles discussed earlier in this paper emphasis on insight training with a view to better under- standing of the doctor-patient relationship. Britain has a three year course which has achieved its target of 1000 places a year By 1980 no doctor may become a principal in general practice unless he has undertaken a three year period of vocational training Canada has a two year period of training which is under the argis

Beyond Resolution 435

According to diplomatic sources in New York elements of the Western contact group on SWA Namibia have been sounding out the disposition of African states to the idea of a settlement initiative without the UN.

Centrepiece of the suggestion would be another all-parties conference with roughly the same guest list as the recent Geneva summit under the joint sponsorship of the frontline states on the one hand and the Western contact group on the other. Nigerian UN and OAU observers would also be invited.

Fanciful as it may seem against the troubled background of recent SA raids into neighbouring states and Foreign Minister Pik Botha's row with West Germany, the idea of a conference with the frontline states is the only viable alternative to the deadlocked UN plan.

SA will seize on events at the UN General Assembly last week as an excuse to resist implementation of Resolution 435 under UN supervision. At the same time Pretoria has probably received sufficiently reassuring signals from Washington and London to have concluded that it need not fear the consequences of thwarting implementation. The potential exists therefore for SA to stall almost indefinitely on the question of UN bias - secure that its storehouse of minerals and strategic position will buy a Western veto.

Washington's partners in the Group of Five - as the contact group is known in Africa - favour the UN plan as the best possible means of achieving widely recognised settlement. But the Reagan administration's dilatoriness in unveiling its new Africa policy - and its expressed disillusionment with the UN and some of its procedures - suggests that it has other aims in mind.

It doubtless reckons that it could use its influence to link a SWA Namibia settlement to an Angolan settlement. It may argue that regional stability would be restored only if the Cubans could be persuaded to leave and the armed forces of SA, Unita and Swapo laid down their arms. An outcome along these lines would certainly attract strong support from the frontline states and the OAU.

The problem is that the new administration seems undecided whether to give priority to the UN-led SWA settlement plan or to its desire to entrench the Cubans where the opportunity exists. The first option implies putting pressure on SA, the second equally unattractive implies tacit co-operation with Pretoria. The other option is not necessarily in the US

best interests at this stage. And if there is one thing that runs like a golden thread through recent Republican administrations it is their devotion to policies designed to serve America's best interests.

The Carter administration believed that it could enhance its relations with black Africa by advancing the cause of SWA Namibian independence. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who seems to have a fixation about Cuba, believes that the interests of peace in the sub-continent and the rest of Africa are best served by getting rid of the Cubans.

It is argued by some Western sources that a new conference from which new initiatives would emerge would help the US to achieve its aims without alienating Angola or colluding with SA and give a strong boost to US foreign policy in Africa.

The prizes for a negotiated peace between all the warring factions in the region are irresistible. Conceivably the Cubans would go home, Angola would be

drawn closer into the Western sphere of influence and new corridors of trade and economic co-operation would be opened in which SA could play an important part.

That's the theory. In practice it could turn out rather differently. For the time being at least until after the election Pretoria would probably prefer to be seen thumbing its nose at the rest of the world. At the recent OAU conference in Addis Ababa black Africa pledged increased support including heavier armaments to Swapo. And at the UN General Assembly and at the Geneva conference in January much bitterness, scepticism and distrust were engendered. The frontline states are hardly in a frame of mind to initiate a new settlement process. And the DTA government in Windhoek needs a lot more time to try to consolidate its influence over the SWA Namibian electorate.

Right now negative influences and expectations far outweigh the promise of positive development but there is just a possibility that there may be a few sur-

prises when Washington unveils its new Africa policy.

(20)

In an effort to determine the mother's or mother figures understanding of health matters a number of simple questions were posed to the mother or the mother figure. The responses are summarised below.

Cause of the disease	Percentage of total		
	(Fable Forty) Response	Percentage of maln.	Percentage of non maln.
Child not sick	22%		100% (Well Baby Sample)
Starvation	16%	87%	13%
Incorrect food	8%	75%	25%
"leak child"	4%	100%	
Inherited weakness	16%	75%	25%
does not know	16%	62%	38%
other	18%	38%	62%

How will a relapse be prevented: (Table Forty One)

Does not know	14%	57%	43%
Follow advice of doctors and nurses	34%	88%	12%
Give proper food	12%	66%	34%
pursue Julu customary treatment	6%	33%	67%
nothing	4%	40%	60%
not applicable	24%		100%

What do you do if your child gets diarrhoea (Table Forty Two)

SA forces kill 283 Swapo so far this year

STW 13/3/81

224

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Security Forces have killed 283 Swapo members so far this year in the operational area on the SWA/Namibia — Angola border.

Colonel Nico Roets, Senior Staff Officer Operations of the SWA Territory Force, said Swapo had

lost 58 armed insurgents this month, 49 of them in 13 contacts with Security forces last weekend

One skirmish included a Swapo ambush of a South African Police counter-insurgency unit on Ovambo's main tarred road between Oshakati and Ondangwa.

"The SAP unit fought its way out of the ambush

without loss, killing 16 terrorists," said Colonel Roets

In another clash last Friday, a police unit encountered Swapo insurgents in central Ovambo. Five Swapo members were killed. Weapons captured by Security Forces so far this month included AK-47 assault rifles, other Soviet-made rifles, hand-

grenades, RPG rockets, anti-vehicle landmines, and two 122 mm rocket launchers.

He said it was thought the rocket launchers were used in a long-range bombardment of Oshakati earlier this year, in which five missiles were fired at the town, home of most of the white officials in Ovambo.

during the night.

An Ovambo man was murdered and two cases of abduction were reported in the last two weeks. A bridge near Oshikuku was sabotaged, said Colonel Roets. About 84 percent of the contacts between Security Forces and Swapo took place at the initiative of the Security Forces, he added

759 SA officials now serve in SWA

5/13/78
The Star's Africa News Service *(221)*

WINDHOEK — A total of 759 public servants from South Africa had so far joined the independent SWA/Namibian Public Service, the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday. He expressed the hope

that other officials who wanted to stay in the territory would also join the government service in SWA/Namibia which, with a population of about a million, needed about 25 000 officials to supply the necessary services.

Addressing the Windhoek Press Club, Mr Hough said no country

should be dependent on sources outside its borders to operate its public service.

He said there were at present about 2 600 officials from the Republic who had been seconded to SWA/Namibia to help with the establishment of an independent public ser-

vice.

Mr Hough noted that this figure excluded members of the police, defence force and railways.

He said the experience and knowledge of the seconded officials were, in the short term, irreplaceable.

Police survive Swapo ambush, kill 16 guerillas

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Swapo raiders ambushed a South African police counter-insurgency unit near Ondangua last weekend, but the unit survived unscathed, killing 16 of their attackers in the ensuing fight.

This was announced yesterday by the senior staff officer (operations) of the South West Africa Territory Force, Colonel Nico Roets.

He said since the beginning of March the security forces had killed 58 armed insurgents in counter-insurgency operations in Ovambo.

Of these, 43 were killed in 13 contacts last weekend

Colonel Roets said two of these contacts were worthy of special mention.

● Last Friday, an SAP counter-insurgency unit encountered an armed group on the tar road halfway between Oshakati and Ondangua in Ovambo. "Five terrorists were killed in the exchange of fire," Colonel Roets said.

Later the same afternoon an SAP troop carrier was ambushed 8km from the earlier contact.

The unit scrambled from their vehicle which was ambushed on the tar road, and a furious firefight followed.

"The SAP unit fought its way out of the ambush

without loss, killing 16 terrorists," Colonel Roets said.

He said weapons captured this month in contacts included AK 47, PPK, Dragandov sniping weapons and SKS rifles, anti-personnel and anti-vehicle hand-grenades, RPG rockets, TM 57 landmines and two equipped 122 mm rocket launchers.

Colonel Roets said it was suspected that the captured rocket-launchers were used in a rocket attack on Oshakati in January.

He said acts of terrorism committed by Swapo against civilians included the murder of one man and two cases of abduction.

There had been only one act of sabotage so far this month, when the bridge outside Oshikuku was blown up.

Although Swapo had earlier this year threatened to step-up its campaign against the South African and SWA Security Forces after the abortive January peace-talks in Geneva, Colonel Roets said 84 percent of the contacts with Swapo this year had been initiated by the Security Forces.

This year 283 Swapo fighters have been killed in operations February was a quiet month, in which 77 Swapo raiders were killed in contacts.

SAP unit kills 16 Swapo raiders

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Swapo guerrillas ambushed a South African Police counter-insurgency unit near Ondangwa last weekend but the unit survived unscathed, killing 16 of their attackers in the ensuing firefight.

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civilians included the killing of one man and two cases of abduction.

There had only been one act of sabotage so far this month when the bridge outside Oshakati was blown up.

Four Owambo civilians were injured when their vehicle detonated a landmine in northwestern Owambo on Tuesday. Mr (alue Reintcke, secretary of the Owambo Administration, said yesterday.

The incident occurred at Om-balantu. The names of the injured were not released.

91
OAU MEETING

(22)
UN charade planned

FM 13/3/81

The OAU (Organisation of African Unity) council of foreign ministers ended an unusually quiet weeklong meeting in Addis Ababa on March 1 with the unanimous decision to rally international support for bringing about a Namibian independence that will include Swapo

A banner strung across one of the avenues in this Ethiopian capital declaring "South Africa and Namibia shall be free reflected the uncontested concern at this annual meeting that southern African liberation movements should gain global recognition

Just how pressure will be stepped up to manoeuvre SA back to the negotiating table after the impasse at Geneva, remained fuzzy Swapo is relying on intensified military activity and is looking for badly needed financial support The OAU has in the past supplied ammunition and arms to Swapo through its liberation committee

Now an emergency Namibian liberation fund has been formed and a resolution for increased aid to Swapo was unanimously supported However, it is unlikely that cash-strapped Africa will be able to provide the tanks and anti-aircraft guns that are needed It is likely that the guerrillas will shop for this hardware among the group of non-aligned countries Latin American states were particularly mentioned by Peter Mueshahange, Swapo's Luanda-based foreign affairs spokesman and their delegation leader "We have to confront the troops who are fighting in occupied Namibia" he said

The Namibian resolution also blamed the failure of the Geneva talks on the Western nations whose three-year diplomatic initiative has yet to see fruitful discussions The group, which comprises Great Britain, France, Canada, West Germany and the US, was castigated for what was termed their economic interests in Namibia and SA "If they want to they can do something in a single day, but because of economic interests, they are not keen to put pressure on SA," said Mueshahange

The OAU ministers called for a special UN Security Council session by mid-April to adopt comprehensive economic sanctions against SA, including an effective oil

embargo If this lobby is shunned by the Security Council, then the African states intend to request an emergency session of the General Assembly, where it is hoped that an open vote on the issue will embarrass Western countries

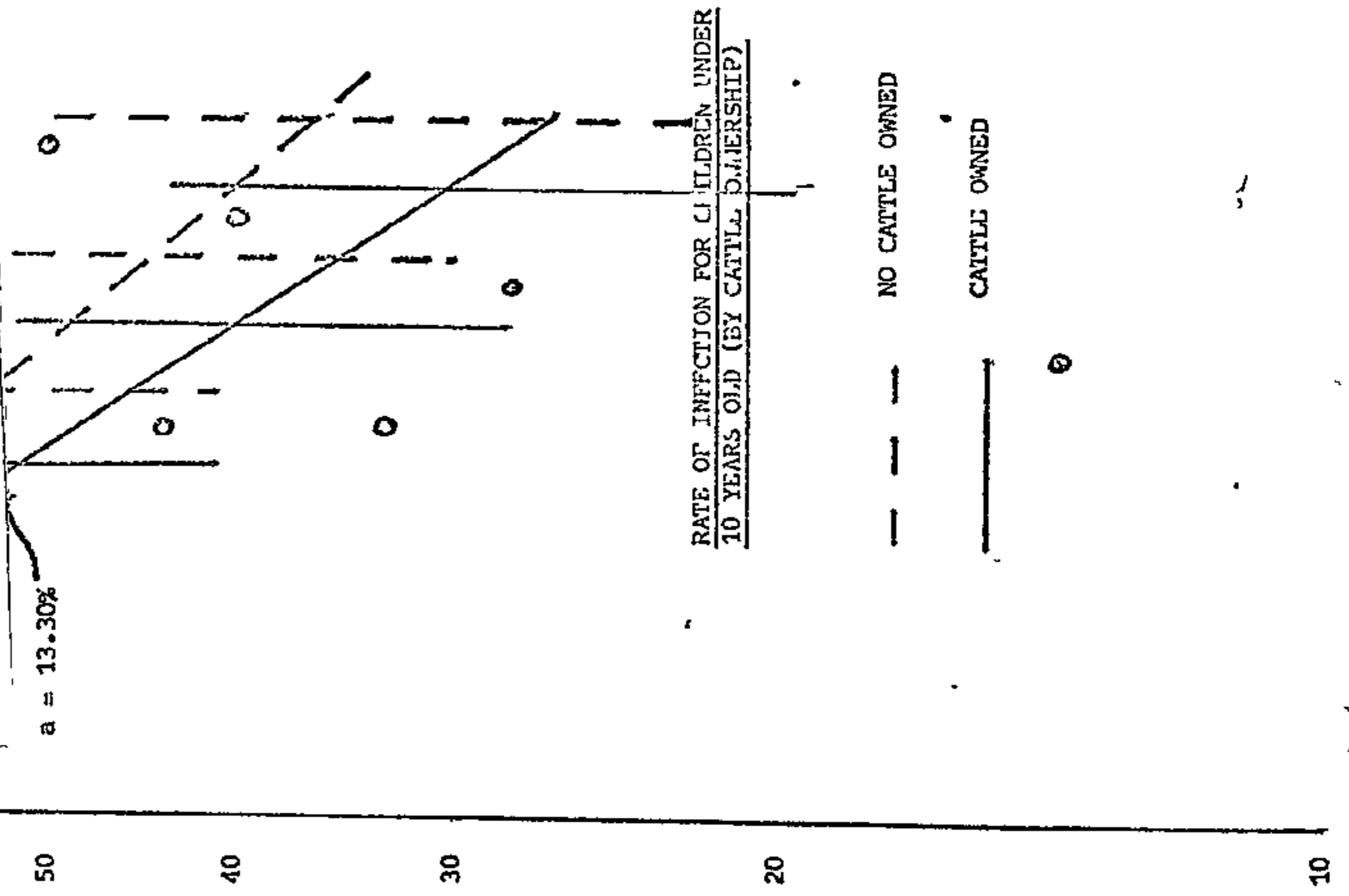
The April deadline has been set to give the African foreign ministers, who have been moving from January's session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa held in Arusha, Tanzania, to last month's ministerial conference of non-aligned countries in New Delhi a chance to marshal their case

Reagan's overwhelming preoccupation with Soviet expansion on the African continent is likely to override his concern with a Namibian settlement And this tendency to view Africa in strategic and economic terms has been well read by Swapo

The OAU meeting produced one more anti-SA initiative in the form of an overture to Opec to close the loopholes through which SA receives its oil The PAC which was represented at the meeting along with the ANC, said that they had already approached Arab states with a request to compile a blacklist of companies which

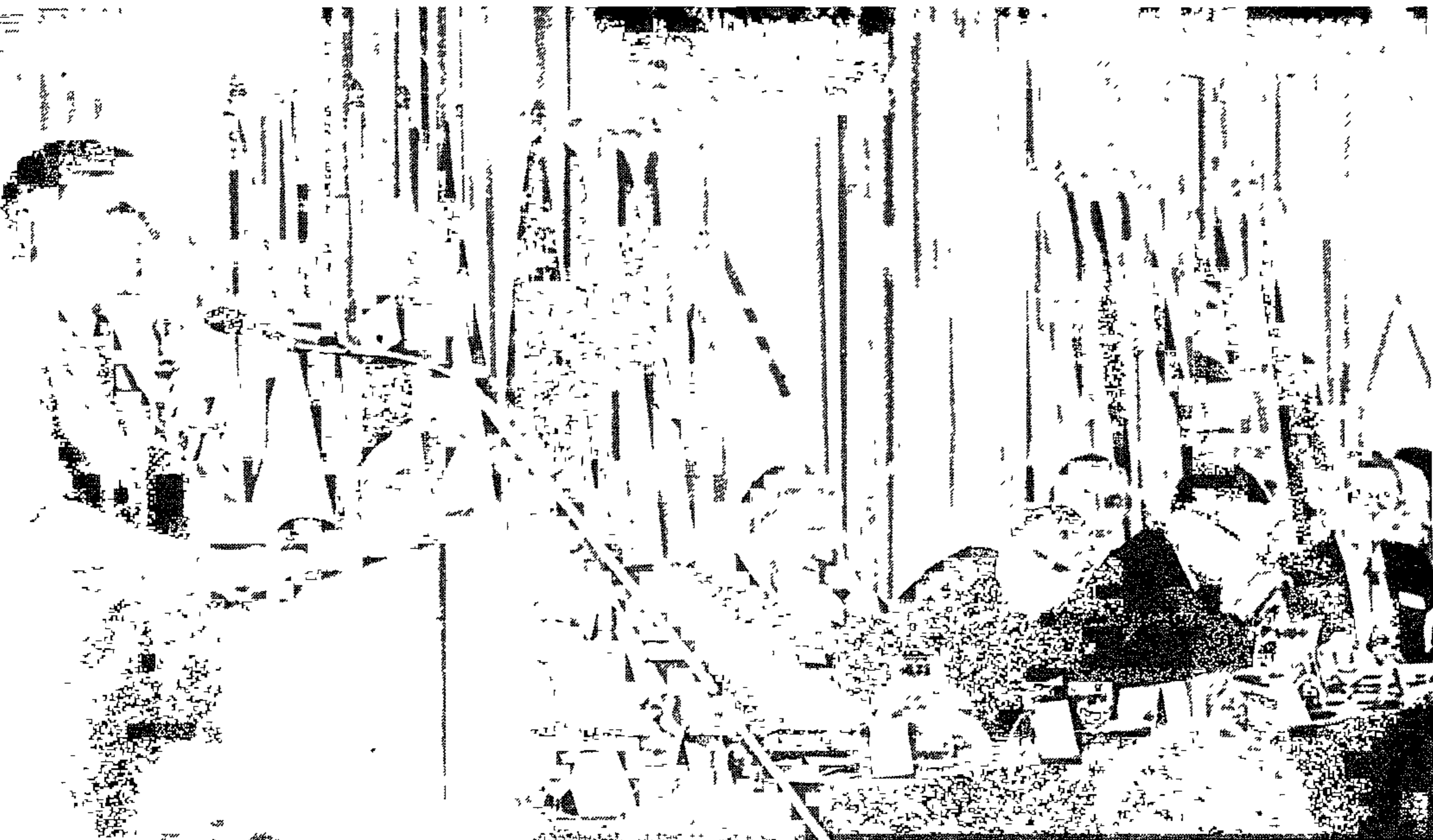
are supplying oil to SA

The PAC member, Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said that he was preparing a document on the subject to be presented at a meeting jointly organised by the UN and the OAU to discuss SA sanctions The meeting is scheduled to be held in Paris this May



30
15.7

CARE GRADIENT FOR TUBERCULC



Dr R F J Gruber director of the South Africa Foundation's office in Bonn speaks at the foundation's 21st annual convention yesterday

Chief Reporter

DR R F J GRUBER, director of the South Africa Foundation's office in Bonn, yesterday described as "most regrettable and undeserved" the attack by Mr Pik Botha on West Germany's ambassador to the United Nations, Baron Rudiger von Wechmar.

He said the attack was in effect an attack on West Germany itself

Speaking at the foundation's 21st annual convention in Cape Town Dr Gruber said it was also regrettable that the South African Foreign Minister had chosen to refer to Germany's "racist past" with which Baron Von Wechmar had in fact not been associated, and that Mr Botha had offered some gratuitous advice to the West German Government

"At a time when the interests of South Africa require that its friends should be strengthened and encouraged in their support it is regrettable that miscalculations of this nature should queer the pitch and undo in a blaze of controversy what many have tried to construct over months and years"

Consideration

Dr Gruber was applauded at the end of his address by several hundred members of the foundation from many parts of the Republic and from overseas who attended the convention

"It is necessary to remind ourselves that although West Germany has been governed for the past 11 years by a social-liberal coalition, South Africa has been treated with more con-

Pik Botha attack on Von Wechmar 'most regrettable'

CT 12/3/71 (22)

sideration and accommodation by Bonn than by many centre-right governments elsewhere," he said

"The social-liberal coalition in Bonn has placed few impediments in the way of West German-South African relations Banking and business dealings have flourished mightily to the benefit of both countries, and Bonn has been absolutely consistent in its opposition to economic sanctions"

Dr Gruber said it must be clearly said that apartheid had no friends in West Germany — "but all are nearly agreed that isolation and coercion are not the best means of effecting its removal"

Referring to Baron Von Wechmar's role as president of the UN General Assembly in the recent incident involving South Africa he said it was legitimate for South Africa to seek to speak on an issue in which it was directly involved or failing access to the microphones "to demonstrate the virulent partisanship of that body which was its main complaint and the cause of its breaking off the Namibia conference in Geneva"

It was also legitimate for the president to follow the ruling of the credentials committee and the precedents set by two of his predecessors, and

refuse to seat the South African delegation, since any other decision on his part, given the composition of the General Assembly and the temper of its members, would have made his position untenable

"If that was all that had happened, there would have been a crisis in relations between South Africa and the UN, but not necessarily between South Africa and West Germany"

Mistakes

Unfortunately Baron Von Wechmar had made two procedural mistakes The South African foreign minister had consequently been correct to reply in public and to do so in no uncertain terms In doing so Mr Botha had also made two mistakes

The first was that he failed to distinguish between Baron Von Wechmar as president of the General Assembly and Baron Von Wechmar as a West German national, and directed his attack, in effect at the Federal Republic

"This was regrettable and undeserved, since the West German delegation had not only voted against the exclusion of South Africa from the plenum but had also spoken against it

The second was that he

offered some gratuitous advice to the West German government

"If Bonn saw fit, after what had happened, to reappoint Baron Von Wechmar as leader of its delegation upon conclusion of his presidency of the General Assembly, it would forfeit any right to play a constructive role in a further search for a settlement of the Namibia dispute

"Apart from the fact that this is the sort of stipulation about appointments that no self-respecting foreign government can allow others to make, it had been publicly known for three months already that Baron Von Wechmar was to become the next West German ambassador in Rome upon completion of his term as president of the General Assembly

New element

"As if all this was not unfortunate enough, a new element was introduced at this stage by a front-page article in Die Welt the most outspoken opposition daily in the country

"After reporting the South African foreign minister's outburst, it quoted an unnamed senior official of German descent in his ministry who declared that South Africa had

good relations with the United Nations, Great Britain and France and did not care a fig for West Germany and its views

"Its foreign minister, the source was alleged to have added, was nothing more than a figure of fun, whose role in the Namibia dispute was now irrelevant anyway The reaction of Foreign Minister Genscher can be imagined and although the account of the interview with the South African diplomat was promptly denied by Pretoria, the damage had been done

"In common with most politicians, Herr Genscher is known to have a healthy measure of personal vanity and does not like being represented as ridiculous and absurd, least of all by colleagues in diplomacy from whom such language is not expected

Confidant

"Moreover Baron Von Wechmar is not only a member of Herr Genscher's own political party, he is also known to be a trusted friend and confidant Consequently Herr Genscher issued a strongly worded public statement in which confidence was expressed in Baron Von Wechmar and his doings and the South Africans were accused of being out of touch with reality

● Dr Gruber said that while the last word in this issue had probably not been spoken enough had emerged to make it clear that personal relations between Mr Genscher and Mr Botha "are such that an immediate reconciliation cannot be expected

He added "The mess is complete — and a great deal of porcelain has been broken"

● See leading article, page 12

STON
Swapo *(2)*
16/7/81
warns of
SA threat

LONDON — South African forces in SWA/Namibia were engaged in a massive build-up of both troops and military hardware, Swapo said yesterday in a statement released through its London office

It said it wanted to warn the international community of the grave consequences and major threat to peace of South Africa's action

The statement went on to deny that Swapo had lost men in the field on the scale claimed by South Africa

In New York, Swapo said it had been betrayed by the Western nations which promoted independence negotiations with South Africa

Asked to comment on the allegations, a SA Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said "History has proved that we do not need massive troop concentrations to wipe out terrorists, wherever they may be" — Sapa-Reuters

(8) (unknown)

WAGE (R)	SCHOOLING		TOTAL NO. OF WORKERS				
	0-2,50	2,51-5,00	5,01-7,50	7,51-10,00	10,01-12,50	12,50-15,00	>15
	3	14	27	22	13	5	7
	0	1	1	1	2	5	91
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	1	1	1	2	5	5
	6	2	1	1	7	7	7
	7	1	1	1	5	1	5
	8				2	2	2
>8							0
TOTAL NO. OF WORKERS	3	22	19	10	5	122	122

Distribution of workers by schooling completed and cash wage.

TABLE 38

Finally, cash wages were plotted against level of schooling completed.

Swapo:

Angola

CT 14/3/81

attack

221
by SA

soon

Own Correspondent

LONDON — South Africa was undertaking a massive build-up of its forces in SWA/Namibia in apparent preparation for further attacks on Angola, Swapo alleged here last night.

"During the past few days, a major increase of both South African troops and military hardware has been observed in Namibia on a scale exceeding even that which took place before the Cassinga 'massacre' and other major South African acts of aggression launched from Namibian soil," Swapo claimed in a statement.

"Swapo of Namibia wishes to once again warn the international community of the grave consequences of South Africa's actions and of the major threat to international peace which they constitute. There is a fresh threat to the United Nations Institute for Namibia in Lusaka which only recently had to be evacuated by the students and staff and given military protection in similar circumstances," the statement said.

● Sapa reports that asked to comment on the allegations, a SA Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said: "History has proved that we do not need massive troop concentrations to wipe out terrorists, wherever they may be."

He said he had no further comment on the "blatant and poor propaganda" contained in the rest of the Swapo statement.

SA Defence

RDM 14/3/81

Force denies

build-up



LONDON — The South African Defence Force has dismissed Swapo claims that a "massive build-up" of forces is taking place in South West Africa in preparation for strikes into neighbouring countries as "blatant and poor propaganda"

Swapo has claimed in a statement issued in London that a major increase in South African troops and equipment has been noted in South West Africa — "on a scale exceeding even that which took place before the Kassinga massacre"

A South African Defence Force spokesman responded last night from Pretoria saying that "history has proved that we do not need massive troop concentrations to wipe out terrorists"

The Angolan resistance movement Unita, also issued a statement last night, from Lisbon. It says it has killed nearly 130 MPLA troops including four Cuban officers in recent attacks in Angola.

It also claims it launched major sabotage strikes in the

provincial capital of Huambo, and against the Benguela railway line during the first two weeks of February.

The organisation, which has fought the Cuban-backed MPLA government in Angola since 1975, says its forces attacked four military barracks in three central provinces, and that it ambushed an 80-vehicle convoy during the first three weeks of last month.

It says 114 government troops and 15 Cubans, including a Cuban captain and three lieutenants, were killed. Unita suffered 11 dead and 20 wounded in the attacks.

In the same period Unita says it destroyed 9 000m of railway line seriously damaged six diesel locomotives and 25 carriages and exploded bombs at four electric pylons on the Benguela railway line.

Unita appeared to have kept its bush war largely to areas of the deep south along the border with South Africa.

Observers suggest that South Africa's 15 year old border efforts against Swapo are likely

to decrease if the Reagan Administration lifts the United States embargo on aid to Unita.

American aid to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would depend on the present reassessment of the US government's policy in Southern Africa, US sources have stated.

The big risk of American aid to Unita, it was pointed out, was a greater Russian, Cuban and East German involvement in Southern Africa.

If the US supplied arms and other war equipment to Unita, military activity in southern and central Angola would intensify.

With very little outside support Unita was engaged in substantial military operations against the Angolan MPLA and Cuban forces.

The trend would be for MPLA forces and their Cuban and East German allies, to become heavily committed.

MPLA support to Swapo would obviously decrease under conditions of greater military activity in central and southern Angola.

Secret

US-SA

pact is
alleged

S Tribune
15/3/81
227
221

From JOHN BAGGALEY
in Paris

SOUTH AFRICA has a secret pact with the new US Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig, to give limited defensive backing to Nato in return for kid gloves treatment over Namibia.

According to a former UN. commissioner for Namibia here, the secret deal goes back five years to the time when General Haig was boss of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato) forces.

It followed a meeting between the then South African Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, the then US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, and General Haig in Zurich in September 1976. It explains "why Western pressure on South Africa remains so modest, and why and how South Africa was able, with impunity, to slam the door on the Geneva conference which was to discuss in January the fate of Namibia".

According to the former Namibian Commissioner, Noble Prize winner Sean Macbride American strategy towards South Africa was discussed at length at the meeting.

Mr Macbride told the news magazine Le Nouvel Observateur, due out tomorrow "a plan, destined to maintain Namibia under South African control — that is to say Western control — was drawn up. This plan, I think, was thought up by Haig".

Nato was studying ways of extending its zone of influence towards the Southern Atlantic but proposals for radar and surveillance links with the South African Government ran into opposition from Nato's Scandinavian members, and possibly the Netherlands, said Mr Macbride.

"Haig then built on less official agreement and collaboration which was encouraged by the US with South Africa, Argentine and Brazil. Several African countries, including Malawi, I be-

lieve, were to be included in this plan," Mr Macbride said.

"The plan was simple. In exchange for limited participation from Pretoria to the Nato defence disposition, Washington would offer, let us say, a little more understanding towards South Africa."

General Haig had very close links with South Africa and his appointment as Secretary of State was disquieting, said Mr Macbride. He said he did not believe that coincidence was responsible for the recent intensification of South African raids on Southern Angola from Namibian territory.

Almost all the Western contact group — Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and the United States — were implicated to varying degrees in the "illegal" traffic of Namibia's natural wealth. And they had helped Pretoria gain time — to establish a puppet regime in Windhoek to build a black army to avoid a white-black war in Namibia, and to wait for the Reagan administration to get its Africa policy underway, a policy on which Pretoria pinned high hopes, Mr Macbride said.

Mr John Vorster last night refused to discuss the alleged secret pact when telephoned by the Sunday Tribune.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said Mr Macbride's allegations were "very far-fetched".

"He is alleging things which he says happened before my time as Minister of Defence, and I certainly have not heard this before," he said.

Mudge backs Reagan stand on terrorism

RDM 17/3/81 (221)

WINDHOEK — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the South West African Council of Ministers, said yesterday he welcomed the strong stand the United States President, Mr Ronald Reagan, had taken against Russian-sponsored terrorism.

In a statement from Washington, also released in Windhoek, Mr Mudge said the five Western powers had in the past spoken out against the loss of life due to terrorism, but simply stood by and wrung their hands.

He said he was impressed, however, by President Reagan's foreign policy which declared that Russian support for terrorism in the form of local freedom movements was antagonistic.

Mr Mudge said that for years Swapo terrorists had murdered innocent South West Africans without any criticism coming from the Western Five.

Yet the Five were trying to find a way for South West Africa to become independent and gain international recognition.

It was time the Five realised that Swapo would not end its terrorist activities until Russia, its satellites, and the General Assembly of the United Nations were obliged to end their finan-

cial support for Swapo, the supply of weapons, and free training of terrorists.

Mr Mudge said the General Assembly was financing Swapo with American taxpayers' money, as the US contributed 25% of the UN's income.

He said Swapo was a puppet being used to bring South West Africa under Russian control.

The Soviet Bloc wanted the territory's vast mineral wealth, including strategic uranium resources.

Mr Mudge and other members of the South West African Council of Ministers are in Washington for unofficial talks with US politicians.

The US Embassy in Pretoria yesterday denied that either President Reagan or the Secretary of State, Mr Alexander Haig, had promised to meet Mr Mudge and his Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegation.

The embassy said there was an apparent misunderstanding concerning the visit of DTA officials to the US. The US State Department had therefore authorised the American Embassy to release the text of a letter from the acting Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Lannon Walker, to Mr Mudge.

"The acting Assistant Secre-

tary's letter, which replied to a number of communications from DTA officials to President Reagan and other high-ranking administration officials, indicated that DTA calls on administration officials would not be convenient at this time since the administration's South Africa policy review had not been concluded.

Nonetheless, in a Press statement prior to his departure, Mr Mudge indicated the DTA trip to the United States would proceed. His statement, which projected some of his own hopes for the visit, may have created some confusion about Mr Walker's letter.

Specifically neither President Reagan nor Secretary of State Haig promised to meet with Mr Mudge at a future date.

"No appointments with administration officials have been scheduled for the DTA officials, although Mr Walker noted the interest of the administration in hearing their views.

"Finally, the United States Government continues to have contact with DTA leaders only in their capacities as leaders of a political party. There has been no modification in our policy of not recognising the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly." — Sapa

Intelligence in US despite request to wait

221
337
CT
17/3/81

From JOHN MATISONN

WASHINGTON. — A delegation of SWA/Namibian politicians has arrived in Washington despite a request from the State Department to delay their visit.

US dissociates itself from visit

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The United States Government last night distanced itself from the American visit by a party of DTA officials under the leadership of Mr Dirk Mudge.

In a statement issued by the US Embassy in Pretoria, the Americans stressed that the DTA leaders were visiting the US in their private capacities as leaders of a political party.

"There is no modification in our policy of not recognizing the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly," the American statement said.

The statement was seen as a move to prevent a re-occurrence of the embarrassment they suffered last week on discovering that five senior South African military officials had entered the US in conflict with American policies towards Pretoria.

US policy has prohibited visits in recent years by senior South African military officers and the South Africans are known to have arrived in Washington on visas which described them simply as government officials.

Yesterday's statement from the US Embassy said that in view of some apparent misunderstanding concerning the visit of the DIA officials to the United States the Department

of State had authorized the release of a letter from the acting Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Lannon Walker, to Mr Mudge.

The undated letter, which replied to a number of communications from DIA officials to President Reagan and other high-ranking American administration officials, indicated that meetings between members of the DTA and Washington officials would not be convenient since the administration's Southern African policy review had not been concluded.

"Nonetheless in a press statement prior to his departure Mr Mudge indicated the DTA trip to the US would proceed.

"His statement, which projected some of his own hopes for the visit, may have created some confusion about Mr Walker's letter.

"Specifically, neither President Reagan nor Secretary of State Haig promised to meet Mr Mudge at a future date.

"No appointment with administration officials has been scheduled for the DTA officials although Mr Walker noted the interest of the administration in hearing their views.

"Finally, the US Government continues to have contact with DTA leaders only in their capacity as leaders of a political party," the statement said.

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Rev Peter Kalangula, president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, and Mr Fannell Kozonguizi of the DTA arrived in Washington on Saturday for a full week of interviews with American policy-makers and media — but are not scheduled to see anyone in the administration which had asked them not to come while Southern African policy was still under review.

Military officials

Their arrival follows the confusion over the departure of five South African military officers who apparently came to the United States on visas obtained without informing the US that they were military men.

Mr Mudge told a breakfast press conference that he hoped to convey appreciation to the US for the "encouraging vibrations" coming from the American Government.

He said he welcomed statements by American leaders that terrorism should be opposed and a stand taken against communism. He said he had received a letter last week from a State Department medium-level official recommending that his party should come to Washington at a later stage.

Too late

But it was friendly advice — not a rebuff — he said. "We considered it but we felt that after they have formulated policy it would be too late. As a political party we would like to give information to enable them to draft a correct policy to Namibia."

He accepted that it would not be possible to meet the administration at a high level and he would not want to embarrass it but he saw nothing wrong with meeting politicians and the media and conveying his message.

Mr Mudge's trip has been arranged by his Washington lobbying office headed by Mr Marion Smoak, a former chief of protocol in the Nixon administration who held the rank of ambassador.

Upgrading

Mr Smoak's office has started to answer calls as "the Government of Namibia" in recent weeks, implying that the Namibian Council of Ministers is attempting to upgrade its standing in the diplomatic community.

The three Namibians will see Senator Nancy Kassebaum, the new chairman of the Senate sub-committee on Africa and Dr Harold Wolpe, chairman of the congressional Africa sub-committee. Their first interview was with Senator Jesse Helms, the leading rightwing spokesman in the Senate. Mr Helms has been delaying government appointments on the grounds that the candidates are not sufficiently conservative.

Other influential senators including Senator Strom Thurmond, president pro tem of the Senate and Senator John Tower, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, are on the list of people with whom the Namibians have appointments.

RDM 17/3/81
221-5

Ex-Angolan troops 'now SWA citizens'

'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Military authorities yesterday said the former Angolan troops now fighting in the crack counter-insurgency 32 Battalion in the South West African border war, are SWA citizens

A London Daily Telegraph correspondent, shown the battalion in action on the border last week, reported that it consisted of "about 1 100 men, of whom 80% are Portuguese-speaking black mercenaries who fought with the defeated FNLA"

The Defence Force denied that the men were mercenaries. A spokesman said the Defence Force took exception to the remark

According to a Defence Headquarters spokesman in Pretoria, the former Angolans fighting with 32 Battalion had crossed into SWA and decided to stay there. They were therefore considered citizens of SWA

When the "Mail" Africa Bureau asked a spokesman for

the Administrator-General's office in Windhoek about the citizenship of the men who had joined 32 Battalion from Angola, he said the SWA territory force should be consulted on this

At present there was no such thing as "full citizenship" of South West Africa

Residents of the territory were instead required to carry identity cards with their fingerprints on them. These are different to the South African Book of Life

Any person who carried the card and had been resident in the territory for one year was entitled to vote in elections

People born in SWA who travelled overseas used South African passports

Normally a person had to be a permanent resident of South Africa for five years before he could apply for a South African passport

The Portuguese-speaking black Angolans who had crossed into SWA to join 32

Battalion had adopted that territory as their own and were regarded as South West Africans or Namibians, a Defence Headquarters spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday

"They are naturalised citizens of South West Africa," he said

Asked how the 1 000 soldiers had become naturalised SWA citizens, the spokesman said they had moved into SWA with their families, and they had adopted the territory as their country

"They have joined the Permanent Force and have been issued with South African Defence Force identification cards. We regard them as naturalised South West Africans

"I could not care about international opinion regarding their status. These people are not regarded by us as nationals of any other country," the spokesman said

There was a stigma attached to the word "mercenary", he said

RDH 18/3/81
**Seven die in
SWA bomb
explosion** (221)

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Seven people were killed and one seriously injured in a landmine explosion in Owambo at the weekend

The secretary of the Owambo Authority, Mr Callie Reinecke, said the explosion occurred on the Ruacana road north of Ombalantu

The only survivor was the driver of the vehicle that set off the mine, Mr J Aiping, who is in a serious condition in Oshakati Hospital

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the SWA/Namibia Council of Ministers, fought off suggestions yesterday that his visit to the United States was connected with a trip by top South African Army officers

The officers, including military intelligence chief, Lieutenant-General P W van der Westhuizen, left America a few days ago in a swirl of controversy about who they might have been seeing and why they were granted visas

Questions by American journalists at a Press conference echoed rumours about a possible link between the US and the anti-communist Angolan group Unita

Mr Mudge said "I must disassociate myself and my delegation from the South African team

"We are not going to allow ourselves to be associated with any actions taken by the South African Government. It's not our business"

"I have sympathy in a way for Unita because it is fighting communism but we are not going to be dragged into Angola's affairs"

He also denied that he had chosen this time to visit the United States in the belief that the Reagan administration might be

Unita rumours reverberate in Washington corridors as...

Mudge boozookas military connections

more responsive to Turnhalle ideas on the future of SWA/Namibia

"No," he said "We came because after the momentum of Geneva we couldn't stop. It was not because of the change of US administration"

The State Department had in fact asked Mr Mudge to delay his trip because US policy on

southern Africa, including Namibia, is still under review

The Namibians came anyway — apparently to nudge the policy formation process by lobbying senators and congressmen

Mr Mudge said "It would have been too late to come after they formulated the policy because we are not asking for

support but for understanding and impartiality. The UN made a mess of the western initiative, so alternatives must be found"

Mr Mudge said that he would not be opposed to "responsible" African countries such as Kenya joining the process of finding a solution in SWA/Namibia

His talks with senior congressional leaders so far have gone well, he says. There have been "vibrations" about a switch of US support to his group

"We have been able to put our case. We are confident, but I wouldn't say over-optimistic," he said. The State Department is expected to disclose the

results of its investigation into how the South African military men obtained their American visas, either today or tomorrow

Already there have been claims that the South Africans misled the American Embassy in South Africa by calling themselves "government officials" and not "military officers". The South African Em-



Jubilent Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegates seen outside Union Buildings in happier times. From left are Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba, Mr Dirk Mudge and Herero leader Mr Kundima Riruako

bassy in Washington has refused to comment on the visit but has watched with some concern the degree of media interest in the entire affair

The State Department recognises two categories of visit by South African military intelligence officers

The one category involves the direct contact between South African and American military intelligence men

Diplomatic channels exist through which such visits can be arranged

State Department spokesman, Bill Dyess, confirmed this earlier this week when he told newspapermen "proper diplomatic channels" existed through which such visits could be arranged

But he said that they were not used by the five visitors

The second category includes visits by South African military officers for purposes wider than direct contacts with their opposite numbers in the US

These "lobbying" visits are not permitted in terms of present United States policy and have not been permitted for almost 20 years

The State Department believes that the South Africans used the procedures for a category one visit when they knew they were embarking on a "lobbying" visit

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18/4/81

SAAF planes blast Swapo base

WINDHOFK — South African Air Force aircraft were used in the attack on a major Swapo training camp in Angola on Tuesday, and first indications were that it had been 'very successful' according to the Western Air Command here, Brigadier Bosman Huyser.

He said the attack on the camp on the outskirts of Lubango (formerly Sa Da Bandena) was launched at lunch-time on Tuesday when most of the Swapo men were usually in their camps.

As a result the attack came as such a surprise that little anti-aircraft fire was encountered, he said.

He would not say what type of aircraft had been used, nor could he give any statistics of casualties on the Swapo side. He confirmed that all aircraft had returned safely to base.

Advisers

The South West African Broadcasting Company said there were indications that there might have been Soviet, Cuban and East German military advisers in the camp during the attack.

The SWABC report said first indications were that heavy casualties had been inflicted.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, said that the attack follows murders and deeds of terror against innocent inhabitants of SWA Namibia.

He said that South Africa had repeatedly warned that Swapo bases would be located and attacked even if in neighbouring territories. Such countries should therefore expect such action.

'These operations are always conducted against confirmed terrorist bases,' he said.

• The Cape Times Defence

To page 2

From page 1
Reporter comments: Local military observers agreed the target must have been an important one to justify such a deep raid -- the deepest raid the SADF is known to have made into Angola since it withdrew after the incursion of 1975-6.

It is now the deepest known raid has been the one on the then Swapo forward operational headquarters at Cassinga, south east of Lubango. Later rebuilt south of Cassinga, the headquarters was destroyed by a ground raiding force in June last year at the start of the Smokeshell operation.

From the practical point of view it is preferable to physically overrun a base such as the one at Lubango -- as was the case with Smokeshell -- in order to ensure its total destruction, but an air attack makes more sense in this case.

It is almost impossible to take a large ground raiding force over 200 km of execrable roads and retain any element of surprise.

• In Washington a State Department spokesman, Mr William Dyess, said the United States views the pattern of escalating violence by the parties to the conflict in Namibia with utmost concern -- Own correspondents and Sapa.

Political comment by A H Heard, G F Shaw, R A Norval, J V Scott, W P Harris and M P Acott. Headlines and sub-editing by A J Moth, L Raubenheimer, W Odendaal and T Stefano. Cartoons by A Grogan. All of 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.

Clashes: SA Mozambique bi-queue

RDM 19/3/71

BY DON MARSHALL, Pretoria Bureau Chief

SOUTH AFRICA last night reacted angrily to an incident on the Mozambique border: this week in which a young national serviceman was apparently shot and killed by Mozambican forces.

And at the same time Western Air Command in South West Africa confirmed SA Air Force planes carried out a successful strike against a Swapo base deep in Angola on Tuesday.

Mozambique claimed earlier yesterday that its forces had fired two South African soldiers taking part in a raid into Mozambique — but South African immediately claimed that a group of SADF men were lured into an ambush after wandering inadvertently across the border.

Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria announced that Corporal Petrus Jacobs Viljoen, 23, had probably been shot and killed by Mozambican soldiers in an incident on the Natal border with Mozambique on Tuesday.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, last night reacted strongly to the soldier's death and said in a statement that the incident would without doubt heighten tension on the border between South Africa and Mozambique.

Earlier, the official Mozambique news agency AIMP reported that Mozambican forces sta-

tioned at Ponto do Ouro a tourist resort in the extreme south of the country, killed two white South African soldiers after a group of about 50, most of them black, had crossed into Mozambique.

The body of one a radio operator was taken back to South Africa, but the other was left behind and taken to a mortuary in Maputo, AIMP said.

It said fighting began at 0541m on Tuesday when a Mozambican navy patrol stationed at Ponto do Ouro spotted the South African troops and alerted the border guards.

The Mozambican report claimed South African reinforcements — a company of about 150 men and two assault cars — arrived in mid morning and tried to cut the access to the airstrip at Ponto do Ouro and on the Catembe road leading to Maputo, but were forced back.

Mozambican Navy units, frontier guards, police and militia became involved in the fighting, which ended when the South Africans withdrew at about 3pm, AIMP said. It reported one Mozambican soldier wounded.

The SADF mentioned only one South African casualty in last night's statement.

The incident occurred while Corp Viljoen and a few of his comrades unsuspectingly and probably innocently crossed the border at Ponto do Ouro while walking on the beach, where there is no indication of where the border is.

"The alarming aspect of this incident is that the young men were lured into an ambush and attacked without warning," the statement said.

The Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, last night threatened to retaliate against neighbouring countries who shot South African soldiers who "innocently wandered" across borders.

He said it was South Africa's declared policy not to get involved in clashes with the armed forces of its neighbours.

"If it is, however, the attitude of neighbouring countries to attack South African soldiers who unsuspectingly and innocently wander across borders, they are heading for a serious crisis and such deeds will inevitably be viewed as acts of open hostilities."

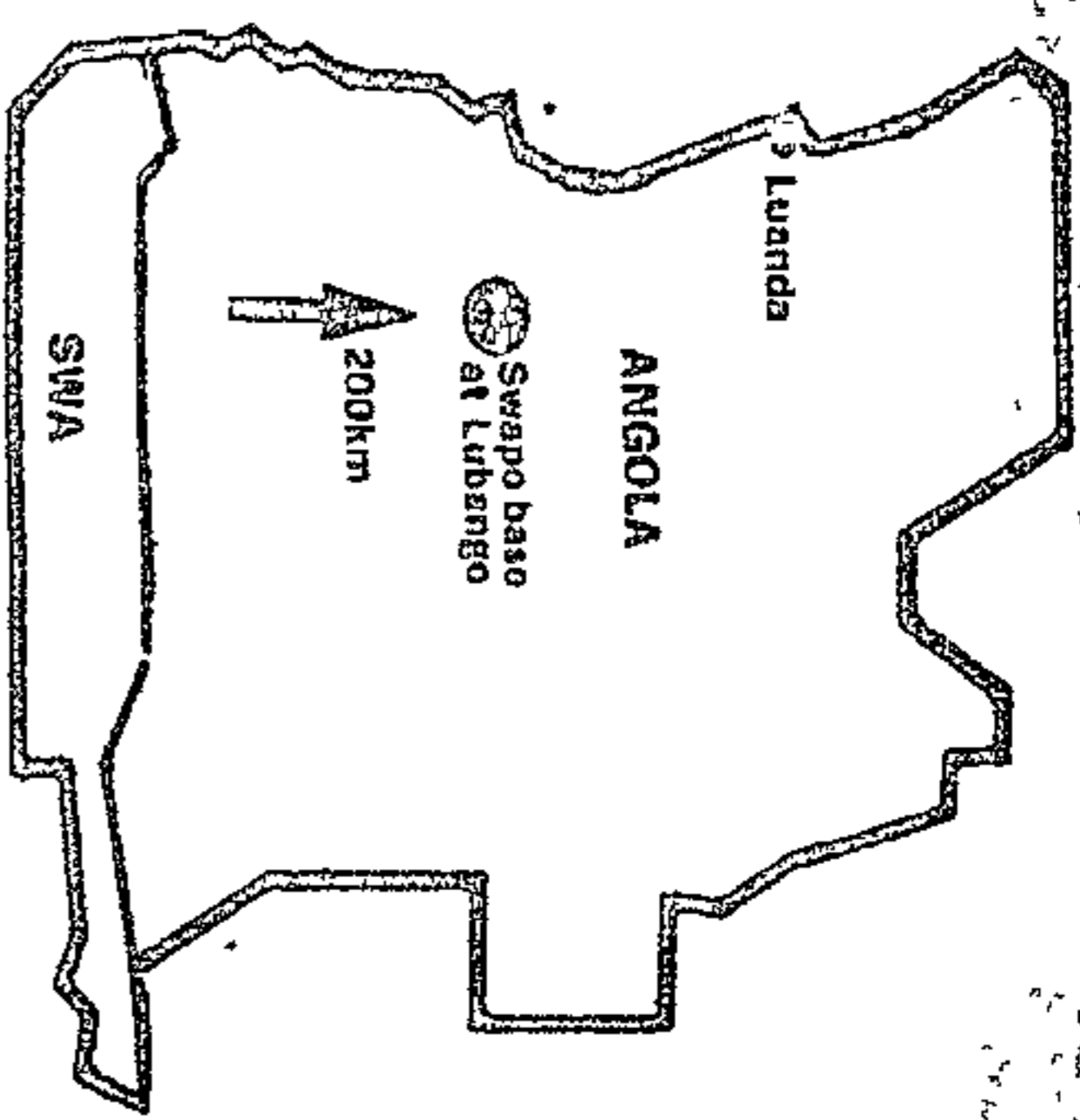
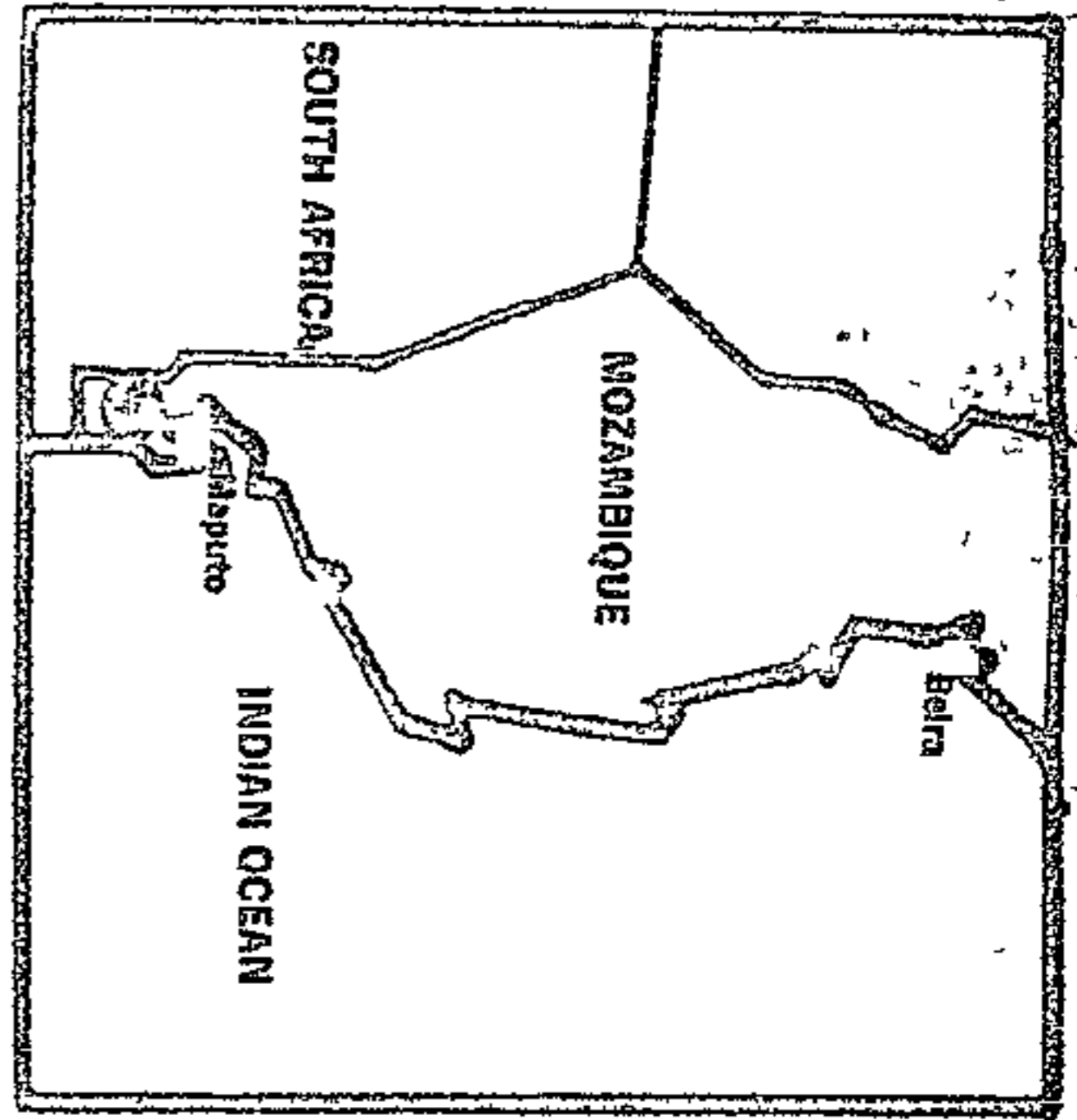
"The SADF has so far not killed or injured any soldiers of Mozambique as a result of thorough planning and careful execution of operations against terrorists in that country."

"The present development will without doubt heighten tension on the border," he said.

From Windhoek, PETER KENNY of the Rand Daily Mail's Africa Bureau reports that Brigadier Bosman Huyser, Officer Commanding Western Air Command, confirmed yesterday that the Air Force carried out Tuesday's strike on a Swapo base near Lubango, a southeastern town about 200km from the Angola/SWA border.

The military authorities were tight-lipped about further details.

Gen Viljoen said earlier that the South African forces had returned safely to SWA.



The graphics pinpoint where the shooting incident took place in Mozambique and where the South African Air Force struck in its raid into Angola.

Security forces kill 35 more Swapo insurgents

CT 20/3/81

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Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK — Security forces have killed another 35 Swapo insurgents in operations in northern South West Africa's operational area in the past week

This was announced yesterday by the Chief of Staff Operations of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Jan Klopper

In the same period there had been two landmine blasts — one of which killed seven people — two civilians were murdered and three sabotage attempts were made against the infrastructure

Seventeen of the infiltrators were killed in two contacts, while the other 18 were killed in small skirmishes, Brigadier Klopper said

On March 12 a South African police foot patrol was ambushed about 10 km south of Ombalantu in Owambo. During the ensuing firefight, the Swapo raiders

fled, but in an independent follow-up operation, 11 of the insurgents were killed

On Monday, a Security Forces patrol found the trail of eight infiltrators in the Onjamba area. A contact followed and four Swapo men were killed. The rest fled, said Brigadier Klopper. In the follow-up operation, two insurgents were killed

During this firefight one civilian was killed in the crossfire and another man and woman were murdered, he said

In a serious landmine explosion at the weekend, seven people had been killed north of Ombalantu. Five of the dead were women and two children

Among Swapo's sabotage attempts were the water pipeline east of Ruacana, six telephone lines blown up west of Ombalantu and a low-water bridge near Omaumba which was damaged

So far this year, a total of 318 Swapo guerillas have been killed in the northern operational area, according to the security forces

But this figure does not include Swapo losses inflicted by the Security forces on a Swapo base in Angola near Lubango Inn on Tuesday

In a statement yesterday the Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, said the security forces would continue to protect the people of SWA against "terror through Swapo"

The Angolan army and security forces had been warned about this on a number of occasions and had been told that Swapo bases would be attacked on Angolan soil

"We will repeat this warning. We have no other choice in the steps we can take against our enemy," General Lloyd said

FRANCE-SA RELATIONS (22)

Swapo surmises

FM 28/3/81

Growing signs that the incoming Reagan administration could amend US policy towards SWA/Namibia, adopting a more pro-SA line is causing some concern in France and several other European countries

Like the US, all the other members of the Western Five contact group on SWA/Namibia -- France, Britain, Ger-

many and Canada -- are opposed to economic sanctions against SA but certain signals from the US still in the throes of evolving a coherent Africa policy have led to the feeling among its allies that it is no longer committed to an independent Namibia governed by whoever wins a free election, whether Swapo or anyone else -- the standpoint of the Jimmy Carter White House

But in the French analysis -- as reflected in subsequently modified press reports in *Le Figaro* and in SA -- the West is more likely to encourage Soviet penetration of southern Africa by trying to block a major nationalist movement like Swapo than by coming to terms with it

All SWA/Namibia's traditional economic and political ties are with the West and the French apparently believe a Swapo government would find it in its interests to preserve these

In the French view, Zimbabwe provides the most striking recent example of how a supposedly marxist black independence movement can be encouraged to turn away from Moscow and adopt a pro-Western stance. There are also signs that Mozambique is trying to reduce its Soviet links and turn towards the West in part at Mugabe's bidding

What France now fears is that by adopting an anti-Swapo line and showing more sympathy for Pretoria the US will allow the Soviet Union to strengthen its reputation as the friend of African nationalism and a more reliable foe of apartheid than the West

SADF 'strike first' raids have Swapo on the run

Express 22/3/81

CONFIDENCE SOARS AS NEW PLAN OF ATTACK BEGINS TO PAY DIVIDENDS

WINDHOEK — The commanders of the SADF and the South West Africa Territory Force based in the 'operational area' seem pretty confident these days they believe they've finally got Swapo on the run.

Sunday Express Correspondent

As a result of the SADF's aggressive new policy of frequent cross-border raids into southern Angola — the latest one was this week — Swapo has been forced to move its bases further north with the result that, in the words of one officer, 'their morale has never been lower'.

Defence Force's favour Last year Swapo deaths were said to total 1 447 compared with 72 for the security forces (including those who died in accidents). During the first two months of this year a further 225 Swapo insurgents have been killed according to SADF calculations. Security force deaths are still in single figures.

There are good reasons for the SADF's confidence. The threat by Swapo's president Mr Sam Nujoma to intensify the war after the collapse of the Geneva conference on SWA in January has clearly not materialised.

The deployment last year of larger units by Swapo (on East German advice) has proved a disaster and was partly responsible for the big increase in Swapo's death toll. Swapo has reverted to small-unit guerrilla-style hit-and-run tactics.

SWAPO'S STRATEGY OF CROSS-BORDER RAIDS INTO SOUTHWEST AFRICA HAS BEEN REVEALED BY A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES WHO HAS BEEN KILLED. THE DEFENCE MINISTER COLONEL DAVID MOYSES SAID RECENTLY THAT UP TO 3 000 ANGIANS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WERE KILLED IN THE RAIDS.

SWAPO'S STRATEGY OF CROSS-BORDER RAIDS INTO SOUTHWEST AFRICA HAS BEEN REVEALED BY A MEMBER OF THE SECURITY FORCES WHO HAS BEEN KILLED. THE DEFENCE MINISTER COLONEL DAVID MOYSES SAID RECENTLY THAT UP TO 3 000 ANGIANS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, WERE KILLED IN THE RAIDS.

My strategy is to break its law and order and security can be maintained in the area. To achieve this objective the SADF has recently adopted an aggressive new strategy of cross border raids. These are now so regular they rarely receive a mention in South Africa except when a member of the security forces is killed. The emphasis is on preemptive strikes rather than follow up operations.

Swapo's Sam Nujoma threat not materialised. Concentrating on 'soft' targets operating by night Swapo sappers regularly place mines under the main tarred road that connects the SADF's huge base at Grootfontein with the Owanbo heartland. Although the rate of sabotage incidents has fallen, Swapo still managed to blow up a road bridge at Ongwediva between Ondangwa and Oshakati last month.

SADF intelligence sources say there are only between 500 and 600 out of Swapo's 8 000-strong guerrilla force in the 'operational area' at one time. Yet, despite these small numbers, Swapo has succeeded in pinning down a conventional army 40 times larger and equipped with the most modern weapons, aircraft and communications.

Major General Charles Lloyd, head of the SADF and the SWATF in the territory, has publicly stated there will have to be a political rather than a military solution in SWA. After the fiasco of Geneva that is a... W



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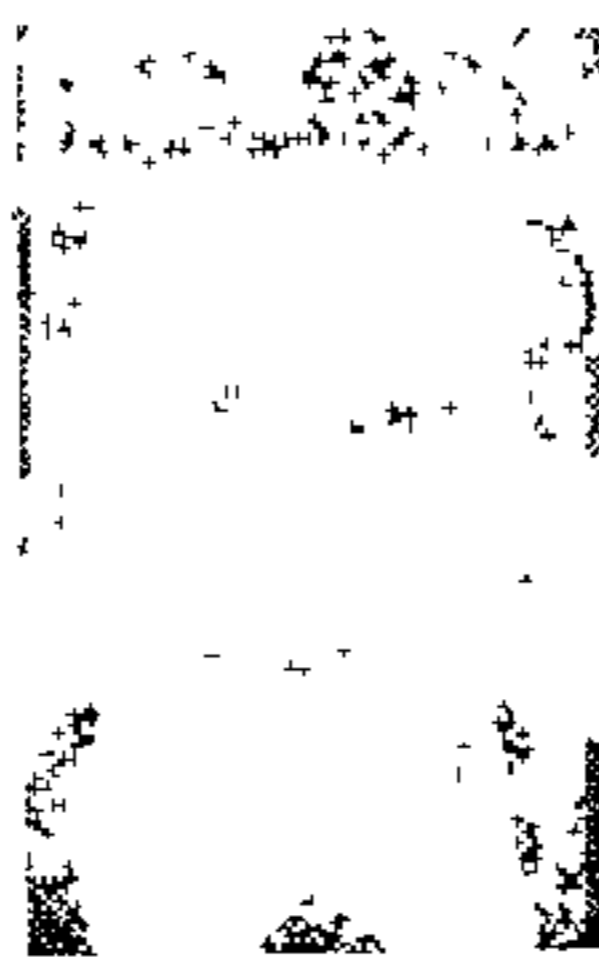
Visit to US was a success says Mudge

Argus
23/3/81

221

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — An elated Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegation returned from the United States yesterday claiming it had succeeded in influencing



Mr Dirk Mudge

the Reagan Administration's policy-makers in formulating a Southern African strategy.

Describing a dramatic change in attitude in the United States and Great Britain on the South West African issue, the delegates said it was clear they were considering alternatives to the United Nations settlement plan for the territory, Security Council resolution 435

DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said American senators, congressmen and chairmen of the various committees were hesitant at this stage to express their views on an alternative.

SUPERVISOR

'I am under the impression that they accepted, with exceptions of course, that the UN is totally unacceptable as a supervisor,' said Mr Mudge

'They agree that the UN has behaved in such a manner that nobody can really blame us if we are not prepared to accept the UN as a referee'

Mr Mudge disclosed that his delegation had also met a 'very senior' member of the British Foreign Office official who wanted a stopover in London on their return to SWA.

He said that if the United States adopted a strong attitude towards the democratic parties of SWA, it would undoubtedly influence the Western powers.

DANGERS

'My impression is that the American Government does not intend to allow the Russians, Cubans and East Germans to play the role they have to now in Africa. People are talking about the dangers of the Russians, Cubans and East Germans on our borders and I believe there is going to be definite action from the United States as far as Angola is concerned,' he said.

'The DTA delegation was repeatedly asked if it thought aid should be given to Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the rebel Angolan movement, Unita.

THERE is a great deal of political dissatisfaction in the South African enclave at Walvis Bay — now part of the Green Point constituency

Residents are angry about 'broken promises' and 'second-rate treatment' they have received since their return to the Cape Province

Economic activity in the once thriving fishing port has plunged dramatically. Even conservative estimates indicate a fall of 25 percent in local business. About 300 houses and flats stand empty, and close to 1 000 Ovambos formerly employed in the harbour and the fishing industry have lost their jobs

Several residents told The Argus there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the way successive Nationalist governments had handled the town

'TOUGH'

The local newspaper, the Namib Times, last week predicted a 'tough reception' for the four parliamentary and provincial candidates in the general election

Last Friday the newspaper's columnist, 'CWB,' wrote 'The town's economic difficulties are only too well-known locally, but in the portals of government in the plush office blocks in Pretoria top departmental officials who should be sympathetic to the problems of South Africa's tiny outpost are uninformed and indifferent to the situation'

The candidates, the ministers and other leaders who would be visiting the town for the election campaign, the columnist said, need not 'waste their time making promises'

'The candidate who can get some action going is the one who will collect the votes at Walvis Bay'

One resident, who did not want his name mentioned because he is engaged in 'delicate business negotiations' with the South African Government, said residents had to pay full South African taxes and licences but received only 'a tenth' of the privileges South Africans received

'They're forever doing "research" out here and making promises, and they

Walvis Bay — enclave (22) of 'broken promises'

promised we would not be "worse off" under their administration than we were under South West

'But look at this place — we're a great deal worse off'

Television and radio are, for the residents of the town major examples of the 'second-rate' treatment they allegedly receive

'They promised us a full South African TV service, and now we're going to get a simple cassette service from Swakopmund—giving us the same bad South West Broadcasting Corporation stuff as we're getting on radio

We don't get Springbok Radio or anything, but we pay the same licences. We are supposed to be South Africans, but they're treating us as if we're outsiders. We're nothing,' one woman said

FRIENDLY

The two Progressive Party candidates in the Green Point constituency, Mr Tian van der Merwe and Dr John Sonnenberg, returned from Walvis Bay yesterday afternoon after a visit to establish their party organisation

Mr van der Merwe said the group had been given a 'generally friendly' reception with no hostility shown.

'The PFP is new to them, and we'll have quite a job to canvass and obtain their support. We are, nevertheless, confident that we can get this,' he said

The town had been 'badly neglected' by the central Government in recent years, and 'I think we can give them the undertaking that we'll fight very hard on their behalf'

'The time has come to take off the gloves in fighting on Walvis's behalf, and if any promises were made then they must be kept. We're prepared to confront the Government about these issues,' he said

'The Nationalists have been too scared to embar-

ass their Cabinet on the issue and they have been too ambitious politically. As a result they were cautious in their approach, and this has done Walvis no good

'They need very aggressive representation, and they can judge us on our record as far as aggressive representation is concerned,' he said

Not only the two PFP candidates but also the National Party's parliamentary candidate, Dr Francois Jacobsz, are 'strangers' to the town, which has a strong attachment to the SWA-Namibian politics of which it was a part until recently

Dr Jacobsz is well-known only to the Afrikaans business community which knows him through his work for the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut

The provincial candidate, Mr Christo de Jager, is an old campaigner in local politics

Until recently he was chairman of the SWA Legislative Assembly, and sources in the town said he was associated with Mr A H du Plessis's Aktur rather than the DTA of Mr Dirk Mudge

Mr de Jager, who was on the same flight to Cape Town yesterday as the PFP candidates, said it was 'nonsense to suggest that the South African Government had undertaken that the town would not have to tighten its belt'

The undertakings were 'administrative' ones, guaranteeing, for example, that car licences and such measures would be no

different to those in South Africa

'There was no undertaking that our economy would not be compromised, and such undertakings have to be seen in the framework of realism'

He felt the radio set-up could have been better handled, and Walvis Bay residents should receive the same treatment as their fellow South Africans

'There is reason for dissatisfaction,' he said

The town's economy had been 'abnormal' for a long time, being based exclusively on the fishing industry

The decline in the fishing industry now demanded that the town diversify its economy, and this was being done.

Government assistance was however, urgently needed. 'We need a crash programme for Walvis Bay, and the plans must be urgently implemented'

(News by Johann Potgieter
Sanlam Arcade, Plein Street, Stellenbosch)

DTA: US is

looking for

SWA

alternatives

221
23/3/81

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — An elated Democratic Turnhalle Alliance delegation returned yesterday from the United States, claiming it had succeeded in influencing the Reagan Administration policymakers in formulating a southern African strategy.

Describing a dramatic change in attitude in the United States and Britain on the SWA/Namibia issue, the delegates said it was clear they were considering alternatives to the United Nations settlement plan for the territory.

DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said American Senators, Congressmen and chairmen of the various committees were hesitant at this stage to express their views on an alternative.

"I am under the impression that they accepted, with exceptions of course, that the UN is totally unacceptable as a supervisor," said Mr Mudge.

"They agree that the UN has behaved in such a manner that nobody can really blame us if we are not prepared to accept the UN as a referee."

Mr Mudge said most people they met wanted to know what alternatives the DTA suggested. "All I was prepared to say was that it could involve individual countries, it could be Western powers, and it could even include African countries," he said.

"I believe we must come together and discuss this. And when I say we, I include the DTA and other internal parties."

Mr Mudge revealed that his delegation had also met a "very senior" member of the British Foreign Office at their hotel during a stopover in London on their way back to SWA/Namibia.

He said that if the United States adopted a strong attitude towards the democratic parties of SWA/Namibia, it would undoubtedly influence the Western powers.

"My impression is that the American Government does not intend to allow the Russians, Cubans and East Germans to play the role they have up to now in Africa. . . people are talking about the dangers of the Russians, Cubans and East Germans on our borders and I believe there is going to be definite action from the United States as far as Angola is concerned," he said.

PRIORITY

The DTA delegation was repeatedly asked if it thought aid should be given Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel Angolan movement, Unita.

Mr Mudge said Angola appeared to be a priority issue in the United States, with the SWA/Namibia issue of secondary importance at this stage.

CHANCE FOR ALL

He said his delegation was told that all the internal political parties in SWA/Namibia would get the chance to put their views to the Reagan administration.

"And it was put to us that they regard the internal parties as having a very important role to play. . . they agree that when it comes to future talks the internal parties, and by name the DTA, should be included."

"One gets the impression that they are interested in only one thing, who would win an election."

FISHING INDUSTRY

Walvis Bay, once the centre of the world's eight largest fishing industries, is becoming a ghost town. JAMES CLARKE of The Star's CARE campaign — which warned of the possibility of disaster 10 years ago — gives a chronology of the overkill.

The port that died of greed

23/3/81
221 B. Fish
J.M.

The final act of the SWA/Namibia fisheries disaster is being played out in Walvis Bay. It was a disaster a lot of people saw coming — but nobody did anything about it.

In 1970 there were eight busy canning factories processing hundreds of thousands of tons of fish. Now there is one — and it was closed last week.

The skippers of the idle trawlers are bitter. So are 8 000 cannery workers who have been sent home jobless.

Scientists warned as early as 1968 that the region's fisheries were doomed unless the quotas were cut drastically. But commercial interests, backed by politicians, insisted they knew what they were doing.

They were warned by Dr Jan Lochner, a Port Elizabeth fish population dynamics expert, that although their catches were the biggest in the territory's history, its mainstay, the pilchard, was on the verge of crashing.

He was laughed at. Just one politician (Mr John Wiley (then United Party member for Simonstown and now Nationalist) understood the scientist's calculations and he vigorously, but in vain, tried to halt the disaster through Parliament.

Here, culled from newspapers is the way the countdown went.

● 1968 — The biggest fish catch in SWA/Namibia's history — 1.5-million tons. The Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Jan Haak, extended the season by two weeks. The eight fish canning factories were working flat out.

But, Dr Jan Lochner publicly warned of an overkill. If quotas were reduced, he said, the annual catch could one day be maintained at 2.5-million tons. If quotas

hours out. We had them canned in 12 hours. Now they are 20 to 24 hours out and a large percentage is wasted because they are no longer fresh when we dock."

● 1973 The catch was 705 937 — well up on the year before. The anchovy catch that year saved the canneries and was almost double the anchovy catch of the year before. What was happening was that the less nutritious anchovy was filling the vacuum left by the overfished pilchard.

● 1974 The Government spent R5-million improving the Walvis Bay fishing harbour.

Over the next three years the quotas fluctuate but touch nearly a million tons. Nothing like that was caught and the pilchard, was by now in a serious decline.

● 1976 **Headline** "SWA fish resource in great danger"

The blame for the decline was put firmly on local operations although foreign trawlers were also engaged in a big overkill further out to sea.

The quota was now down to 475 000 but it was not achieved.

● 1977 "Operation Eureka," to find new pilchard shoals, fails. The quota is set at 940 000 tons. Only 400 000 tons are caught.

More scientists become alarmed — especially at the numbers of immature fish being brought ashore — fish which have had no time to breed.

The pilchard decline was by now disastrous.

● 1978: The six months long fishing season is halted after only 3½ months. Only six fish factories now operating.

The catch was now down to 414 000 — nearly all anchovies.

Eastern Transvaal tomato farmers were badly hit because 80 percent of their crop was for tomato

Cont

continued to be high then the resource would collapse.

● 1969. The Government raised the quotas to 1.75-million tons. Only 1.22-million tons were caught — a drop of 280 000 tons from the season before.

● 1970. Quotas reduced to 810 000 tons. But there were not enough fish to fulfill the quota. Figures being released on the actual size of the catch were now becoming confusing.

Lochner called for "immediate" drastic cuts which in fact would have financially ruined the industry — temporarily. And he again warned that overfishing was leading to the "total and permanent destruction of the industry."

Skipper Willem van Bergen "There are definite signs of overfishing."

Mr Thornton Booth, director of the world's largest pilchard cannery in Walvis Bay "We are expanding our plant. We would not do this if we had doubts about the industry."

● 1971. Headline "Fish catch drops" The catch was 646 600 tons — "the lowest for many years"

An intense research programme was launched.

Headline "Fishing industry safe — MP" Mr Boet Botma, MP for Omaruru "It is obvious to anybody that all is well" The drop was due to "stringent controls," he said.

● 1972. Headline "SWA fishing in danger"

Mr John Wiley, MP "The Government must take full responsibility... quotas are far in excess of the safety limit" He said false figures had been issued "with the intention of making it appear that Dr Lochner's forecast for the year had been incorrect. He was within one percent accuracy."

The quota was set at 995 000 tons. The catch fell to just more than 500 000.

A skipper told The Star's Africa News Service "In the old days the pilchards were three

paste to go with canned pilchards."

The territory's income from fishing, once nearly R100-million, was now down two-thirds.

● 1979. Headline "Bleak fishing season ahead"

Mr Freddie Urk of the Fishermen's Association "The quotas are too small to live on."

The quota was 337 500 tons but again it was not achieved. The pilchard resource was now all but exhausted.

Willem Barendsz asks for bigger quotas "or profits will fall."

Only two factories now survived.

● 1980. Headline "Walvis Bay staggers as nets come in empty"

Pilchard quota down by 99.2 percent on 10 years before. The pilchard quota was set at 12 500 tons but the trawlers brought in less than half of that. Even the anchovy quota was brought down to 180 000. The anchovy was in steep decline.

Dr Lochner told The Star's CARE campaign of the bitter feuding among scientists, technical advisers and commercial fishers that had led to his being ostracised, and his advice ignored.

CARE published his formula for recovery.

Mr Wiley told Parliament it must let Dr Lochner be heard.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Schoeman "People have mutilated and raped the sea."

● 1981 This year's quotas, set last week, are the lowest yet ever and a total ban has been put on pilchards.

● Last week Headline "Walvis 'doomed' as fish crisis worsens"

● The industry, reported The Argus, "has almost come to a halt."

● The canneries have now merged into one plant (now closed) and a lot of equipment has been sold off to Chile.

● South Africa recently imported 1-million cans of pilchards — from Chile and Peru.

● And the fishing industry is now studying Dr Lochner's theories.

the head of the family (the man) is responsible for the general well-being of the group. The aged have a place of honour, in the sense that they are the cultural link between the dead and the living.

An important feature of the social position in the tribe is the status of the member of the tribe attains, which, according to Hammond-Tooke (1962) depends on birth, sex and age. Children of a chief have potentially higher status than those of commoners. The traditional healer has a higher status than most of his patients.

The respect for status as to sex and age finds its tribal expression in the custom of Ulhuhlonipha, which involves the positive element of treating higher placed persons reverently and the negative aspect of avoiding certain things.

4. Economic System : The economics of the Xhosa are interwoven with their social and religious life. The possession of cattle for example is necessary for full participation in the social and religious life of the tribe. Members of a given patrilineage are expected to farm on ancestral lands. Land is held for members use but not for sale. There are norms for conduct which are designed to protect the social order. To avoid injury to the spiritual

world, rules of conduct are laid down, violation is believed to bring illness or accident to the individual or disaster to the lineage members. Magico-religious beliefs and practices validate the social and economic order. Traditionally there is a dicotomy in Xhosa economics between the male and the female sex.

A statement issued by Swapo's London office said the air attack against what it termed a refugee transit camp at Lubango in Angola last week "does not explain the present

5. The Concept of the Individual as a compound spiritual entities. The his ancestors (amathongo individuals link with God responsible for birth, growth and his passing away into Upon his death the individual for his descendants.

Thus we see that the social described is based on a may quote Emile Durkheim relationship is based on Members of a given extended expected to relate data level. The unit is based on friendship, relationship, and blood relationship.

SA forces poised - Swapo

5/12/76
22/1

LONDON — Swapo claimed yesterday that South African forces were preparing to launch an attack against Angola "on a scale tantamount to an invasion," and repeated its warnings that a build-up of forces in northern SWA/Namibia raised a threat to international peace.

scale of the South African military build-up "The Pretoria regime evidently intends to launch a terrorist attack on Angola on a scale tantamount to an invasion and apparently with the tacit support of certain Western countries," said the statement

pose any such foolish and dangerous action"

In Pretoria, a spokesman for the South African Defence Force declined to comment on the statement.

He referred to the speech made by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, at Standerton on February 25 in which he said the coordinated propaganda attempts against South Africa always coincided with special UN sessions in which SA featured

friendship, relationship, and blood relationship.

groups and those flowing from the process of communication
These decision criteria should be tailored to the overall objectives of
the public sector as far as this is feasible. However, since many
public decisions are fairly well removed from the sector's overall
objectives, the criteria in many cases will be tailored more closely to
the characteristics of the subsection involved in the decision process

Soldier shoots eight dead in SWA shebeen

RDM 27/3/81 By PETER KENNY 'Mail' Africa Bureau (221)
WINDHOEK — A soldier of the South West Africa Territory Force ran amok with a rifle in an Ovambo "cuca" shop (shebeen) at the weekend, shooting eight people dead — three soldiers and five women civilians — and wounding 12
This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force and by the police CID chief, Lieutenant-Colonel J G Greyling
Col Greyling said a soldier had been arrested in connection with the incident. He could not say what the reason for the shooting was
The "cuca" shop is 8km north of Ondangwa on the Oshakati road
A crowd of people were apparently enjoying a sundowner in the shebeen when the soldier, from Owambo's 101 Battalion, opened fire with his R1 semi-automatic rifle
Three of the dead and two of those wounded were members of 101 Battalion
The wounded were admitted to Oshakati Hospital.
An Army spokesman in Oshakati said the shooting was an ordinary crime and the investigation was being handled by the SAP
When the "Mail" Africa Bureau contacted the Ovambo Authority last night, the names of the dead and wounded were not yet available

RAILWAY STATION (2), percentage of female literacy (-2) (25). The components of such an index hospital, (-1), total number of doctors visits in the area (-1) and

- (24) Bishwa Nath Mukerjee, A Simple Method of Obtaining a Health Hazard Index and Its Application in Micro-Regional Health Planning, Regional Studies, Vol. 10, 1976, pp. 105-122.
- (25) Mukerjee ibid.

should obviously be adapted firstly to take account of any conditions that are peculiar to the areas for which it is going to be used and secondly to suit the particular needs of each major class of decision. For example, in South African rural areas a major determinant of the state of health of the Black resident community is the rate of out-migration by both men and women (20) and those rates should obviously be incorporated if the index is to be used in this connection.

The Use of Social Indicators in Determining Policy Packages

A large proportion of the information problem encountered in public sector project evaluations stems from the effects introduced by the inter-dependency between projects. It has been suggested that these problems could be overcome if the government were to offer 'packages' of public sector services rather than continuing to concentrate upon individual public sector projects (27). In connection with public investment to improve living standards in rural areas in developing countries, Johnston and Neyer (28) suggest an integrated package that concentrates upon the simultaneous delivery of health care, nutrition and family planning in rural underprivileged areas. The nutrition and health programmes support one another while the family planning programme is designed to minimise the negative impact that the increased life expectancy will have upon per capita incomes of poor areas. The use of indicators also could be extremely valuable in this field. Such indicators would, however, have to be somewhat more complicated, in terms of their construction, than the health hazard index and consequently would be relatively less successful in overcoming the communication difficulties. A social index that does appear to hold out great promise in this area is that of 'the social profile'

- (26) Trudie Thomas - Their Doctor Speaks, Mary Wheelton, Cape Town, 1973.
- (27) Bruce F. Johnston, op cit. p. 899-901.
- (28) Bruce F. Johnston and Anthony J. Meyer 'Nutrition, Health and Population Strategies for Rural Development'. Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 26, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 1-24.

(7)

of substantial programmes to foster agricultural and community development in the widest sense (6).

Choosing the correct policy package to achieve the social objectives is further complicated by the fact that public policies are often interdependent in either a positive or a negative manner. The implementation of government projects that are designed to improve the standard of living can, for example, have unfortunate health side effects. Quite apart from the positive correlation that exists between economic development and environmental pollution. Sorkin has argued that the provision of irrigation schemes in scistomiasis infected areas can greatly increase

of health care, through social and economic facilities specifically now turn. The increased population growth leads to increased unemployment and if it is to achieve health care will programme and be (6) Bruce L. Johnson, Journal of Economic Problems (7) Sorkin, op (8) James E. Meade, Economic Journal Meade argues that the eradication of Malaria in Mauritius led to a population explosion which resulted in lower, rather than higher, per capita incomes in the country.

Mr. Mudge, meanwhile, has appealed to the UN to withdraw all material and financial support for Swapo. In a statement issued in Windhoek, he accused the UN of providing Swapo with "millions of rands" a year to kill and maim innocent SWA/Namibians. SWA/Namibians were sick and tired of the hypocritical accusation by other African nations that the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was blocking the way to peace and self-determination for the territory, Mr. Mudge said. "We Namibians want full inde-

(8)

it was the interdependence of state programmes that led Johnstone to make a plea for introduction of 'development packages' in rural areas in particular and for increased interdisciplinary research to determine the nature and extent of these interdependencies (9).

Interdependence amongst projects is not the only problem encountered in evaluating and ranking proposed public sector projects. State objectives themselves frequently pose problems as they are in some instances in conflict with one another. The two goals we have been using as an example; increased economic growth and the reduction of poverty may in some circumstances be an example of such a conflict. If the rich members of the community hold key economic positions, the goal of increasing economic

Mudge denies hand in court bid

WINDHOEK — The chairman of the SWA/Namibian Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, today denied any involvement in a civil action which was filed in a US court in an attempt to halt US contributions to the UN because these were being used to finance Swapo and other terrorist organisations. Mr Mudge told a news conference in Windhoek the action had been brought by the US-SWA/Namibian Trade and Cultural Council, an independent American corporation representing the interests of the American taxpayers. "Although the corporation acts as public relations consultants for the SWA/Namibia Ministers' Council in the US, it is not applying for the injunction on our behalf. It is doing it on its own initiative and at its own expense," Mr Mudge said. Earlier reports had claimed that the action — to be heard in the District Court of Colombia — was filed on behalf of the SWA/Namibian Ministers' Council. The US-SWA/Namibian Trade and Cultural Council, portrayed as a non-profit organisation with its head office in Washington, claims the UN has been diverting US contributions to Swapo, "a Soviet-bloc terrorist group murdering and abducting members of the black civilian population of Namibia from privileged sanctuaries in Marxist Angola." American taxpayers, it alleged, were underwriting approximately 25% of assessed and voluntary contributions by the US to the world body, which in turn was being used to finance Swapo. It is not known when the case will be heard.

Mr Mudge, meanwhile, has appealed to the UN to withdraw all material and financial support for Swapo. In a statement issued in Windhoek, he accused the UN of providing Swapo with "millions of rands" a year to kill and maim innocent SWA/Namibians. SWA/Namibians were sick and tired of the hypocritical accusation by other African nations that the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was blocking the way to peace and self-determination for the territory, Mr. Mudge said. "We Namibians want full inde-

pendence now on an internationally acceptable basis. But Swapo, supported by Russia, the UN, and Angola, is blocking the way," he said. To secure peace in SWA/Namibia, Angola must stop allowing Swapo to operate from military bases in southern Angola. The UN must stop giving aid to Swapo, withdraw recognition of the organisation as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and cancel Swapo's observer status at the UN. The Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany must withdraw their soldiers and technicians from Angola and all material and financial support for Swapo. Mr Mudge said SWA/Namibia needed no advice from Angola, whose Government had been installed with the aid of Soviet weapons and Cubans. "Namibia is the only country in sub-Saharan Africa at present ruled by a duly-elected local government holding office by reason of a free and fair election," Mr Mudge said — Sapa

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221
RDM
29/3/81

PROBLEMS OF INFORMATION TRANSMISSION.

These problems arise from two sources, the first being the data source itself and the second the problems that arise in connection with the group decision making process.

Data Problems.

A prerequisite for a decision to be correct in terms of any criteria that may be selected is that the data base upon which the decision was made is itself adequate in coverage and accurate in content. Data

(9) Johnston, op cit. p. 901.

Woman wins top Press award

RDM 30/3/81

(22)

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Namibian Press Award for South West African journalists was won by Anne du Preez of the Windhoek Advertiser at the weekend

Mrs Du Preez won the award — open to journalists working for the SWA media — for her interviews with Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, and Zambian President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda

The interview with Mr Nujoma was published in the Rand Daily Mail

The award for the best radio reporter went to former SABC reporter, Mr Harold Weir, of the South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation, for his coverage of the Geneva conference in January on the future of SWA

Best feature writer award went to Eberhard Hofmann of Republiken for his reporting on the Luderitz Bay harbour. Miss Brigitte Bartsch of Die Allgemeine Zeitung, received a special mention for her reporting on Windhoek's Katutura Township

The best photographer of the year was Johann Viljoen of Die Suidwester with photographs of a stabbing and sport coverage of a high standard

The panel of judges was chaired by the editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harold Pakendorf and included Mr Andrew Drvsdale of the Pretoria News, Mr Humphrey Tyler of The Argus, and Mr Theo Potgieter of Die Burger

Mr Pakendorf said there was a need for greater objectivity in the reporting of SWA journalists, but the standard was acceptable

But the Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, called for the formation of a Press union in SWA to control "biased reporting"

Mr Hough said newspapers that had negative and biased reporting, exploited by SWA's enemies, were guilty of treason

US envoy may meet the DTA

NAMIBIA'S internal political parties are expecting to meet the Reagan administration's Africa expert, Dr Chester Crocker, during his proposed visit to southern Africa.

Welcoming Dr Crocker's planned tour, they said it would give them the opportunity to influence the administration's thinking on southern Africa before it formulated a final policy on the area.

The vice-chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Kuama Riruako, said it seemed Dr Crocker wanted to hear directly from Namibia's internal parties their views on the issue.

"We met him in Washington and he knows our attitude. What we want is the United Nations demonstrating its impartiality if it is to act as a referee in an independence election," he said.

The president of the Swapo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga, described

Dr Crocker's proposed visit as an "important" development.

"It is very encouraging that he has decided to visit southern Africa so soon. It appears they realise that if the Namibian situation drifts on as it is, it could be dangerous for the whole of southern Africa," he said.

Dr Kenneth Abrahams of the Namibian Independence Party said his group and others had expressed interest in a meeting with the Reagan administration through the United States embassy in Pretoria.

"I think it most likely that Dr Crocker and his team will come here and we will certainly press for talks with him," he said.

221 SW-C 10/11
3/31/81

Mixed national army in Namibia

WALVIS BAY — Hundreds of men in Namibia's first all-race national service intake are being trained to become soldiers in one of southern Africa's toughest terrains, the Namib desert.

As they near the end of a rigorous basic training programme which started in January, South African instructors continue to chase them to peak physical condition on the sweltering sands.

While black and white soldiers have been fighting together for years in Namibia's border war, a new system of compulsory military service has thus far brought the territory's 11 ethnic groups together in training for the first time. (22) 22/1/81

The instructors, two SA infantry, a battalion group, are confident the trainees — many of them illiterate — will match any South African servicemen once they qualify as soldiers.

After four months of basic training, and a further six months of training in a particular field, the servicemen will return to their various Namibian units, for a further year of military duty.

INFANTRY

Compulsory military service was introduced in Namibia late last year amid angry reaction from black nationalists, political groups and certain church bodies who claimed it would mean "brother fighting brother" in the counter-insurgency war against Swapo. 21/3/81

But Commandant Frans van den Berg, the officer commanding the Battalion Group, said he had not detected any extraordinary resistance to the system from the trainees.

"Things are going extremely well," he said. "There are many here who do not want to be here, but this happens in the Republic as well."

Commandant van den Berg said he had not encountered any conscientious objectors in the current intake, but he could not say how many conscripted men had not reported for duty.

"My duty to South West Africa only entails the training of these people. I am not aware of what happened before the trainees arrived here," he said.

SWA/Namibia to extend its fishing limits to 220 km

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia is to amend its territorial and fishing limits from tomorrow

The proclamation extending fishing limits from 18 to 220 km from the coast and territorial waters from 9,6 to 18 km, is to be gazetted today and will become effective tomorrow.

But it is doubtful the new limits will bring about any short-term change in the operations of foreign trawlers currently working off the SWA/Namibian coast, as present means of control are virtually negligible, says the Secretary for

Economic Affairs, Mr Piet Kruger

He confirmed the new limits were to be implemented, but would not confirm they would be introduced this week

Legislation providing for the extended limits was passed in November 1979, but the date of implementation was excluded

Basic fisheries conservation policy for the southern African coast has for the past 10 years been formed on the advice of the International Commission for South East Atlantic Fisheries (ICSEAF), of which South Africa is a founder member

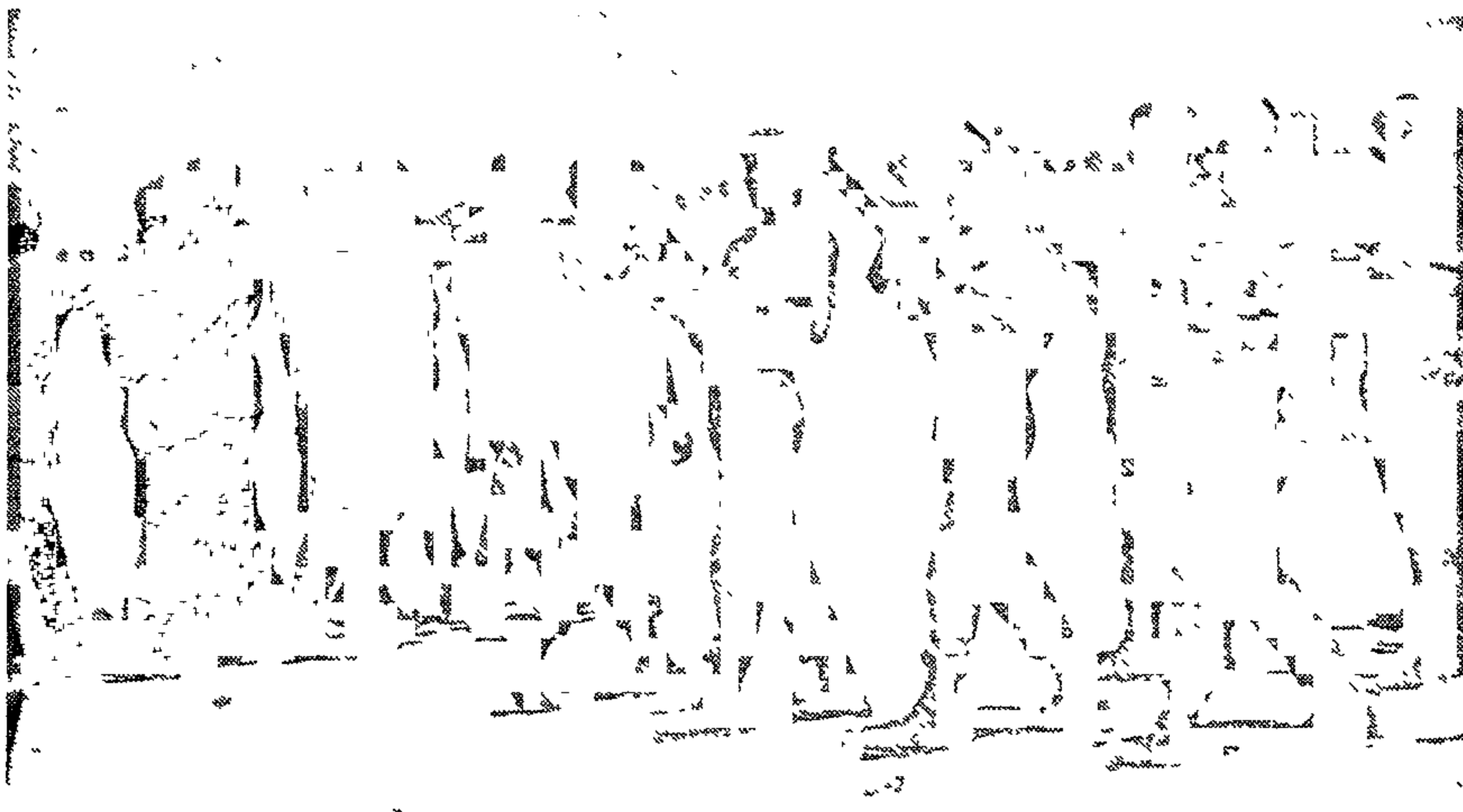
The commission does not recognise SWA/Namibia

"Our problem is now to decide just how to implement the new measures whether to enter into a bilateral agreement with the ICSEAF through South Africa, or whether just to go it alone on a unilateral basis as South Africa did in November 1977," Mr Kruger said.

South Africa extended its fishing and territorial zones nearly four years ago, and currently has bilateral agreements allowing trawlers from individual countries to fish within those zones

If SWA/Namibia follows the same pattern it would have to depend on its two contracted patrol vessels operating out of Walvis Bay to enforce the legislation.

The extended fishing zone is aimed at protecting the deep and mid-water fishing resources rather than the pelagic stocks. A 20,9 km no-fishing zone has been effective along the SWA/Namibian coast for the past two years to protect the country's ailing pilchard industry.



A platoon of SWA Territory Force national servicemen, part of the first compulsory all-race military intake in SWA/Namibia, drill on their parade ground, the Namib Desert.

Namib training for all SWA conscripts

221
STAR
3/13/81

By Alan Dunn
The Star Africa
News Service

WALVIS BAY — Hundreds of men in SWA/Namibia's first all-race national service intake are being trained to become soldiers in one of Southern Africa's toughest terrains — the Namib Desert.

As they near the end of a rigorous basic training programme which started in January, South African instructors continue to push them to peak physical condition.

While black and white soldiers have been fighting together for years in SWA/Namibia's border war, a new system of compulsory military service has brought the territory's 11 ethnic groups together in training for the first time.

The instructors, 2 SA Infantry Battalion Group,

are confident the trainees — many of them illiterate — will match any South African servicemen once their training is complete.

After four months of basic training, and a further six months' training in specialised fields the servicemen will return to their various SWA/Namibian units for a further year of duty.

Compulsory military service was introduced in SWA/Namibia late last year amid angry reaction from black nationalist political groups and certain church bodies who claimed it would mean "brother fighting brother" in the counter-insurgency war against Swapo.

But Commandant Frans van den Berg, the officer commanding the battalion group, said he had not detected any unusual resistance to the system from the trainees.

"Things are going extremely well," he said. "There are many who do not want to be here, but this happens in the Republic as well."

Commandant van den Berg said he had not encountered any conscientious objectors in the current intake, but he could not say how many conscripted men had not reported for duty.

"My duty to SWA/Namibia only entails the training of these people. I am not aware of what happened before the trainees arrived here," he said.

He noted that there was no fear that the men would not return to camp after being allowed home on passes. "We have had incidents of men going absent without leave but the culprits have, funnily enough, come back."

"This is not the usual absence without leave

where a man goes and does not intend to return. Men go here to attend to family problems and such matters," he said.

Commandant van den Berg said this could be explained by a lack of understanding of the military system.

He said the intake was twice as large as normal and that 200 tents, mobile kitchens and bathrooms had to be erected to cope with the numbers.

SPONTANEOUS

The officers in charge of the training programme stressed that neither integration nor segregation had been forced on the trainees of whom about 20 percent were white.

"We allowed spontaneous group formation and tried to cater for each man's wishes," said Commandant van den Berg. Only one tent, however, was racially mixed with four Afrikaans-speaking men, a German and a coloured living together.

Commandant van den Berg said the three companies in his unit were racially mixed — the only segregation was on the basis of educational qualification.

EDUCATION

Half of the men were stationed in Walvis Bay and the other half at Rookop, a base about 20 km from the port. Two companies consisted of men with standard eight qualifications and higher, and a third company contained trainees with lesser qualifications.

"Coloured, black or white, they all look like national servicemen. The position here is no different to any other training camp in South Africa," said Commandant van den Berg.

"We are trying to show South Africa, SWA/Namibia, and the outside world that we can work together in harmony and succeed — and it is working," he said.



The South African military instructors responsible for the basic training of SWA/Namibia's first national service intake predict these trainees will match any infantry standards in South Africa.

There is a great deal of political dissatisfaction in the South African enclave at Walvis Bay — now part of the Green Point constituency — and residents are up in arms about “broken promises” and “second-rate treatment” they have received since their return to the Cape Province

Economic activity in the once-thriving fishing port has plunged dramatically and even conservative estimates indicate a fall of 25 percent in local business

About 300 houses and flats stand empty and close to 1 000 Ovambos formerly employed in the harbour and the fishing industry have lost their jobs

A number of residents said there was a great deal of dissatisfaction with the way successive Nationalist governments had handled the town and the local newspaper the Namib Times, last week predicted a “tough reception” for the four parliamentary and provincial candidates in the upcoming general election

The newspaper's columnist, “CWB,” wrote “The town's economic difficulties are only too well-known locally but in the portals of government, in the plush office blocks in Pretoria, top departmental officials who should be sympathetic to the problems of South Africa's tiny outpost are uninformed and indifferent to the situation”

Worse off

The candidates, the Ministers, and other leaders who would be visiting the town for the election campaign, the columnist said, need not “waste their time making promises”

“The candidate who can get some action going is the one who will collect the votes at Walvis Bay”

One resident, who did not want his name mentioned, said residents of the town had to pay full South African taxes and licences and received only “a tenth” of the privileges South Africans received

“They're forever doing research out here and making promises, and they promised we would not be worse off under their administration than we were under South West

“But look at this place — we're a great deal worse off”

Television and radio are, for residents of the town, major examples of the “second rate” treatment they receive

“They promised us a

Walvis Bay: A forgotten enclave seethes

Promises made to residents of the former SWA/Namibian fishing port (now part of (SA) have not been kept. Our correspondent reports from Walvis Bay

full South African TV service and now we're going to get a simple cassette service from Swakopmund — giving us the same bad South West Broadcasting Corporation stuff as we're getting on radio

“We don't get Springbok Radio or anything, but we pay the same licences. We're supposed to be South Africans but they're treating us as if we're outsiders. We're nothing,” one woman said

The two Progressive Federal Party candidates in the Green Point constituency, Mr Ian van der Merwe and Dr John Sonnenberg, returned from Walvis Bay yesterday afternoon after a visit to establish their party organisation, and Mr van der Merwe said the group had been given a “generally friendly” reception with no hostility shown

Neglected

“The PFP is new to them and we'll have quite a job to canvass and obtain their support. We are nevertheless confident that we can get this,” he said

He said the town had been “badly neglected” by the central government in recent years and I think we can give them the undertaking that we'll fight very hard on their behalf

“The time has come to take off the gloves in fighting on Walvis' behalf and if any promises were made then they must be kept. We're prepared to confront the government about these issues

“The Nationalists have been too scared to em-

barrass their Cabinet on the issue and they have been too ambitious politically. As a result, they were cautious in their approach and this has done Walvis no good

“They need very aggressive representation and they can judge us on our record as far as aggressive representation is concerned,” he said

Not only the two PFP candidates but also the National Party's parliamentary candidate, Dr Francois Jacobs, are “strangers” to the town which has a strong attachment to the SWA-Namibian politics of which it was a part until recently

Dissatisfaction

Dr Jacobs is well known only to the Afrikaans business community which knows him through his participation in the work of the Afrikaanse Handelssinstuut

The provincial candidate Mr Christo de Jager, is, however, an old campaigner in local politics

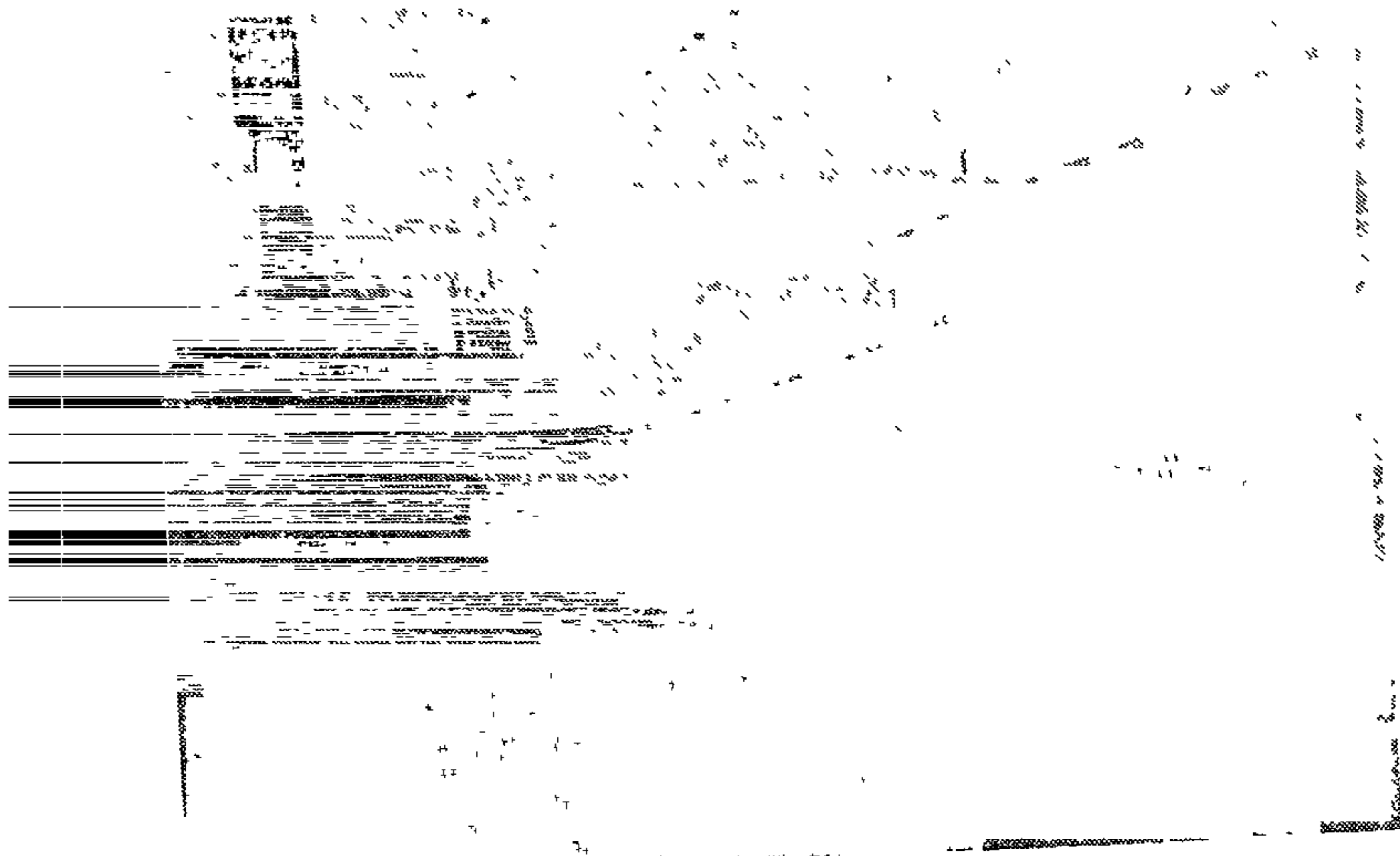
Until recently, he was the chairman of the SWA Legislative Assembly and sources in the town said he was associated with Mr A H du Plessis's Aktur rather than the DTA Alliance of Mr Dirk Mudge

Coming to Cape Town on the same flight as the PFP candidates, Mr de Jager said it was “nonsense to suggest that the South African Government had undertaken that the town would not have to tighten its belt”

The undertakings, he said, were administrative ones guaranteeing, for example that car

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STMR
3/13/72



Walvis Bay was once a thriving port. Now the cranes stand idle.

licences and such measures would not be different from those in South Africa

"There was no undertaking that our economy would not be compromised and such undertakings have to be seen in the framework of realism."

He said he personally felt the radio set up could have been better handled and Walvisbaai residents should receive the same treatment as their fellow South Africans.

"There is reason for dissatisfaction," he said.

He said the town's economy had been "abnormal" for a long time, in that it was based exclusively on the fishing industry.

Decline

What the decline in the fishing industry now necessitated was that the town should diversify its economy and this was being done.

Government assistance was, however, urgently needed. "We need a crash programme for Walvisbaai and the plans must be urgently implemented."

In view of the boom economy, the local authority — of which Mr De Jager is a member — had entered into loans of about R11-million and the town would benefit greatly if it could be freed of this debt.

"The infrastructure and skills are here and the government should act now to encourage local entrepreneurs," he said.

(News by J G Potgieter, Sanlam Arcade, Stellenbosch).

Repairing nets on the quays in preparation for the new season which has just opened.



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NAMIBIA - General

1-10-80 - 31-12-80

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MAY 1980

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South West Africa: infantry units

579 Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Defence

How many Citizen Force infantry units did border service in South West Africa in each of the past three years?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

For obvious reasons it is not the policy to divulge such information

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THE INTERIOR

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Public Service in South West Africa

251 Mr R. E. MILLER asked the Minister of the Interior

- (1) How many officers (a) were employed in and (b) resigned from the Public Service in South West Africa during 1978 and 1979, respectively,
- (2) how many officers were (a) engaged in and (b) transferred to South West Africa during each of these years?

The MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

(1) and (2) The desired particulars are not being kept centrally as most staff changes are being dealt with by departments under delegation. It must therefore be obtained from the relative departmental records but it is, as a

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WEDNESDAY

result of the reorganization in respect of services rendered to South West Africa in terms of which—

- (a) organization components of specific departments which rendered services to South West Africa were abolished
 - (b) provision was made on the establishment of the Office of the Prime Minister in terms of which the services of personnel allocated to South West Africa and
 - (c) a Central Personnel Institute was established in South West Africa for the administration of public services
- not readily available

GABORONE — Botswana's President Dr. Quett Masire, yesterday accused the South African government of "stalling" on the question of independence for Namibia.

Speaking at Botswana's 14th anniversary of independence celebrations here he said independence "eludes the people of Namibia when it is almost within their grasp." The President said South Africa was stall-

Dr Masire lets fly at SA on Namibian freedom

ing on minor points that were not relevant to the main issues. The substantial points of difference had long been resolved in exchanges of letters with the UN Secretary-General.

Dr Masire called on those countries which maintain "normal ties with South Africa" to use their influence to make the

South African government see "reason" with regard to this issue. "No amount of force or military might can keep a people under subjugation indefinitely," he said. He called on South African leaders to "take courage and bring about meaningful change where political power, equality and social justice will be extended to all races."

The President said there had been enough violence in Southern Africa to demonstrate the need for peaceful change. He expressed concern that Botswana could not produce enough food to feed itself and that rural and urban unemployment were on the increase and that the income difference between urban and rural people was growing. Dr Masire also paid tribute to his predecessor, Sir Seretse Khama, and said the people of Botswana should pay tribute to him by re-dedicating themselves to his ideals and principles. The independence celebrations yesterday were marked by parades, exhibitions and displays. There were also a number of beef roasting ceremonies in the capital —

POST Africa News Service

Room 110180

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● The 'Mail' looks at Gerrit Viljoen's spell in the hot seat of SWA politics

White man's hope — black man's burden

DR GERRIT VILJOEN will be remembered across the South West African political spectrum as the man who brought back the co-operation of dissident whites.

However, his critics say the price — the blacks of Namibia — was far too high.

"He was a white man's Administrator-General," says Dr Kenneth Abrahams, editor of the Namibian Review and an opposition politician.

When Dr Viljoen arrived in SWA just over a year ago, the National Party alliance, Akkur, had pulled out of the National Assembly and angry whites were threatening open confrontation in protest against the opening of hotels and residential areas to all races.

This controversial legislation was introduced by Dr Viljoen's predecessor, Mr Justice Marinus Heyrn, in collaboration with Mr Dirk Mudge and his Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

"Dr Viljoen managed to coax Akkur back into the National Assembly fold by convincing whites they would lose no important privileges in future political developments," says Dr Abrahams.

He says Dr Viljoen effectively restructured the second tier civil service in SWA along the lines proposed by the notorious denational Commission in the late 60s. He had made the first step as independent as possible, sort of UDI, and through the vision of functions between the two levels had ensured that "sensitive" areas like school education, health services and cultural facilities would not be segregated.

He had also seen to it that the white second tier authority could have no difficulty in providing the average white with a standard of living ten times higher than that of the average black.

Dr Abrahams says that because Dr Viljoen was reputed to be "an intellectual giant" and was head of the Broederbond, he had expected that his actions in SWA would be over and above the ordinary.

However, he was not a Super-Afrikaner but a very ordinary administrator. Perhaps he was not here long enough to realise his full potential.

Soon after his arrival, Dr Viljoen met formally with representatives of the Namibia National Front (NNF), and Swapo Democrats, two black SWA nationalist movements.

He did not follow up these talks with the informal meetings he had hinted at and it soon became clear he had disregarded both organisations as irrelevant," says Dr Abrahams.

"Since then, these politically important middle groups in Namibian politics have collapsed."

In stark contrast with the assessment of Dr Abrahams and other opposition politicians, Mr Mudge, chairman of the SWA Council of Ministers and leader of the ruling DTA, maintains Dr Viljoen will be remembered as one of the best administrators ever to have worked in the country and, despite being branded a conservative Afrikaner, as a man whose healthy relationship with people of all races, including those outside the DTA, had a calming effect on the population.

"Although there are still major differences between us and Akkur," Mr Mudge says, "there is now an improvement

in the standard of our deliberations with each other."

He says Dr Viljoen had shown the ability to grasp immediately new schemes and problems as chief of the civil service he had always known what he wanted and had succeeded in getting people to execute his will.

"He really put the administration of this country on a sound footing. During his term of office there have been rapid developments in education, housing and land reform. Although these changes have not yet come about, everything is now geared for implementation."

The Akkur leader and chief of the white second tier authority, Mr A H du Plessis, says he always found Dr Viljoen cooperative, reasonably sympathetic and less biased towards the DTA than his predecessor. He had a calming influence on white politics.

Mr Du Plessis says Dr Viljoen's greatest contribution to SWA was his promise to hold white elections next month. The Akkur leader says he opposed the granting of executive powers to the National Assembly and also certain other constitutional developments which were finalised during Dr Viljoen's term. However, he does not know whether the moves were initiated by Dr Viljoen, Mr Mudge or the South African Government itself.

The publicity and information secretary of the NNP, Mr Reinhard Rukoro, says of the Administrator-General: "We soon realised that discussions with Dr Viljoen were meaningless. He tried to compromise the liberation movement by offering us seats in the National

Assembly and he tried the same sort of thing with Swapo by offering amnesty to returning guerrillas.

"He is a very smooth worker. He has reconciled the dissident Afrikaners because it is politically important for Akkur to be seen as part of the internal process and he has carried on steadily with the piecemeal 'Bantustanisation' of Namibia."

A Swapo spokesman agrees that Dr Viljoen has removed some of the bitterness between different white factions, and has prepared the country for ethnic elections — but not for international elections.

Mr Hannes Smith, editor of the Windhoek Observer, which has consistently taken a strong line against the style of South African involvement in SWA politics, says: "Although an intellectual giant who quite often conveyed the impression of a man of sympathy, Dr Viljoen will be remembered by me as the man who gave ethnicity a firmer base than anyone before him. He succeeded where Odendaal failed."



South West Africa's outgoing Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, returns to South Africa today to take up his new post of Minister of National Education. What happened during Dr Viljoen's year in office and how do SWA political leaders rate his performance? PETER KENNY and ANDRE VILJOEN of the 'Mail' Africa Bureau report.

Unanswered questions...

ON HIS arrival in Windhoek last year, Dr Viljoen said the most important problem facing him would be to try to get consensus or the greatest possible agreement on a constitution, which would not only be acceptable within South West Africa, but also lead to international recognition.

"The arrangements for the future of South West Africa should be such that they meet with the legitimate desires of the whole population and, at the same time, achieve a sense of security for minority groups, including whites," Dr Viljoen said.

While he emphasised that he had not come to make big changes in the territory, the Administrator-General stressed his stance would not be rigid and he would try to talk to as many people as he could.

His predecessor, Mr Justice Steyn, who was instrumental in initiating the dismantling of many key aspects of apartheid, left the territory rejected as a "white sell-out" by fighting whites, a manipulator for Pretoria by letting blacks, and as an agent of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance by both groups.

Dr Viljoen's appointment was seen at first sight as a move to stem a white backlash. But Dr Viljoen made it clear

on his arrival in the SWA capital he accepted the legality of the SWA National Assembly and said he could "not undo matters that have already been completed" before his appointment.

From the start, Dr Viljoen adopted a low profile — unlike his predecessor who stomped through the territory in a flamboyant style in the heady days of 1978.

The "Mail's" Africa Bureau found it easy enough to get the assessment of other politicians in SWA of Dr Viljoen's spell at the helm.

But when an attempt was made to interview Dr Viljoen for his own assessment, his Press secretary, Mr Pieter Coetzer, said this was not likely to be granted because of the Administrator-General's busy schedule.

After it was confirmed an interview would not be possible, Mr Coetzer asked the 'Mail' Africa Bureau to submit some written questions to Dr Viljoen.

But the reply came back later that Dr Viljoen had too many commitments to answer the questions and that answering them would be virtually the same as granting a personal interview.

Dr Viljoen will be holding a Press conference today before leaving Windhoek to take up his post as Minister of National Education in South Africa.

These are the questions submitted to Dr Viljoen:

● Did you find the task of Administrator-General a difficult one? If so, why?

● Given your own assessment of how far you feel you succeeded in your task, do you think your successor will find the post easier or more difficult?

● You have said on one occasion that the forthcoming ethnic election in November will have as much impact nationally in SWA as the election of a church council or a school committee. Why then was it so important for you to persuade the National Party through Akkur to return to the National Assembly and apparently promise them the opportunity of a white election?

● Do you not think that if the National Party of SWA wins the (white) election it could increase tension and hamper the Minister's Council dominated by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in its attempts towards the constitutional development of the territory?

● You have mentioned that you sought to reconcile widely divergent groups during your stay including some of the Christian churches operating in

Ovamboland. How have you managed to do this?

● Another reason you gave for coming here was to reconcile differences emerging in white ranks. If this was so — do you think you have succeeded?

● If one of your major roles was to seal the gap between the different white groups, do you not think this has alienated blacks from South Africa's aspirations in the constitutional development of SWA?

● Do you think the promises made by South Africa in the new dispensation of 1978 have been fulfilled?

● As far as meeting black aspirations in SWA and international credibility are concerned, do you think the territory has moved far enough away from racial discrimination?

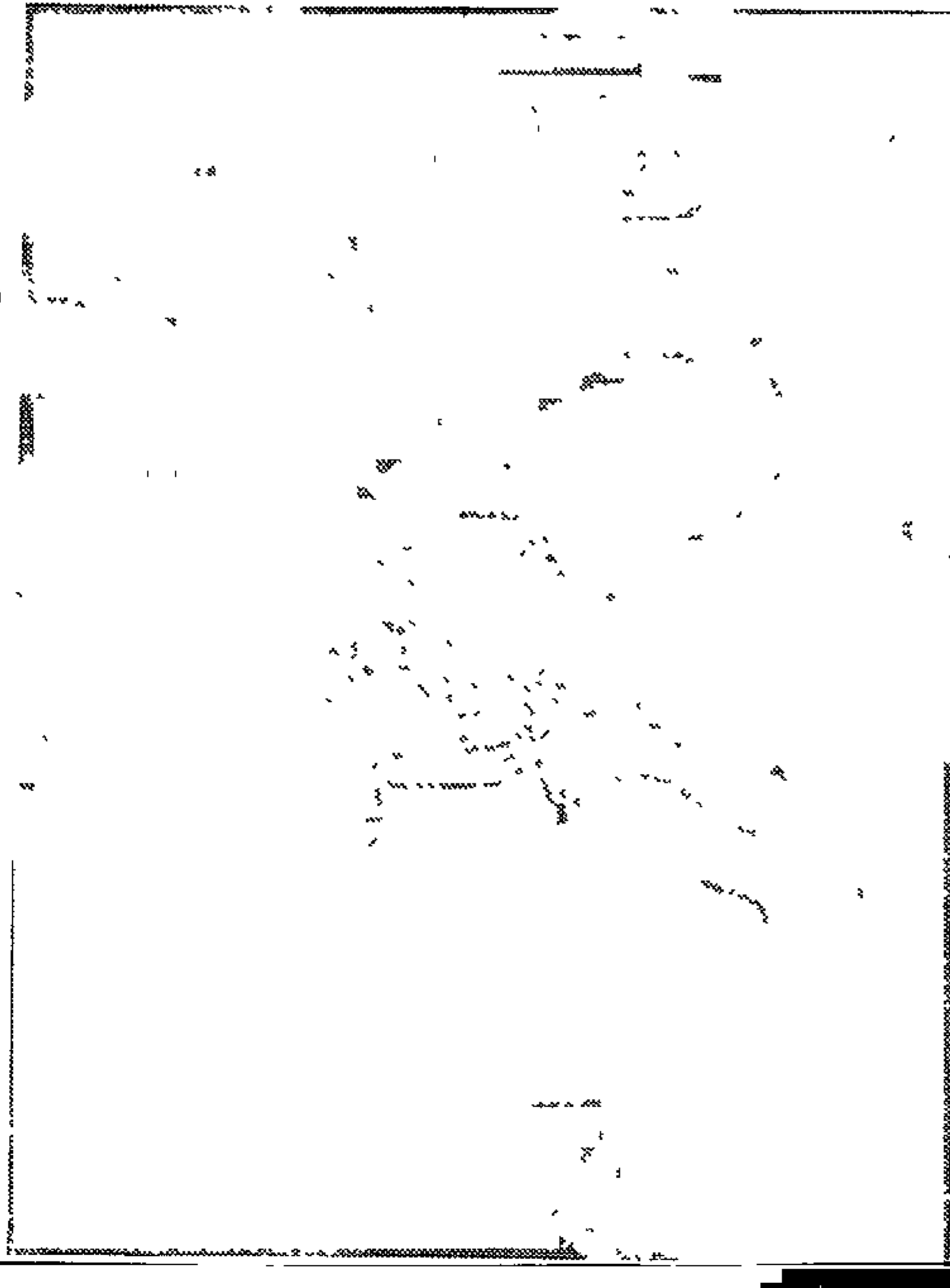
● One criticism aimed at you is that your administration has emphasised ethnicity at the expense of national unity. Is this criticism valid? If not, why has it been so necessary to emphasise ethnicity in the three-tier system of government?

● Do you see the three-tier system in its present form as lasting, considering the administrative and financial problems in maintaining it?

● If you do not see it lasting, why has there been so much time effort and expenditure used in building it up?

These are some of the significant political events between Dr Viljoen's appointment as SWA Administrator-General on August 2, 1979 and the recent announcement that he was to move to the SA Cabinet:

- Aug 10, 1979 — SWA National Assembly introduces a Bill for the abolition of race discrimination in SWA, public amenities including hotels, restaurants, cinemas and holiday resorts. But the Bill contains no penalty clauses leaving it toothless.
- Aug 10, 1979 — Residential areas in SWA opened to all races.
- Aug 19, 1979 — Dr Viljoen arrives in Windhoek.
- Aug 27, 1979 — Leaders of the National Party election front Akkur meet. Dr Viljoen to reconsider boycott of SWA National Assembly.
- Aug 28, 1979 — National Assembly reconvenes without five Akkur members.
- Sept 19, 1979 — Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge announces that executive powers are to be handed to the National Assembly.
- Sept 23, 1979 — Dr Viljoen holds further talks with Akkur to persuade them to return to the National Assembly.
- Oct 10, 1979 — Neceduruse Gemeenraede Kerk synd of SWA votes in favour of sending a telegram to Mr P W Botha protesting against the DTA's anti-discrimination legislation.
- Nov 5, 1979 — Dr Viljoen announces wide-ranging measures including financial aid to farmers in the northern areas.
- Nov 5, 1979 — Black farmers given go-ahead to apply for prime white farming land in terms of multi million rand scheme announced by Dr Viljoen.
- Nov 12, 1979 — Leaders of internally based SWA political parties leave for Geneva to attend delayed talks on a UN supervised settlement for the territory. At talks demilitarised zone
- Dec 3, 1979 — indemnity offered to Swapo guerrillas if they surrender to security forces.
- Jan 24, 1980 — National Party and Akkur announce the end of their six month boycott of the National Assembly.
- Jan 29, 1980 — The executive council of the (white) SWA Legislative Assembly announces in defiance of anti-race discrimination legislation that rest camps in white areas will remain closed to other groups.
- Jan 30, 1980 — Dr Viljoen rebuffs National Party-controlled Exco over its move on the rest camps.
- February 2, 1980 — United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) commander General Prem Chand flies into Windhoek for talks on proposed DMZ.
- March 28, 1979 — Dr Viljoen flies to London where he



Sign of the times mixing in a SWA pub.

By John D'Oliveira,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A top Carter Administration official told a Congressional sub-committee yesterday there was "no justification" for the South African military presence in Angola.

Mr Dick Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said there was no legal right for South Africa to be in Namibia.

"South Africa is in Namibia illegally. If South Africa was not in Namibia, there would be no problem with Swapo."

Mr Moose was giving evidence to members of the House Sub-Committee on Africa, which is currently engaged in a series of hearings on United States relations with Angola.

The question of South African military incursions into Angola became a central issue at the hearing yesterday.

Mr Moose said in evidence it appeared the presence of substantial numbers of Cuban combat troops was "intended primarily to play a deterrent role against the threat of a large-scale South African invasion such as that of 1975."

He said the South Africans frequently conducted military strikes across the Angolan border. While the primary objectives were Swapo installations, the South Africans had increased their attacks on the Angolan infrastructure, including targets such as bridges, key railroad links, trucks, factories and other facilities.

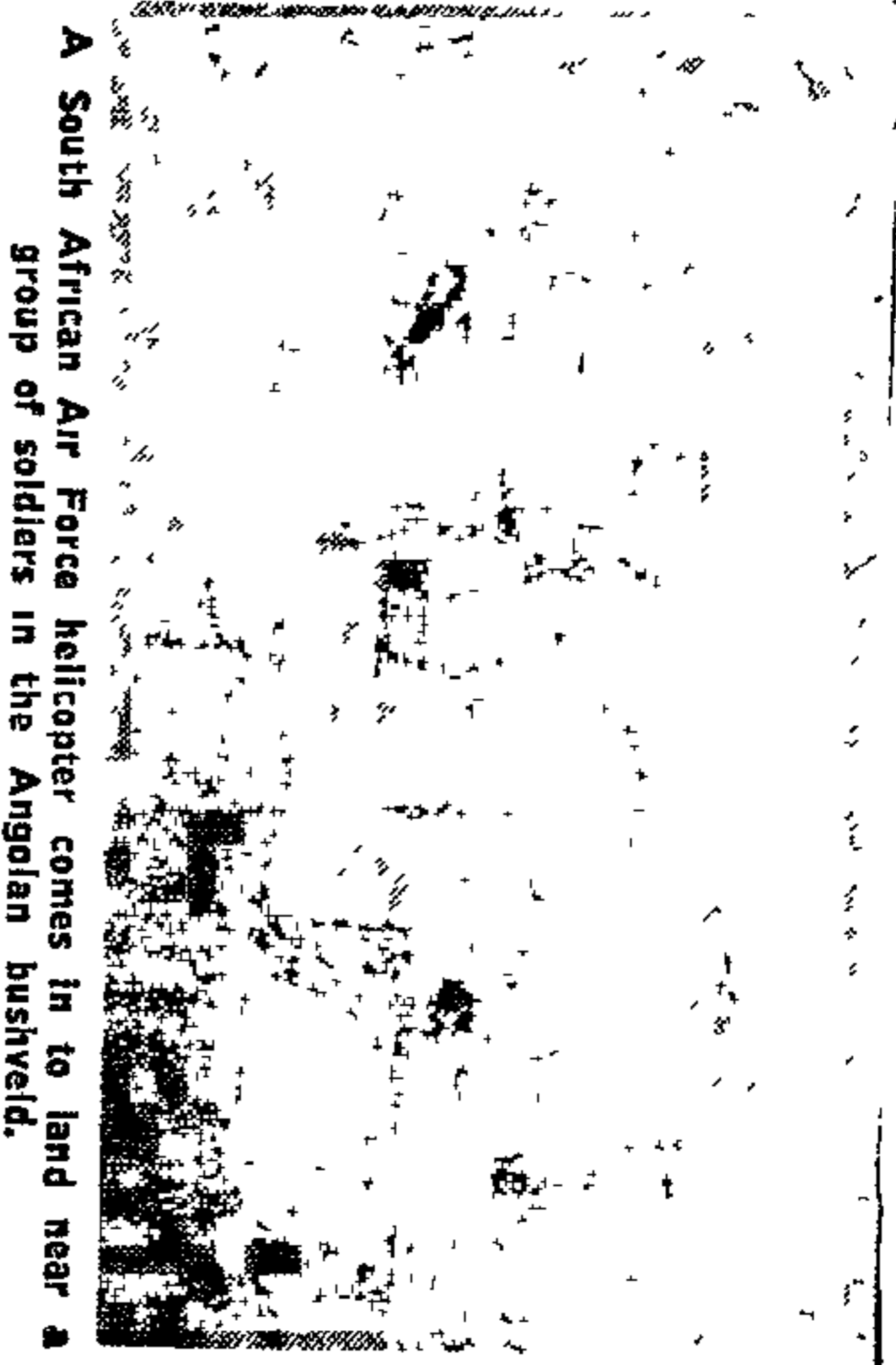
Namibia

presence

illegal

—Moose

S-MAK
1/10/80
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A South African Air Force helicopter comes in to land near a group of soldiers in the Angolan bushveld.

Top Carter man slams SA raids

Combat troops" Questioned by members of the sub-committee, Mr Moose said the South African attacks had penetrated deep into Angola, some as far as the Benguela railway and Benguela. He said Cuban troops in Angola were concentrated in the southern part of the country "in a defensive posture looking at South Africa."

Questioned by Mrs Millicent Fenwick, a Republican from New Jersey, Mr Moose said there was no justification for the South African military presence in Angola.

Mrs Fenwick. But there is every justification if Swapo is going to cross the border and attack civilians."

Mr Moose. "South Africa has no legal right to be in Namibia. South Africa is in Namibia illegally. If South Africa was not in Namibia, there would not be a problem with Swapo."

Mrs Fenwick replied she did not think Mr Moose was correct.

Mr Moose was also questioned about alleged South African aid to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola.

He said the United States believed that Unita was getting aid from South Africa and that this aid varied from time to time.

The United States could not say exactly how much aid flowed to Unita from South Africa but it believed the Angolan view of how much aid Unita was getting from South Africa was "exaggerated."

The aid involved clandestine deliveries of military equipment of one kind or another, intelligence support and, in some ways, co-ordinated military operations.

"They have also bombed Angolan towns and villages, forcing the population to flee into the bush."

Occasionally South African forces had become embroiled with Angolan forces, although it seemed South Africans tried to avoid this.

Mr Moose said that while the South African attacks were "highly damaging" in themselves, the attacks also supported Angolan fears of another South African invasion like the one in late 1975 when South African troops intervening in the Angolan civil war penetrated close to Luanda, the capital.

"The South African attacks are cited by the Angolans and the Cubans as the principal reason for the presence of Cuban

STAR 1/10/80

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Botswana accuses SA of 'stalling' on SWA

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Botswana's President, Dr Quett Masire, has accused the South African Government of "stalling" on the question of independence for SWA/Namibia.

Speaking at Botswana's 14th anniversary of independence celebrations here he said independence "eludes the people of Namibia when it is almost within their grasp"

The President said South Africa was stalling on minor points that were not relevant to the main issues. The substantial points of difference had long been resolved in the exchanges of letters with the United Nations Secretary-General

Dr Masire called on

those countries which maintained normal ties with South Africa to use their influence to make the South African Government "see reason" on this issue

"No amount of force or military might can keep a people under subjugation indefinitely," he said

He called on South African leaders to "take courage and bring about meaningful change where political power, equality and social justice will be extended to all races"

★ ★ ★

The Star's New York Bureau reports that Botswana's Foreign Minister, Mr Archibald Mogwe, says it is time South Africa spoke directly with Swapo on the basis of compromise and without fearing it was capitulating.

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly yesterday, he said the South African Government should "climb down" from its position on independence for SWA/Namibia "and engage in serious, constructive and meaningful discussions"

And it was time South Africa accepted Swapo's existence, "not only to fight against, but to talk to, in a spirit of realism and compromise, and not of capitulation"

● Two top representatives of the SWA/Namibian interim government — Dr Ben Afrika and Mr Fanuel Kozonguza left Washington today after a "very successful" series of discussions with politicians and congressional officials

Zimbabwe emigration increases

The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa

SALISBURY — Zimbabwe had its highest monthly emigration rate in nearly two years last month when 1931 people — believed to be mostly whites — left to make their home in other countries

At the same time 350 people immigrated, leaving the country with its worst net migration loss in a year and four months

But tourists are flocking back to the country at a spectacular rate

In July, 28 276 tourists came to Zimbabwe, bringing the total for the year to 92 184 — an increase of 60 660 over the same period last year

Tourist rate for the first half of this year is higher than that for the whole of last year

Mugabe in pledge to stamp out banditry

STAR
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The Star's Africa News Service

SALISBURY — In his harshest crackdown since becoming Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe has called in the army to help police rout "misguided party militants" and armed dissidents responsible for the current wave of lawlessness in Zimbabwe.

Using unusually tough language, Mr Mugabe went on nationwide television and radio last night to warn that these "evil elements must be routed and routed with speed."

He implied that there might be something more sinister to the current violence than mere banditry.

"The Government is watching very closely the insidious activities of those irresponsible political leaders and the pattern of organised armed violence by planted clandestine groups such as those responsible for recent grenade and other armed attacks at public places.

"Leaders who deliberately defy the law, court the wrath of the law unto themselves," Mr Mugabe said.

In his broadcast, Mr Mugabe also said that, during the Rhodesian conflict, the "justification for killing was the just war we were waging."

CONSOLIDATE

Now the war was over, peace was necessary to consolidate Zimbabwe's independence. The majority of people, black and white, had heeded his appeal at independence for peace and reconciliation.

His speech coincided with the arrival in Salisbury and Bulawayo of thousands of armed former guerillas from remote assembly camps where they have been languishing for over nine months.

Waving AK 47 rifles and rocket launchers, the guerillas, in a convoy of mineproofed military vehicles once used by the Rhodesian security forces, were given a tumultuous welcome at Chitungwiza township on the outskirts of the capital.

Ironically an attempt by the all-white Rhodesian Front to introduce a debate in Parliament on the deteriorating security situation in the country was killed after Government MPs walked out of the House of Assembly

170 Swapo raiders killed

5-THP (221)
2/10/80

The Star's Africa
News-Service

WINDHOEK, — Security forces in SWA/Namibia killed a total of 170 Swapo insurgents last month and were "experiencing a high kill ratio," Brigadier Pieter Bosman, second-in-command of the SWA territory force, announced in Windhoek today.

He said the security force successes last month which included the killing of 115 members of Swapo's elite Special Group, brought the total of Swapo losses so far this year to 1 219.

Security forces suffered only one loss in September, when a member was killed in a landmine incident, Brigadier Bosman

said. It is understood he was referring to the death of a policeman, which was announced by police headquarters in Pretoria last month.

Security forces were experiencing a high kill ratio in the bush war because of the extremely dry conditions in the north of the territory, good intelligence received about terrorist infiltration attempts, and the aggressive spirit of the security forces, he said.

Last month's skirmishes in the 14-year-old bush war

in northern SWA/Namibia included security force counter-insurgency operations against a group of 150 members of Swapo's highly-trained Special Group which tried to infiltrate SWA/Namibia early in September.

Military authorities said at the time that the Swapo incursion was probably timed to coincide with the Paris conference on the territory. A total of 115 of this group were killed in follow-up operations by security forces.

Swapo recruits youths, says party leader

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Namibian Christian Democratic Party (NCDP) had evidence that hundreds of youths had been recruited to Swapo since operation Smoke Shell in June, when security forces killed more than 300 Swapo men in a raid in Angola.

This was disclosed yesterday at a news conference by the leader of the NCDP, Mr. Hans Rohr.

Mr. Rohr announced that a member of the party, Mr. Vaughan Webster, would be standing in the white ethnic election in the Swakopmund constituency.

Mr. Webster, 61, who was born in Mqanduli, Transkei, is the only person outside the Republican Party, the National Party of SWA or Herstigte Nasionale Party, standing in November's white ethnic elections.

The NCDP, which is a non-racial and non-ethnic party, has also put up 12 candidates in the election for a representative authority for the Kavango ethnic group.

Mr. Webster said while the party did not believe in ethnicity, it believed in exercising its democratic vote to bring about the required change in the territory.

Mr. Rohr said he had information about intimidation of people in Ovambo by members of the Security Police.

He did not believe the solution to SWA's problems could be won by a war — it would have to be a political solution.

The NCDP leader said whites in Kavango also intimidated members of his party and this was why they had not announced they were standing in the election until nomination day.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance had lost contact with the people of Ovambo, Mr. Rohr said.

"Pastor Njoba, the DTA president, no longer has contact with his own people. He is too scared to go anywhere and if he does, he has to have armed escorts."

"Where can any of these Ovambo leaders go and how can they inform accurately on what the people think? They can only say what they hear," Mr. Rohr said.

His party wanted to offer an alternative to Swapo and the present DTA government and did not believe in taking up arms.

Mr. Rohr said the forthcoming ethnic election had been extremely badly handled without any planning.

He cited examples such as the Hereros, who number less than 70 000, being able to elect 55 candidates, the Damaras, who number about 85 000, having to elect 40 candidates, and the whites who number 110 000, having to elect 18 representatives.

In the 1978 general election the NCDP was the party gaining the third highest number of votes after the DTA and Aktur.

Mr. Rohr is the sole representative of the party in the National Assembly.

On the matter of next year's proposed general conscription for the whole of the SWA population, Mr. Rohr said there should be some alternative for people who did not want to fight against their own brothers and families.

NNF turns into 'electoral front'

RDM 7/10/80 (221)

WINDHOEK. — The Namibia National Front would in future be an electoral alliance with a view to United Nations supervised elections, Mrs Nora Chase, the NNF secretary general said in Windhoek yesterday.

The decision was taken at an NNF central committee meeting at the weekend.

Earlier reports had quoted an NNF spokesman as saying the central committee meeting had been called to discuss the decision by the NNF president, Mr Justus Garoeb, to take part in the ethnic elections in South West Africa on 11, 12 and 13 November.

Mr Garoeb's Damara Council, one of the five member-parties in the NNF, will fight a three-cornered contest for the Damara second-tier authority.

Mrs Chase said the NNF

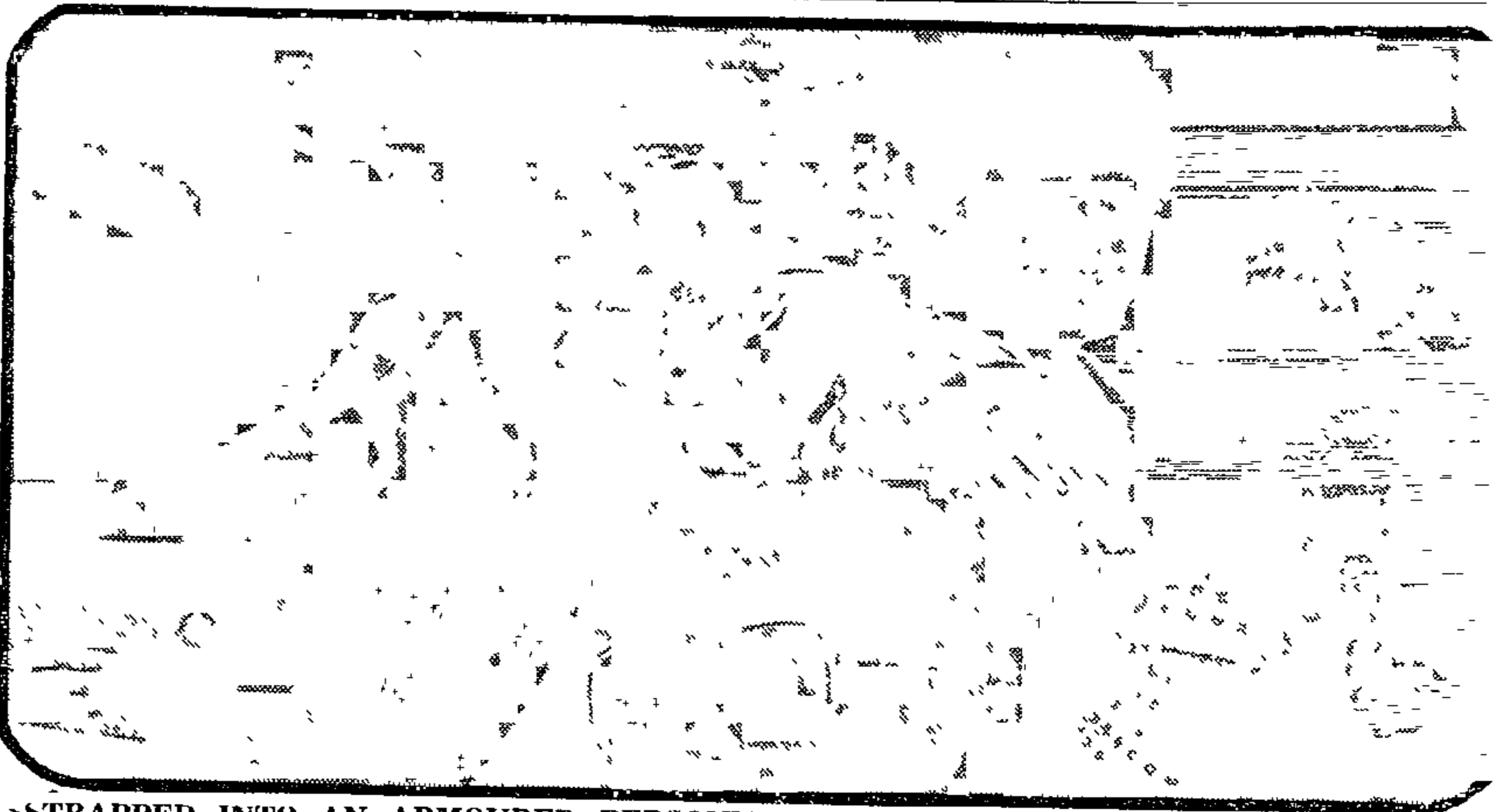
committee had decided that the organisation would in future be a broad electoral front instead of an umbrella for its member parties. The Damara Council, the Mbanderu Council, the Progressive Party of Namibia, the Namibia Independence Party, and the South West Africa National Union (Swanu).

She emphasised that the NNF would represent its member parties only in a UN supervised election in terms of resolution 435. Mr Garoeb's Damara Council would take part in the ethnic elections as an individual party.

Meanwhile, the NNF publicity and information secretary, Mr Reinhardt Rukoro, said last night he had resigned his position in the NNF and was leaving for the United Kingdom.

Sapa

What's it like
on the border? ⁽²²¹⁾ 9/10/80



was a flying visit to operational area the group of South African women. In two days they travelled thousands of miles, visiting my bases to see defence operations and taking a look at what the army is doing to help the local population through its civic action programme.

The women — all leaders in their fields or the wives of leading South African men — were seen off at Waterkloof air base by Mrs Margot Malan, wife of General Magnus Malan, former Chief of the Defence Force and now Minister of Defence. Mrs Malan said her husband had been training men to the border for some time to see for themselves what was going on there. He recently suggested that women should go too, and asked Mrs Malan to help organise a visit.

The group flew first in a DC 4 to Rundu in Kavango where they were briefed by military experts on the situation in the area and visited 202 Battalion. This battalion is made up of recruits drawn from the local populace. The women saw a display of parade ground drill by the troops.

The Kavango soldiers are natural songsters, singing while they march. They performed a number of songs for the women, including one about how pleased they are to be soldiers.

Other centres the group visited, included Omega, Mpacha in the eastern Caprivi and Katima Mulilo.

Take a look for yourself, said the army

STAR 9/10/80 ⁽²²¹⁾

STRAPPED INTO AN ARMoured PERSONNEL CARRIER — the group of top South African women on their border tour leave to see Katimo Mulilo and a gun demonstration.

There's no rushing off to the shop around the corner to buy a missing ingredient for the women in the operational area.

Their husbands may be the professional soldiers but it's the women who have to run their households with military-like precision, planning carefully to make sure they don't run out of necessities.

Some of the women are "luckier" than others because they are in less isolated areas. The women in Mpacha and Katima Mulilo are able to buy fresh milk, for instance —

Leading South African women were taken to the border for the first time by the South African Defence Force recently, where they were shown what life is like for the men and their wives and families.

DIANA FRYLINCK accompanied the tour.

something which is not obtainable at Omega. But, none of the women we met on the tour complained about the lack of facilities and services that we city-dwellers take for granted.

In fact, when it comes to the end of their husbands' three-yearly stints in the operational area, most of them are reluc-

tant to return to normal life. Take Tersia Visser and Elsa de Lange, for instance. Both women lived through the missile attack on Katima Mulilo in the early morning of August 23, 1978. The missile attack itself lasted only 10 minutes, but for hours they had to crouch with their children in the

bomb shelters in the gardens of their homes until all the action, including counter bombardment by the Defence Force was over.

After such an experience you'd think Tersia Visser and Elsa de Lange would be glad to return to a more normal lifestyle at the end of this year. But, no. Tersia's feelings are mixed while Elsa has no desire to leave at all.

"I'm sad and glad I like it here, but I think it's important for the children's sake to leave. They must get back to normal life," explained Mrs Visser.

Most of the women laugh

when you ask if they carry guns with them wherever they go and if they are at all afraid. They have adapted remarkably well to their unusual way of life and don't let the threat of danger affect them unnecessarily.

Lynn Gouws, whose husband is at Mpacha, explained their attitude.

"I remember my first weekend here. We went across to Katima for supper and we were driving home at night, about 11.30. I was petrified I thought we'd be killed, that there was a terrorist behind every tree."

"But, I soon got used to it and I don't worry about it any more. If you did you'd go mad," she added.

The children at Katima Mulilo have been drilled, as a precautionary measure, to make for a bomb shelter whenever they hear a warning siren. And there are unannounced drills to keep Defence Force personnel and their

families on their toes. Every family has its bomb shelter.

The women in the operational area are extremely house-proud — even though their homes are often only mobile caravans.

The Caprivi has natural, lush vegetation, but the wives have made their homes attractive with sub-tropical plants. To grow anything in fine white sand covers the area must be back-breaking work. It requires patience, during our visit the bougainvilleas were blooming in profusion and the lawns were an emerald green.

Yes, the women have certainly made the best of their situation. They even tell you that there are advantages to living in a mobile caravan rather than the Defence Force houses. The caravans are, after all, air conditioned!

Fighting AND Teaching

The highlight of the women's tour to the operational area was undoubtedly their visit to Omega.

This is a base established in the Western Caprivi by the Defence Force for a battalion made up of Bushmen. Since the establishment of the base at the end of 1975 hundreds of Bushmen have joined up bringing their families with them.

The Defence Force has taken on the responsibility of caring for the needs of not only the soldiers, but their families as well.

It has undertaken a civic action programme at Omega aimed at the advancement of the Bushmen.

There is a primary school which falls under the South African Department of National Education. The teachers are all

national servicemen. A needlework centre has also been established. Here Bushmen women are taught by the wives of two Defence Force officers to make clothes which are then sold in the camp's shop.

They also repair the national servicemen's uniforms.

Material for the clothes is provided by the Department of National Education.

The centre runs at a profit and the seamstresses are paid a monthly salary. Any profits go towards subsidising men's clothing which has to be bought.

The Defence Force has also started a farming project.

The commanding officer for the sector in which Omega falls said one of the civic action's biggest problems is trying to involve menfolk more actively.

"Traditionally the man here is in heaven. The only thing he does is plough fields. The women do all the work. It's taken years to teach the man to do his part. But, we are gaining. We do it through school — agriculture is a compulsory subject," he explained.

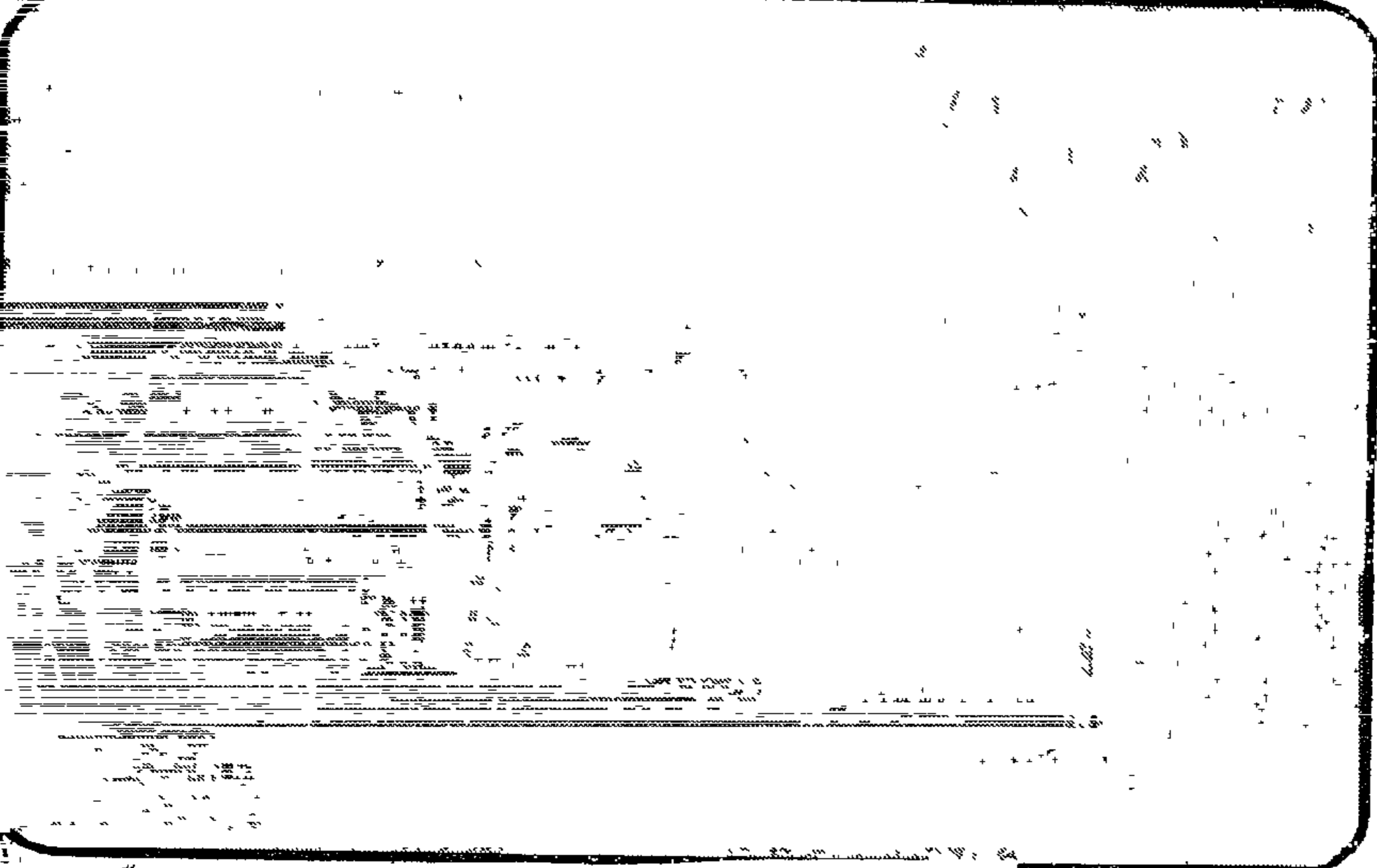
And for those who decide to study further there is the incentive of higher salaries in an agricultural line.

But, while teaching the Bushman new skills, the army is concerned that he should not lose his traditional skills. So, on four or five days of every month the children are sent into the bush with some of the older Bushmen to learn folklore and bushcraft.

Some critics feel the Defence Force is to be deplored for making soldiers out of the Bushmen, whose numbers are low.

On the other hand, there are those who feel the Defence Force has, by feeding and housing the Bushmen, in fact saved them as a tribe from extinction.

In support of this argument Commandant Hall quotes the mortality figures for Bushmen children. When the unit started seven to 10 were dying each week. Now, with the medical services provided, only two or three die a month.



AT THE OMEGA BASE — Bushmen pupils sing under the guidance of their National Servicemen teachers for the visiting women.

Pretoria's choice: Swapo or sanctions

(22) RDM 9/10/80
by MICHAEL ACOTT

SPECULATION about an all-party conference to end the near-deadlock on negotiations over South West Africa has been heightened by support for the idea by the outgoing Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Gerrit Viljoen

He told journalists in Windhoek last week that a conference such as that which produced the Zimbabwe independence formula had more chance of success than a settlement with the United Nations as sole arbitrator

The idea of an all-party, or multi-party, conference on the lines of the Zimbabwe Lancaster House talks has gained ground recently. There is increasing impatience because the current negotiations have failed to produce agreement on elections or independence after three-and-a-half years

The search for a valid alternative — the phrase used by Dr Viljoen — has produced the idea of a conference where South Africa, Swapo and the internal political parties in the territory could agree on a new route to pre-independence elections

There has so far been no suggestion of by-passing the UN, but rather of seeking a new agreement, under UN aegis and using the current UN proposals as a starting point. Salisbury, Geneva, Helsinki have been proposed as venues, while Gaborone is also now being mentioned as the place to solve an African problem

Some diplomats remain sceptical about the suggestions, pointing out that all efforts at the moment are being made to secure agreement on implementing the 1978 UN proposals, agreed to both by Swapo and South Africa

A top-level UN delegation is due in Pretoria on October 20 for further hard bargaining on the UN's desire for immediate moves towards a ceasefire, UN-supervised elections and internationally recognised independence. South Africa, prompted by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Windhoek, refuses to agree until it has firm assurances about plans to control Swapo infiltration and violence during the election period

Western diplomats and African states accuse the Government of playing for time and there is strong suspicion in Black Africa that South Africa is not interested in a settlement on the present terms. South Africa insists it has always wanted a rapid settlement but this has been hampered by UN acceptance of Swapo demands for changes to the original agreement

The delay has led to a fear on all sides that what was achieved in 1978 is slipping away and some new route to an acceptable solution might be needed. Hence the idea of an all-party conference, even though this month's talks could still produce further progress towards agreement on current proposals

For the moment, the Government is keeping its options open, preparing to secure improved terms at this month's negotiations, while not rejecting the idea of an alternative conference

Dr Viljoen, who was sworn in as a Cabinet Minister yesterday, is seen to be reflecting top Government thinking, or at least contingency planning. He caused a stir earlier by suggesting South Africa might talk directly to Swapo — something previous administrations had firmly rejected — but the idea is no longer being ruled out in Government and diplomatic circles

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has stated explicitly that an all-party conference, including representatives of Swapo and the internal political parties in the territory, is something the Government would consider, although it would not propose it

Since then both the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and the Gaullist leader in France, Mr Jacques Chirac, have espoused the scheme and suggested their countries host the conference

The key to the question seems to be the South African appreciation of Swapo's electoral chances and whether or not it is prepared to live with a Swapo-ruled neighbour

The advice of several independent observers, who are convinced Swapo would gain an overwhelming electoral majority, is being taken seriously in

Government circles — however unpalatable the prospect may be

If the Government determines Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA could still win an election, the aim would be to secure the best possible conditions to assist the DTA

But if it believes the DTA's chances are slim and receding, it has two alternatives: declaring the territory independent under Mr Mudge and facing immediate international sanctions, or deciding it can live with Mr Sam Nujoma in Windhoek

Present indications are that, if the DTA has no prospects of electoral success and there is no way its chances can be improved, the Government might be prepared to accept a Swapo victory as the will of the people of the territory rather than face sanctions

The DTA would, however, have to agree to the elections and bear the blame for defeat. This might be easier after a pre-election conference in which the DTA participated directly, rather than after agreement negotiated by South Africa in consultation with parties from the territory

A Swapo victory would have severe political repercussions for the National Party at home. Many of its supporters would accuse it of selling out the whites there and handing the territory over to the Marxists

It is this consideration which is having a major, although unstated, effect on the Government's moves

~~Businessman~~

escapes from Swapo abductors

STAR
9/10/80

(221)

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A Windhoek businessman has escaped from his Swapo abductors and reached safety unharmed after an ordeal which included a six-hour walk through the operational area of Ovambo in northern SWA/Namibia

The businessman's driver, who was also abducted by three terrorists in civilian clothing on Tuesday, is apparently still missing.

It is understood Mr Hein Dahlmann, a middle aged manufacturers' representative in Windhoek, arrived in Ovambo on Tuesday to deliver clothing to dealers in the area.

Mr Dahlmann and his driver, Mr Tobias Katjire, arrived in their white microbus at Enjane shop in the black township of Okatana near Oshakati in central Ovambo at about 3.30 pm.

Three unidentified terrorists in civilian clothes are understood to have entered the premises and abducted the businessman and the driver in their vehicle.

While travelling to an unknown destination, the vehicle apparently got stuck and the group used another vehicle to carry on. The second vehicle, however, developed gearbox problems and could not be driven any further.

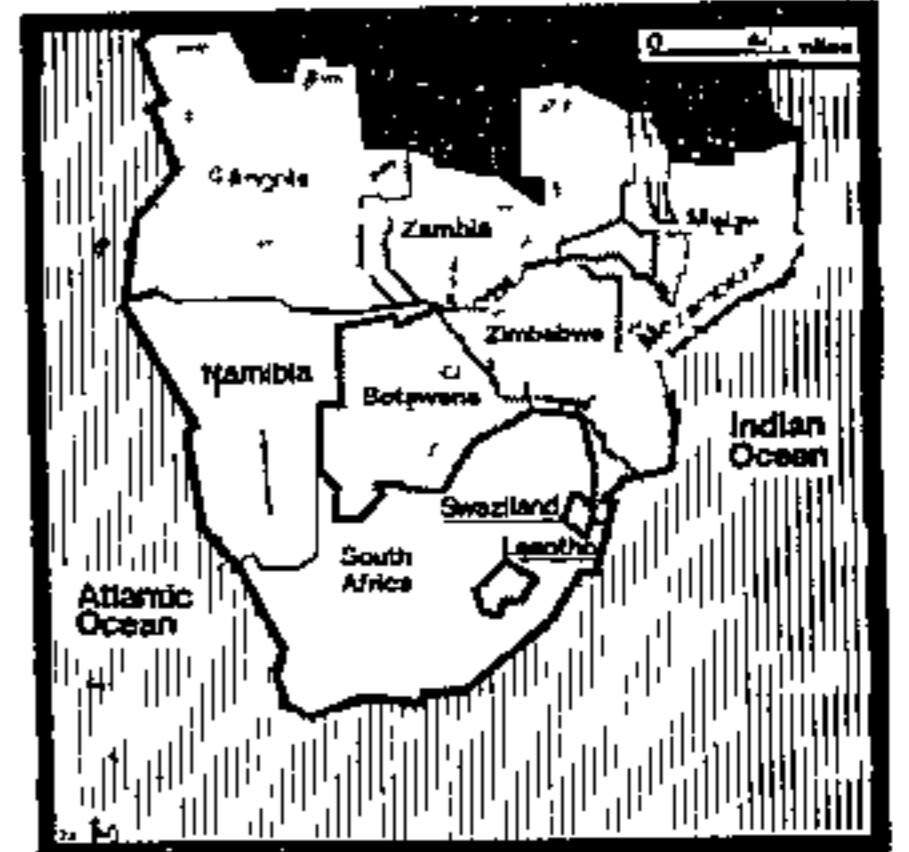
The terrorist group went off in search of help, leaving two men to guard Mr Dahlmann and Mr Katjire at the scene of the breakdown.

It is believed that Mr Dahlmann managed to slip away from his abductors while their attention was drawn elsewhere. Mr Dahlmann apparently walked for about six hours through the Ovambo bush before reaching the safety of a military base.

Mr Dahlmann was not injured or assaulted during the ordeal. An employee at Manto Agencies in Windhoek said today Mr Dahlmann's wife was overseas.

● Analysing the prospects of a Lancaster House-type solution for South West Africa

The prospect of an all-party conference — or the 'Africa Option' as it is being billed — is looming larger and larger in South West Africa. Here, **ANDRE DU PISANE** of Unisa and **MICHAEL ACOTT** of the Rand Daily Mail's Political Bureau discuss the merits and demerits of this Lancaster House-type alternative.



FOR more than thirty years Namibia has been the object of lengthy and acrimonious debate in the United Nations and other international bodies. Up to now, an internationally recognised resolution of the conflict has proved evasive.

The low-intensity bush war in northern Namibia shows every sign of continuing and becoming more costly in material and symbolic terms, while the contending parties seem poised for yet another round of diplomatic manoeuvring with the purpose of winning the game of symbol manipulation and of maximising their respective bargaining positions.

At this time the joint Western-UN plan for a peaceful settlement in what the late Professor Bruwer has called "the disputed land" has entered yet another critical phase. Short-fused Pretoria, beset by many woes and increasingly inward-looking, seems to have revived its own brand of heart-land theory — the constellation of Southern African states with its emphasis on counter-revolutionary and dependency politics.

In her strategic calculation, Namibia, like Zimbabwe, is peripheral to the continued survival of whites in South Africa. Pretoria's real problem is how to make this credible to the white electorate in general (and the Afrikaner section in particular) without fanning the flames of a white reactionary threat at home.

The Western intermediaries also have their set of special problems, they have run out of patience with a stalling Pretoria, not only because Pretoria's two-track strategy in Namibia is no longer credible in the eyes of both Black Africa and Swapo, but also because the Western industrialised countries, led by the United States, the most advanced capitalist country in the world are perceived to be in collusion with white settler regimes in Southern Africa.

Pretoria is unwilling to negotiate directly with Swapo for reasons which relate to its own self-image and diplomatic risk-taking, and also because of a fear that the same demand will be made for internal negotiations with the ANC and the PAC. This unwillingness is coupled to an insistence that Swapo be denied the diplomatic status it presently obtains from its recognition by some members of the international community as well as the General Assembly of the United Nations.

This approach is designed to extract a major concession from Swapo and the UN without Pretoria's commitment to an agreement under UN auspices. The logic of Pretoria's two-track approach toward Namibian decolonisation and independence (with its two mutually reinforcing but seemingly contradictory tracks, the unilateral or internal one, and the diplomatic or negotiating one) seems to hinge on the following:

Since the unilateral track is fundamentally consistent with Pretoria's legitimising rhetoric that "the people of Namibia will decide their own future", it essentially provides for the consolidation of a "moderate" anti-Swapo force with a legitimacy of its own. This explains the relative autonomy given to the DTA to (1) engage in rule-making and, more important, (2) to be elevated to a higher status in the negotiations, with the implied assumption that this will minimise Pretoria's diplomatic risks. The DTA in effect will then become Pretoria's "Gaulleiteer", while Pretoria itself hopes to bask in the warmth of international respectability.

A further logical implication

Is SA

RDM 9/10/80

just

buying

time?

of this approach is that the DTA will in time become dispensable, given Namibia's economic and infra-structural dependence on South Africa — a reality that even Swapo will have to contend with — and the territory's limited capacity to mount a future guerrilla onslaught on South Africa.

Moreover, present indications are that a far from ideologically monolithic Swapo, especially under the leadership of an authoritarian Sam Nujoma, will not be able to dominate electoral politics in the same way as did the Zanu (PF) under Robert Mugabe. Some kind of moderate reformist outcome which includes some elements of the DTA, the NNF and Swapo seems more likely.

In addition, it could be argued that Swapo has been far less successful in making the military impact that the forces of Zanu and Zapu in Zimbabwe were able to make, again because of Pretoria's two-track approach whereby Swapo had to be denied the possibility of establishing a direct link between a strong Swapo in the bush and a potentially strong one at the polls.

South Africa's military ability successfully to launch destructive and embarrassing military forays into southern Angola and western Zambia has been dramatically illustrated. Both Angola and Zambia seem desperate for peace so as to be able to rebuild their shattered economies, perhaps even with Pretoria's help, while the MPLA regime in Luanda would like to resolve the thorny issues of Unita and that of the Cuban presence.

As a quid pro quo for pressuring Swapo into a ceasefire and subsequent elections, the MPLA government could expect the diplomatic assistance of the Western contact group and Pretoria in persuading the rebel Unita guerrilla movement to come to the conference table. Think what this could mean for the Pretoria Government — one of the world's pariah states.

In line with the two-track approach, Pretoria's general policy seems to have been to keep its second track up to date with the first, so that it could always shift from the one to the other without having to go back and update her possibilities for unilateral action as a policy or as a threat. Ideally, Pretoria seems to have hoped to synchronise the two tracks without uprooting the essential fabric of the internal one, but

then came the apocalyptic events in Zimbabwe.

Pretoria not only miscalculated badly, hoping for a coalition outcome which would include "good old Smithy", Muzorewa and veteran nationalist Joshua Nkomo, and exclude "Marxist" Mugabe. Zimbabwe fundamentally undermined some of the premises on which the two-track approach was based, notably the one that Swapo should not be allowed to govern an independent Namibia, especially because of its perceived "Marxism", while the prospect of facing a Swapo government in Windhoek was duly recognised as a real probability.

Coupled to these developments, Pretoria had to face other important constraints. First, her presence in Namibia is perceived to be illegal by the international community, while she has agreed to a staged withdrawal in terms of her acceptance of the Western Plan.

Secondly, no matter how skilfully engineered, no internal settlement will merit international acceptability or stem the guerrilla war. On the contrary, it may indeed invite further external participation.

Thirdly, the local Namibian economy may well have been transformed into a "siege-economy", similar to that in Zimbabwe during the height of the war, with skilled and unskilled bottlenecks, rapidly rising defence and security spending, a decline in much-needed agricultural production, growing unemployment and no foreign investment. Fourthly, Pretoria would then have been branded internationally as the intransigent party. Finally, this would leave the Western Five with no political authority to hold off demands for punitive action including sanctions against South Africa.

Pretoria's immediate reaction to these realities has been to accelerate her internal track in both military and institutional terms, while at the same time there has been talk of a so-called Africa option.

The Africa option, although never clearly spelled out, has much to recommend it. It may go a long way towards meeting Pretoria's demand of parity and equal treatment of the internal parties and Swapo, provided that Swapo will agree to meet the internal parties as delegations in their own right and it would fit neatly into Pretoria's legitimising rhetoric to the effect that the people of Namibia would be allowed to

decide their own political future.

It would also make it much easier for Pretoria to be represented and, following agreement, to distance herself from the outcome of such a conference.

But more important than this, the sting would have been taken out of Swapo's claim that it is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people without the movement formally foregoing such a claim. The Africa option has also proved attractive from another point of view: it offers the prospect of elevating former and new leaders of the Frontline States, notably Dos Santos, Masire, Nyerere and Kaunda, to undermine what Pretoria perceives to be a growing Mugabe-Machel axis, while it is hoped that it may well minimise the roles of the Western Five and the UN in the Namibian conflict.

Although it seems premature to speak of this new diplomatic initiative as an accomplished fact, first indications from Pretoria, Windhoek, Swapo, and at least two Frontline States — Angola and Botswana — are that they are keeping it open as an alternative option. However, there are still points at which such a process may break down.

For Swapo and the Frontline States, such an African option does not imply the shelving of Resolutions 385 and 435, on the contrary, they believe that it should be held within the framework of these UN resolutions, with the purpose of speeding up implementation of the UN Plan.

Pretoria and the DTA seem to have other plans. Such a proposed all-party conference should be conducted on a new and different basis outside the parameters of the UN plan. The rationalisation of the DTA and Pretoria is that the Western initiative has proved to be virtually impossible to implement because of the partisan position of the UN towards Swapo. Counter-arguments that this is not shared by the Security Council do not impress them.

On the other hand the notion of a DMZ along the border with Angola has never been an attractive one. National one-man-one vote elections could still be held, but they would prefer them to be not under UN supervision and only after agreement on a future constitution has been reached, followed by the signing of a truce between Pretoria and Swapo.

The calculation in Windhoek is that such a new initiative, provided that it gets off the ground, may well take up to a year. This would give the National Assembly and the Ministerial Council additional time to develop a legitimacy of their own, especially if they are allowed to implement the proposed budget which was introduced by Mr Dirk Mudge earlier this year in the National Assembly. The coming ethnic elections next month also fit into the framework of logic, while Swapo's military profile will at the same time be kept as low as possible.

Pretoria also hopes that while the talking goes on, the Western Five will be obliged to veto demands for punitive action against her in the proposed special UN session later this month. And even if some action were to be taken against Pretoria, this could be useful as a pretext to rally support for Mr P. W. Botha's internal initiatives in South Africa itself. After all the Namibian conflict has dragged on longer than the London production of Agatha Christie's "Mousetrap". Will another year really make so much difference?

SWA/NAMIBIA (22)

Hough flies in FM 10/10/80

By installing former Transvaal MEC Danie Hough as Administrator-General (AG) in Windhoek, Pretoria has signalled a new phase in the risky game it is playing with the UN over SWA's future.

Affable and capable Hough may be, but after the Broederbond's Gerrit Viljoen, and Judge Martiens Steyn he is a distinctly low-profile player.

As Transvaal MEC in charge of local government his most serious diplomatic challenge was dealing with Johannesburg's tetchy Francois Oberholzer's unending scream for more municipal revenue. In practical terms his appointment means the administrator-generalship has been downgraded from near dictator status to something resembling caretaker MD in a company facing competing takeover bids. So the question is why Hough, and why now?

The history of the post is significant. Steyn's appointment was discussed, if not approved, with the Western contact group on Namibia. As a judge and the son of a Simons cabinet minister he was not identified with Afrikaner nationalism and was acceptable to non-Swapo blacks. His abolition of many, though not all, forms of racial discrimination in SWA helped the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — something which both black and white opponents of the DTA charged was hardly a coincidence.

In fact Pretoria initially hoped to obtain a settlement during Steyn's term of office that would guarantee a DTA victory

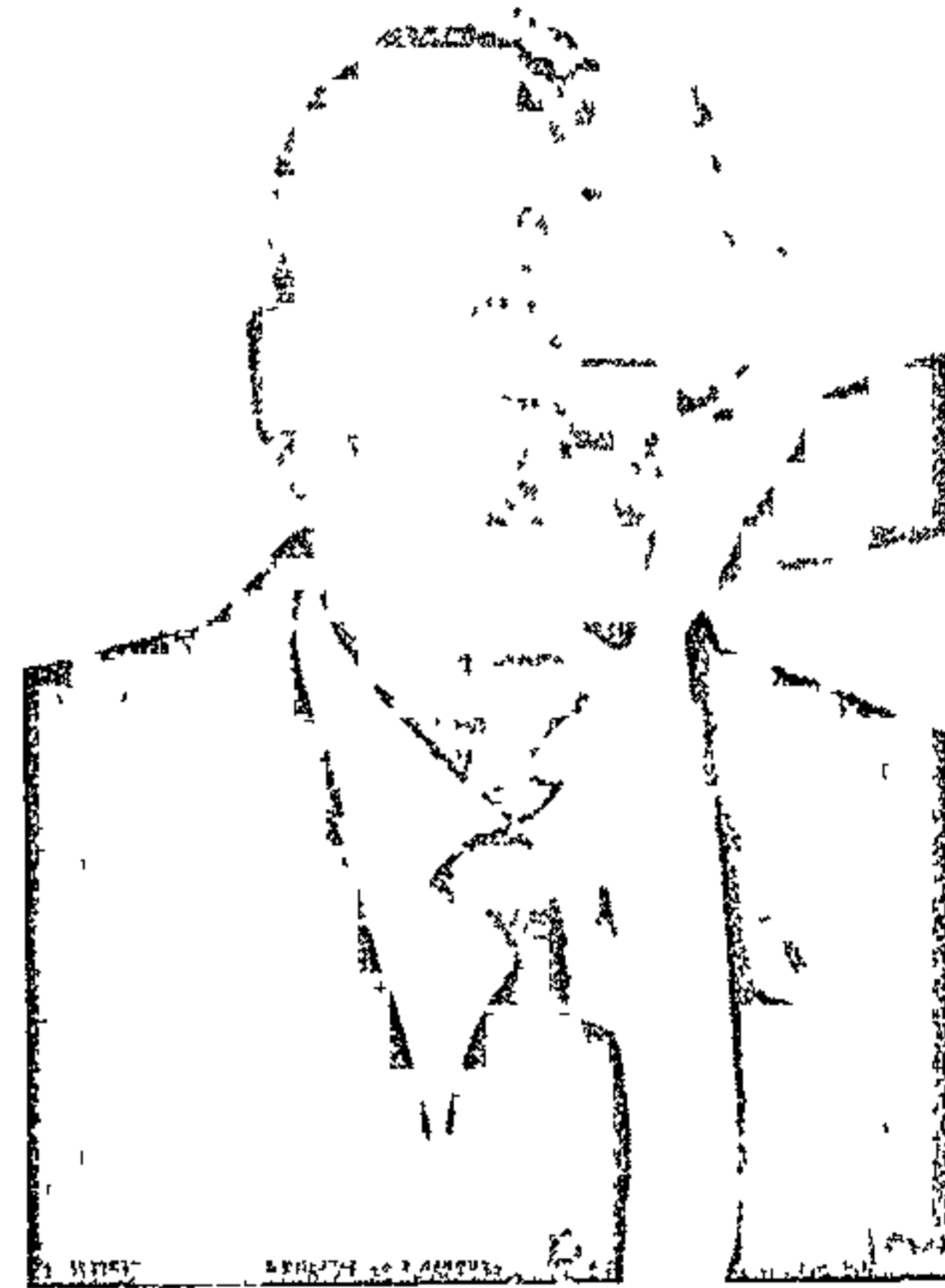
in elections and a friendly independent Namibia.

When that hope disappeared as negotiations dragged on and recriminations multiplied Pretoria fell back on its alternative strategy — develop the DTA as the power *in situ* and try and make it impossible for it to be ignored in any settlement.

So Steyn organised elections for a Constituent Assembly in which the DTA (heavily and mysteriously funded) obtained a large majority. Then, with Army co-operation, he began organising the SWA defence force and the Constituent Assembly was converted into a legislature controlled by the DTA.

Unavoidably, Steyn became immensely unpopular with almost everyone in the territory who was not DTA. The old-style Nationalists, now re-organised into Aktur, even boycotted the National Assembly.

Steyn was then withdrawn and replaced by Viljoen who used his diplomatic skills, and no doubt his Broederbond influence, to get Aktur back into the assembly and to



Hough a caretaker
appointment

impose some form of unity on the territory's whites. He too continued building up the DTA.

A Council of Ministers was set up under Dirk Mudge who became effective Prime Minister and nominal control of the territory's new army was handed to the SWA government.

This accomplished Viljoen swanned back to SA and a Cabinet post. Enter Hough.

The message is clear. Pretoria now regards power in SWA as residing with Mudge and his ministers — not with its own AG. And if the UN wants a settlement it will have to deal with the DTA and not Pretoria alone.

'I stumbled 12 hours through the bush towards SWA firefight'

The Star's Africa News

Service — Knowing he was in or near Angola and that this was his last chance, a Windhoek businessman, slipped away from his Swapo abductors, running and stumbling through the Ovambo bush for 12 harrowing hours.

In his desperate bid to reach safety in the heart of SWA/Namibia's operational area, Mr Heinz Otto Dahlmann (50) ran towards a firefight praying that he would meet the Security Force and not Swapo.

Mr Dahlmann, who was abducted with his still-missing assistant at 3.30 pm on Tuesday, last night described his ordeal.

He said he and Mr Tobias Katjire visited Eh-janja store in the black township of Okatana near Oshakati on Tuesday to deliver stocks of clothing.

"We were checking cartons with the owner's wife when three terrorists with machine guns came into the store. They were very young and dressed in civilian clothes.

"Not having a firearm could have saved my life. They became quite reasonable after they learned I was unarmed. It gave them no reason to shoot."

They manhandled the two men out of the shop to their microbus and told them to lie on their backs in the rear.

With the leader driving and his comrades training their rifles on the captives, the party started off in a northerly direction, keeping off roads.

The vehicle struck a tree stump on the track at about 6 pm.

"We were told to get out and push. Two of the terrorists pushed with us while one stood pointing his rifle at us."

"That three stump was a great stroke of luck for us," said Mr Dahlmann.

The group continued northwards. After three hours the leader said:

"Don't worry. We will not do anything to you."

The tree stump had damaged the vehicle and the driver could not use all its gears. The gearbox broke down completely when the group leader tried to engage third gear.

"We had been travelling at top speed in first and second gears and Tobias had been ordered to sit up on the floor and help change gears."

"The leader gave instructions that I was to stay in the kombi, and he took Tobias with him, leaving two guards for me."

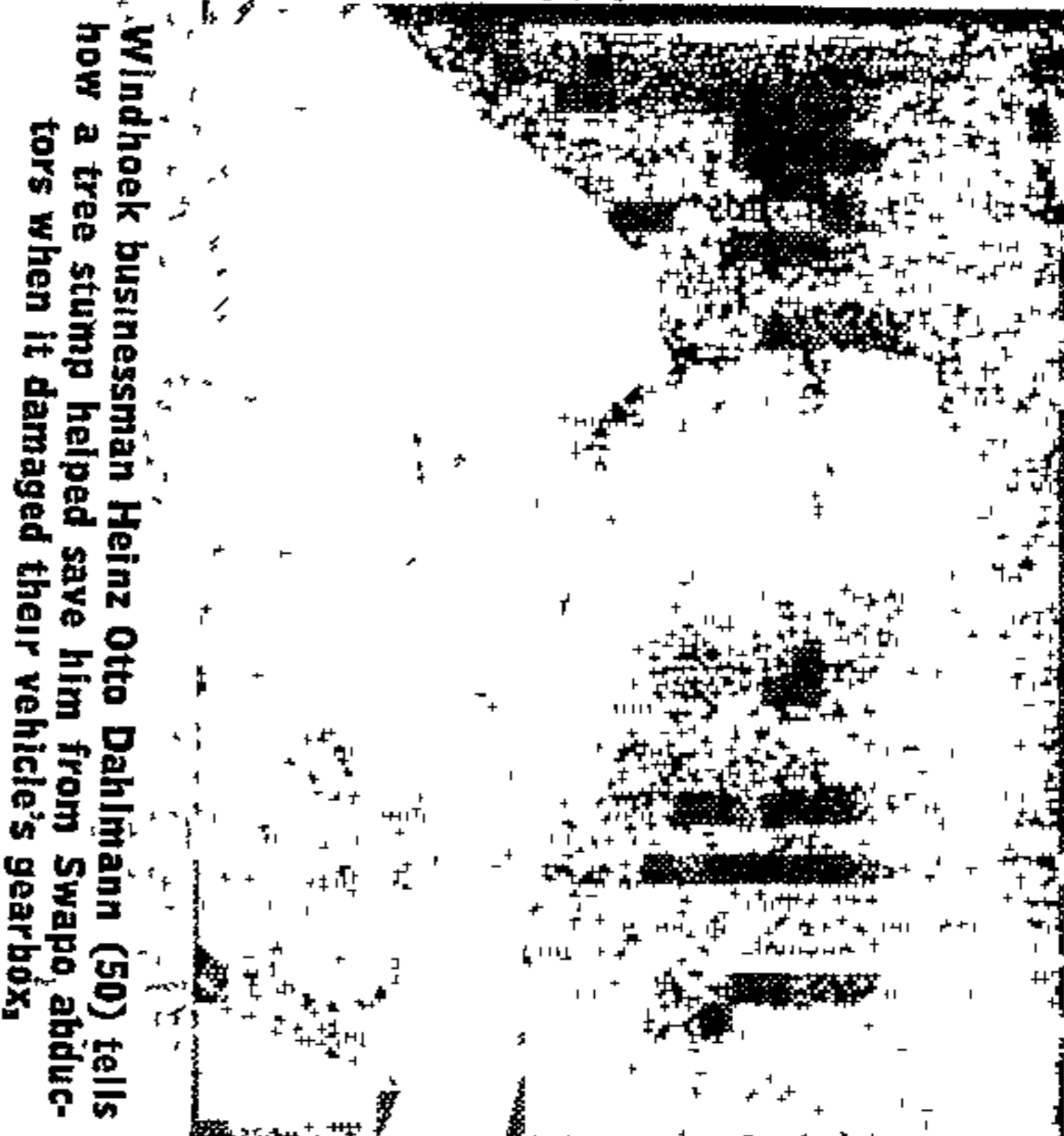
One of the guards went to sleep, while the other kept watch.

Mr Dahlmann saw his opportunity for escape when the guard moved to some nearby bushes, apparently to relieve himself.

"I rolled on the sand to the other side of the vehicle to get it between him and me. He did not notice anything. Thank goodness for that. I got up and walked very slowly to the first bush."

"I had the feeling I would make it. I had to run then on I ran."

"I knew that I just had to keep heading south."



Windhoek businessman Heinz Otto Dahlmann (50) tells how a tree stump helped save him from Swapo abductors when it damaged their vehicle's gearbox.

Missing SWA editor is with Swagomo

By [unclear]
[unclear]

Windhoek, Namibia. The former editor of Argus, the monthly newspaper of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), has been reported to be in Angola, apparently with the aid of Swapo insurgents.

Shortly before Mr Amutenja disappeared, Amukweth published a list of 50 prominent people including churchmen and businessmen in Ovambo who were allegedly to be eliminated by agents of the South African Government.

The editor of the Windhoek Observer, Mr Pannes Smith, who also published details of this alleged death list, was questioned by the head of the Security Police in SWA Colonel Johan van der Merwe.

According to the August edition of the Combatant, the monthly newspaper of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of Swapo Mr Amutenja has refused to Swapo forces inside SWA for two months before he left the territory.

Mr Amutenja told the Combatant: "I could not be taken to Angola immediately for it was the time South Africa launched the biggest invasion into Angola so far."

"How most of the guerrillas came to know about me was a difficult thing to understand. Hundreds of them came to greet me, calling me by my name. They were all heavily armed, chiefly with AK-47s."

Mr Amutenja said he was taken to Angola by the guerrillas. He said he had been in the north of SWA for some time before he was taken to Angola. He said he had been in the north of SWA for some time before he was taken to Angola.

"All our luggage was carried by the guerrillas. We departed with five soldiers."

"On our journey, which took nine days, we did not come across any South African soldier until we arrived in Angola."

"During my stay in some of the more liberated areas in Namibia I talked to many guerrillas. The former editor said he was glad to meet many of his old friends and former school mates who are now high-ranking men and women in Swapo. Each time I talk to them I learn something new."

Mr Amutenja said he had become clear to him the war in SWA had been proceeding from the north to the southern part of SWA.

"It is clear that South Africa is fighting a losing war in Namibia," Mr Amutenja told the Combatant.

The group of guerrillas which left SWA with him eventually grew to 60 and arrived safely in Lubango (formerly Sa Da Bandeira).

Mr Amutenja said he was then introduced to Mr Peter Namwenba, Swapo's Secretary for Defence.

"I was so glad to meet many of my old friends and former school mates who are now high-ranking men and women in Swapo. Each time I talk to them I learn something new."

"I was so glad to meet many of my old friends and former school mates who are now high-ranking men and women in Swapo. Each time I talk to them I learn something new."

'UK has SWA peace plan'

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The administration of President Jimmy Carter has quietly lent support to a British plan to achieve a South West African settlement outside the United Nations, Business Week magazine claims.

The "highly orchestrated" effort of Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington was directed at a Lancaster House-type conference in Salisbury, chaired by Robert Mugabe, it said.

"Its success could solve the South West African problem and confer the mantle of pan African leadership on Mugabe, who would be the first black African statesman to attain that status since Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah."

The South African Government wanted to work with Mr Mugabe and "reckon they would have considerable influence over any Namibian conference under his chairmanship", it added. The magazine conceded the plan had run into problems from the start, with the collapse of a bid for an initial meeting in the Cape Verde Islands between Swapo and the South African Government.

SWA's ethnic groups get ready to vote

(221)
RDM
13/10/80

WINDHOEK — More than 173 600 voters of all races go to the polls in South West Africa in a month's time to elect ethnic authorities on the second tier of government.

Five of the eleven population groups will take part in the elections, while six will not go to the polls, because political parties were either returned unopposed or it has been decided not to have elections.

The whites are the only group to contest the ethnic election on a constituency basis.

The other groups will vote for parties and representatives will be appointed proportionately.

When nominations closed at the end of last month, three member parties of the majority Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in the SWA National Assembly had been returned unopposed in ethnic authorities. DTA parties had registered in respect of the Nama, Tswana and Caprivians who will have no elections.

The Basters of Rehoboth have recently elected a new kaptein and an ethnic authority.

The Bushmen of SWA have indicated that they do not want

a second-tier authority at this stage.

The largest population group, the Owambo in the northern operational area, will not go to the polls because it was felt the bush war between Swapo and the Security Forces will not be conducive to fair elections.

In Kavango, DTA parties are unopposed in two areas, but in the third the Namibian Christian Democratic Party will contest the election.

The coloured population group will have a straight choice between the DTA Labour Party and the Liberal Party.

Among the Herero, the DTA Nudo Party will face opposition from the newly-established Nudo Progressive Party of Namibia which had broken away from the DTA.

The Damara electorate will have a three-cornered contest between Swapduf (DTA), the Damara Executive Committee and the Damara Council of Chief Justus Garoeb.

Chief Garoeb's party, part of the NNF Alliance, surprised most SWA by announcing its candidature in ethnic elections. Chief Garoeb is the president

of the NNF which supports United Nations-supervised elections in terms of Security Council resolution 435.

The NNF was recently transformed into a loose alliance which enabled Mr Garoeb to take part in ethnic elections individually.

Probably the most significant and certainly the most severe election campaign is that among the whites. The November election will be the first exclusively between whites since Mr Mudge had split with the National Party in 1977.

The three major white parties in the territory, the SWA National Party, led by Mr A H du Plessis, the Republican Party led by Mr Dirk Mudge and the Herstigte Nasionale Party led by Mr Sarel Becker, are campaigning for election to the white ethnic authority.

No stone is being left unturned by leaders of the bitter rivals — the RP and the NP — to attack and discredit one another.

Mr Mudge has said from public platforms that he will trounce the Nationalists — which is regarded by the NP leaders as an insult.

(221)
SWA troops
track 13/10/80
insurgents

The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces are tracking a group of suspected Swapo insurgents spotted in the Kamanjab district in the "white" farming area of northern SWA/Namibia.

This was confirmed here today by the general officer commanding the S W A Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, who said information had been received that a "group" of suspicious people were moving around in the area.

General Lloyd appealed to all farmers in the area to be on the alert and to report any suspicious activity to security forces.

General Lloyd noted at this stage that the reports had not yet been confirmed, but said the investigation was continuing.

Swapo insurgents have in the past developed a pattern of infiltration into the so-called white farming area of SWA/Namibia to coincide with major international developments in the territory.

Mixed Mixed taxi now in SWA

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Taxi apartheid in South West Africa is on its way out, the SWA Council of Ministers announced at the weekend

Three years ago the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts were abolished and people of all races were granted freedom to live anywhere

Earlier this year, racial discrimination in public places such as restaurants, hotels or resorts, was totally outlawed

But ironically, all this time it has been illegal for mixed couples to ride in taxis according to the transport laws

Announcing the abolition of taxi apartheid, the Ministers' Council said in future all new permits for taxis would enable them to carry people from any population group

In future taxis will not be allowed to carry discriminatory signs

Final
22
must be
RDM 14/10/80
settled
soon'

WINDHOEK — The five Western powers had given the impression that the South West African settlement plan must succeed within the next few months or it would be too late, Dr Ben Africa, a member of the SWA/Namibian Ministers Council, said in Windhoek yesterday

Speaking at a Press conference after returning from an official visit to the United States, Britain and France with Mr Fanuel Kozonguizi of the SWA/Namibian Division of Interstate Relations, he said he and Mr Kozonguizi had had about 20 interviews with US congressmen, senators and newsmen. In London they had talks with Foreign Office officials

The acting under-secretary in the Foreign Office, Mr Derek Day, had given the impression the Western five were pinning great hopes on the forthcoming talks in Pretoria with a United Nations delegation this month

Dr Africa said he had gained the impression the British government understood the objections that the UN showed partially towards Swapo

"But I also have the impression the Western five feel the settlement plan must succeed within the next few months or it might be too late"

He said they had told British officials the best thing the UN Secretary-General could do was to publicly state UN impartiality towards political parties in SWA

The UN should also stop supporting Swapo financially and refrain from urging member-states to give more aid to Swapo, he said — Sapa

Swapo group: farmers mobilise

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The white farming community of the Outjo district of northern SWA/Namibia has mobilised against a group of Swapo infiltrators in the area.

Two members of the group died in a skirmish with Security Forces yesterday.

While many of the farmers have been called up for commando duty, their wives — also armed — are gathering at farmhouses at night to sleep in groups.

When the Swapo group — estimated at between 12 and 20 — was first sighted by farm labourers

in the Kamanjab area on Sunday afternoon, news of its presence was systematically circulated throughout the entire Outjo farming community.

Farmers immediately brought into effect standard safety measures.

But the General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, has urged local farmers not to become involved in the pursuit of the insurgents.

He said farmers should rather report any sighting of the group or suspicious activities in the area.

General Lloyd said two of the infiltrators were killed in a skirmish in the Kamanjab area.

Security Forces captured an AK-47 assault rifle, anti-personnel mines, and rifle grenades.

No further details about the skirmish were released.

The infiltration may be aimed at coinciding with the planned visit by a United Nations delegation to Pretoria next week for discussion on the SWA/Namibia question.

Swapo has in the past sent groups of highly-trained men into the white farming area south of the operational area's "red line," in times of major international developments on the territory.

2 Swapo men ⁽²²⁾ shot in farming area

RDM 14/10/80

Farmworker to hang ⁽²²⁾ after terror attack

RDM 14/10/80

WINDHOEK — Security forces shot and killed two Swapo terrorists in the Kamanjab district in the traditionally white area of South West Africa yesterday. Major-General Charles Lloyd, officer commanding the SWA Territory Force disclosed in Windhoek last night

In a brief statement, Gen Lloyd said security forces had made contact with a small Swapo group in the Kamanjab district of north-western SWA yesterday afternoon

Two Swapo men had been shot and killed in the contact, he told Sapa

Security forces confiscated one AK-47 sub-machinegun and a number of anti-personnel mines and rifle-grenades

Gen Lloyd appealed to the farming community in the district not to become involved with Swapo forces but to immediately pass on any information about suspicious actions by anybody to the security forces or the police

A spokesman for the SWA Territory Force headquarters in Windhoek said the follow-up action against the Swapo band was continuing

The number of terrorists that had infiltrated was not disclosed

Meanwhile, ANDRE VILJOEN of the "Mail" Africa Bureau reports that soldiers began searching for the Swapo group after men suspected of being terrorists were spotted by farm labourers

Gen Lloyd said in an earlier Press statement that the Outjo Commando was mobilised on Sunday to conduct the search

Mrs Magdalena Theron, of the farm Amalinda, north west of Otjikondo and close to where the suspects were first spotted, said although most of the menfolk in the district were out with the local commando, the women were not afraid to be left alone

WINDHOEK — A black farmworker, Markus Kateka, 40, was sentenced to death by a Windhoek Supreme Court judge yesterday in a sequel to a terror attack on a Grootfontein farm

Kateka and another worker, Hendrik Kariseb, 45, were found guilty of taking part in terrorist activities and harbouring terrorists

Kariseb was sentenced to 10 years' jail

Mr Justice Jan Strydom refused leave to appeal, but the pro deo defence counsel, Mr Pio Teek, indicated he would petition against both the verdict and the sentence

The hearing arose from an attack on the farm of 60-year-old Mr Jacobus Francois Louw on February 17

Evidence was that Mr Louw fought off the attack single-

handed. No-one was killed

Kateka and Kariseb were accused of aiding and abetting the terrorists, knowing they planned to kill the Louws

Passing sentence, Mr Justice Strydom said farmworkers had to be made to realise it was their duty to report the presence of armed insurgents and not get involved with Swapo

He recalled evidence that there had been 15 terrorist attacks on isolated farmsteads in SWA in the past few years

Farmers had to trust their workers to report the presence of armed men on their farms

Although Mr Teek had argued that the accused were unsophisticated workers who were ignorant of the political struggle in the territory, no thinking person could be unaware of the the aims of Swapo, he said

Everyone knew Swapo had "no good intentions" for the territory and its people

He had taken into consideration that the two men were simple people who might have been tempted by the false promises of Swapo and that there had been no loss of life

The accused were considered by their employer to be his most responsible workers

But it had been their duty to report the presence of armed men

Kateka had had the opportunity to warn the Louw family, because he had been involved with the armed men long before the attack

Mr Teek argued that the pair were victims of Swapo

"It is well known that insurgents are trained in how to procure the help of ordinary people," he said — Sapa.

"At times like this we all sleep together at some neighbour's farm, but in the day we continue with our farmwork"

"All the women here can use rifles and we have security fences around our homesteads. There are enough troops in the area for us to feel safe"

She said a number of farms in the area had been deserted because of serious drought

There had been no terrorist activity in the area since two terrorists were shot dead on her family's farm two years ago

Observers say it is early for infiltration in the farming areas. Infiltration normally occurs during the rainy season when advantage can be taken of the supply of water and increased vegetation cover

A look at Swapo the political party

SD 16/10/80

Most people are aware of Swapo, the guerilla movement. Less know much about Swapo, the political party. In this article, ANDRE VILJOEN of the Daily Dispatch Africa Bureau examines Swapo's political aspirations and organisation . . .

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Swapo is fighting South African and South West Africa soldiers on the northern border of SWA, but inside the territory it is officially recognised as a legitimate political party

It is this unique double role of guerilla movement and political party which has sparked off many calls for it to be banned

Early last year, Mr P W Botha hinted at tough action against the Swapo political organisation, saying it should choose between taking part in the constitutional process in SWA or achieving its aims through its external wing

However, observers say South Africa could not afford to ban the organisation politically, an

who was the only important official not detained in the crackdown, closed the Windhoek headquarters and disbanded the national executive because he said he could no longer guarantee the lives of office workers

He was subsequently sacked from his top position — apparently for taking drastic steps without the sanction of the central committee. Since then no replacement for him has been elected and observers are confused about who really runs Swapo in SWA

Mr Tjongarero told me he was still a Swapo member. He said the Windhoek offices were opened in 1977. It was the first time the general public became fully aware of the party in their midst and there was a flood of new members. It also enabled easier co-ordination of the party's activities in SWA

However, the office also made us open targets for South Africa," he said. He added the detentions which led to him closing the office served to create new Swapo martyrs and popularised the movement even more

In April this year Swapo released a Press statement listing the names of certain detained members and accusing the security police of intimidatory tactics

The chief of security police in SWA, Col Johann van der Merwe, denied the allegations, but at the time a senior security policeman in Windhoek told me "We would love to ban Swapo, but for international reasons it is impossible"

According to reliable sources, there are presently about 11 Swapo members detained under AG 26 and about 32 under AG 9. About 24 Swapo supporters are known to be restricted

Swapo still has offices in Windhoek, but they have been locked and unmanned for months. There are about another dozen Swapo offices in the country but, except in the south, they are virtually dormant. One of the reasons for this is emergency security regulations which require official permission for meetings in Windhoek and to the north of it

A Windhoek Swapo executive member said in an interview: "We would like to mingle, but it has become necessary to operate underground. We need our people outside and not in prison"

He admitted that by "going underground", Swapo's organisational ability has been severely hampered. "But the people are mobilising

themselves. Our leadership is collective"

It is also clear that the lines of communication between the external leadership and the political party in SWA leave much to be desired. Thus, there is always a time lag before Swapo leaders in SWA fully comprehend the moves of the external wing, such as the recent sacking of the acting vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo

The internal Party also has no access to the millions of rands of aid to Swapo. A political observer in Windhoek who, like a number of opposition politicians in the city, was once a prominent Swapo member, said

Swapo doesn't need to be organised to win an election. But the election will also be its high point. Its lack of an effective administration and a tight policy could force it to become repressive

NUJOMA . . . waiting

Most serious political observers say Swapo would win an internationally supervised election in SWA. Critics say it is just an Owambo movement — it was formed in 1958 as a sort of trade union for Owambo migrant labourers from the north. In 1960 it changed its name to Swapo and opened its doors to everybody

Despite the fact that Swapo definitely does draw most of its support from Owambos, who comprise 47 per cent of the total population of SWA, it clearly has a fair measure of support from other ethnic groups — even from some whites, especially immigrant Germans, an executive member told me

Swapo officials also refer to such non-Owambo central committee members as David Merero, Moses Garoeb and Theo Ben Gurirab as evidence of its multi-ethnic make-up. Another Swapo rejoinder is its claim to "at least 90 per cent support south of Rehoboth"

Significantly Swapo held its most recent and one of its most controversial meetings at Keetmanshoop in the south. It was the annual Namibia Day rally, at the end of

August, to commemorate the first Swapo clash with South African security forces in 1966

About 800 people, from as far away as Walvis Bay and Grootfontein, attended. Also there were followers of Nama Swapo leader, Pastor Hendrik Witbooi of Gibeon. Since news of the rally was spread virtually only through the Swapo grapevine it was a good attendance

That night, the white catering manager of one of the busiest hotels in Keetmanshoop doubled as chef and waiter. "All my staff have gone to the Swapo meeting," he said

At the rally, speakers gave a rare public interpretation of recent political developments. They denounced the West, the "South African engineered puppet UDI government", South Africa's negative stalling on elections, and its "collaboration with Unita bandits"

There was catchy music, chants of "power and aluta continua," and thanks were given to Swapo comrades who were sacrificed in the struggle with the Boer oppressors

We dislike war like everybody else, but we are determined to achieve what we want, a Swapo executive member said after the meeting

He added the war was the biggest single factor working in Swapo's favour. Even though it had cost the lives of between 4 000 and 6 000 Swapo guerillas it had won the support and sympathy of many more, he said

"We know the South Africans are strong and we can't beat them in open battle. But we are breaking them economically and spiritually"

He said Swapo's greatest achievements were the diplomatic recognition it had earned from the UN, the OAU and many countries. Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was created only because of us. The social changes it has brought about now we asked for 20 years ago. Now we want to rule and nothing less"

A Windhoek professional man and Swapo supporter said there was nothing left for Swapo to do inside the country but "sit back and wait and hold the occasional meeting to keep the pot boiling"

He said although there were no encouraging signs of Swapo and South Africa reaching an agreement on election arrangements, there was no cause for frustration

When you commit yourself to a liberation struggle you accept it may involve a long wait. However, we draw much encouragement from recent historical developments in neighbouring states"

Political observers of all shades of opinion recognise that Swapo is conducting a legitimate political struggle. However, some fear the struggle has gone on for so long that Swapo has been forced more and more into the Soviet orbit

Militant communist political indoctrination in Swapo schoolchildren's books captured from Angola and rumours in military circles that Sam Nujoma always has a Soviet adviser at his side are seen to confirm this fear

A strong Soviet presence in SWA would be anathema to South Africa and observers believe it will try and stall an election until it can clinch some kind of deal with Swapo to keep "Big brother out"

Meanwhile, it will continue to bolster the DTA government and if all else fails will let it be the one to hand over control to Mr Nujoma

Swapo leaders in SWA will not readily be drawn into discussions on what might transpire if Swapo was in power. "People make out Swapo is some kind of a monster," said an executive member

Another admitted that land and economic reform, the twin dreads of wealthy white property owners and businessmen in SWA, would be priorities

No elected government that neglected to right these injustices would keep the support of the people," he said

But it need not be done radically. People feared Mugabe before he came to power and look at Zimbabwe now

TJONGARERO . . . sacked

organisation which is recognised by the United Nations and much of the world as "the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia. Also, from a security viewpoint, it is easier to fight the enemy you can see

In a series of talks with Swapo executive members, branch organisers and ordinary members in SWA, the Daily Dispatch Africa Bureau has tried to assess the aims and organisation of Swapo, the political party in SWA, and just how free it is to carry out its political functions

It was soon apparent that Swapo spokesmen were not readily available

Nearly every Swapo leader in SWA has been detained by security police at some time or other. Some were held for more than a year in terms of Proclamation AG 26, which empowers the State to imprison indefinitely without trial anyone suspected of being a security risk

Others were held for shorter periods in terms of Proclamation AG 9. Some were released and subsequently restricted in terms of AG 9

The two security proclamations were passed by the first Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Justice Steyn, who conducted a purge against Swapo leaders in 1978 and last year

More than 60 Swapo officials were detained in terms of AG 26 last year.

Swapo national headquarters office in a busy trade centre in central Windhoek was raided several times by security police and right-wing vans ransacked the office and stole and destroyed equipment and documents

Swapo's former top man in SWA, the previous party national chairman, Daniel Tjongarero,

UN team for SWA talks in Pretoria

STAR
16/10/20

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The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — A delegation of senior United Nations officials heads for South Africa today in the hope of extracting from the Government a clear indication of its intentions towards SWA/Namibia. Talks will begin in Pretoria on Monday.

The talks come after an exchange of letters between Mr Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the UN Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, in which Mr Botha accused the UN of being pro-Swapo.

A crucial issue likely to be discussed at the talks is the possibility of a Lancaster House-type talks on SWA/Namibia to resolve the independence plan.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said next week had been left open for the talks, which could last "as long as necessary".

He said it was likely that SWA/Namibian parties would participate in the talks, reports The Star's Pretoria Bureau.

Kevin Jacobs reports from New York that 3½ years of erratic and inconclusive negotiating for globally-acceptable independence have not lifted the doubt and uncertainty about South Africa's willingness to give up the mandated territory.

Now the UN delegation, Western governments and African leaders want the South African Government to talk unequivocally about a date to begin seven months of UN-supervised truce conditions and preparations for elections.

But the UN team probably faces a week of hard and frustrating discussion.

For the South African Government is equally insistent that the UN somehow proves its ability to mediate impartially, without favouring Swapo, in the spirit of the UN General Assembly's appointment of the guerilla movement as the "sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people."

The UN delegation consists of the same senior officials who held talks with the Government in January this year.

They are Mr Brian Urquhart, Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr Abdulrahim A Farah, Under Secretary-General, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN's Chief Administrator designate for the territory during the proposed election preparations, and Lieutenant-General Prem Chand.

UN team expected in SA at weekend

ROM 16/10/80

WINDHOEK — A United Nations team is expected to arrive in South Africa this weekend for talks on the South West Africa settlement plan, Windhoek sources said yesterday.

The SWA Ministers' Council and political parties in the territory had not yet been officially invited to attend.

Sources confirmed that there was little doubt at this stage that the UN team would arrive in South Africa this weekend and that the talks would start in Pretoria on Monday.

When the visit by the UN delegation was first mooted it was agreed that the talks would last about seven days.

There were no indications whether the UN team would fly to Windhoek for talks with SWA leaders after completing negotiations with the South African Government.

Local leaders might have to fly to Pretoria for the talks, sources said.

But some political groups, especially those to the Left, were reluctant to meet the UN in South Africa.

It would be tantamount to recognising South African authority in Namibia, one source said.

"Whether it will be possible for the UN to come to Windhoek or whether they will be willing to do so is another matter."

Political groups such as the Swapo Democrats and the Namibian National Front would prefer to meet the UN delegation in Windhoek, as they had done in the past, sources said.

The majority Turnhalle Alliance in the SWA National Assembly and the Ministers' Council as well as most other political groups and parties in SWA, have insisted that they be afforded the same recognition in talks with the UN as Swapo.

It is also stated South Africa

can policy that political groups in SWA and the Ministers' Council be given proper recognition in any talks with the UN on the settlement plan.

Issues which are expected to feature prominently in talks between the UN delegation and South Africa as well as with local leaders in the territory are:

- The practical implementation of a UN supervised election in terms of Security Council Resolution 435.

- The grave objections by South Africa and the Ministers' Council in SWA that the UN showed a distinct bias towards Swapo.

- The practical implications of a demilitarised zone between SWA and Angola, and

- The position of Mr Mariti Ahtisaari, who holds the dual jobs of UN Commissioner for Namibia and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative to SWA — Sapa

Pretoria preparing to accept Swapo?

(221)

The South African Government may be coming round, slowly, to the remarkable view that a Swapo Government in South West Africa may not be such a bad thing after all

Startling as this may seem, and although Pretoria is keeping all options open, there seems to be increasing acceptance that Swapo could win a majority of seats in a UN that it might have majority support

At the same time, it is clear that it is accepted, even in Pretoria, that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, headed by Mr Dirk Mudge, has not made sufficient impact to be able to win an election

With the possibility of the DTA receiving a damaging blow in the white elections for the second tier of government next month, the hard fact that the DTA option may not work is being taken seriously in Pretoria

If this is the case, there are only two options open. Holding on to the territory with a deteriorating security situation and increased international hostility, including sanctions; or the acceptance of Swapo.

The major problem with the second option is that white voters, particularly Nationalist voters, inside South Africa may not be able to accept this is the best way out

If a substantial segment of South African voters feel the government has sold out in South West Africa and, aided and abetted by the Herstigte Nasionale Party, accuse it of handing the territory over to the Marxists, the government could find it has little room to manoeuvre.

But it could argue before its supporters that the people of SWA accepted the election formula Pretoria negotiated with the UN and the Western contact group and that because they wanted an election it had no alternative but to respect their wishes

Such an argument would not be popular in white circles in South Africa, but it may be accepted as inevitable in much the same way as the events in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola have been accepted, albeit with considerable reluctance

If this is the case, the attractions of an all-party conference somewhere in Africa are high for all sides

It would imply some recognition for the internal political parties, who would have to attend, and it would imply that the UN's claim that Swapo is the sole representative of the people is not, in fact, the case.

It would enable South Africa and Swapo to negotiate directly — something which has not

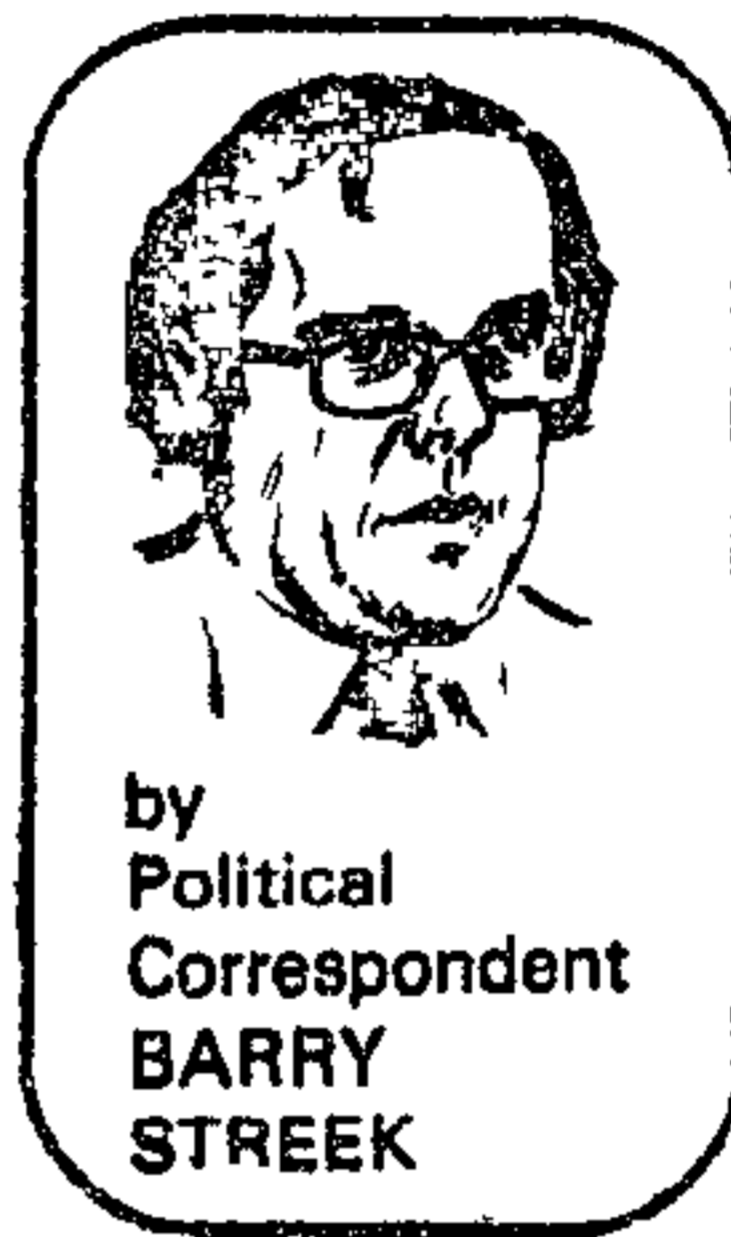
DD 16/10/80
been achieved before — and it would ensure the participation of the Front-Line states in an essentially African settlement

Indeed, the fact it would be an African settlement is one of the conference's major advantages

And Swapo and the internal parties could agree to hold elections on the basis negotiated by the South African and UN representatives when they meet in Pretoria next week

If it is agreed at this conference, which could be in Gaborone, Lusaka or Lagos, that UN-supervised elections take place, it would be impossible for Pretoria to reject the decision without having sanctions imposed

Initially they may only be restricted sanctions, or sporadically applied sanc-



tions, and South Africa would probably be able to resist them, but then the principle of sanctions against the Republic would have been accepted internationally and, later, gradually tightened

There is virtually no possibility of sanctions later being lifted, even if the SWA dispute is eventually resolved, and for that reason Pretoria would like to do what it can to prevent them being imposed

Already diplomatic negotiations for an all-party conference are taking place and, I understand, a venue has already been agreed on

It will be some time before these negotiations are concluded and there are many pitfalls in the way of them eventually taking place, but the idea has been pushed and publicly supported

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has said that South Africa would not stand in the way of them taking place

And the former Administrator - General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has openly supported the talks being held, saying that a Lancaster House-type settlement conference has more chance of success than a UN-negotiated settlement.

Whatever the form of negotiation finally agreed on, the outcome is the same. Either South Africa must learn to live with

Swapo or it must govern SWA under increasing difficulties

A University of South Africa lecturer, Andre Du Pisane, recently spelled out these difficulties and they make sobering reading. Internationally, South Africa's presence in SWA is regarded as illegal, but at the same time she has agreed with the Western Five on a staged withdrawal

Secondly, "no matter how skilfully engineered, no internal settlement will merit international acceptability or stem the guerilla war. On the contrary it may indeed invite further external participation

Thirdly, he said, the local Namibian economy might well be transformed into a siege economy similar to that in Zimbabwe at the height of the guerilla war, with rapidly increased spending on defence, declines in much-needed agricultural production, growing unemployment (which is already dangerously high), and no foreign investment

In addition, Pretoria would be branded internationally as the culprit and it would leave the West with little leverage to hold off punitive action against South Africa

Other than the fact that it could hold off Swapo rule — at least for a while — that option clearly has little attraction

The alternative of holding the elections, with perhaps a significant DTA share of the vote, and a divided Swapo in government has obvious dangers for Pretoria, besides the internal political ramifications

It would mean another hostile government on the borders and it would mean that its relations with the new government in SWA would be similar to those it has with Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

It is, however, clear that no government in SWA will be able to survive without aid and, probably unofficial recognition of South Africa's economic power in the territory

With the only harbour at the South African-controlled Walvis Bay, the new government in Windhoek would simply have to come to terms with the realities of South African power

Moreover, the participation of South Africa in settlement talks in an African capital and international recognition for the settlement would undoubtedly enhance Pretoria's status in the world and, for a while at least, take the heat off the Republic

Difficult and surprising as it may seem today, a Swapo victory under these circumstances may be the best solution for Pretoria

It may be, in a phrase borrowed from Dr Viljoen, the valid alternative

By 1977, follow-up studies of this same group by the same research team revealed that the death rate for both cancer and asbestosis was almost doubled. The larger contributor to excess deaths was cancer

One of the members of this research team³⁰ has revised some of the original assumptions to take account of these new facts apparent since 1977. Using these revised assumptions on the data he has estimated that exposure to lf/cc (i.e. half the BOHS standard) over a 50 year period might increase the death rate by 25% after retirement.³⁰ Subject to the same conditions as many as 1 in 14 workers might develop asbestosis. He also believes, along with most other agencies, that for lung cancer there is no definite safe level of asbestos exposure, below which there is no risk of developing it.^{30,57} With mesothelioma there is a considerable risk for truly trivial levels of exposure.

When the terrain of assumptions and extrapolations is exhausted it becomes clear that the real problem of the hazards of industrial exposures to asbestos is one of allowing sufficient time to elapse to complete the lag period before cancers develop before it is really possible to prove or disprove the validity of any argument relating to safe levels.

The current level of exposure below which there are supposed to be no risks to health has only been in official existence since 1971. The definite proof is still between 5 and 20 years away in the future. Taken together with the improbability of there being such a safe level for a carcinogen, a study in the USA of gold miners working in mines contaminated with amosite in concentrations of less than 2f/cc in the air is very disturbing. A significant number of excess deaths from ARD's, was found amongst these miners.^{31a}

B.2.111 NO SAFE LEVEL

It seems that the argument is inexorably moving in the direction of one where no safe level exists through a succession of attempts to create safe conditions which have all subsequently proved

It goes without saying organisation at all, the work is likely to be given minimal.

In summary then, principle, management and these parties is manifestly peculiar nature of the of - academic argument.

But this 'neutrality' assumptions shared with tions, phrased in the a range of possibilities interests of industry,

No 198, 1980

PROCLAMATION TO EXTEND IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA LIABILITY FOR SERVICE IN TERMS OF THE DEFENCE ACT, 1957

Under the powers vested in me by section 38 of the South West Africa Constitution Act, 1968 (Act 39 of 1968), I hereby make the laws set out in the Schedule

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria on this Seventh day of October, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty

M VILJOEN, State President

By Order of the State President-in-Council

P W BOTHA

M. Botha
for Seal
see
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No 198, 1980

PROKLAMASIE OM IN SUIDWES AFRIKA LIABILITEIT VOOR DIENST IN TERME VAN DIE WET, 1957, UIT TE BREI

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by van die Wet op die Konstitusie van Suidw 1968 (Wet 39 van 1968), maak ek hierby die Bylae vervat

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seel van die F van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Sew van Oktober Eenduisend Neghonderd-en-tag

M VILJOEN, Staatspresident

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade

P W BOTHA

98 7259

UN team arrives ⁽²²⁾ for talks on SWA

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

A HIGH-POWERED United Nations team arrives in Pretoria tomorrow in a bid to break the protracted deadlock over a settlement for the South West African dispute

The eight-man team will be headed by Mr Brian Urquhart, UN Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and perhaps the most important UN man after the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim

Dr Urquhart will be accompanied by Mr Abdulrahim Farah, another top man in the UN secretariat, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the designated UN Administrator for SWA, and General Prem Chand, the designate commander of the UN military contingent

The discussions, which will involve representatives of the SWA's internal political parties, may last several days. A week has been set aside for them

South African representatives will include the Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs Dr Brand Fourie, and officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs

The Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan, will be briefed fully on the talks and will undoubtedly make their own input to the South African case as the talks proceed

The immediate objective of the talks will be to end the impasse over the proposed

100km wide demilitarised zone along the SWA-Angolan border, which was itself proposed as a way to resolve South African objections to Dr Waldheim's plan for implementation of UN Resolution 435

The resolution embodied the settlement proposals negotiated by the Western Five (the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada) and accepted by the main parties in the dispute: South Africa and Swapo, the revolutionary guerrilla movement

Although South Africa has expressed reservations about practical issues — including deployment of UN troops to police the demilitarised zone and firm guarantees that returning Swapo personnel will be truly committed to peace — the

main focus of Pretoria's objections has concerned allegations that the UN is not impartial

As Mr Pik Botha has put it "At the root of the threatening impasse is the fact that the UN is required to play a neutral role but at the same time it is the most ardent protagonist of Swapo, which is one of several parties contending for power in the territory"

Dr Waldheim has tried to assure Mr Botha of his neutrality and that of the UN secretariat in written replies to Mr Botha. His envoys will now attempt to do so verbally

A proposal which might enter into the talks is the "Lancaster House option" — all-party talks for SWA along lines of the talks which led to a settlement in Zimbabwe

STAR 10/10/80 (221)

Swapo deaths top 1280

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces in SWA/Namibia have killed 1283 Swapo insurgents so far this year — or more than a company a month — according to a communique released here today by the headquarters of the SWA Territory Force.

At the same time it was announced that a further six Swapo men who had infiltrated the white farming area of Outjo in northern SWA/Namibia had been killed by security forces in the past two days.

This means that a total of eight insurgents of the group of 15 who had entered the Outjo district a week ago have now been

killed. The remaining seven have, according to the security force release, scattered and fled out of the Outjo district.

Since October 1, 44 Swa-

po insurgents have been killed by security forces in various contacts, which the statement said had been initiated by the security forces.

Most of these contacts took place close to the Angolan border.

The statement said the average kill-rate of more than 120 a month was more than a company a month in the low-intensity war being conducted along the borders of SWA/Namibia.

In one of the latest contacts security forces confronted a group of 25 Swapo insurgents. In the initial contact six were killed and the rest managed to evade the forces. It was clear that they were making for a pre-arranged rendezvous.

The statement said security forces received information and the rest of the group was found.

"In the short but heavy firefight which resulted after security forces had surprised the group, 15 were shot dead," said the statement.

'Bias' likely topic at ⁽²²¹⁾ UN-SA talks

EDM 18/10/80

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

SOUTH AFRICA'S insistence that the United Nations demonstrate its impartiality on South West Africa is certain to figure prominently in talks with the UN team in Pretoria on Monday, according to informed sources.

The eight-man UN delegation, which arrives at Jan Smuts Airport today, will discuss a letter written by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, to the UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

As the letter — which is expected to serve as an "agenda" for the first phase of the discussions — expresses Mr Botha's view that the UN favours Swapo, the question of UN impartiality seems unavoidable.

Sources in Pretoria yesterday rejected allegations that South Africa was "suddenly making an issue" of the UN's preference for Swapo, purportedly as a pretext for delaying settlement of the dispute.

"South Africa rejects that accusation totally," the sources said.

Another argument rejected in Pretoria circles is that to accuse the UN of preference for Swapo is too crude a view, since it does not distinguish between the UN Security Council and Secretariate, on the one hand, and the UN General Assembly, on the other.

The corollary is that the Security Council and Secretariate do not exhibit the bias for

Swapo manifested by the General Assembly, which regards Swapo as the "sole and authentic representative" of the South West African people.

But, the sources countered, Untag, the UN military force entrusted with monitoring observance of the settlement by all parties to the dispute, will act in the name of the United Nations as a whole and not merely the Security Council or the Secretariate.

It was therefore logical to demand UN impartiality on South West Africa, the more so as the UN force monitoring the settlement had been cast into the role of "honest broker" and arbiter, the sources added.

In his August 30 letter to Dr Waldheim, Mr Botha stressed that much had already been achieved in agreements relating to settlement of the dispute.

It is understood that South Africa would not be averse to holding an all party conference along the lines of the Lancaster House conference which ended the Rhodesian war.

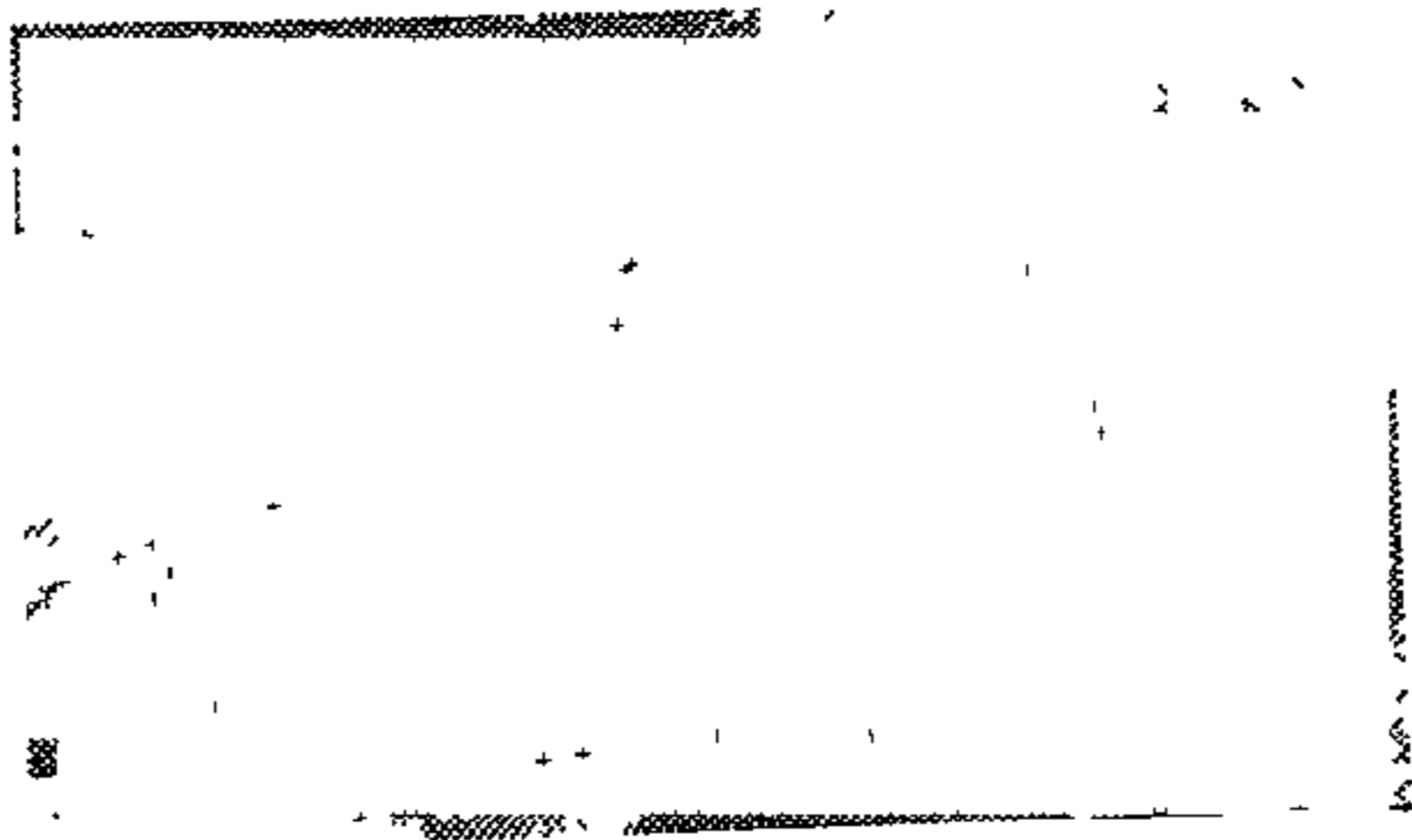
Dr Waldheim has tried in vain in recent communiques to convince South Africa of his impartiality. But in his most recent letter to Mr Botha, dated September 9, his main concern seems to have been the continuing violence in South Africa.

"I have on many occasions expressed my deep concern at the cycle of violence resulting from the unresolved nature of the Namibian question."

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SADF is buying out the Bushman

Cont.



An off-duty Bushman relaxes with his baby

Professor claims Kung San are selling their culture for army pay and rations

THE South African Army has become a prime target for 43-year-old Professor Richard Lee, a University of Toronto anthropologist who claims South Africa is destroying the culture of the Kung San Bushmen to further the war effort against guerrilla terrorists in Namibia.

Lee has spent four years in Southern Africa studying the Kalahari Desert Kung San Bushmen. He claims that South Africa is using them much in the way U.S.

From
PETER WARD,
Toronto

diplomats at the United Nations, in New York.

Special Forces troops used the near stone-age Montagnard hill men in Vietnam — to fight a white man's battles at the expense of their culture.

"It's high pay and regular food which attracts the Kung San into South African forces," said Lee in a telephone interview from New York.

"I've heard reports that a sergeant is paid as much as R200 monthly, and that's an unheard of amount for a Kung San. I don't know whether the pay estimate includes clothing, rations, and housing. It's still so high I can hardly believe it."

Kung San serving in the two battalions formed with white South African officers told Lee when he visited Botswana this summer that they were serving because they need jobs.

"They are in dire economic necessity and the South African pay, well it's almost impossible to resist," he said.

Kung San Bushmen were first used as trackers to watch border points, beginning as early as 1964. Since 1974, according to Lee, they have been organized into two battalions, the 36th and 31st.

Lee has visited only the 36th battalion. He said that the white commanding officer told him that if the South Africans go home, the Bushmen go with them.

Lee is concerned because the 20,000 Kung San, one of the world's last surviving hunting and gathering societies, are being changed by South Africa in a deliberate way, in the interests of furthering the war effort.

Until 1960, the Kung San lived nomadic lives. The war in Namibia changed that life style. Lee says the Kung San still retain their old skills, but they will lose them irretrievably in a few more years.

Lee has gathered evidence which he has been showing to

"The only hope for these people," he said, "lies in the U.N. involvement in Namibia. I have been talking to delegates from the five trustee countries seeking a solution, Canada, Britain, the U.S., West Germany and France."

The two fighting units of Kung San have been armed with semi-automatic rifles, machine guns, and mortars. The idea, apparently, has been to take advantage of the natural enmity between the small brown-skinned Bushmen and the larger, black bantu.

"It's largely a fiction, that hostility between Bushman and Bantu," said Lee. "I've seen them work together quite happily with no more friction than you would find in any working group."

One of the Bushmen interviewed told me that he'd only seen a Swapo guerilla once, after the guerilla had been taken prisoner. The Swapo prisoner told the Bushman: "We don't want to hurt you. We are after the South Africans. We should be fighting together. This country belongs to all of us."

"I think that racial hostility is a concocted story," Lee said.

Another Bushman expressed to Lee his feeling that "Botswana is a land of peace, but South West Africa is a land of war. We would like to live in Botswana, but we can't get jobs there."

The Canadian professor is hoping to obtain firm U.N. backing for his crusade to save the Kung San Bushmen, by January.

"It's all happening, he says, because South Africa is trying to 'Namibianise the conflict,' but the Kung San, who are suffering, are not people defending their own turf. They are mercenaries without the fighting instinct."

Bushmen stationed near the heart of the Swapo guerilla war may be involved in fire-fights, but in the camp he visited more distant from action, he found lots of enthusiasm for pay and clothing — little desire for fighting.

SWA security forces kill 21 insurgents

RDW 20/10/68

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By PETER KENNIV
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Security Forces in South West Africa have killed 21 Swapo insurgents in the northern part of the territory since last Thursday.

Major-General Charles Lloyd, officer commanding the SVA Territory Force, announced this at the weekend.

On Friday, six of a group of 15 raiders were killed after extensive follow-up operations in the Otjozondjib area of the group had been killed earlier in the week.

The infiltration of the raiders to south of Ovambo and the Etosha Game Reserve was seen by observers as an attempt by Swapo's military wing to gain prestige during the

present visit to South Africa of a United Nations team which is trying to break the deadlock on a settlement for SWA.

When a UN team visited South Africa and SWA in February, Swapo insurgents crossed into the former "white farming" area of Tsumeb, south of Ovambo.

When, in one contact with the raiders, a 15-year-old school-boy, Sanja Dambel, shot dead two teachers after they had left their school in a raid on the family's farm.

On Saturday, in one of the Security Forces' most successful contacts, 15 insurgents were shot in a surprise attack on a farm in Ovambo.

Earlier in the week, a group of 20 Swapo men had been reported to be operating in the

area. Soon afterwards, six were shot dead — but the rest escaped.

Gen Lloyd said that it was only after a sustained follow-up operation, involving dedicated tracking and information from the local population, that the group was tracked down again.

The Security Forces set an ambush in which 15 men died in a short intense battle.

Afterwards, arms, ammunition and a quantity of propaganda and radio equipment were found.

Gen Lloyd said the group had previously had a deal with the Security Forces — to increase the local population and to recruit men.

The general said it was remarkable how young the insurgents had been — some only 15 years old. This could be ascribed to the primary shortage in Swapo's ranks because of the heavy losses it has suffered this year.

He said that since October 1, 1967, and in spite of the fact that 1967 has brought the total this year to 1,200.

There was an average of more than 120 Swapo deaths a month which, in military terms, said Gen Lloyd, meant the equivalent of a company each month in "this low intensity war".

UN hints at more flexible DTA line

STAR

20/10/80

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By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent
and David Breier, Pretoria Bureau

The United Nations negotiating team intend adopting a more flexible attitude towards Democratic Turnhalle Alliance participation in the crucial South West Africa talks starting today, according to Western diplomatic sources.

This could remove one of the major obstacles presently preventing an internationally acceptable settlement.

However, the leader of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, is demanding full participation in negotiations as a completely independent party and even the United Nations' new flexibility might not stretch to allow this.

Mr Mudge's demands may not get the public backing of the South Africans, especially if the United Nations team offers a new compromise which includes DTA participation.

The first meeting this afternoon between Mr Brian Urquhart's UN team and South Africa's officials will determine the agenda for this week's negotiations.

The issues at stake are:

- DTA participation
- Monitoring of the Demilitarised Zone (DMZ)
- Demonstrable impartiality by the United Nations.

The UN is likely to be more flexible about the DTA, the DMZ proposals will basically be a military issue, and Mr Urquhart has already indicated he is prepared to go out of his way to ensure UN impartiality is made obvious.

Cont

STAR 20/10/80

Outside chance

In spite of this, diplomats see only an outside chance of the talks being completely successful.

Mr Mudge is staying in the same hotel as the UN delegation and is expected to return to Windhoek unless he can participate in this week's talks.

Mr Urquhart said today he was prepared to meet internal parties from SWA/Namibia during his visit to Pretoria.

He refused to take the matter further and say whether he would agree to Mr Mudge participating in the talks as he said the matter had not yet been raised with him.

It is understood that Mr Mudge sees no point in interviewing the UN team after its talks with the South Africans are completed.

The South African delegation in this afternoon's preliminary talks is being led by Mr Brand Fourie, the director general of Foreign Affairs, while the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha will take the helm later.

● Reports that the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, cancelled a courtesy visit, he was to have made to the UN delegation, have been dismissed by both sides as unfounded. No such visit was ever planned both UN and South African sources say.

Election

protest:

21/11/77

Nkomo

(21)

gets trap

By DAVID FORRETT
Mail Africa Bureau

SALISBURY — The Zimbabwean Home Affairs Minister, Mr Joshua Nkomo, was clipped today yesterday by a Cabinet colleague for calling for the coming local government election to be postponed.

Accusing the Patriotic Front (Zanu) president of "playing politics", Dr Jeddison Zvobgo, the Minister of Local Government, said he rejected Mr Nkomo's allegations with the "contempt of a despise".

Dr Zvobgo said he could only assume that Mr Nkomo had been "stung" by recent election results in the districts, where the ruling Zanu-PF made a clean sweep.

"We have no intention of postponing the elections," he said. "What should Mr Nkomo demonstrate that in any district it has become impossible to hold an election, I will be prepared to listen to his plea."

But he must postpone elections, unable to make it possible for them to be held. (The schools will close, there will be a strike, you will have to start to go, or there is no school, then you will be able to start school.")

Dr Zvobgo was reacting to Mr Nkomo's claim at the weekend that the way in which local government elections were being conducted was not in Zimbabwe's best interests.

He told about 15,000 supporters in Harare that the problems facing voters were "a disaster" and "we cannot stand idly and let it destroy what we found for one of the years."

Mr Nkomo made vague allegations of shooting in election areas, and of people being lined up by armed men and ordered to vote.

But Dr Zvobgo said Mr Nkomo had never raised any complaints or criticism of the election procedure during Cabinet meetings or those of the special committee on public order.

In three district council elections held so far in the former African tribal trust lands, Zanu-PF candidates have been returned unopposed in all but the Chivhu district where, in any event, seven of the ten Zanu candidates withdrew their nominations on election day.

Dr Zvobgo said he did not know the reasons for their withdrawals, but he had been assured that there had been no "incidents".

A number of other district council elections will be held next month — almost at the same time as urban voters go to the polls to elect the first non-racial municipal councils on November 22 and 23.

Dr Zvobgo defended the current voting procedures for district council elections, which are not necessarily being held by secret ballot. He said the provisions were in laws the government inherited.

Though he personally preferred a secret ballot, he said the system created confusion in certain communities.

"They don't believe that what you have been counting was in the (Zanu) list. It's just a conflict of cultures and traditions we have here."

Hint of headway in UN-SA talks

RJN 21/10/80

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By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE United Nations and South African teams negotiating on South West Africa met for only two hours in Pretoria yesterday — but it is learnt reliably that they resolved one potential problem: when the men from the world body should see representatives of SWA's internal political parties.

Mr Brian Urquhart, the leader of the UN delegation, would not comment on the talks except to say, "We had a good beginning. We continue tomorrow."

Mr Urquhart told newsmen at the weekend that his team would be available to see SWA political leaders, and proposed that the best time would be at the end of the UN-South Africa talks.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and chairman of the SWA Council of Ministers, found this time satisfactory.

Mr Mudge, who came to Pretoria from SWA, felt there would be no point in merely being informed of the negotiations outcome. He wanted to be consulted during the talks in order to be able to influence the outcome — and threatened to return to Windhoek unless he was involved in the actual bargaining process.



The most high-powered UN delegation to visit the country for discussions on independence for SWA opening their talks with the Government yesterday — Mr C Thornbery, an advisor, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, and the mission's leader, Mr Brian Urquart, UN Under-Secretary-General

Picture NOEL WATSON

Cvt

RDM 21/10/80

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Mr. Urquhart and his seven advisers agreed to see Mr Mudge before the end of their talks with South Africa — thus theoretically giving Mr Mudge, and leaders of the smaller SWA parties, a chance to influence the outcome.

Informed sources said Mr Mudge declined an invitation to join the South African team during its preparatory discussions. Presumably his decision was to emphasise his status as an independent negotiator, rather than a South African auxiliary.

The UN team yesterday spoke to representatives of the Western Five — the United States, Britain, Germany, France and Canada — before meeting the South African delegation.

The Western Five were largely responsible for the agreement in April 1978 to end the SWA dispute. The agreement was adopted by the UN in the form of Resolution 435.

The UN-South Africa talks continue today.

● Sapa-AP reports from Washington that the US State Department yesterday called for swift implementation of the UN plan for SWA independence.

A spokesman, Mr Jack Cannon, said "We believe discussions have reached a crucial point and that implementation of the plan should be reached as soon as possible."

"It cannot be emphasised too strongly that further delays will only lessen the possibilities for effecting a peaceful transition," he said.

First stumbling block in UN Pretoria talks removed

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STAR 21/10/80

By Peter Sullivan and David Breier

Talks on South West Africa/Namibia started in earnest today with the first stumbling block — participation by the internal parties — already removed.

And there is every indication that concrete plans have been formulated to overcome the main hurdle of the talks — proof of United Nations impartiality.

These plans could be made public tomorrow.

Shortly before talks resumed today, a spokesman for the leader of the

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, said the DTA was "fairly happy" with the date and time assigned to it for consultation with the United Nations delegation.

Although DTA sources were not willing to disclose it, it is understood the meeting will take place tomorrow night.

The DTA delegation will be the first of the SWA/Namibia internal parties to meet directly with Mr Brian Urquhart's UN delegation.

Aktur will be meeting the UN delegation on

Thursday, the Federal Party on Friday, and arrangements are being made to see the Namibian Independence Party and possibly the Namibia National Front and Swapo-D.

The United Nations will not be paying for any delegations to fly from Windhoek to Pretoria, in spite of some parties' refusal to accept South African Government transport.

However, South Africa is now prepared to make seats available on ordinary South African Airways flights.

The talks yesterday which were basically preliminary and designed to draw up an agenda, have been characterised as "happy and courteous".

Mr Urquhart said "We had a good beginning".

South African sources said "The talks are still at the courteous stage".

The two negotiating parties are to divide into committees for today's talks where the third major problem — the monitoring the demilitarised zone (DMZ) — is likely to be thrashed out between the military representatives of both parties.

POST

TRANSVAAL

Telephone 27-6081

POST 21/10/80
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SOUTH Africa is just as apprehensive about giving Swapo, in Namibia, the credibility everybody refused to grant Mr Robert Mugabe before Zimbabwe gained her spectacular independence.

This is not unusual for a government that insists on backing the horse they have trained and put through their own way of striding the turf.

It looks good, in the short term, to back the man who will be his master's voice and jump every time that the master cracks the whip. But this is most dangerous and even self-destructive in the long term view.

There is also a certain measure of cowardice in a system blindly refusing to admit it has made the wrong choices, even if the ultimate result of that choice would destroy them.

South Africa is of course in a political logjam of her own making. The visible and not so visible involvement this government has had in the affairs of Namibia and even Angola, should make them fearful of a Namibia under a black leader.

Like the guilty, they cannot take a chance on somebody who is as dark a horse as Mugabe was before the Zimbabwean independence.

It is surely almost impossible for them to hope there is another Mugabe in the making in Namibia. Mr Sam Nujoma has made as much radically explosive statements about black majority rule as Mr Mugabe did.

He is also painted with all the red colours of the rainbow, the kind of political hue that makes SA whites shie like frightened horses.

South Africa does not have as much strategic interest, militarily and economically in Namibia as it used to have. They can look after themselves militarily even if there was a Swapo government.

But they want to feel comfortable, comfortable that they would not have to be spending sleepless and watchful eyes on both Zimbabwe and Namibia.

This is why SA is going all the way to support a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) government in Namibia.

Worker gave tip-off about terrorists

RDM (4)
21/10/80 (221)

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — White farmers in the Outjo district of South West Africa probably owe their lives to an alert labourer who tipped off the army about Swapo insurgents

The guerrillas were spotted on October 12. The Security Forces went into action and killed two insurgents the next day. Then they started a man-hunt for the rest.

Most farmers in the tough, drought-stricken area south of the Etosha Game Reserve are members of the Outjo Commando. Many of their wives are also handy with rifles, and some trusted farm labourers can be relied on to help fight off attacking terrorists.

When the Rand Daily Mail visited Outjo last week, it seemed that most inhabitants had not seriously expected to be attacked.

Though just south of the operational area, terrorists have never attacked people in the area.

Two fleeing terrorists, however, were shot dead more than a year ago on a farm in the district.

The last terror attacks south of the cutline between the northern tribal trustlands and the white farmlands, was in the Grootfontein-Tsumeb-Otavi district in February.

Nearly all the attacks in the white farming zone have been in or after the rainy season, when there is more foliage cover.

At the moment, the tangle of thorn tree across the plains south of Etosha is leafless. The bare trees would hide guerrilla movements from curious eyes on the ground, but not from the air — as two young insurgents found out when Security Forces blasted them from a helicopter gunship last Monday at Bakenkop, on the farm Maureen, about 20km north-west of Otjikondo.

Farm labourers at the evacuated farm Glen, and the farm Maureen, told the "Mail" they saw three helicopters circling over Bakenkop. There was a short burst of fire, and then troops arrived. Since then, the Glen farmhands and their families have been living inside the security fence round the homestead.

The "Mail" was not able to trace the labourer whose tip-off put paid to the guerrillas' plans.

There are empty farms in the Outjo area where guerrillas could get water. On some of the abandoned farms there were remains of small camp fires.

The two shot guerrillas were about 19 years old and wore green fatigues and black boots. They were carrying AK47 rifles, rifle grenades, and hand grenades.

It was a remarkable enough feat to hike undetected across hundreds of kilometres of difficult terrain without the additional burden of arms and ammunition.

A "Mail" reporter and a Windhoek journalist had a taste of what it is like to trek across that territory under the scorching October sun when their car stuck in sand near Bakenkop.

But at least there was ice-cold water waiting for them at a farmhouse at the end of their 10km hike.

After the guerrillas were spotted, they split into four groups. One man strayed and turned up at a cattle point on Wednesday. He was bleeding from the mouth. He refreshed himself with water and disappeared before labourers there could notify the Security Forces.

Last week's attacks have made an impact on the farming community. Most men have been involved in commando operations. Some farms have been temporarily evacuated.

Couples who have stood firm, such as Mr At van der Colff and his wife, Marthie, who have worked the isolated farm Aribib for 25 years, never stray far from their rifles. They rely heavily on their little dog for early warning of trouble.

One cannot help but marvel at these elderly people whose daily life is a struggle to make a living out of the parched sand, and wonder what chance they would stand in a fullscale terrorist onslaught.

Perhaps the experience will lead to an effective tightening up in the area. This would surely benefit people such as Mrs Hazell Caspars, of the farm Maureen.

The "Mail" visited her the afternoon after the two guerrillas were shot on her land. She was resting on a divan inside a small, unfenced house. Next to her was a shotgun, and round her waist was a cartridge-studded gunbelt and small pistol.

Her two young grandchildren were playing outside. And her husband was away working as a truckdriver to make ends meet during the drought.

But the only real security would be a political solution to end the long, drawn-out bush war.

UN, SA suspend talks indefinitely

By Peter Sullivan
and Chris van Gass

Talks in Pretoria between South Africa and the United Nations delegation to decide the future of South West Africa/Namibia have been suspended indefinitely.

Yesterday the UN team is believed to have set out specific proposals on how UN impartiality could be publicly demonstrated and the delegation is expected to put these same proposals to the internal parties today.

After a working lunch, the two negotiating parties separated yesterday, at the request of the South African delegation, so that private consultations could be held.

Today the UN team under Mr Brian Urquhart was still waiting for word from the South African side about when the talks would be resumed.

According to an SABC report, South Africa now

also has specific proposals on how UN impartiality could be demonstrated, but this report was dismissed as "absolute nonsense" by two members of South Africa's team, one of whom remarked "not that I know of".

The main problem — and possibly the only remaining obstacle — is apparently the technical military aspects regarding the monitoring of the demilitarised zone (DMZ).

These specifics are to be discussed by a sub-committee of the negotiating parties on which both General Prem Chand, head of the UN military task force and General Charles Lloyd, officer commanding SWA territory force, are serving.

Meanwhile, Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which was "fairly happy" yesterday about the time (9 pm) and date of its meeting with the UN team, was very up-

set to learn last night that the UN would now be meeting the Namibia Independence Party at 6 pm.

DTA leaders are upset that Mr Urquhart's team has consented to consult the NIP before the DTA. They point out that the DTA is the majority party in the National Assembly and the NIP is not represented.

Diplomatic sources have also thrown new light on the meeting between the five Western powers' ambassadors and Mr Pik Botha at the Union Building on Monday morning.

The five ambassadors are reported to have told Mr Botha it was critically important that real progress be made because pressures were mounting and, without real progress, a meeting of the Security Council would be unavoidable.

The UN delegation has also warned in private

discussions that any further delay in obtaining a settlement is likely to be seen as a deliberate ploy by South Africa.

Mr Urquhart admitted last night that his team was anxious to return to New York with a firm ceasefire date.

This morning the NIP submitted to the UN team a memorandum proposing a multi-party conference within the framework of Security Council Resolution 435. Such a Lancaster House-type conference has been mooted as the "third option" by various groups.

● In Windhoek today a spokesman for the territory force said the attack on a Swapo position in Southern Angola on Monday was not related to the current talks in Pretoria. A total of 28 Swapo and Angolan government troops were killed (See Page 7).

● Page 29 — Results of failure

SA, UN

tackle ^{rdm} 22/10/88

snags ²²¹

in DMZ

plan

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE talks in Pretoria between South Africa and the United Nations on South West Africa yesterday focused on one of the "core problems", when both sides agreed to appoint a sub-committee to examine South Africa's reservations about the proposed demilitarised zone.

Outlined by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, on August 30, South Africa's reservations form one of the major obstacles to implementation of the settlement plan.

The second major issue is the South African demand that the UN demonstrate its ability and willingness to be an impartial administrator of the peace settlement agreed two years ago.

General Charles Lloyd, officer commanding SWA Command, and General Prem Chand, commanding officer of the proposed UN peacekeeping force in SWA, were both at yesterday's talks and would certainly be serving on the sub-committee.

In his August 30 letter, Mr Botha stated South Africa's reservations in the form of assumptions about how the 100km-wide DMZ on the SWA-Angola border would operate.

His key assumptions were that:

- Conditions laid down for bases in the DMZ would apply equally to the 20 South African and seven Angolan and Zambian bases;

- Swapo guerrilla forces would be excluded from the seven bases on the Angola/Zambia side;

Mr Botha added: "The South African Government expects Untag (the UN Transitional Assistance Group) to ensure that Swapo would be excluded from the seven bases."

Until yesterday most observers believed these problems would be solved relatively easily, but they may prove more intractable than anticipated.

On the second major issue, the controversy over the "UN's preferential treatment of Swapo", different perspectives are understood to have emerged yesterday.

Where South Africa wants the UN to demonstrate its impartiality before agreeing to set a definite date for the start of the settlement process, the UN wants South Africa to agree to a firm date as a prelude to demonstrating its impartiality.

R.D. 22/10/80 (221)

28 shot dead in raid on Swapo base

By ANDRE VILJOEN
"Mail" Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — Security forces in South West Africa shot dead 28 Swapo guerrillas and MPLA soldiers during an attack on a Swapo base in south-western Angola on Monday

This was revealed in Windhoek yesterday by Brigadier

Wille Meyer, second-in-command of the SWA Territory Force

"It was unfortunate that despite repeated warnings MPLA soldiers still operated with Swapo and had to suffer the consequences of their co-operation," he said

There were no security force casualties

Monday's raid, which coincided with the opening of talks between South Africa and a visiting United Nations team which is trying to break the deadlock on a settlement for SWA, brings this month's bush war death toll to 92

On Monday the SWA Territory officially closed a week-long follow-up operation after

the infiltration of about 15 Swapo guerrillas into the farming area of Outjo, south of Etosha Pan. Eight guerrillas were killed in the action

Another recent major contact between Swapo and security forces was the killing of 85 guerrillas in southern Angola last month while a Swapo support conference was being held

This is the first in a series of articles on the history and struggle over Namibia.

POST 22/10/80 221

Legal and political tussle over Namibia

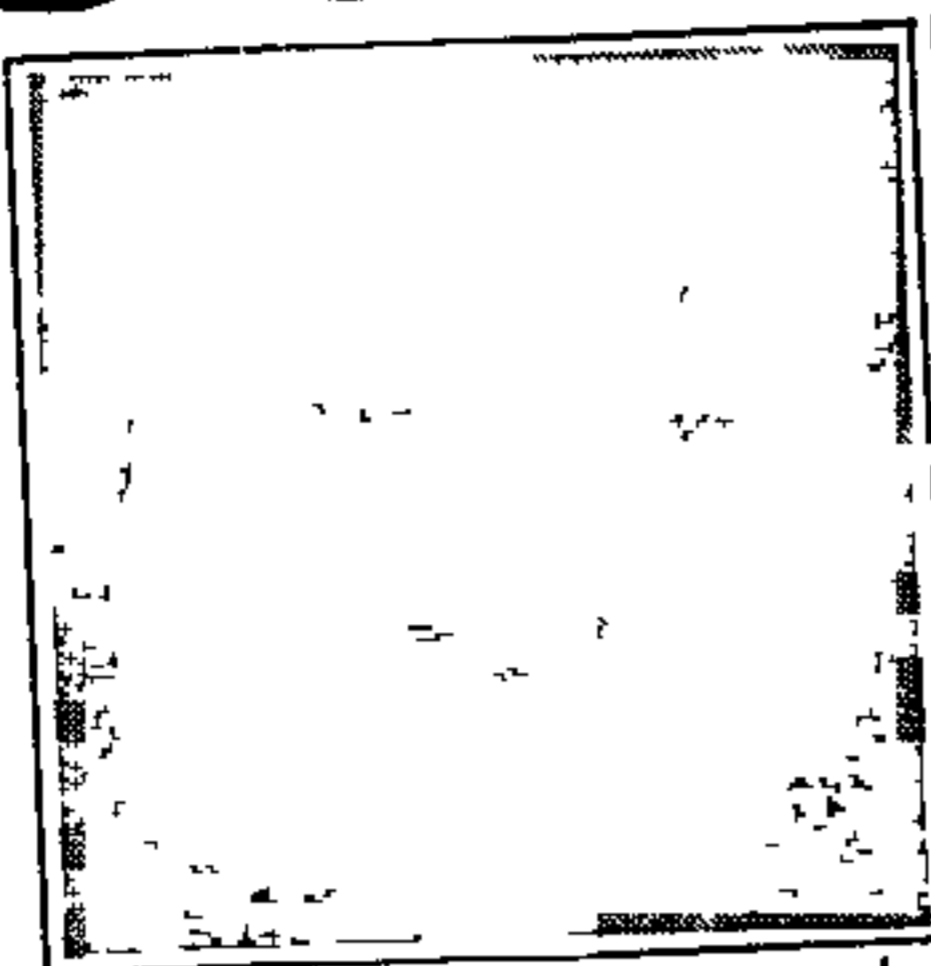
LAST week a United Nations delegation arrived in South Africa for talks on one of Africa's most pressing yet least understood problems — Namibia.

During its stay the United Nations' team hopes to break the impasse which has been holding up final implementation of a United Nations-sponsored Western-inspired settlement plan for the territory contained in Security Council Resolution Number 435.

The plan provides for a ceasefire in the bush war between South African forces backed by local indigenous Namibian units on one side against the nationalist South-West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) on the other. The ceasefire would be followed about seven months later by United Nations supervised elections leading to independence for the territory.

However, the United Nations team will also try to establish whether South Africa is really committed to United Nations-supervised elections or is merely dragging out negotiations while planning an eventual hand over to power to its favoured political organisation, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

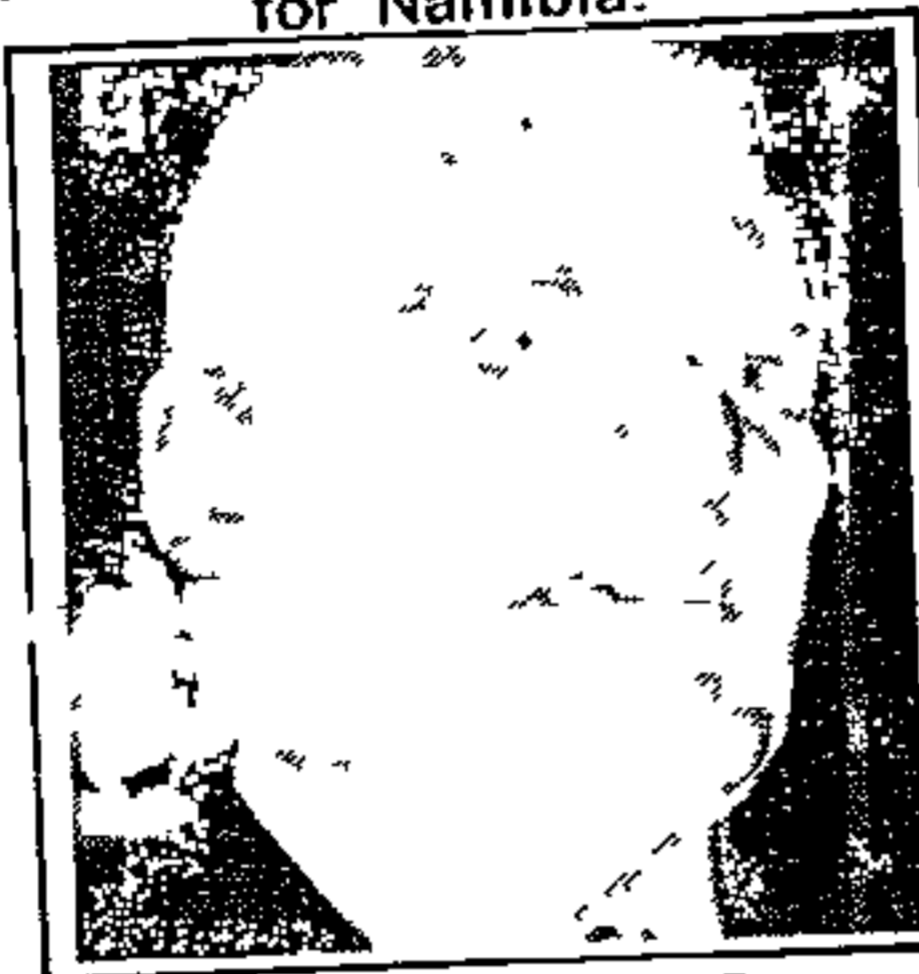
The South Africans say they support the United Nations plan in principle, but are worried about aspects of its implementation, notably what they perceive to be the pro-Swapo bias in the United Nations. South Africa's opponents in black Africa and at the United Nations believe the Pre-



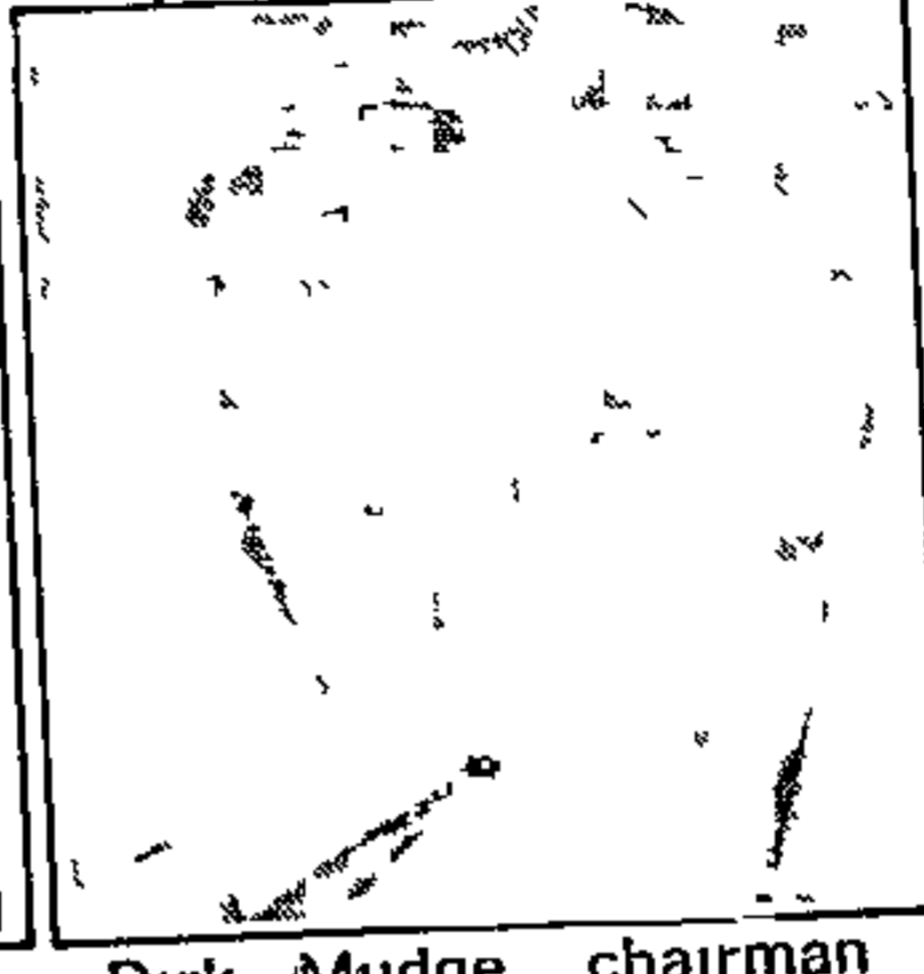
Martti Ahtisaari, United Nations commissioner for Namibia.



Sam Nujoma, head of South West Africa People's Organisation.



Justice Martinus Steyn, former Administrator of Namibia.



Dirk Mudge, chairman of Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

toria Government will not willingly give up control of Namibia unless forced to do so by an intensified guerilla war backed by sanctions and other international pressure.

A settlement in Namibia is as important for the long-term stability of southern Africa as was the successful transition of neighbouring Zimbabwe to independence earlier this year. Yet while Zimbabwe has dominated the world's headlines for the past 15 years, Namibia receives little public attention.

One reason for this is that the Namibian situation is more complex than the struggle in Zimbabwe between black nationalism and white colonialism. Furthermore, the territory's population of about a million is divided into a confusing array of 11 ethnic groups,

ranging from Ovambos to Bushmen, and there is a proliferation of political parties, many of them tiny. Even the 80,000 white inhabitants are divided into Afrikaans, Germans and English-speaking groups.

There remain many similarities with Zimbabwe, however. The territory is rich in minerals — notably uranium and diamonds — and is of considerable strategic importance. The port of Walvis Bay (the status of which is under dispute because the South Africans claim it is part of Cape Province) is the only sizeable deep-water port with access to the Southern Atlantic sea lanes between Cape Town and Lobito in Angola.

As in Zimbabwe, Namibia has also been controlled both politically and economically by a white minority. It was in order

to break the power of this white minority, and particularly the whites' plan to establish South African-style apartheid in the territory, that Swapo began its armed struggle 16 years ago. The war has already taken about 1,500 lives this year and is becoming steadily bloodier.

The escalation of violence has provoked a similar degree of international involvement as the war in Zimbabwe. The five black "front" states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia — which worked for a settlement in Zimbabwe have been trying to do the same in Namibia, fearing that they could be drawn into a big regional conflict unless a satisfactory solution is found soon. Zimbabwe has subsequently joined the "Front Line" states offering itself as a venue for a conference on Namibia.

"CONTRACT GROUP"

Five Western powers known as the "contract group" — Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and Canada — have also been working for a Namibian settlement. They fear that an escalation of the conflict could have very serious consequences for their huge economic interests not just in Namibia but in all sub-Saharan Africa.

The Russians, too, have suffered a setback through Mr Robert Mugabe's election victory in Zimbabwe, and are hoping to recoup some of their losses by ensuring that Swapo emerges as the government of an independent Namibia. Swapo, although not the "communist front" organisation the South Africans believe it to be, is heavily supported by the Russians and operates mainly from Angola where there is a strong Soviet-Cuban-East German presence.

Political parties

POLITICAL PARTIES

Swapo: Founded in 1960. Leader Sam Nujoma. Internationally recognised as the only significant Namibian liberation movement and believed to have extensive popular support, particularly among the Ovambo and in urban centres. A nationalist rather than a communist organisation although enjoying strong communist backing.

Swapo has suffered two recent splits, first in 1978 when Mr Andreas Shipanga set up his internally-based Swapo-Democratic Party and then in 1980 when Mr Mishake Myyon-

go reconstituted his Caprivan African National Union. Swapo is not banned in Namibia although most of its leadership is imprisoned or in exile.

DTA: Established in 1977 after the dissolution of the Turnhalle conference. Its leading figure is Mr Dirk Mudge, a white, who is chairman. The DTA is an alliance of parties representing the territory's 11 main ethnic groups. Its aim is to set up a three-tier system government which would combine a degree of multi-racialism with a recognition of ethnic differ-

ences. The party won an overwhelming majority in the 1978 "internal" elections and now wields power through the National Assembly.

Aktur: Comprises the rump of the old white National Party and which is strongly opposed to the white Republic Party of Mr Mudge in the DTA.

Namibia National Front: An alliance of five parties dominated by the Herero-based South-West Africa National Union (Swanu).

Other parties: Swapo Democrats, National Independence Party, and a host of small ethnic parties.

MPLA are among 28 dead in SWA raid

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The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces killed 28 Swapo and Angolan Government troops in a lightning strike into southern Angola on Monday.

The assault group, consisting of members of the South African Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force, also destroyed a "large quantity" of ammunition and equipment, the second-in-command of the Territory Force, Brigadier Willie Meyer, said in a statement.

"REGRETTABLE"

He said security forces attacked a "Swapo base" north of SWA/Namibia's Kaokoland, in a one-day operation. This was the second security force incursion into Angola north of Kaokoland announced this year.

Brigadier Meyer said the MPLA forces were killed because they "interfered" in Monday's operation.

"It is regrettable that MPLA soldiers still work with Swapo in spite of repeated warnings, and that they must now feel the consequences of this interference

"It is again stressed

that the SWA Territory Force and the South African Defence Force in no way wish to become involved in confrontations with the MPLA and it is trusted that they will now stop lending aid and cooperation to Swapo terrorists," he said.

The brief communique did not specify how many MPLA soldiers had been killed, and contained no further details.

● A small group of security force members launched a similar one-day blitz on a Swapo transit camp at the southern Angolan town of Chitado north of Kaokoland on July 30 this year.

Defence Force officers said at the time that the action was aimed at pinching off a major Swapo infiltration route which was opened last year for insurgent activities in SWA/Namibia.

A total of 27 Swapo and MPLA men were killed in the attack.

Two Swapo buildings and two MPLA buildings at Chitado, about 5 km north of the Cunene River, were blown up by the assault group.

RDM 45110130 (24)

Call to UN team for all-party SWA talks

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The United Nations team in Pretoria has been asked to consider an all-party conference as an alternative method to break the South West African deadlock

The request was made by the Namibian Independence Party (NIP) yesterday, in a memorandum to the UN team leader, Mr Brian Urquhart

It says a multi-party conference, based on the Lancaster House model, offers a better chance of bringing about the implementation of UN resolution 435 than the present round of negotiations

It says that since it first proposed all-party talks in

May, the concept had received favourable responses from the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, the South African Government and the former Administrator General of SWA, Dr Gerrit Viljoen

The NIP envisages a conference between all SWA political parties at a neutral venue under the UN or the Organisation of African Unity or the front-line states. It would include the UN and South Africa and would discuss, *inter alia*, the ending of the war and internationally-supervised elections

The NIP blames South Africa for the delay in the implementation of Resolution 435. The memorandum says SWA has been gradually transformed

into a land ravaged by "war, poverty, misery and administrative repression"

In Windhoek yesterday, Mrs Nora Chase, secretary general of the Namibia National Front (NNF), a political affiliation which includes the NIP, said the NNF would only send a delegation to Pretoria if the UN undertook to pay for its travel and hotel costs.

Mr Andries Shipanga, leader of Swapo D, said in Windhoek yesterday that it looked as if his party had written off the talks "Because we have not received a formal invitation from either the UN or the Western Five"

Representatives of seven other SWA parties were due to arrive in Pretoria yesterday

Crucial level reached in SWA talks

221

RAM 23/10/50

By PATRICK LAURINCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE leader of the visiting United Nations delegation Mr Brian Urquhart met the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pile Botha yesterday for talks which could prove to be a turning-point in negotiations over South West Africa.

"They clarified the issues and, one way or another, matters are likely to come to a head in the next day or two," one informed observer said of the talks.

He had been asked whether there was sufficient time for negotiations to be completed before the scheduled departure of the UN team on Saturday.

The first three days have only produced four hours of talks between the South African and UN teams, which did not meet in formal session yesterday.

However, arrangements were made for the UN team to meet leaders of two of the internal South West African political parties last night -- the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Namibian Independence Party.

Mr Urquhart said after his meeting with Mr Botha yesterday: "We had a long and interesting talk. He gave us some ideas of his thinking. We both have a lot to digest."

Two issues appeared to be emerging yesterday as the key question of the talks. Either issue could thwart agreement and raise the spectre of mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

South Africa, it is understood, is pressing home a point raised by Mr Botha in his letter of August 30 to the UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

In it, Mr Botha sought guarantees that the UN peace-keeping force would exclude Swapo

guerrillas from bases allocated to Angola and South West Africa in the proposed demilitarised zone.

So far, the UN has emphasised it has obtained clear commitments from the Angolan and Zambian governments to keep Swapo out of those bases. Whether the UN team can offer more, and whether what it offers will satisfy South Africa, is of pivotal importance to the fate of the talks.

But observers have said South Africa's desire for these guarantees is matched by UN pressure for South Africa to commit herself to a firm date for implementing the peace settlement.

In return for such a commitment -- which the UN team needs in order to hold off mounting pressure from UN members for mandatory sanctions against South Africa -- the UN is understood to be willing to try to satisfy South African demands that the UN prove its impartiality.

Measures the UN might undertake include:

- Surrender by Mr Martinus Ahtisaari, the proposed UN special representative in SWA during the peace settlement, of his constitutional role as Commissioner for Namibia a post derived from the pro-Swapo Council for Namibia.

- Cutting Swapo off from UN funds, including UN money which helps pay for Swapo's New York office and which South Africa insists finances Swapo propagandists in their travels around the world.

One proposal which might be mooted is that these steps be undertaken, say six weeks before the date set for the start of the ceasefire and implementation of the wider peace settlement.

○ See Page 2

Swapo ^{SAL}
claims ^{23/10/80}
SA copter ⁽²²¹⁾
downed

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo claims that its guerillas shot down another South African military helicopter, killing all five occupants, during the Republic's most recent raid into Angola.

In its latest war communique issued in Luanda, Swapo says that its anti-aircraft defences brought down the helicopter and later seized documents on board.

It gave the wheel registration number on the helicopter as evidence of its being brought down. The number is CE A 10-22812.

Swapo also claims to have blown up five armoured personnel carriers and "dozens of military troop and supply trucks" in the past two months.

The report says the number of dead — including white South African forces, Ovambo Home Guards, Territorials and special constables — has reached 180 with a further 200 wounded.

Jane Bergerol of The Guardian, says there is no great optimism in Luanda that this week's talks in Pretoria will bring South Africa any closer to implementing free elections in SWA/Namibia under the UN plan.

It says that Swapo and the MPLA have been actively promoting direct talks between the South African Government and Swapo, but that the South Africans are "showing no signs of backing away from their long laid plans for a Namibia ruled by their political appointees".

The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports that a spokesman for the South African Defence Force said today that the Defence Force had already announced the safe return of all troops and equipment involved in the recent raid into Angola.

Trade-off the only hope as gloom descends on SWA talks

S-744
23/10/80
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By Peter Sullivan and Chris van Gass

Trade-off, between the negotiating sides in SWA/Namibia talks in tona seems the only way for progress, after a two-day talks yesterday between Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr Brian Urquhart, leader of the United Nations delegation.

The key to the issues could be whether the two men can find common ground in the remaining few days left for negotiations. Neither side is optimistic, and both are seeking a trade-off on two specific issues.

The UN team wants South Africa to agree on a firm date for a ceasefire while South Africa is demanding a firm commitment on the monitoring of the proposed demilitarised zone (DMZ).

Cards were laid on the table yesterday when Mr Botha met Mr Urquhart at the Union Buildings. South Africa is demanding that Swapo troops be kept out of Zambian and Angolan bases in the DMZ and there are differences of interpretation over the adequate deployment of UN troops throughout the DMZ.

UN sources last night described the situation as "very bad" while South African officials said an area of slight depression had descended on the negotiations, following the meeting between Mr Botha and Mr Urquhart.

The crunch is expected to come within the next two days after the UN team finishes its round of private talks with the internal SWA/Namibian political parties.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance last night told the UN mission that it saw the end of 1981 as a "feasible" date for independence for the territory.

In a hard hitting memorandum also warning of "other alternatives" which it did not want to specify, the DTA stressed that all existing problems such as alleged UN partiality towards Swapo which could give Mr Sam Nujoma's organisation a psychological lead in the UN sponsored elections,

would have to be eradicated.

If the DTA sticks to the timetable of December 1981, it would mean, subject to the unlikely and swift solution to problem areas still persisting that the first contingents of the UN task force would have to arrive in Windhoek by March next year.

... the second in a series of articles on Namibia, South Africa's involvement is examined in that country.

SA's involvement in rich Namibia

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23/10/80
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Chief Clemens Kapuuo, first president of DTA



Dr Gerrit Viljoen, former Administrator General

The principal difference between Namibia and Zimbabwe is Namibia's peculiar relationship with South Africa and the United Nations. Although the United Nations, through its council for Namibia, is technically the legal authority for the territory, power lies with the South Africans who have up to 30 000 troops there and who exercise their authority through an

Dame Hough

South Africa's involvement in the territory began in 1920 when under the League of Nations mandate system, it was appointed to administer what had until then been part of Germany's African empire. When the league was superseded by the United Nations after the Second World War, the mandate system was modified into trusteeship. South Africa, however, refused to enter into a

trusteeship agreement, arguing that as its mandate had expired with the winding up of the League of Nations, South Africa sovereignty over the territory was unrestricted.

So began a long legal and political tussle between South Africa and the United Nations over Namibia. For the first quarter of a century after the founding of the United Nations, South Africa as its fifth province it was ruled from Pretoria by white officials seconded to Windhoek, the capital, and the territory's white inhabitants elected six MPs (all of them belonging to the ruling National Party) to represent them in the South African Parliament.

Under the Odendaal plan of 1964 moves were instituted to split the black-occupied part of the country into "native nations" (homelands) while at the same time developing closed government links between the remaining "white area" covering the land area and South Africa.

The United Nations responsibility for Namibia was transferred first to the decolonization committee and then to the 11-member Council for Namibia. In 1973 a United Nations commissioner for the territory was appointed, a post now held by Mr Martti Ahtisaari. Innumerable General Assembly resolutions on Namibia were passed. The most important were ones recognizing Swapo as the "authentic representative of the Namibian people" (never endorsed by Western Governments) and calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from the territory.

South Africa might have continued to consolidate its hold on Namibia and ignored United

Nations resolutions had it not been for the collapse of the Portuguese empire in 1974. This transformed the whole political balance in the subcontinent as the Portuguese authorities in Angola, to the north of Namibia (who were as equally opposed to Swapo as the South Africans) were replaced by a new radical regime, the Angola Popular Liberation Movement (APLA), who were

South Africa, which by that time was becoming embroiled in a steadily escalating war against Swapo, realised it would have to confer some form of independent status on the territory, but the Government was determined Swapo should not be allowed to take over. So a conference was set up at the old "Turnhalle" in Windhoek involving "moderate" representatives of the territory's main ethnic groups. Swapo was not invited.

During the next two years the Turnhalle conference, aided and abetted by the South Africans, began to formulate ideas for independence based on a "threatier" system of government. Under that system the "first multi-racial tier" would have had authority for matters such as foreign affairs and defence, but the ethnic "second and third tiers" would have had extensive power over sectors such as housing, education and health.

The South African concept of ethnic rule would thus have formed the basis of the new constitution and white privileges would have been protected. Elections for "second tiers" ethnic governments are to take place next month.

The Turnhalle exercise was denounced by the United Nations. The five Western powers, realising

the Turnhalle proposals would never gain international approval, began to formulate a plan whereby Namibia could achieve early and peaceful independence.

Working as the "contact group" the Western five managed to persuade South Africa that the Turnhalle would not get it off the Namibian hook. The conference was dissolved, the South Africans sent an administrator (Marthinus Steyn) to administer the territory directly from Windhoek and the parties that participated in the Turnhalle conference formed themselves into a new multi-racial alliance, the DTA.

And so the stage was set for the present phase of the Namibian saga. The "contact group" produced their own proposals for a settlement that formed the basis for Security Council Resolution 435. For the past three years Western representatives have been shuttling between the South Africans, Swapo, the United Nations and the "Front Line" leaders trying to narrow down differences about how the plan could be implemented.

This labourious and unspectacular style of diplomacy has proved quite successful. Differences on the military aspects of the ceasefire have been whittled down to such an extent that there is broad agreement between South Africa and Swapo on the mechanics of a ceasefire — the size of the United Nations peace-keeping force, the number of bases South Africa and Swapo will be able to maintain, the establishment of a demilitarised zone and so forth. Both South Africa and Swapo have also accepted the principle of United Nations-supervised elections.

UN team spells out SWA/Namibia proposals

STAR 221
24/10/80

By Peter Sullivan and
Chris van Gas

For the first time in the current round of SWA/Namibia talks, the United Nations team today presented a South African delegation with a document setting out specific proposals

In what could be the final crunch in a week of consultation and negotiations, the UN team will today spell out how it hopes to bridge South Africa's reservations about UN impartiality and South Africa's reservations on technical aspects

of the demilitarised zone. One idea gaining credence is a possible trade-off involving UN acceptance of multi-party talks at an African venue within the ambit of UN resolution 435 and South Africa accepting as a quid pro quo a token UN presence in Windhoek.

This presence would show UN bodies continued involvement in the search for an internationally acceptable solution.

The meeting between the delegations today is the first since discussions were suspended on Tuesday.

Today's talks were postponed for a few hours to enable the UN to see representatives of two internal SWA/Namibian parties, the Federal Party and the Namibia People's Liberation Front.

South Africa was expected to react to the UN document today which it was learned included far-reaching proposals by the UN to prove its impartiality.

Both sides in the negotiations are known to be working hard behind the scenes to avert the collapse.

To Page 3, Col 5

UN group spells out SWA plans

**By Peter Sullivan and
Chris van Gas**

se of Security Council resolution 435 which maps out an internationally acceptable solution.

But gloom over the successful implementation of UN resolution 435 still hangs heavily over the Pretoria conference.

Last night in Vrede, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said "To all those seeking a peaceful solution, I want to say 'If it became a choice for me between the stability of South West Africa and international recognition I would choose stability for SWA and its people.'" Mr Botha said.

In Pretoria, the UN team now seems to realise it is unlikely to get its

"first prize" — a firm date for a ceasefire.

Had the UN team been able to return to New York with this date, it would have set a starting point for the timetable for UN supervised elections.

The idea of an "alternative" to the present initiative was underscored this week by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, amid growing feeling that only a death certificate is now needed to end the agony of the present implementation plan.

Mr Mudge warned that the DTA would consider other alternatives if their demands for UN impartiality were not met.

Yesterday the UN mission head, Mr Brian Urquhart, again met the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, for informal talks. Last night, the entire UN delegation was entertained by the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Dame Hough, at a braai.

SWA talks face failure — and sanctions loom

221 RDM 24/10/80

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

A PALL of pessimism hung over the negotiations between South Africa and the United Nations on South West Africa yesterday as both parties braced themselves for failure and its corollary — all but irresistible pressure for mandatory sanctions.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, gave official expression to the gloom in a radio interview yesterday, when he described the differences between the parties as serious and the chances of resolving them as slight.

The leader of the UN negotiating team, Mr Brian Urquhart, put on a braver face, saying in response to Mr Botha's assessment: "Of course there are differences, but we must keep hammering away."

But behind Mr Urquhart's professional tact there were clear hints of a prevailing mood of pessimism in the UN team as well.

The UN party leaves South Africa for New York on Saturday, and unless it can take back a clear commitment by South Africa to an "early starting date" for implementation of the peace agreement, pressures for sanctions will increase sharply.

The UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, is scheduled to submit a report to the Security Council next week on the team's mission.

According to informed sources, the UN team offered to meet South African demands that the UN demonstrate its impartiality, in return for a commitment from South Africa to an early date for implementation of the peace settlement.

Cont

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The offer was made as early as Tuesday. Since then, there have been no plenary sessions between the full negotiating teams, apparently because the talks stalled at that point.

Mr Urquhart has met Mr Pik Botha and the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, since then — but, judging from Mr Botha's statement to the SABC, these meetings have not bridged the gap.

It is not known exactly what the UN offer entailed, but it is understood that it went "far beyond" South African demands that the UN cut off its funds from Swapo and that Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the proposed UN special representative for SWA during the peace settlement, surrender his "pro-Swapo" position as Commissioner for Namibia.

One informed observer in Pretoria predicted yesterday that South Africa's stand would be exposed as being without substance when Dr Waldheim releases full details of the offer in his report next week.

South Africa's view is understood to be that it had officially raised certain objections to the "UN's bias in favour of Swapo" and that it was up to the UN team to respond to — and to resolve — those objections before pressing for a commencement date for the settlement.

For sanctions to be imposed, nine members of the Security Council must vote in favour of such a measure, without a single dissenting vote. A Western veto can no longer be taken for granted, some observers believe.

Once imposed, sanctions will not be easily lifted, as a single opposing vote can thwart any move to remove them.

One way for the UN to avoid making sanctions irrevocable is to impose them until and unless South Africa agrees to a firm date for commencement of the peace settlement.

It is that prospect which South Africa appeared to face yesterday. It could become a reality sooner than most people realise, as the long-drawn out SWA drama appears to have entered a new phase.

Mudge

has
EDM 24/10/80
doubts

over (221)
talks

WINDHOEK — The current talks with the United Nations in Pretoria were not likely to end on a positive note, Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the South West African Council of Ministers and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said yesterday

Mr Mudge and three colleagues, Dr Ben Africa, Mr Tara Imbili and Mr Kauma Riridako, have been attending talks with the UN mission in Pretoria

At a brief Press conference, Mr Mudge said the UN mission would dearly like to return to New York with a firm ceasefire date

"It seems that this will not be possible, mainly because of the one question still outstanding the question of the UN as an impartial referee in an election process," he said

Until recently, the SWA dispute had been mainly about technicalities. But this had now been overtaken by a feeling of distrust and suspicion towards the UN, he said

"Even if they agree on certain points now, we, as members of the DTA, are extremely sceptical that there can be fair elections in view of the increasing problem of UN partiality

"They never stop declaring Swapo as the only authentic representative of the people of the territory.

"I do not mean the Security Council is doing this, but the General Assembly and agencies of the UN," he said in reply to a question

The crux of the matter was that the Security Council was not prepared to repudiate the General Assembly and the UN agencies when they showed bias towards Swapo, he said

"The least one can expect is that the Security Council will tell the General Assembly and the UN agencies not to accept resolutions and make utterances which favour Swapo"

One would, by now, also have expected Mr Martti Ahtisaari, to have been relieved of his position as UN Commissioner designate for Namibia, he said

Mr Ahtisaari holds the dual jobs of UN Commissioner and the Secretary-General's special representative, on SWA.

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The UN was working on the assumption that all this could be done later, once the UN-supervised election process had been started, Mr Mudge said, and it was difficult to explain to the UN that it would then be too late.

If the UN transitional assistance group arrived in SWA with a label of partiality towards Swapo the damage would have been done.

It would have an immense psychological and intimidating effect on the people of the territory if Untag arrived in the territory with the stigma that it was Swapo-orientated.

"It will be to no avail if the UN tries to be impartial, merely in the execution of its duties afterwards."

Mr Mudge said he had the impression the UN mission in Pretoria had a measure of understanding for the problems mentioned by the DTA as the members of the mission had repeatedly said impartiality was extremely important.

They did, however, not fully understand what the DTA had meant by impartiality.

"They seem to think it is merely fair opportunities in the election campaign and an end to military activities," he said.

"We apparently could not completely convince them that the psychological effect of a biased umpire would have an intimidating effect on the electorate," he said.

Missing from the talks are the Namibia National Front who have not yet left Windhoek.

The secretary-general of the NNF, Mrs Nora Chase, said her organisation had received a reply to part of a telegram sent to the UN mission in Pretoria earlier.

In the telegram Mrs Chase had pointed out that the NNF would like to attend the Pretoria talks but, because the venue was outside the territory, she had asked the UN to pay for air fares and hotel accommodation for at least two NNF delegates — Sapa

Swapo, backed by its Russian suppliers, intends to rule SWA and will react violently to any proposals it feels could deprive it of power in an independent Namibia

It was only driven to accept the original Western peace proposals by strong pressure from the so-called "frontline states," which have their own reasons for wanting a settlement

And, significantly, when the Security Council accepted the Western proposals, Russia abstained — although it weighed in with enthusiastic agreement for a companion resolution declaring Walvis Bay an integral part of Namibia, a resolution that was bound to, and did, infuriate SA

For its part SA cannot be acquitted of manoeuvres designed to prevent an eventual Swapo election victory

Government undoubtedly wants SWA to become independent Namibia — but under the friendly rule of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance

There is no way of guaranteeing a DTA victory in UN-supervised elections, but there are circumstances in which this would become more likely. If, for example, the UN could be persuaded to make some gesture demonstrating it did not favour any particular party (such as by Waldheim dissociating himself from the General Assembly resolution recognising Swapo as the sole legitimate representative of the people of SWA) it would be perceived within the territory as a setback for Swapo

Whether, given the UN's internal politics, Waldheim is able to do anything of the sort remains to be seen

SWA/NAMIBIA (221)

Wanting to win

FM 24/10/80

The key to this week's negotiations on Namibia between SA and the UN can be found in the first sentence of the letter Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on August 30 "The people of South West Africa/Namibia and the South African government are determined to conclude successfully negotiations of the past three-and-a-half years to bring the territory to independence"

Although the letter went on to accuse the UN, and Waldheim himself, of partiality towards Swapo, this was more than a *pro-forma* statement designed to forestall accusations of bad faith or lukewarm intention. The inducements for SA to find some internationally acceptable solution to the SWA impasse are now immense

At first sight, negotiations between SA and the UN might appear to be a dialogue of the deaf. But there are reasons to hope a formula will be found. The negotiations this week were of cordial tone and there was apparently agreement on some (admittedly peripheral) issues — such as if, and when, the UN team would see representatives of internal SWA parties

When the FM went to press, talks had moved to the intractable "core problems" of UN impartiality and supervision and monitoring of Swapo forces in the proposed demilitarised zone (DMZ)

SA needs a settlement mainly to lessen international pressure which has reached the stage where some form of limited sanctions is a distinct possibility. Indeed, the pessimistic tone of reports in the Nationalist press was taken by some as an indication that government was setting the scene for breakdown

The five main Nato countries — the US, Britain, France, West Germany, and Canada — fear sanctions on one of their main sources of raw materials. They could, in the event of failure, simply veto sanctions — but the harm this would do them in the Third World could outweigh the advantages of keeping SA sanctions-free

Either way, they see failure to reach a settlement as precipitating a situation which could only be to the advantage of the Russians

But great as the pressures for a settlement are, they do not guarantee one. Countervailing pressures are strong

TODAY we conclude our series of articles on Namibia and its people's struggle for independence.

'Swapo will be victors

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Dr Kurt Waldheim has actively involved himself in the problem of Namibia.

In December 1978 the DTA convincingly won an election held to choose representatives to sit in a new constituent assembly in Windhoek. However, neither Swapo nor the main internally-based parties such as the Swapo-Democrats took part in those elections, so they cannot be considered to be a true test of popular opinion. Most observers (including many South Africans) believe Swapo would win a comfortable majority if elections were held now.

SUPPORT

In an attempt to bolster support for the DTA executive, powers were granted to the DTA-dominated assembly earlier this year. Although South Africa, through its administrator-general (now Mr Hough) who succeeded Dr Gerrit Viljoen at the beginning of October, has the final say over the territory's constitutional future, the DTA is effectively the territory's government with Mr Dirk Mudge, the DTA

chairman, acting as "Prime Minister"

The South Africans hope the DTA, having been endowed with the power to carry out real change and reform in the territory, will be able to counteract the influence of Swapo whose internal leadership has either been thrown into jail or forced into exile. To strengthen the DTA's hand still further the South African Defence Force has recently carried out a series of raids against Swapo bases in southern Angola. They were designed to reduce the level of Swapo infiltration into the heavily populated Ovamboland in the extreme north where Swapo's influence is greatest

Suggestions have recently started emanating from Windhoek, Pretoria and elsewhere that a Lancaster House-style, all-party conference should be held to try to find a settlement. This idea is attractive to the South Africans as it not only would prise the issue away from the United Nations arena but would, if they had their way, put the DTA on an equal basis around a conference table with Swapo.

Mr Sam Nujoma, Swapo's leader has accepted the idea of a conference but only if the DTA and other internal parties are part of a South African delegation. However, Swapo suspects the conference idea may be a time-

wasting delay.

The key question remains: Is South Africa really prepared to allow free elections to be held in which Swapo could well emerge as the winner? The South Africans say they would accept a Swapo victory if democratically achieved. But there are doubts.

Swapo, which has been under considerable "Front Line" pressure to reach a negotiated settlement, is becoming increasingly impatient. Pressure is once again building up to seek a settlement on the battlefield and not at the conference table. - London Times.

COMPLAINTS

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A brief history

CHRONOLOGY

- 1884 German colonization of South-West Africa
- 1915 Germans surrender to South Africa
- 1920 Mandate conferred on South Africa by the League of Nations.
- 1946 UN trusteeship replaces mandate.
- 1947 South Africa refuses mandate.
- 1960 Swapo founded.
- 1966 Swapo launches arm-struggle. UN terminates South African mandate.
- 1967 UN Council for Namibia set up.
- 1971 International Court of Justice rules South African occupation as illegal.
- 1972/73 Abortive talks between UN Secretary-General's special representative and South Africa on independence.
- 1973 Mass arrests of Swapo members in Ovamboland. General Assembly recognizes Swapo as "the authentic representative of the Namibian people".
- 1974 UN Security Council 366 calls for South African withdrawal from Namibia
- 1975 Turnhalle conference begins.
- 1976 UN Security Council resolution calls for UN supervised elections. Mr Martti Ahtisaari appointed UN commissioner for Namibia.
- 1977 South Africa returns administration of Walvis Bay to Cape Province. Five Western powers form "contact group"
- Turnhalle conference dissolved. DTA formed South African administrator - general appointed to administer territory.
- 1978 Proximity talks between South Africa, "contact group" and Swapo discuss plans to bring about an internationally acceptable transition to independence. Chief Clemens Kapuuo, first president of the DTA, assassinated. South Africa accepts revised settlement proposals. South African troops raid Swapo base at Cassinga in southern Angola. Swapo approves settlement proposals. UN Security Council passes resolution declaring Walvis Bay an integral part of Namibia - rejected by South Africa. Dr Kurt Waldheim proposes UN peace-keeping force of 7 500 troops. UN Security Council adopts Resolution 435 for the implementation of the "contact group's" proposals. "Contact group" foreign ministers visit Windhoek and Pretoria. DTA wins 82 percent of votes cast in "internal" election - new constituent assembly set up.
- 1979 South Africa rejects aspects of a report by Dr Waldheim on the implementation of Resolution 435. More South African raids in Southern Angola and Zambia by Swapo into northern Namibia. Constituent assembly in Windhoek is transformed into a National Assembly. Revolt by right-wing whites against laws outlawing race discrimination in the territory. Dr Gerrit Viljoen replaces Mr Justice Steyn as administrator - general. Talks begin on establishment of a demilitarized zone in north - conditionally accepted by South Africa.
- 1980 General Prem Chand appointed commander of UN peace-keeping force visits Namibia. More talks between South Africa, the "contact group" and the UN on implementation of UN plan. More South African raids into southern Angola. Executive powers granted to the DTA-dominated National Assembly. Mr Danie Hough replaces Dr Viljoen as administrator-general

BASIC STATISTICS

Area: 318,251 square miles.

Population: About a million; 46 percent Ovambo and 10 percent white, the rest Kavango, Herero, Nama, Coloured, Caprivian, Bushman, Rehoboth Baster, Kaokovelder and Tswana.

Resources: Diamonds (world's biggest producer), uranium, lithium, vanadium, lead, cadmium, zinc, copper, fish, meat, wool.

Nujoma spurns SA talks with UN mission

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BONN — The Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday Swapo knew South Africa was not serious about the present talks in Pretoria with a United Nations team on the South West Africa settlement proposals

And he added "It looks as though the team will return empty-handed."

Speaking at a Press conference in Bonn, Mr Nujoma accused South Africa of deliberately stalling UN efforts to secure free elections in SWA as part of a plan to impose its own solution on the territory.

He claimed South Africa was only pretending to go along with calls for a UN-supervised poll

In practice, Pretoria had "evil designs and plans" to establish a new form of neo-colonialist rule, involving homelands for black Namibians along the lines of those in South Africa, he charged

Mr Nujoma, paying his first visit to Bonn, said the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, assured him during a meeting on Thursday night of support and sympathy for the "liberation cause" in SWA

But he added that it remained to be seen whether this meant Bonn would back economic sanctions against South Africa

Swapo was convinced Pretoria would only accept a UN Security Council resolution urging free elections if the United States and European Common Market countries imposed effective economic sanctions against South Africa

Mr Nujoma described the



MR SAM NUJOMA
... wants sanctions on SA

political situation in SWA as "very critical" because of "increased repression" by South Africa

Behind Pretoria's delaying tactics on the issue of elections which included Swapo participation were fears that its "puppets" in the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance would not receive popular support, he said.

Mr Nujoma, who flew to West Germany yesterday from the Angolan capital, Luanda, said Swapo would intensify the guerrilla war, and declared. "Either through armed struggle or the ballot box, the people of Namibia will emerge victorious" — Sapa-Reuter

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE full South African and United Nations negotiating teams met for about 30 minutes yesterday in a bid to break a threatened deadlock over South West Africa and avert the imposition of sanctions on South Africa

The meeting was scheduled to take place before lunch but was postponed at the request of the SA team, which observers interpreted to mean that the South Africans needed more time to consider their stance to yesterday's session

According to informed observers, the UN team offered a "package deal" under which the UN would take steps to demonstrate its impartiality on South West Africa in return for a firm commitment from Pretoria to an early starting date for implementation of the agreed peace settlement

The SA Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday informed the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, of the latest developments in the negotiations. Their discussions might have included further refinements of South Africa's contribution to the search for consensus.

The Foreign Minister yesterday adopted a more hopeful tone when he told the SABC that the UN team would report to the UN Secretary-General, whose reply would determine South Africa's next move

Until yesterday South Africa was understood to have resisted UN pressure for a firm and early date on the grounds that it was up to the UN to answer charges that it favoured Swapo. During the lull since the last full negotiating session on Tuesday there have been continued talks between the UN delegation leader, Mr Brian Urquhart, the Foreign Minister and the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie

These discussions might have led to a slight shift in South Africa's position — or that of the United Nations — and thereby kept the door open

One possibility mentioned by observers close to the negotiators is a SA commitment to a firm date subject to specified conditions — which would pro-

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Glimmer of hope at UN team's SWA 'package'

vide the UN team with the SA commitment to a date which it needs to resist pressure for sanctions in the United Nations

A senior diplomat in Pretoria said yesterday "I think both sides are aware of the awful consequences of a breakdown and are determined to keep on talking"

The UN team is understood to have come to the view that one of the key problems is that Pretoria is inhibited by internal political considerations from bringing the issue to a close

These internal factors focus on SA Government fears that it will be perceived as "betraying" South West African whites if it agrees to an early UN-supervised election

Most analysts believe Swapo would win any election held in the next few months

South Africa has been accused of deploying a strategy of delaying the election in the hope that further military strikes against Swapo and continued de facto government by the moderate Democratic Turnhalle Alliance will turn the tide against Swapo

South Africa is known to favour the idea of an all-party conference as an alternative to, or a modification of, the present settlement initiative

This has two clear advantages for South Africa

- The fractious nature of South West Africa's political parties would almost certainly delay implementation of a UN-supervised election

- The major burden of responsibility would be shifted onto Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the DTA, thus allowing South Africa to escape blame if Swapo won the election.

Mr Urquhart was asked for his view of an all-party conference on his arrival

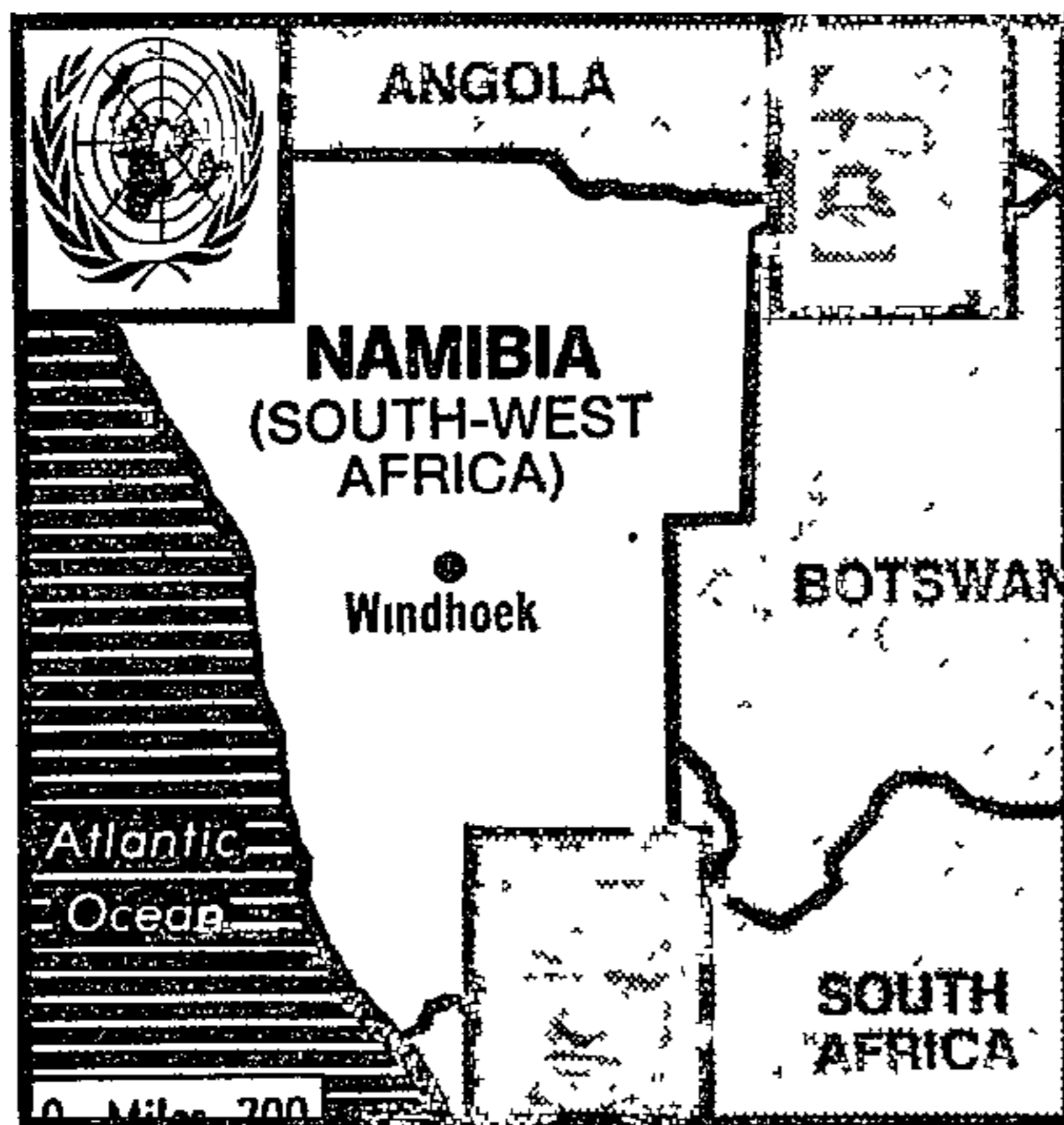
He replied "If the people principally involved think it would be a useful way to proceed, then obviously we would have nothing against it. We would be very anxious to hear how those talks would be arranged, who would be there, what they would discuss and whether we could play any useful role"

But in spite of the apparent flexibility of his reply, it is understood that the UN's first priority is to get SA commitment to a "time frame" for implementation of the already agreed peace settlement.

The UN team leaves for New York today and will report to the Secretary-General. A press conference is scheduled before its departure

UN MISSION LEADER HINTS AT COMPROMISE

Namibia cliff-hanger



By **CHRIS VAN GASS**

Tribune Africa News Service

THE Pretoria week's talks on Namibia's future between the United Nations and South Africa ended here today in a cliff-hanger situation, with the possibility of reaching an understanding over remaining problems.

The UN delegation was to have had what mission leader Brian Urquhart described shortly before his departure from Pretoria as "an important meeting" with South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Brandt Fourie.

The UN had hoped to leave with a firm date on which cease-fire for the territory could be implemented.

Mr Urquhart said the UN had come to Pretoria to obtain a schedule from South Africa for the implementation of Resolution 435 — which would pave the way for an internationally acceptable solution for SWA-Namibia.

But before his departure Mr Urquhart had hinted at a possible compromise which could result in something positive resulting from the talks.

He said a specific date for starting the UN initiative on the territory was less important than a decision by the South African Government for the implementation of Resolution 435.

Western sources say the talks broke down because of South Africa's intransigence.

The main issue at the talks was the impartiality of the United Nations.

South Africa is angry that the General Assembly of the world body has recognised Swapo as the legitimate voice of the people of Namibia before there have been elections.

They are also angered by financial support for Swapo from UN sources.

What South Africa was seeking this week was guarantees that the UN would be impartial and would not favour Swapo during the elections.

1980

The UN negotiators this week put specific proposals to South Africa on how UN impartiality could be demonstrated.

These included the cutting of UN funds to Swapo and the resignation of Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN's special representative on Namibia, from his post as Commissioner for Namibia which he derived from the pro-Swapo Council for Namibia.

The breakdown came when it appeared the UN's assurances were not acceptable to South Africa — although the situation is still fluid.

Western sources believe South Africa is stalling the talks. Some sources claim the UN had met all South Africa's major objections only to find new ones created.

The sources believe South Africa is loath to commit herself to the election because she realises Swapo is a powerful adversary which could easily win.

South Africa, they say, could be playing for time hoping that Mr Ronald Reagan will win the US presidential election.

Although Western diplomats discount this, South Africa apparently believes Mr Reagan would be more sympathetic to her case.

South Africa is also pushing the option of an all-party conference on Namibia to take control of the election out of the hands of the "biased" United Nations.

There are said to be behind-the-scenes negotiations recently between high ranking delegations of South Africa and Angola who have been talking in secret.

The Western sources say they are not necessarily opposed to an all-party conference, provided it discusses the implementation of the UN plan and is not used as a delaying tactic by the South Africans.

Western sources said their countries wanted to avoid sanctions being imposed against South Africa.

Many of them, especially Britain, have large investments in South Africa which would be harmed by mandatory UN sanctions.

But one source spoken to this week said it appeared that countries like Germany and France were finding it more difficult to resist the call for sanctions.

Waldheim's report will be crucial

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By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE danger of sanctions against South Africa will be delineated more sharply on Wednesday when the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, reports to the Security Council on the UN mission to South Africa last week.

The mission came to South Africa with the primary objective of securing a commitment from Pretoria to "an early starting date" on the already agreed peace settlement for South West Africa.

To achieve that end it offered to take concrete measures to answer South African charges that the UN favoured Swapo and to offer guarantees that the UN-supervised election would be both free and fair.

Underlying the talks was the implicit threat of sanctions against South Africa if the UN team failed to achieve its primary objective.

At a news conference shortly before his departure, the UN mission leader, Mr Brian Urquhart, confirmed reports that he had not been able to secure South African agreement to a specific early starting date.

But, Mr Urquhart added, he would have one more meeting with the Director General for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, at Jan Smuts Airport.

He hinted that the UN team hoped to secure at least a commitment to set a starting date when he said: "A specific date is less important than a decision to set a date."

It was unclear yesterday whether the last minute meeting between the two men brought them any closer.

An informed source in Pretoria yesterday characterised the situation as "fluid," adding that a lot would depend on the meeting between Dr Waldheim



Dr Kurt Waldheim
... crucial SWA report

and Mr Urquhart in New York. Mr Urquhart was to brief Dr Waldheim yesterday.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, on whose views South Africa draws heavily, mooted the end of next year as a possible date for SWA's independence, which would suggest a starting date for the settlement process in about May next year.

The DTA view was based on the assumption that the UN would be able to satisfy internal SWA parties of its willingness and ability to be neutral.

Dr Waldheim will report to the Security Council on Wednesday. The strength of the inevitable clamour for sanctions against South Africa for allegedly deliberately delaying implementation of the settlement will depend largely on Dr Waldheim's report.

The desire for sanctions is common cause because many UN members want to use SWA as a pretext for mandatory sanctions against the "real enemy" — South Africa.

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — United Nations secretary-general Kurt Waldheim may indicate this week whether he will lean towards a multi-party conference to achieve a negotiated independence settlement for SWA/Namibia.

SWA all-party talks decision soon

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It seems certain that the four senior UN officials returned from a week of talks in Pretoria without a South African commitment to a firm starting date. And while a formal South African Government proposal for multi-party talks would most likely be rejected by the African bloc the idea has apparently been

floated in the hope that it could be proposed formally by Dr Waldheim. Yesterday Dr Waldheim urged UN member governments to oppose firmly any unilateral South African actions not sanctioned by the world body and said the situation in the territory had deteriorated seriously since the UN Security Council endorsed the plan for independence.

Mr Rudiger von Wechmar, West German president of the General Assembly, said that the South African Government had accepted the UN plan and that its reluctance "to meet its obligations" was "incomprehensible and dangerous".

He said the Government "should realise that there is a limit to the patience of the international community". Nigerian diplomat Mr Akporode Clark, chairman of the UN special committee against apartheid, said his Government believed

that, if current efforts to achieve independence failed, the UN should accept Namibia, under Swapo governance, as a member of the organisation and use UN authority to attach assets of "trading" corporations operating in the territory.

In London it is believed that the UN mission's failure to prise a ceasefire date for SWA/Namibia out of South Africa means that the rest of Africa will be calling for mandatory sanctions against Pretoria within weeks.

Swapo and its supporters gave notice of this yesterday when they launched an offensive to stop the Western powers from vetoing a boycott.

In a communique Swapo also criticised the contact group nations — the United States, France, Britain, Canada, and West Germany — for expressing their wish for an acceptable solution while refusing to put economic pressure on South Africa to accept such a solution.

It is reported from Windhoek that the DPA has sent a telegram to Dr Waldheim, warning that the organisation's "stubborn bias" towards Swapo seriously jeopardised attempts for a peaceful

In Paris Swapp has rejected a suggestion by the mayor, Mr Jacques Chirac, for a SWA/Namibian peace conference in the French capital.

In a communique Swapo also criticised the contact group nations — the United States, France, Britain, Canada, and West Germany — for expressing their wish for an acceptable solution while refusing to put economic pressure on South Africa to accept such a solution.

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By Alan Dunn —
The Star's Africa
News Service
WINDHOEK — SWA/
Namibia's new "low
profile" Administrator-
General, Mr Danie
Hough, will be duck-
ing the limelight in
his term of office

But behind the scenes
he will be as active as his
predecessors in preparing
the territory for independ-
ence

Mr Hough has come to
Windhoek to pilot "phase
three" of the South African
blueprint for SWA/
Namibia, which involves
expanding the infant ad-
ministrative structure and
extending services and de-
velopment

As he pursues almost
a caretaker role, greater
emphasis will be given to
the DTA-dominated Coun-
cil of Ministers or "cab-
inet" and the National
Assembly.

"The Administrator-
General's powers have
been scaled down tremen-
dously," said a knowl-
edgeable observer "One
could say he has been
sent to SWA/Namibia as
the top administrative of-
ficial rather than the poli-
cy decision-maker"



Mr Danie Hough Ducking
the limelight.

Mr Hough's principal
task is seen as implement-
ing the DTA-sponsored
"new deal" for the terri-
tory

The first Administrator-
General, Mr Justice Mar-
tinus Steyn, directed the
drawing up of an overall
plan for the territory. Dr
Gerrit Viljoen then
created the basic struc-
ture, including the terri-
tory's own civil service.

It is now up to Mr
Hough to oversee the next
phase — activating the
bureaucrats into an effec-
tive administrative
machine capable of im-
plementing the interim
government's decisions

Mr Hough will have to
deal with a number of
projects and studies with
major financial and admini-

Hough to get admin- moving

ministrative implications.

First there is the prepa-
ration of next year's
budget — the first to
truly reflect the priorities
of the Council of Minis-
ters.

Mr Hough will also
have to consider the Van
Eeden commission's report
on a financial policy for
SWA/Namibia which has
just been completed.

Other reports Mr Hough
will examine are the Ar-
nold Commission on
third-tier government in
SWA/Namibia, the Welge-
moed Commission on
transport, the SWA
Broadcasting Corpora-
tion's report on the intro-
duction of a television
service in the territory
and the Van der Merwe
reports on education and
housing.

The extent of the devel-
opment Mr Hough will
have to supervise is indi-
cated by the Council of
Ministers decision to
spend R85-million on new
school facilities, mainly in
the north.

In developing SWA/
Namibia's administrative
organisation, Mr Hough
will have to tackle thorny
issues such as "problem"
administrative secretariats
in black northern regions,
observers say.

Some secretariats are
apparently reluctant to ac-
cept the changes which
have taken place in
SWA/Namibia recently

"Some of the officials in
those northern regions
still retain Verwoerdian
attitudes in a society
which is changing," said
one source

"The Administrator-
General will have to cor-
rect the imbalance up-
there between the political
process and bureaucracy.
It can no longer be
allowed to favour the
bureaucrats"

Mr Hough might also
draw up a master strategy
for Owambo, the border
region in which the
14-year-old guerilla war
has been concentrated
and where it is thought
Swapo may have the up-
per hand psychologically,
either through intimidat-
ion or popular support

He will probably have
to consider ways of impro-
ving the quality of life in

Oambo

The adoption of a low
profile by Mr Hough is
being seen here as a move
to boost the image of the
interim government

The interim govern-
ment must be seen by the
SWA/Namibians to be ef-
fective if the DTA is to
have any chance of
beating Swapo," said a
knowledgeable observer.
"This is why Mr Hough
has assumed this low pro-
file

"Mr Hough will be help-
ing to make reality out of
the DTA's dreams."

While the new
Administrator-General
technically retains ulti-
mate control over the ter-
ritory and the develop-
ments unit, it is speculated
here that he will rarely
—if ever—use his veto on
a decision of the Council
of Ministers unless specifi-
cally asked to do so by
Pretoria.

Dimming the spotlight
on South Africa's top
representative in Wind-
hoek, however, was con-
sidered certain to dismay
the United Nations and
the Western powers, who
would see this as evidence
of Pretoria's continuation
of a "two-track" policy of
pursuing internal develop-
ment to the brink of total
self rule on the one hand,
and negotiating for an
internationally acceptable
settlement on the other

South African sources
concede that the switch in
emphasis from the
Administrator-General to
the Council of Ministers
and the continuing inter-
nal preparation for in-
dependence which goes
with it could worry the
international community
involved in the SWA/
Namibia question

They maintain, though,
that this is an unintended
spin-off of the effort to
overcome Swapo's influ-
ence in SWA/Namibia
and give the interim
government a chance to
swing support its way
through responsible rule

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Owambo fight gets English into schools

RDM
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By ANDRE VILJOEN
"Mail" Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The controversial issue of the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Owambo schools has finally been settled

Pupils will be taught in English from Std 1 to Std 6 from the start of next year

In 1982 English will be introduced in Standard 7 and then systematically implemented as the medium to the matriculation level

The details were announced yesterday by the chairman of the executive committee of the Owambo administration, Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba

The final decision to use English followed talks in Owambo last week between the Director of National Education in South West Africa, Mr J A de Jager, and school inspectors, teachers and administrative officials

Also at the talks was the former Executive member for education in Owambo, Mr Peter Kalangula, who was recently switched to the Works portfolio.

Speaking from Oshakati in a phone interview yesterday, Mr

Ndjoba said Mr Kalangula had tried to "force English down people's throats" and did not have the support of inspectors.

But he said he was satisfied with the final decision because "it was the wish of the people"

He also announced that from next year, first-year teachers' college students would be instructed in English

Schoolchildren and students would be free to write examinations in the language of their choice.

In an interview in Windhoek yesterday, Mr Kalangula said he had always had the support of the people and of the churches in his campaign to introduce English as the medium of instruction in Owambo

"One of the main reasons for the mass exodus of young people from Owambo in the early 70s was a desire to be educated in English

"It is a world language, and we will need it in the future to communicate with our African neighbours. It is also high time we faced the fact that Afrikaans is regarded by most blacks as the language of the oppressor," he said

"I campaigned for the introduction of English. At first this was generally accepted, but then there was a campaign by white officials to water down the transition, and later Pastor Ndjoba announced English would be introduced as a teaching medium from Std 5 only

"I am happy with the final decision," he added

Although English is the second official language in SWA, it plays a minor role in daily usage throughout the territory

Only about 8% of the 110 000 whites in SWA speak English as a first language and all the 10 black ethnic groups, with the exception of the East Caprivians, have Afrikaans as a second language after their mother tongue.

However, an increasing number of SWA blacks are indicating they want to speak English

Adult English education classes are popular throughout the territory

Recently Mr Ndjoba was quoted in a Windhoek Afrikaans newspaper as saying English was the language of Swapo, and that Owambo children needed to learn Afrikaans so that they could get work on white farms

Ovambo opts for English as instruction medium

STAR 28/10/80 721

The Star's
Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — The
crisis over the medium
of instruction in Ovambo
schools has been
settled.

Pupils will be taught
in English from next
year.

The chairman of the
Ovambo Executive
Committee, Pastor Cornelius
Ndjoba, said English would be
introduced from standard
two to six from
next year.

It would be introduced
to standard seven pupils the fol-

lowing year and later
at matric level.

Pastor Ndjoba said
English as a subject
would be given more
emphasis in future at
junior primary phase
to prepare pupils for
the new medium of
instruction.

The language would
also be introduced from
next year as the in-
struction medium in
teacher training.

Teachers would be
given the opportunity
from next year to im-
prove their English by
further in-service training,
he said.

Behind the campaign
to switch from Afrikaans
to English was an Ovambo
Legislative Assembly Member,
Mr Peter Kalangula.

He was relieved of his
Education portfolio in the
Ovambo government at the
height of the crisis.

Pastor Ndjoba then denied
he had disagreed with the
decision of the Legislative
Assembly to introduce English
as the instruction medium
at Ovambo schools.

Swapo disarmed 221

The Star's Africa
News Service

STAR 29/10/80

LUSAKA — About 275 Swapo members loyal to deposed vice-president Mishaake Muyongo have been disarmed "to avert bloodshed" reports the semi-official Times of Zambia

The terrorists were based in camps in Zambia and would probably now be given refugee status, the paper said

It added that another large group of men loyal

to Mr Muyongo had been similarly disarmed in Angolan camps

Local sources said that Mr Muyongo was expelled from the party after reviving the Caprivi National Union which once sought a separate independence for north-eastern SWA/Namibia

CANU merged with Swapo in 1964

The breakaway party is not recognised by the Zambian Government.

We will try other options, warns Swapo

RDM
29/10/80
221

NEW YORK — Swapo has warned that unless the Security Council's resolution on South West Africa is implemented soon, it will consider other options to gain the territory's independence from South Africa.

The Security Council resolution in 1978 called for the establishment of a United Nations transitional assistance group to supervise an election in the territory to lead it to independence.

Mr Peter Muesihange, Swapo's secretary for foreign relations, said the "other options" included mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and an intensification of the armed struggle.

He was speaking at the opening meeting of a "Week of Solidarity with the People of Namibia".

The Zambian Ambassador to the UN, Mr Paul Lusaka, who is president of the UN Council for Namibia, said the world organisation was "fully committed to ensure the ultimate withdrawal of the illegal South African occupation".

The Nigerian Ambassador, Mr B Akporode Clark, chairman of the UN Special Committee against South African Apartheid, said there had been "inadequate pressure" on South Africa from the five Western countries which drafted the independence plan — the United States, West Germany, Canada, France and Britain.

In Windhoek yesterday, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — the ruling party in the SWA National Assembly — cabled the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, to object to the "week of solidarity".

The cable said Dr Waldheim, the President of the General Assembly, and the President of the Security Council, were among UN officials scheduled to take part in the solidarity meetings.

(By yesterday afternoon, there had not been any reports of the UN officials mentioned having taken part in meetings.)

The DTA pointed out in the cable that its leaders had submitted a memorandum to the UN mission in Pretoria last week stating that preferential

treatment of Swapo constituted a major obstacle in achieving a settlement in SWA.

It said the solidarity meeting with Swapo in New York was a further manifestation of UN bias towards the organisation.

"It proves again that DTA suspicions concerning the will and capacity of the UN to act as an honest broker and impartial arbiter are not unfounded," the cable said.

It expressed "deep disappointment" that senior UN officials were scheduled to take part in the proceedings.

"The DTA expresses its disapproval in the strongest possible terms of the continued involvement of the UN in a cheap Swapo propaganda stunt."

The DTA repeated its point of view that any process unjustly favouring Swapo was anathema to the people of the territory.

"The continued UN persistence in its stubborn bias and partiality towards Swapo, therefore, seriously jeopardises attempts at a peaceful settlement" — Sapa-AP

CAPETOWN 31/10/87 221

38 Swapo guerillas die

WINDHOEK — The SWA Territory Force and the South African Defence Force had killed 38 Swapo guerillas during the past nine days in the SWA/Namibian operational area, Major-General Charles Lloyd, Officer Commanding the forces in the territory, disclosed here yesterday.

This brought the total for October to 102, excluding 28 Swapo and Angolan Government soldiers killed in southern

Angola, he said.

General Lloyd said it was noteworthy that in the recent past, Angolan nationals had been entering SWA/Namibia to obtain food.

According to intelligence reports, this was an indication that there was a serious shortage of food in southern Angola. It confirmed that there were hardly any crops on the lands because of drought conditions.

— Sapa

SWA/NAMIBIA

221

All parties now?

FM 31/10/80

Eleventh-hour dealing between SA and the UN mission on SWA, shortly before the latter returned to New York last week, seems likely to produce an all-parties conference proposition to keep the settlement initiative alive

According to diplomatic sources, elements of a compromise proposal may emerge in a report to the Security Council to be delivered by UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim this week

Details are sketchy, but Prime Minister PW Botha is understood to have endorsed a proposal whereby SA would agree to suggest a firm time-frame for implementation of the UN peace plan (Resolution 435) in return for efforts by the UN secretariat to set up a conference of all the parties involved in the settlement drive, as well as complying with certain conditions demonstrating the world body's

impartiality

Although the notion of an all-parties conference is not new (Robert Mugabe has offered to host such talks) the chances of one materialising would appear to hinge on two pre-conditions - first, that the agenda be restricted to clearing remaining obstacles under Resolution 435 and raising some that SA clearly demonstrated it would not use the case as a stalling device. Until then, it is hard to see how the UN secretary general could be expected to take any steps towards the settlement of the SWA problem.

Another problem could arise about the status of the UN mission to SWA if a conference were held before the UN secretary general has reported to the Security Council. But this latter possibility is limited by the fact that the UN mission has already been established. The South African government has indicated that it would like a proposal to be made for a conference of all parties to the SWA problem. It is understood that the UN secretariat will be asked to set up a conference of all parties to the SWA problem. It is also understood that the UN secretariat will be asked to set up a conference of all parties to the SWA problem. And once the US election is out of the way, greater progress is likely. The South Africans would hardly want to hand Carter a foreign policy gain now.

102 Swapo killed including 13 Outjo infiltrators

STAR
31/10/80
221

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Security forces killed 102 Swapo insurgents this month including all but two of the group which infiltrated the Outjo district of SWA/Namibia earlier this month

The Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, said in a statement released here that Security Forces had shot five more of the group which had penetrated the Outjo district

They were killed on Tuesday by Security Force members tracking them. In the first contact, one was shot dead. Security Forces followed-up immediately, killing two more. The rest of the insurgent group scattered, but two were killed in a pursuit about 40 minutes later, said General Lloyd

The size of the group which infiltrated the Outjo area, just before the United Nations delegation was due in Pretoria for talks on the SWA/Namibia question, was estimated at 15.

General Lloyd noted that the total of Swapo losses this month did not include the 28 Swapo and Angolan Government troops killed in a security force attack on a Swapo position in south-west Angola last week.

He did not say how many MPLA men were killed in this action.

General Lloyd said it was noticeable that people from Angola had recently started travelling to SWA/Namibia to get food. He said information from these people was that it was extremely dry in Angola, and that there were almost no crops on the lands

Secret Angola-SA talks on Swapo?

STAR
31/10/80

Own Correspondent
LISBON — In a series of secret South African-Angolan meetings, Luanda has offered to withdraw its military backing from Swapo if Pretoria ceases supporting the Unita anti-communist insurgents, the Portuguese news agency reported yesterday, quoting diplomatic sources in Africa.

In a dispatch from Guinea-Bissau, the agency said "top-level" Angolan and South African delega-

tions were expected to meet in Cape Verde in the near future for more discussion of the proposal.

It quoted its unidentified diplomatic sources as saying that the marxist Luanda regime had made the offer in a series of unannounced cross-border meetings that took place in both Angola and SWA/Namibia during the past few months.

● The SA Foreign Ministry declined to comment at all.

Editor ⁽²⁾ accused of libel ^{kom 11/17}

WINDHOEK — The editor of the Windhoek Observer, Mr. Hannes Smith, confirmed in Windhoek yesterday that the police had notified him that a charge of alleged criminal libel was being investigated against him.

Mr Smith said the action was brought against him by Mr Eben van Zijl, an executive of the South West African National Party, member of the SWA-National Assembly and a member of the Executive Committee in the white administration.

Mr Van Zijl already has two separate civil libel actions pending against Mr Smith and his newspaper in which damages of R100 000 have been claimed in each case.

The criminal libel charge arose from a report in the Observer in which it was alleged that State funds were being used to pay for Mr Van Zijl's civil action against Mr Smith and his newspaper — Sapa

UN official to brief Nyerere

By Kevin Jacobs
NEW YORK — A key United Nations official has been sent to Dar es Salaam to brief Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere on recent UN discussion with the South African Government on the future of SWA/Namibia.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who would represent the UN secretary-general Waldheim in the territory if an election plan is implemented, will brief Dr Nyerere on talks held in Pretoria last week between a UN mission and South African officials.

Mr Ahtisaari was a member of the four-man UN group Dr Nyerere is chairman of the "frontline"

African states' standing committee on Namibia and has been influential in moderating the black governments' attitudes on the issue behind the scenes in the past two years.

Mr Waldheim may report to the UN Security Council next week on the results of the mission to Pretoria formally dispatched to settle a date for the start of an election period of an election supervised by the UN. But he generally expected that he propose a multi-party conference which could bring the South African Government and Swapo to the same negotiating table for the first time.

Speed up SWA poll, says Masire

The Star Bureau
LONDON — The President of Botswana, Dr Quett Masire, believes the longer South Africa stays in SWA/Namibia, the better will be Swapo's chances of winning an election in the territory.

After all," he said, "the people want independence, and as South Africa delays, more people are going to feel they are failing in their duty by not supporting the party which is fighting for their independence."

Dr Masire told a Press conference here yesterday that he believed South Africa was holding up independence in SWA/Namibia "unreasonably".

"For instance, South Africa says it cannot move because the United Nations has recognised Swapo as the sole authentic representative of the people of Namibia.

"I think this was correct at the time — then Swapo was the only organisation speaking for Namibia.

Now that time is past, so let us have free and fair elections. I am sure the United Nations would respect the wishes of Namibians as expressed through the ballot box."

2000 flee as guerrillas square up

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY — People from housing schemes close to the Zipra camp in Seke last night started drifting back to their homes after more than 2 000 residents had fled from the area during the day.

The residents were reacting to widespread reports during the day that there was going to be a clash between Zipra men living in camps in Seke and Zania men housed at Zengeza 4.

People living in the area said they had been told by men and camp followers from both factions to move out of the area as there was going to be a "big fight" between Zipra and Zania.

Although no official comment was available last night from the joint high command, nor from police, it is understood that the Zipra commander Mr Lookout Masaku, visited the Zipra camp during the day.

At about 5.30 pm yesterday a meeting was held at the Zania camp. It is understood the meeting was addressed by Zania leaders.

It is believed that police were given assurances from leaders of both factions that no former guerrillas would leave their respective camp areas with weapons.

The rumours and messages from the two guerrilla camps started spreading after a man had been killed in the area on Thursday night.

People who were leaving the area yesterday carried their belongings with them.

Just before 2 pm yesterday more than six truck-loads of men of the police support unit arrived at the newly-established police post near Seke national shopping centre. The men were immediately deployed into the surrounding residential areas.

A contingent from the national army stayed at the police camp during the afternoon. Sandbag emplacements were built inside the security fence at the police camp.

The Star's Africa News Service

SALISBURY—Wing Commander Rob Gaunt (42), an outspoken backbencher in the Rhodesian Front (RF) Party, yesterday resigned his seat as Member of Parliament in Zimbabwe's House of Assembly to go into commerce.

Should a by-election be necessary to fill the vacancy, it is expected to be held in December or early next year.

Zimbabwe MP resigns

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STAR 1/11/80 (272)

STAR 1/11/80 (272)

SWAPO'S CHANGES GET BETTER THE LONGER SA STAYS - MASIRE

SUN TRIB 2/11/80

221

Tribune Bureau

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"I think this was correct at the time — then Swapo was the only organisation speaking for Namibia.

"Now that time is past, so let us have free and fair elections.

Dr Masire said Botswana liked to think that its attitude towards South Africa had changed since Mr P. W. Botha became Prime Minister.

"But then we are discouraged. He says one thing one day and the opposite thing another, so we never know what is true"

Botanical Society of Africa

zoo

The study of their subjects throw light on zoology and the initiation of a project to breed animals in Africa such as...

8. CHRONOLOGY
Chronology is a little value of sequence. Relative error for example is exactly accord. A certain...

A number was placed...

Historians are indebted especially to the work of...

who discovered...

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Carbon 14...

rate...

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etc.

We have already mentioned that fragmented remains of old pottery, not sherds, are the most common human artifacts found in Africa.

Learned...

process...

2.5.1 The Learning Post has proved to be an exceptional success in the Cape Peninsula.

At present, 1,000 copies are distributed weekly. From this point in time the magazine character of the Learning Post will be regular...

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ago...

year 20 percent of all
black youths enrolled at
universities compared
with a mere seven percent
in 1960 and five percent

The Boers

STAR 4/11/80

must quit

Namibia

- Nujoma

Own Correspondent

BONN — Swapo chief Sam Nujoma said in an interview published yesterday that if his party came to power in SWA/Namibia it would probably socialise industry but not "personal property"

Mr Nujoma outlined his views in the weekly news magazine, Der Spiegel, while on a visit to Hamburg last week following talks in Bonn with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher

"The whites naturally will lose their privileges," Mr Nujoma said "But we will not take away anyone's personal property"

"Not steal, but perhaps socialise?" Der Spiegel asked

"Yes, but we won't take away anything personal," Mr Nujoma replied

MINING

"Naturally, we have to consider what the people will need to make a living. One can hardly nationalise a green grocery, but there are other forms of property — the mining industry. We will acquire shares in it"

Mr Nujoma said "White Namibians could remain if Swapo came to power, but DTA leader Dirk Mudge and these Boer elements should depart for South Africa. They have oppressed and exploited our people"

He said he told Mr Genscher that West Germany should join the United Nations in sanctions against South Africa

"If a country such as the Federal Republic of Germany would participate in an embargo South Africa would feel it," he said

STAR 5/11/80
221

Swapo uses funk tactic

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK—Swapo guerrillas in southern Angola had recently employed new tactics of moving their positions closer to Angolan Government bases in a bid to evade security forces, the SWA/Namibian Council of Ministers has said here.

This was gleaned from "confidential" information at the disposal of the DTA-dominated council. In a statement released here the council said the Swapo tactic was a "transparent and cowardly attempt to try and hide behind the backs of the forces of a neighbouring country".

"It is clear to all that Swapo is losing the military struggle. Their attempts to evade retaliation from security forces will not succeed," said the statement.

'Death hospital' nurse is told to leave Owambo

KOM
221
7.11.80

WINDHOEK. — A Finnish nursing sister, Miss Kaino Kovanen, who works at an Owambo church mission hospital in South West Africa, has been ordered to leave Owambo immediately.

No reasons have been given for the expulsion, but it is thought it has to do with a terrorist attack last Friday in which a senior Owambo headman, Mr Lisias Aluuma, was shot and killed in his hospital bed.

The dismissal was confirmed by Owambo administration officials yesterday. They said the decision had been taken at a special meeting of the Owambo Executive Committee on Wednesday.

"The committee considered giving her a few days' grace at first, but "because of the seriousness of the matter, it was later decided that she should

leave Owambo immediately," a senior official said.

"It is now up to the Administrator-General's office to decide whether she will be allowed to stay on in South West Africa," he said.

It was reported earlier that hours before a group of armed terrorists entered Nakayale Hospital in Owambo on Friday, Miss Kovanen had asked that an Owambo police patrol unit be withdrawn from the hospital.

She had complained about the presence of the policemen to the Owambo executive member charged with health services, Pastor T Heita.

He acceded to the request, but ordered the policemen to patrol around the hospital.

Miss Kovanen's reasons for lodging the complaint have not been divulged.

— Sapa.

Has a degree in Operations Research from Tilburg, Holland. He has been with Shell International for 10 years and worked for that company as an international consultant in several countries around the world. His experience includes the design and development of systems for financial management, manufacturing control and production optimisation. He has taught courses in Management Information Systems and Operations Research at the Business Schools of the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. He is recognised as a member of the consultants group of the Computer Society of South Africa and specialises in requirement definition and design of industrial systems.

Klaas van der Poel

CURRICULUM VITAE

HOW come a Finn with a weight problem has turned into a former British intelligence officer?

Alternatively, who is the "Special Representative" charged with fostering the birth of Namibia? Is it Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who has the title, or is it Mr Brian Urquhart, who is clearly in charge now

The question of just who is boss, and where, and who is pushing in what direction, goes far beyond this little riddle. It reaches into the Byzantine essence of the United Nations, the unique mix of 154 nations in a multilateral free-for-all that is spiced by the personal ambitions of a far from unpoliticised secretariat

Contrary to popular South African belief, the UN is not manned by a hoard of pro-Swapo zealots lusting for Marxist mayhem. In fact, after years of push and shove it seems clear that the Namibia operation would be directed by a band so determined to meet Western structures that the plan is as much distrusted by Moscow as it appears to be by Pretoria. While the Soviet Bloc and the ever-indignant Third World majority pile up the paper triumphs of a thousand resolutions, other forces come into play when things get real.

Forces such as Mr Urquhart, the slight man with the withering look who is the prime mover at the sharp end of the UN — the blue-helmeted peace-keeping forces sprinkled around the world and now proposed for SWA/Namibia

He first made his name as a young major in the Second World War, when he advised against the disastrous Arnhem Airborne assault. Dirk Bogard played the part in the recent film, "A Bridge Too Far". Now Mr Urquhart is due for retirement and this could be his last hurrah.

The big powers long ago gave up the pretence of an undefiled international civil service, but the British are credited with being the last holdouts and Urquhart the most dogged adherent to the old UN ideal of not consulting with his national government. He is Mr United Nations, bearer of the sacred trust. Rival interests, however, are hovering, watching intently as he moves into centre stage on Namibia.

At first, he appeared to have charge of dealing only with the South Africans and it was hinted this was a sop to Pretoria. But now he is clearly The Man and Mr Ahtisaari, the messenger lobbying his old and close Tanzanian connections for a united front to keep Pretoria on the hook.

KDM
221
7-11-80

UN midwives vie for the delivery of Namibia

New York Correspondent RICHARD WALKER looks at the personalities and power struggles at the centre of the United Nation's Namibia effort

And that, insiders say, is the crux. Throughout its history, the UN has been trying to woo or warn South Africa out of SWA, but always it broke off after some nasty snub. That got it nowhere, and the idea now is to hang on regardless.

The UN quest for Namibia is beset with more travail than King Arthur's hunt for the Holy Grail. The path is strewn with bodies. The effort is credited with sending at least one envoy to an early grave, and it certainly cut short the careers of others.

Even the wary UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, blotted his copybook in the early 1970s when Dr Alfred Escher, the Swiss diplomat he had dispatched, came back promoting a South African line of good intent. Dr Escher ended up an ostracised figure, lurking in the delegates lounge at UN headquarters in New York.

The modern era does not begin with the creation of the "Gang Of Five", but with Dr Henry Kissinger's discovery of Africa. He ordered a policy reappraisal and in April 1975 came up with a secret policy proposal for a UN "plebiscite" — a referendum in the territory under UN supervision.

Early in 1976, the West voted in the Security Council for Namibia elections "under UN supervision and control". It was the culmination of months of effort to also drag in Swapo and its backers to accept this formula. The man who did the arm twisting was Mr Sean MacBride, the aging but fiery

predecessor to Mr Ahtisaari as Namibia Commissioner.

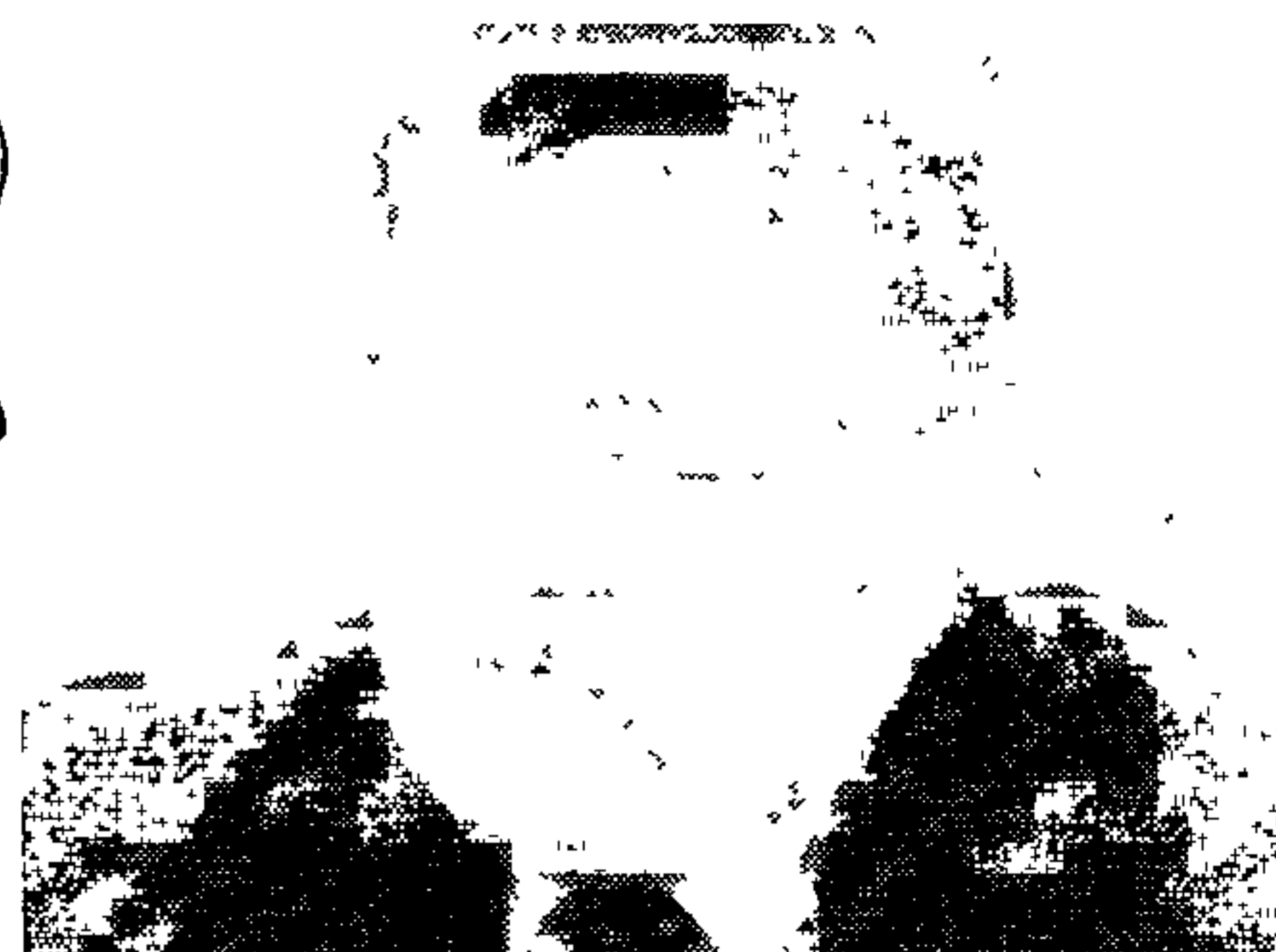
South Africa had until August to agree. It didn't. By September, Dr Kissinger was heading for a Zurich chat with Mr John Vorster and the Americans had switched direction to a call for "direct talks" at a Geneva conference. Precisely the cycle of argument we are still embroiled in.

In Windhoek, chief Clemens Kapuo rejected talks outside the territory and by the end of that year Dr Kissinger was goading a reluctant Mr Sam Nujoma to come up with "some clear cut proposal" to break the deadlock.

By 1977, the five-power Western contact group had begun its years of contacting and a deputy ambassador named Don McHenry was talking about the need for "political will" and advising, most prophetically, that success would not be achieved overnight.

Exactly three years ago I was reporting "make or break negotiations" and hard bargaining over the control of the Angolan border zone through the transition period.

It is hard to credit, but Lord Carrington would have been the Namibia Commissioner — on the personal sponsorship of Mr Nujoma — if the Russians had not vetoed it. Instead we had the remarkable Mr MacBride, unique winner of both the Nobel and Lenin peace prizes, French-reared Irish revolutionary, Foreign Minister, Amnesty International chief, radical



Mr Ahtisaari... the messenger, not The Man

iconoclast and natural enemy of all bureaucrats starting with Dr Waldheim.

The proud son of a volunteer who fought for the Boers and was executed by the British, he kept a piece of a shell from Colenso in his office and directed his personal antagonism more at the Germans than the South Africans.

He quit after the Americans had also marked him down as an enemy, yet he early on foresaw the problems of defying Swapo and he saw Walvis Bay as a bargaining chip long before the West — to South Africa's still echoing cries of double-cross — endorsed it as an integral part of the territory.

Mr MacBride's energy gave the issue global exposure, then came his polite, cautious opposite in Mr Ahtisaari. The Western initiative and then his appointment as Special Representative soon thrust Mr Ahtisaari into a virtually impossible double role. In his new job, he was required to show absolutely no bias, yet as commissioner he is answerable to the General Assembly, which hails only Swapo.

On top of this, the Finns fancy him as a contender for the top job as Secretary-General — something not calculated to endear him to Dr Waldheim, who is intent on his own reelection.

Mr Ahtisaari has done what he can. He set up two offices in buildings well apart and he has contrived not to be around for those "solidarity" sessions

with Swapo. But the strains tell and he is the target of assorted snipers. Early this year he seemed restless. He slipped home to Helsinki to discuss his future and it seemed certain he would quit the commissioner job and agree to remain as special representative only if pressed.

The commissioner slot carries a very senior UN rating and take-home pay of around R48 000 a year. Mr Enuga Reddy, boss of the UN's Anti-Apartheid Section, has been stuck on the promotion ladder. He is displaying a sudden and profound interest in all things Namibian, darting here and there in the shadow of Council for Namibia President Mr Paul Lusaka.

But greater upheavals are in the works and this is attracting bigger fish. One notion to answer South African criticism is to appoint an overload assistant secretary-general for Namibian affairs who is answerable to Dr Waldheim, not the General Assembly. Mr Lusaka, Jamaican ambassador Mr Donald Mills and a senior Guyana diplomat are all said to be in competition for this, but the idea faces stern opposition and may never happen.

The Council for Namibia is the body deemed responsible for the territory since the UN Assembly's 1966 vote to withdraw South Africa's mandate, but it has been by-passed in the current independence plan.

With an unwieldy 31-nation membership given to costly

globetrotting and closed-door bickering, it was for a time used by the Chinese (who had special influence through a key post in the UN's Trusteeship Department) to get at the Russians.

Ruled over by a somewhat idiosyncratic and dictatorial Mr Lusaka, it gets herself into odd corners — as when it sent three individuals to an International Labour Organisation conference and labelled them as representing the government, the employers and the workforce of Namibia. We still don't know how they voted on some sensitive issues. Presumably together.

Subjected to a scathing public attack from Mr MacBride — his very last act — the council rides on, with Western members Australia and Belgium, and the Finns, politely demurring when anti-Western enthusiasms peak. Right now, its major contribution seems to be in providing Pretoria with ammunition for its UN prejudice campaign.

The UN is ill-designed for fast initiatives and nifty give and take negotiating, but some are suggesting to Swapo that it break the cycle and on its own account boldly invite internal politicians to the proposed face-to-face talks. Others suggest that now is the time for Dr Waldheim to conjure up some of the old Dag Hammarskjöld spirit and stake his reputation on a firm personal initiative. Right now, his placatory efforts leave him open to attack from all sides. A statement he gave the other day at a Swapo support meeting, for example, emerged two hours later in a printed version that featured subtle but real changes of emphasis.

Deep down, key African strategists do not believe the latest American-encouraged claims of an imminent breakthrough. They cite the world situation, the Western powers' lust for Namibian resources and Dr Waldheim's need for their endorsement of his reelection.

Nigerian ambassador Mr B A Clark privately fears there will be no real progress for another year. That is the reason he pulled a joker from the pack and calmly proposed that the UN majority simply declare Namibian independence, acknowledge a Swapo government in-exile, and admit it to UN membership.

Mr Clark further submits that the Council for Namibia would thereby automatically cease to exist. That could be one very good reason why this scenario is most unlikely to come to pass.

INQUIRY
CAME TO THE
expelled

WINDHOEK — A Finnish nursing sister, Miss Kaino Kovanen, who works at an Ovambo Church Mission Hospital in northern SWA/Namibia, has been ordered to leave Ovambo immediately.

No reasons have been given for the expulsion, but it is thought that it has to do with a terrorist attack last Friday in which a senior Ovambo headman, Mr Lasias Aluuma, was shot and killed in his hospital bed — Sapa

UK warning to all-party talks on SWA issue

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By Tim Patten
The Star Bureau
LONDON — The British government is warning to the idea of an all-party conference on SWA/Namibia — with an eye to implementing the UN settlement proposals

This has emerged in Whitehall circles on the eve of the arrival of the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha for urgent talks with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington.

The acceptance in prin-

ciple, of the South African suggestion of an all-party conference will add new dimensions to the talks, with the possibility of a new breakthrough in negotiations.

It is being stressed by Whitehall sources, however, that the Lancaster House-type conference must be seen as a way of implementing the UN proposals and not circumventing them

The British Government still stands firmly behind the proposals, as do the

governments of the other members of the Big Five contact group, and there will be no shift from this position.

Lord Carrington has also been gauging the mood of African opinion on the lack of progress in the implementation of the proposals and the strength of the demands for full-scale sanctions against South Africa

He held talks in London this week with the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, and the SWA/Namibia issue was given priority.

While Lord Carrington will stress to Mr Botha that the mood in Africa is growing more intolerant of stalling tactics and that time is running out, he will also be able to convey a confidence in Africa that "South Africa will eventually get there."

In his analysis of the developments in the protracted negotiations, Lord Carrington made the point to President Stevens that South Africa should be given a little more time to "absorb the shock" before it can agree to the proposals as they stand

● Radio Luanda has quoted Mr Martti Ahtisaari, UN Commissioner for Namibia, as saying that the recent talks in Pretoria on SWA/Namibia were "a complete failure," but this description does not correspond with what the leader of the UN team, Mr Brian Urquhart, said about them, reports The Star's Africa News Service

Orders of arrest sought against Herero leaders

5-744
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The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — An urgent application has been made to the Supreme Court here for the arrest of several Herero leaders, including the DTA vice-chairman and member of the territory's Council of Ministers, Chief Kurima Riruako

National Assembly, Mr Johannes Karuabhe and Mr Rehahiam Uzukuanu — who alleged in papers before court that the respondents were guilty of contempt of court

The application was a sequel to another court action involving the same parties

The three businessmen applied in August this year to have eight parties, including Chief Riruako and the Council of Herero Headmen, "stop interfering" with their trading rights

The action was brought yesterday by three Herero businessmen — including two members of the

The businessmen therefore asked for warrants of arrest to be issued.

The judge, President, Mr Justice F H Badenhorst, ruled that the matter was one of urgency and gave the respondents 14 days to file replies to the allegations.



Chief Kurima Riruako alleged to have ordered business boycotts

SWA election probe ordered

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Allegations of intimidation and irregularities in the election campaign in Kavango for a regional ethnic authority are being investigated by the Chief Electoral Officer in SWA/Namibia, Mr P J Keyser

The leader of the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, Mr Hans Rohrer, today claimed direct intervention by the DTA in his party's efforts to campaign for the elections, which are to be held over three days next week

Mr Rohrer said senior headmen in the Kavango, who were DTA supporters, had refused permission for his party's candidates to hold election meetings in certain areas and had accused the NCDP of "siding with Swapo"

He said the intimidation of his candidates "could cost us thousands of votes in areas where we know we have support from the local population"

Mr Keyser said today the matter had been referred to the Acting Administrator-General, Mr John Viall, who had ordered further investigations.

Mr Rohrer said the people were scared to support the NCDP because they feared that senior headmen could, in retaliation, deprive them of their cattle grazing and in some cases even their jobs

12th Swapo man gives himself up

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Another Swapo member has given himself up to security forces under the amnesty offer by the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia

This brings to 12 the number of Swapo dissidents who have made use of the amnesty offer made in January

A statement released here by the office of the Administrator-General said the man had handed himself over to security forces on October 27

He said he deserted from Swapo because of disunity in the organisation.

Mr John Viall, Acting Administrator-General, has ordered election investigations.

Bitter, emotional poll facing SWA whites

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The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Most of SWA/Namibia's ethnic groups go to the polls next week (on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday) to settle the most vigorously contested elections of their kind ever seen in the territory.

Although the outcome of the elections for second-tier ethnic regional authorities will make little difference to the territory's new constitutional direction, they could retard or accelerate the rate of change in SWA/Namibia.

This applies particularly to the bitter and emotional fight between the National Party of SWA/the DTA-aligned Republican Party and the ultra-right wing Herstigste Nasionale Party.

The strength of the DTA, which dominates the central government through the National Assembly and Council of Ministers, will also be tested in the Damara ethnic election where a so-called black nationalist group will, for the first time, pit itself against the DTA moderates.

Observers see the white

election, which has split Afrikanerdom in the territory down the middle, as a referendum on the "new dispensation" in SWA/Namibia and whether further changes towards integrating all race groups should be accelerated.

The RP will be asking voters for a mandate to continue their efforts to eliminate racial divisions. The NP is seeking a halt to integration and asking for a return to the Turnhalle concept of "self-determination" which will give whites domination in traditionally white areas.

The HNP rejects all moves towards international recognition and wants SWA absorbed as a fifth province of South Africa.

It has become clear in the bitter, and sometimes vicious, campaign between the white parties that the NP fears that the HNP might drain some of its support to give the RP an edge.

Next week's election will be the first test of real support for Mr Dirk Mudge who broke from NP ranks in 1977 to form the RP, splitting the once powerful NP fortress.

Although the RP, which has superior campaigning

machinery and resources, seems confident that it will take more than 50 percent of the seats, observers caution that traditional support for the NP in rural areas cannot be underestimated.

If the NP wins it is likely to take a harder line in negotiations with the United Nations and the Western Five for an internationally recognised independence.

ENHANCE

The HNP hopes in winning one or two seats in the 18 man white Legislative Assembly to enhance its position with the white electorate in the Republic by gaining credibility through representation.

Other ethnic elections to be held are those in Caprivi, Kavango and for the Hereros and coloured people.

In Damaraland the contest boils down to a straight fight between the DTA and the NNF affiliated Damara Council.

Whatever the results of these elections, they will settle the issue of support for the various political groups, some of which have made exaggerated claims in the absence of any test.

Pik arrives for secret SWA talks

500

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The Star Bureau
LONDON — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is set to tell the British Prime Minister,

Mrs Thatcher, that South Africa is prepared to start implementing the UN plan for SWA/Namibia's independence in March next year

Mr Botha, who arrived secretly in London yesterday, will see Mrs Thatcher and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington on Wednesday.

This major breakthrough has been confirmed by diplomatic sources close to the SWA/Namibian negotiations and from sources within the OAU, which is being kept abreast of developments.

The start of the implementation of the UN plan would follow an all-party conference, possibly in February.

DEADLINE

But agreement has not yet been reached on who would attend the talks, and concessions are still needed by both the South African Government and Swapo on the make-up of the negotiating parties.

The sources said the South Africans were now showing very positive signs of being ready to reach an international settlement within the specified deadline.

Mr Botha, who is keeping out of the limelight until he meets Lord Carrington and Mrs Thatcher, is said to have arrived with a "special message from Mr P W Botha".

The Foreign Minister held hurried talks with the South African Ambassador in London yesterday before "disappearing" for the weekend.

UNUSUAL

There is now speculation that Mr Botha is holding top-level talks with some "friendly" African leaders while in Britain, reassuring them of South Africa's readiness to move fast on SWA-Namibia.

It is very unusual for the British Prime Minister to agree to see a visiting Foreign Minister, while Lord Carrington is in Britain, and British sources said it "should be obvious" that something of importance in the negotiations was new on the cards.

Many in SA just 'shrug off the SWA problem'

By DON MARSHALL
Pretoria Bureau Chief

MANY South Africans had adopted an attitude of non-involvement and indifference to the situation in South West Africa, Mr Danie Hough, Administrator-General of SWA, said in Pietersburg last night.

Speaking at a farewell function in his hometown — one month after leaving the Transvaal Provincial Council to take up his SWA position — Mr Hough said he could identify a spirit of "it does not concern me" among many South Africans.

On the other hand, among South West Africans there was a perceptible current of uncertainty and even doubt about South Africa's continued support and involvement in the territory.

South Africa was still in a favourable situation where her forces could fight the enemy outside her borders — in the northern parts of South West Africa, Mr Hough said. South Africans were also being spared from terrorist attacks such as landmine incidents, murders and intimidation.

"If SWA was left in the lurch and a Marxist-oriented government took over, it would mean that South Africa would have another hostile neighbour which might allow its territory to be used for attacks on South Africa.

"If Swapo succeeds in taking control in SWA, South Africa's strongman image would be destroyed, radical groups would step up their endeavours for a black takeover in South Africa, and morale would be undermined," said Mr Hough.

A Marxist take-over in SWA would also harm the ideal of a Constellation of Southern African States, he said. Against this background, a meaningful solution in SWA was essential for the inhabitants of South Africa — and such a solution could be obtained only with the active and moral support of every South African citizen.

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"This does not mean that the people of SWA can sit back and wait for South Africa to pull the wagon through the drift. They have the most important role to play in the meaningful independence process."

Sapa reports that Mr Hough also said in his speech that South Africa and SWA were the economic and military pivot ensuring orderly development on the sub-continent

"Destabilisation in the two countries will necessarily lead to destabilisation and chaos in Southern Africa,"

Mr Hough added "One can only hope and trust that this reality will get through to our neighbouring states"

Southern Africa had the best and most promising possibilities in Africa, and possibly in the world

"Bullets cannot shoot open new possibilities. Blood cannot open new horizons," said Mr Hough

Referring to mutually beneficial economic and business ties between South Africa and SWA, Mr Hough said it could be "a very painful process" to try to break such strong ties too quickly, or even to loosen them — as many African nations had discovered to their grief"

He referred to South Africa's contribution of thousands of millions of rands to promote SWA's development as "investments" in a firm effort to create a stable, progressive, independent South West Africa, which will be an asset and will serve as an example to the whole of Southern Africa" and said these investments might have to continue for some time.

Mr Hough said Russia was probably intending to bring SWA and South Africa into the Marxist sphere of influence — because South Africa, particularly, could form the axis for a sub-system of proposed Marxist states in the sub-continent. Russia had identified early with the African National Congress and Swapo as instruments to be used in the revolutionary onslaught on South Africa and SWA

The controversial South West African ethnic elections begin tomorrow. PETER KENNY of the Mail's Africa Bureau analyses the issues, parties and bitter infighting.

Make or break battle for Mudge's DTA

ETHNIC elections in a country which already has a one-man-one-vote system are a strange phenomenon for any outsider to South West Africa to understand. They are also a mysterious occurrence for many of the inhabitants of the turbulent territory.

Much of the DTA's black support is suspect when it comes to a straight contest with Swapo. And it is very necessary for Mr Mudge to show he has the support of the majority of whites if he is to be a representative of theirs if SWA ends up in a situation of straight black-white bargaining.

The DTA has the majority of seats in the National Assembly. The second tier of government is equivalent to a regional government organised along ethnic rather than geographic lines. But when Mr Mudge broke away from the National Party in 1977 he was not able to bring a majority of NP members in the white legislative assembly with him.

likely to win Mr Andrew Klopper's Liberal Party in the coloured election could also pip the DTA's Labour Party to the polls. But Mr Mudge feels it is imperative for his Republican Party to wrest power from the National Party if the Minister's Council is to effectively implement changes and constitutional development to give the DTA credibility.

Both the NP and the HNP have been accusing the RP and the DTA of racism in reverse by forcing integration on whites. Ironically, if the HNP can pull away enough disenfranchised people from the soft racist stance of the NP, it could usher in one of Mr Mudge's representatives in a number of highly marginal constituencies.



Mr Wind de Wet, left, his brother Mr Jannie de Wet and former SWA Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, at the Windhoek Show with one of the De Wet's prize Brahmins a political split — but business is business

Broedertwis' in its purest form...

HE white ethnic election in South West Africa tomorrow has taken the form of a bitter "broedertwis", with Frikamer pitched against Frikamer in a fight to the political finish.

because they belong to different parties. The "broedertwis" has been produced in its purest form in the Oujjo constituency in the north of the territory.

All three white parties contesting the election — the Heppahbeian Party, the National Party and the Herstrigle Nationale Party — have been pitching their campaigns at white unity — while Mr Mudge says every time the NP and HNP disrupt his Democratic Turn-

both have refrained from personal attacks during the campaign, which has split the town of Oujjo down the middle over their backing for two of the area's best known citizens.

And the NP and HNP claim the DTA's "weak-kneed" stance on "black power" has strengthened Swapo.

Neither brother is prepared to admit he has a chance of winning. Camrassers' life believed to have considerably disrupted family harmony.

WHILE 173 000 people in South West Africa will be eligible to vote in ethnic elections beginning tomorrow, some who believe the elections reinforce tribal identity at the expense of national unity will be staying away from the polls.

Both the NP and the HNP have been accusing the RP and the DTA of racism in reverse by forcing integration on whites. Ironically, if the HNP can pull away enough disenfranchised people from the soft racist stance of the NP, it could usher in one of Mr Mudge's representatives in a number of highly marginal constituencies.

Boycotters call the contest a 'racist farce'

One party — the Namibia Independence Party (NIP) — has been campaigning strongly since the beginning of the election in favour of a boycott, calling the contest a "racist farce".

She said the ethnic elections would do nothing to solve the crucial problems of the territory, such as poverty, massive unemployment and the crippling war in the north.

Stomping into the hot, dusty corners of the vast territory in the past two months has been the fiery but charming NIP secretary-general, Mrs Ottilie Abrahams, and her party leaders, Mr Charles Hartung and Mr Albert Krotne.

While the state spent R1 042 on the education of every white child, she said it spent only R148 on every coloured and Nama child, and even less on every black child.

She believed people who voted in the elections would be entrenching ethnicity.

The majority of the Nama also live in the south but their election result has already been decided as none of the seats were contested.

And the NP and HNP claim the DTA's "weak-kneed" stance on "black power" has strengthened Swapo. In some areas, brothers on neighbouring farms refuse to talk to one another brother, has a degree in agriculture from Stellenbosch University, is far less controversial and low key in his political approach to his seasoned brother.

Neither brother is prepared to admit he has a chance of winning. Camrassers' life believed to have considerably disrupted family harmony.

Namibia the first test for Reagan's policies

Threat to recognise Swapo by UN group

From The Times
LONDON — SWA/Namibia will be declared independent and Swapo recognised as its legitimate government at the United Nations if the country has not reached full independence by 1981, Mr B Akporode Clark, chairman of the UN Committee Against Apartheid, said in London at the weekend.

Mr Clark explained that this could mean that any companies operating in SWA/Namibia in defiance of Swapo's wishes after this date could be taken to court and their funds expropriated.

The money would be used to finance the "liberation struggle" in the country, he said.

Mr Clark said that the proposed "Lancaster House" style conference involving all parties in SWA/Namibia, including South Africa and Swapo, was "very dangerous".

The Star's London Bureau reports that a leading British academic has proposed a revolutionary scheme to settle the SWA/Namibia dispute which involves the creation two independent states — for Ovambos and non-Ovambos.

In a letter to The Times today Professor John Hutchinson, of the London School of Economics, says new geographical borders are needed for peace and freedom in the area.

Angola, he says, should be persuaded to reconcile with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi and let its own Ovambos (and the Cubans) go in return for American recognition and Western support.

Detach and recognise the natural Ovamboland astride the Cunene River.

"Detach and recognise a federation of the non-Ovambo peoples of South-West Africa," he pleads.

The Star Bureau
LONDON — SWA/Namibia is likely to provide the first major test of President Reagan's policies towards the Third World — the arena in which the new US administration is likely to differ most sharply from the Carter administration.

The long-drawn-out conflict over the territory is certain to reach its climax within the next few months. Unless Pretoria accepts the UN proposals for independence, the Security Council will be asked to impose oil and other sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Reagan has announced his total opposition to any idea of sanctions. Indeed, his team of foreign policy advisers has proposed a complete reversal of Mr Carter's attitude towards South Africa.

The advisers want Mr Reagan to pursue a policy of friendship towards South Africa instead of hostility, arguing that this is the best way to encourage change.

They also argue that a strong South Africa is vital to the Western defence system and regard the external challenge to the present system as wholly "communist-inspired".

If the Reagan administration were to start its career by resisting economic pressures against South Africa over SWA/

Namibia while at the same time making friendly overtures to Pretoria, the predictable result would be to alienate most African leaders, especially those of Nigeria, which is a major supplier of oil to the US.

Mr Reagan's advisers regard the Third World by and large as a hostile force. They divide it between "goodies" and "baddies," and propose that foreign aid should go only to those developing countries found to be "pro-American".

Unless, therefore Mr Reagan's advisers change their ideas once in office (as Dr Henry Kissinger did), all the signs point to a reversal of the trend towards closer friendship between the US and the Third World, which was one of Mr Carter's achievements.

This attitude of hostility to the Third World and opposition to a liberal foreign aid policy is especially strong among Republican senators.

They now have it in their power to resist the professionals in the State Department who are known to be strongly opposed to the attitude towards the Third World held by the majority of Mr Reagan's advisers.

● In Lisbon at the weekend, reports Reuter, Swapo leader Sam Nujoma

indicated in an interview that negotiations between Swapo and South Africa about the future of SWA/Namibia were imminent.

"Sam Nujoma said in Luanda that his movement was prepared to take part in talks with the South African regime at any time with the aim of finding a peaceful solution to securing his country's independence," the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

The agency added that South Africa had still "not defined itself" about the date of the negotiations.

In another report Angop said that the UN High Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Marthi Ahtisari, left Luanda at the weekend for Lusaka after discussing the territory's future with President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola.

There has been a flurry of diplomatic activity in connection with the SWA problem in recent weeks. South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is in London this week for talks with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington.

Last week, Angop reported that the Angolan Interior Minister, Mr Alexandre Rodrigues, had held talks on the Namibian problem with President Samora Machel of Mozambique in Maputo.

'Venue is chosen' for SWA all-party talks

21 NOV 1978

WINDHOEK - A multi-party conference on the future of South West Africa is to be held in Gaborone, Botswana early next year, according to Die Republiek newspaper in Windhoek.

It is the mouthpiece of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and regarded as having access to foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria.

The report that the conference will be a forerunner to implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 on SWA independence comes amid a flurry of diplomatic activity on the territory.

The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, is in London and will have talks with Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher tomorrow, a British Government spokesman said yesterday.

It is understood that he has a personal message to her from the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha.

Immediately afterwards, he will see the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington.

Meanwhile, the UN Special Representative for SWA, Mr Murti Ahluwalia, is on a tour of Southern African states to canvass support for the pre-implementation proposal, while the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, is reported to have said that negotiations between his organisation and South Africa are "imminent".

Other reports from London said that South Africa gave the UN delegation which visited Pretoria last month a firm date

for implementation of the UN peace proposal - March - provided a multi-party conference is held first.

Die Republiek's report yesterday said it had learnt "reliably" of the pre-implementation conference to be held in Gaborone.

The Botswana capital was chosen as the venue because it was conveniently situated for all interested parties, had facilities for such a conference, and because Botswana had not been used as a stronghold for terrorist attacks against SWA.

The conference would probably be chaired by the UN Assistant Secretary General and chief negotiator on SWA, Mr Brian Urquhart, the newspaper said.

The DTA, in the meantime, has asked to be allowed to attend a special UN General Assembly plenary session on SWA apparently scheduled for November 25.

The DTA sent a cable yesterday to the President of the General Assembly, Baron Rudiger von Weizsacker, saying that as one of the parties "intimately involved in the search for an internationally-recognised, peaceful solution" it should be allowed to participate.

The cable was signed by the DTA leader, Mr Duk Mudge, who is also chairman of the SWA Ministers Council.

At the same time, the DTA issued a statement in Windhoek saying its request was in response to Swapo's attendance at the UN talks - Sapa.

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Calm Bulawayo

STAR 11/11/80 (22)

counts 38 dead

The Star's
Africa News Service
BULAWAYO — The death toll in yesterday's battle between former Zipra and Zanla guerillas rose to 38 today as more bodies were brought out of the bullet-scarred and still tense townships

An uneasy calm prevailed as police and units of the national army tightened their cordon around the troubled area and intensified their patrols into it

In a bid to defuse the volatile situation, a joint visit was made to the townships today by the army chief, Lieut General Sandy McLean, the Zanla commander, Mr Rex Nhongo and the Zipra commander, Mr Lookout Masuku

At least 200 civilians are known to have been injured in the fighting and the rioting that preceded it on Sunday.

Police said the fighting could erupt again at any minute, although some normal activities were resuming in the townships

But the uneasy truce between warring Zanla and Zipra guerillas brought hundreds trickling back to their respective encampments in the battle-torn housing estates, reports Sapa.

The returning guerillas, heavily armed with assault rifles, machine guns, rockets and grenades, looked distrustfully at units of cautious uniformed police patrolling the perimeters of the complex in armoured vehicles.

"It's a very tense situation," said one senior police officer "We are trying to keep things calm, but all it needs is a spark and the whole thing could flare up again."

Despite the tension, life in the battered township showed signs of returning to normal. Limited traffic began flowing through the area, although all vehicles were searched at army checkpoints.

Township dwellers were moving back to their houses after a night spent under a dusk-to-dawn curfew

Steady flow to polls in SWA

STAR
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The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — After a slow start polling on the first day of SWA/Namibia's ethnic elections picked up with a steady flow reported in most constituencies, according to the chief electoral officer, Mr P J Keyser

"Most urban areas are experiencing a reasonable flow of voters and we can expect a high voter turnout," said Mr Keyser.

Mr Keyser said that during the first three hours of voting in Otjiwarongo today, more than 600 Damara and Herero voters had cast their votes.

SWA ^{STAR}
11/11/80
'won't' 221
be like
Zimbabwe'

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia could not be expected to follow the path of Zimbabwe, where months after a "solution," civil war was still possible, the chairman of the DTA and leader of the Republican Party, Mr Dirk Mudge, said last night

Addressing more than 800 people on the eve of the white ethnic election for a representative authority, Mr Mudge said he had not yet been approached about a Lancaster-House-type conference to seek a solution for the territory

But he said he was in favour of talks with African countries to solve the problem of independence for SWA/Namibia

"When I think of Lancaster House and I look at the situation in Zimbabwe, all I can say is that up till now, it has not been a solution," he said.

ANYTHING POSSIBLE

Mr Mudge referred to the violence in Zimbabwe, saying that armed people were still roaming the country and that people there were feeling threatened and were leaving the country.

"As far as I am concerned, anything is possible there, even civil war," said Mr Mudge

"If this is what independence means, then I say 'no thank you, we are not interested in independence,'" he said.

Mr Mudge said the DTA had accepted demilitarisation during the independence process, but "total demilitarisation" unlike the situation in Zimbabwe

"Not a single armed Swapo member will enter this country, I can assure you," he said

SWA

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SWA talks are set for mystery venue

MR PIK BOTHA

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By Peter Sullivan,
Political
Correspondent

Multi-party talks on the future of South West Africa/Namibia are definitely on — but there is a question mark about the venue and date.

Although rumours are rife of venues from Salisbury to the Cape Verde islands or Gaborone, informed sources say this is still pure speculation.

The air is also thick with reports of a possible meeting between Swapo's Mr Sam Nujoma and South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, but this was dismissed as "wildly speculative" by some sources.

The UN's special representative for SWA/Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, is on a tour of the frontline states and it is quite possible that the final venue for multi-party talks will be decided upon during this tour.

Mr Ahtisaari returned to South Africa late last month on a secret visit, apparently to iron out difficulties surrounding a multi-party conference on the territory, according to sources in Windhoek.

Mr Ahtisaari had earlier in the month been part of the official UN delegation under Mr Brian Urquhart, who had visited Pretoria in a bid to secure the final implementation of Security Council Resolution 35, providing for UN supervised elections in the territory.

It is reliably understood that Mr Ahtisaari went back to the frontline states, following the mission, to float the idea of an all-party conference.

From Lusaka he, and another aide, returned to Pretoria for secret talks.

While Mr Pik Botha will be meeting Lord Carlington in London tomorrow, it is unlikely any firm or new agreement will come out of the meeting.

Mr Botha will also meet the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and there are dark hints that he will be giving her a special message from Prime Minister Mr P W Botha.

Angola interview

From Lisbon comes a report that Swapo's leader, Sam Nujoma, has confirmed reports that his insurgent nationalist movement and Pretoria were on the verge of holding talks over the future of SWA/Namibia.

In an interview with Angola's sole newspaper at the weekend, Nujoma reportedly said the bilateral talks were imminent.

The unexpected confirmation from the rebel nationalists of dialogue with Pretoria followed a month of mounting rumours that South Africa planned to hold talks soon with either Swapo or the Angolan government.

But such talks are seen as a preliminary to full round-table talks involving all the SWA/Namibia political parties.

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Gaborone — reports that multi-party talks on SWA/Namibia will be held in Gaborone have been described by a senior Botswana Government official as "speculation — at this stage".

The Windhoek newspaper, Die Republiek, said yesterday that a conference on the future of the territory would be held early next year in Gaborone.

The newspaper, which is the official mouthpiece of Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party, attributed its information to "reliable sources".

● See Page 2.

Foreign interests condemned

STAR

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The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The United Nations General Assembly has condemned all foreign economic interests in South Africa and SWA/Namibia as detrimental to "the oppressed peoples" and as obstacles to full freedom.

By a huge majority the assembly stated that foreign interests were "a major obstacle to political independence and to the enjoyment of the natural resources of the territories by the indigenous inhabitants."

The resolution was opposed by 15 states — mainly Western and European but including Israel and Japan — many of whom have been specifically named as "collaborators" in various fields of contact with the South African Government.

The resolution is a general condemnation of "foreign economic and other interests" but expressly refers to their activities in South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

The 28 abstentions in the recorded vote include several African states be-

lieved to be minor, and unpublicised, trading partners of South Africa.

Botswana and Zimbabwe were among the 103 delegations which voted for the resolution.

The resolution condemns Western investment in South Africa, and Western supplies of armaments, oil and nuclear technology to "the racist South African régime." It also condemns the "collusion" of France, West Germany, Israel and the United States with South Africa in the nuclear field.

Another resolution endorsed overwhelmingly chides specialised agencies for providing assistance to Swapo that is "far from adequate."

It also criticises the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for maintaining contact with the South African Government.

Mr. Mashahiro Nishiori said his Government vehemently opposed the South African Government's policies of apartheid.

SA losing the battle, UN told

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The past five years saw southern Africa's strategic balance shift "decisively in favour of the liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia," says a senior official of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

But the swing did not mean that the South African Government "is about to see reason," ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the United Nations General Assembly yesterday.

He said "historic victories" in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe marked the failure of a strategy intended "to quarantine South Africa from the process of decolonisation."

Mr Nzo, speaking at the start of the assembly's annual debate on apartheid, said. "We no longer speak of the unholy alliance of Pretoria, Lisbon and Salisbury. The Pretoria-Salisbury axis is no more. Pretoria stands isolated as the sole seat of colonial repression in our region."

He urged the UN and its member states to impose mandatory sanctions

again to South Africa and to increase political and material support for the ANC.

He rejected the government's actions and draft legislation as "cosmetic changes masquerading as liberal reforms."

The changes, he said, are a political ploy designed to defuse the political ferment inside the country and to placate world opinion.

"Undoubtedly the regime will continue to introduce new and meaningless reforms to present itself as an agent of progressive change." But he added, "the substance of the apartheid system remains unaltered."

Mr Akporoffe Clark, the Nigerian diplomat who heads the Special Committee Against Apartheid, told the assembly that comprehensive economic and oil sanctions against South Africa would be the most effective peaceful means of prodding the South African Government into abandoning apartheid.

The alternative, he said, was to support the policies of Western Governments whose "policies of collaboration" encouraged violence and armed conflict in South Africa.

Heavy ^{STAR} voting ^{12/1/80} in SWA ⁽²²¹⁾ election

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The voter turnout in SWA/Namibia's ethnic elections — especially that for whites — is expected to be the highest in the territory's history following heavy voting yesterday

Some polls were running at more than 60 percent on the first of the three voting days, signifying intense political activity among the three white parties contesting the elections — the DTA-aligned Republican Party, the SWA National Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party

The highest percentage poll was recorded in the Outjo district, where two brothers, Mr Jan de Wet (NP) and Mr Wuid de Wet (RP) are opposing each other Out of about 2 500 registered voters over 1 800, or 74 percent voted yesterday

BRISK

At Otjwarongo 62 percent of whites had voted with percentages in other areas scaling down to about 30 percent Other areas where voting was brisk were Gobabis, Warmbad and Keetmanshoop where polls reached about 50 percent

Whites are voting on a constituency basis in these elections, while other ethnic groups are voting on a party list system, or on a basis of proportional representation

Although exact figures were difficult to obtain, voting in the elections for Damaras, Hereros, coloured people and Kavangos was described by electoral officials as "rather heavy"

Voting continues tomorrow and the first results are expected to come from white urban constituencies tomorrow night.

Pik Botha meets Thatcher

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fairs in the Nixon and Ford Administrations, is expected to be appointed to his old position in the new Reagan Government

He will be a key figure in negotiations over SWA/Namibia and it would be in South Africa's interests to consult him early on the issue. At this stage, the talks would be informal because the Reagan Administration takes over from President Carter only on January 20.

It is thought that Mr Botha may also have attempted to set up a meeting in Lisbon with the Unita leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi. But this meeting is now definitely off.

Pik sees Thatcher

on ^{STAR} 12/11/80
SWA 221

By Tim Patten,
London Bureau

LONDON — Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, today cancelled his secret mission to Lisbon at the last minute. He has switched his travel plans and will fly to Belgium instead.

The cancellation came to light today shortly after Mr Botha had held talks with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, in London today.

Mr Botha cancelled his trip because the Portuguese Foreign Minister has been held up at the security conference meeting in Madrid and so had to cancel his appointment with Mr Botha.

Reliable sources say that Mr Botha was set to tell Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington today that South Africa was prepared to start implementing the UN plans from March next year.

Proposals for an all party "Lancaster House-type" conference have been considerably firmed by the hint from Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma that he would be prepared to take part in the talks even if ethnic groups in SWA/Namibia sat at the conference table.

Condition

This was one of the conditions set by the South African Government, first relayed to the Urquhart delegation in Pretoria last month.

Mr Botha's flight plans and his destinations after leaving Britain on Thursday morning have been kept a closely guarded secret.

But it has been confirmed that he will be in Lisbon for two days. He then flies to Paris on Saturday for another "mystery" visit, before returning to South Africa.

A Portuguese Government source said the plans for Mr Botha's visit to Lisbon were still "all in the air," but that a meeting with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Diogo Freitas Amaral was very much on the cards.

US sources in Lisbon confirmed that Dr Henry Kissinger would be in Lisbon tomorrow and on Friday on a "private visit," but said he had several appointments, all unspecified, to keep there.

Dr Kissinger, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

To Page 3, Col 3

In terms of the current international effort to secure genuine majority-rule in SWA/Namibia, it is easy to write off the elections as a non-event.

The main reason for this is that the Ovambos, who form 47 percent of the population and the bulk of the forces fighting for the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), will not be able to participate because of the bush war in their area.

Attention, however, is focused on the white ethnic vote and even Swapo, opposed to any form of election not supervised by the United Nations, is taking more than a casual interest.

Ironically, Swapo is silently rooting for the pro-apartheid National Party against Mr Dirk Mudge's Republic Party in the white vote. It would even give a cheer for the SWA/Namibia branch of the Herstigte Nasionale Party if it thought the HNP had a chance.

Swapo's apparent support for Mr A H du Plessis's National Party (he is a former South African Cabinet Minister) might raise a few chuckles at the United Nations but the repercussions for the SA Government if Mr du Plessis should win would not be a laughing matter in Pretoria.

Quite simply it would mean that the heart of SWA/Namibia's 109 000 whites was not in black rule, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance embracing all ethnic groups could come tumbling down and South Africa's grand strategy for non-racial but ethnic rule in the territory would face ruin. But it goes further than this.

The Turnhalle plan for SWA/Namibia has long been considered as a possible solution to SA's pol-

A comedy Pretoria won't find funny

STAR 12/11/80

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Foreign governments will be watching this week's ethnic elections in SWA/Namibia, not only for what they mean for the territory, but also as a possible pointer to how South Africa's own troubled internal political relations might develop in the future. Don Knowler of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

tical problems. The current SWA/Namibia Council of Ministers, appointed by the multiracial National Assembly, has a parallel in Prime Minister P W Botha's President's Council.

Success for the SWA/Namibia blueprint would assist Mr Botha enormously in "selling" meaningful black political participation in SA politics to his own party.

But, ironically, the thought of its "sister" National Party winning the white ethnic poll is something too ghastly for the Pretoria government to contemplate.

The carefully conceived SWA/Namibia plan took months to sell to the Nationalist electorate in SA and now there would be confusion. In these circumstances it is difficult to determine what SA's next move would be in the complex SWA/Namibia chess game, which is

played with the United Nations through Western brokers.

It would certainly not help SA in its current negotiations with the United Nations to bring the territory to elections, and certainly retard progress towards an all-parties conference embracing Swapo and the internal parties (The SA government is now looking at the conference idea as an extension of its SWA/Namibia withdrawal exercise).

At home an NP victory would lengthen the shadows at present spreading gloom over Mr Botha's attempts to move away from rigid apartheid.

A defeat for Mr Mudge would demonstrate that it is out of touch with even its own "kith and kin" thinking in SWA/Namibia and pose the question "If Pretoria misreads the SWA/Namibia situation could it do so with its own internal ethnic strategy involving homelands?"

UN is ready for an independent SWA next year

SOA 13/11/80 (221)

By Kevin Jacobs,
The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The United Nations has formally proposed to the South African Government that a multi-party conference be convened as soon as possible as a prelude to UN-supervised elections leading to independence for SWA/Namibia

The proposal was conveyed yesterday to Foreign Minister Pik Botha in London

As outlined by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, the purpose would be to facilitate implementation of a plan mandated by the UN Security Council which the organisation hopes will see SWA/Namibia achieve internationally recognised sovereignty by the end of next year.

The move would appear

to satisfy the South African Government's insistence that major political parties in the territory participate in any further negotiations or moves tied to the effort to achieve a globally acceptable independence.

FACE-TO-FACE

The conference — if it takes place — will mark the first face-to-face diplomatic confrontation between the South African Government and Swapo, whose guerilla activity has forced South African forces to strengthen their presence in the territory in recent years.

Other participants will probably include the five Frontline African states, and SWA/Namibian political parties, possibly in a delegation officially led by the South African-

appointed Administrator-General of the territory

The earnest hope here is that the flag of an independent SWA/Namibia will be hoisted outside the UN during next year's General Assembly session

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Gaborone that the latest moves towards a settlement in the territory were discussed at a meeting in Gaborone today between United Nations special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari and Botswana government leaders

The Botswana team was led by President Quett Masire and included Foreign Minister Archie Mogwe

Mr Ahtisaari arrived in Gaborone last night and was due to leave for Maputo tonight for talks with Mozambique leaders

He has already visited Lusaka and Luanda, and made a secret return visit to Pretoria while in Lusaka for further talks with South African representatives.

BY TELEX

The Star's London Bureau reports that the plans for the multi-party conference were delivered to Mr Botha there by telex shortly before his talks with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Lord Carrington

But Mr Botha stressed that South Africa itself would not take part in the conference if it were set up on terms acceptable to South Africa. The negotiating would be left to the groups of internal leaders in SWA/Namibia, Swapo and the United Nations

AGREABLE

He would be agreeable, he said, to a UN chairman of the conference — whether it be Dr Waldheim himself or one of his representatives

But he qualified this by saying that before this was possible the UN "must desist immediately" from recognising Swapo as the sole representative of the people of SWA/Namibia, and accept that all nations represented at the conference must be regarded as equal

● Mr Botha will hold talks in Brussels tomorrow with the Belgian Foreign Minister Mr Ferdinand Nothomb

He will then fly to Paris for a meeting with the French Foreign Minister Mr Jean Francois Poncelet "and some other people"

Elections in SWA 'more harm than good'

STAR 221
13/11/80

By Chris van Gass and Don Knowler

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Voters here have streamed to the polls this week for an election which SWA/Namibia's internal rulers have admitted they do not want

Despite the high turnout — particularly among whites — the general view is that the ethnic, second-tier elections could ultimately do more harm than good

Leaders within the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said yesterday the poll could not have come at a worse time

Potentially the results could undermine the DTA's credibility and pull the carpet from under the feet of the interim government's Council of Ministers.

The crucial election is that taking place among whites, the result of which is expected sometime tomorrow

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the DTA and leader of the Republican Party, has admitted that a win for the right-wing National Party could complicate the territory's internal political issues and make his "task" much more difficult ..

RATED

Mr Mudge's party is fighting the election against the SWA National Party and the ultra-right Herstigte Nasionale Party

The politician who split the NP three years ago when he formed the moderate RP yesterday rated his chances of beating the NP as "50-50"

At stake is Mr Mudge's personal credibility with his black colleagues within the multiethnic DTA

Already black DTA groups are saying that if he loses, they will have to reconsider their position

The only party which pressed for the ethnic elections at this juncture in SWA/Namibia's turbulent and confused polit



Dirk Mudge . . . credibility is at stake.

ical history was the NP. The timing of the elections, although not foreseen when dates were set, comes as the international negotiations on the territory's future again show signs of movement

In the short term the National Party has much to gain in proving that the majority of whites do not want integration "forced" on them.

Critics of the NP note that its election debate centres on emotionalism, rather than concrete policy proposals to settle the problems facing the territory in future. The emphasis on racialism is also giving ammunition to the DTA's critics, such as Swapo.

PITFALL

Only five of the 11 ethnic groups are voting this week. Another pitfall for the DTA's credibility lies in the outcome of the poll in Damaraland where a black group is putting in a strong challenge

The DTA won elections in 1978, in which Swapo and other radical groups did not participate, to create what has been transformed into the territory's ruling National Assembly.

The danger now for the DTA is to lose the backing of some ethnic groups, seriously denting its claim to grass roots support.

39 Swapo insurgents^{5/11/60} shot dead^{22/1}

The Star's
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Security Forces in northern SWA/Namibia have killed a total of 39 Swapo insurgents in the last two weeks, bringing Swapo losses so far this year to 1388.

The second-in-command of the SWA Territory Force, Brigadier Willie Meyer, said today most of the incidents in the last two weeks took place near the Angolan border when insurgents tried to cross into the territory.

He said that on November 7, persistent follow-up pressure by Security Forces on a group of Swapo members forced the insurgents to hurriedly set an ambush.

"The Security Forces, however, surprised the terrorists in their ambush positions and six terrorists were shot dead. Security Forces seized a quantity of weapons, ammunition and equipment," he said.

Brigadier Meyer said it was clear Swapo was avoiding contact with Security Forces and was concentrating mainly on intimidation and terror against the local population.

5 police
killed
in SWA
shooting

221
rom 13-11-67

SWA talks may be held in Gaborone

By ANDRE VILJOEN
"Mail" Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — An Owambo Special Constable killed six people and injured four others in a shooting incident last weekend in northern South West Africa, the Divisional Commissioner in Windhoek, Brigadier Johan Gouws, said yesterday

Brig Gouws said the incident happened on Saturday afternoon, when the constable opened fire with his service rifle, and shot occupants of a shop at Onhuta, Ondongwa.

The six people killed were Special Constables Alberto Joseph, Andreas Petrus, Boy Jonas, Mathews Nehiluvilwa and Mweulyaala Ngalashuanu, and Mrs Veronica Matheus

Special Constables Gideon Amunyela, Namwandi Armas and Frans Shilongo were injured. The fourth person injured was an unidentified woman. Mr Armas is in a serious condition in the Katutura State Hospital, Windhoek.

Brigadier Gouws said police had no idea what had provoked the shooting, but that constable was being held and the matter was being investigated

Sources in Owamboland said off-duty Special Policemen were apparently involved in a drinking session in the shop just before the shooting.

By DON MARSHALL
Pretoria Bureau Chief

THE Botswana capital of Gaborone is firming up as the likely venue for multi-party talks on South West Africa's independence and the discussions could be underway by early next year

With speculation for the venue of the talks hardening in Pretoria, there was a flurry of political activity yesterday on South West Africa's future

In London Mr Pik Botha, South Africa's Foreign Minister, met the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington

This week's tour of Southern African states by the UN Special Representative for SWA, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, is another good indication of the venue for the talks

Gaborone is being taken seriously as the talks venue in political and diplomatic circles in Pretoria, Ilha do Sal, in the Cape Verde Islands, and Paris, which were also mooted, no longer feature strongly

BRUCE STEPHENSON reported from London that Mr Botha, accompanied by the Ambassador to Britain, Mr Marais Steyn, spent 10 minutes more than scheduled at 10 Downing Street talking Lord Carrington

The South African delegation was met at the entrance to Downing Street by a crowd of about 40 demonstrators protesting alleged pro-South African deals by the West and waving placards reading "Racist Regime out of Namibia"

The British Foreign Office denied that either Mr Botha or the leader of the South West African Peoples' Organisation, Mr Sam Nujoma, who met Lord Carrington last month, had raised the question of Britain playing host to settlement talks

RICHARD WALKER reported from New York that the UN has clinched the agreement of the frontline states on the staging of all-party South West African talks

Yesterday the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, dispatched his chief African aide, Mr Abby Farah, to report this personally to other African leaders

The move appears designed to hustle South Africa into the process as quickly as possible — specifically before November 24, when the General Assembly begins its annual Namibia debate

Already Mr Dirk Mudge has asked to take part in the Assembly session, and there are fears that it could trigger renewed confrontation

des
Society of South Africa and specialises
He is recognised as a member of the consultants group of the Computer
Stellenbosch.
Research at the Business Schools of the Universities of Cape Town and
He has taught courses in Management Information Systems and Operations
Financial management, manufacturing control and production optimisation.
His experience includes the design and development of systems for
as an international consultant in several countries around the world.
been with Shell International for 10 years and worked for that company
Has a degree in Operations Research from Tilburg, Holland. He has

Klaas van der Poel

CURRICULUM VITAE

39 Swapo guerrillas shot dead

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Application S

'Mail' Africa Bureau

Software is not only an information processing system, it also has a significant part of its costs. Indicating the processing industry currently spends as much as 10 per cent of its gross revenue on hardware. This figure is estimated to be 15 per cent in the near future.

There are different types of factors which influence the market for software. These include the size of the market, the nature of the hardware, the availability of skilled personnel, and the state of the economy.

In the 1950's software was developed in-house. Because of the high cost of hardware, software was now virtually always bought ready-made.

The software most closely linked with the hardware are Operating Systems. This software is also typically bought ready-made, for the same reason as for hardware.

In the 1960's companies still made their own utilities such as payroll and their own technical software for statistical and engineering applications. Such software is now also mostly bought ready-made, since the problems are simple and well understood.

In the 1970's software has become available for such general tasks as payroll and financial accounting. These are now considered more or less as utilities and are therefore typically bought ready-made.

The final and most important level may be called Special Application Software. This consists of applications that are specific to a particular business. Through its high level of integration this software is extremely complex and ready made packages are therefore more difficult to apply.

Special Application Software (SAS) has several important characteristics:

- it is typically closely linked to the "nuts and bolts" of a business e.g. customer handling, production control
- it is highly integrated and changes are difficult to make
- it must serve the decision making needs of the organisation and must therefore be able to grow with the organisation.

WINDHOEK — Security forces in South West Africa have shot dead 39 Swapo guerrillas in the past two weeks, the second-in-command of SWA Command, Brigadier Willie Meyer, said in Windhoek yesterday.

The Swapo fighters were clearly avoiding contact with the security forces and were concentrating on a campaign of terror and intimidation against residents of northern SWA, he said. He said 14 civilians had been killed in recent landmine explosions in Owamboland. Owambo authorities also reported the abduction of a family and the murder of a headman in his hospital bed by Swapo terrorists in the past fortnight.

The Swapo death toll this year is more than 1300. This includes a sprinkling of Angolan MPLA soldiers who were in contact with Swapo forces during the year.

ment of any data processing industry hardware. This figure is estimated to be 15 per cent in the near future.

interesting to see what the market for these types of software is like in their own computer hardware market. This software is also typically bought ready-made, for the same reason as for hardware.

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SA picks sanctions over Swapo — Pik

WCM
11-11-77
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By STANLEY UYS, London Editor

IF SOUTH Africa has to choose between installing a Moscow-supported Swapo in South West Africa and facing United Nations sanctions, it would prefer sanctions.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Britain this in a late-night television interview.

His tough statement was made after his talks on Wednesday with the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Peter Carrington, and the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who apparently failed to persuade him to agree to an early Lancaster House-type conference on SWA.

Mr Botha said "If the choice is us becoming a party to the installation of a Moscow-supported group in SWA through improper means and intimidation on the one hand, and sanctions and international action against us on the other hand, then we choose sanctions, because we believe the one we can resist, but the other one we cannot survive."

He added "If we now give in to this new thrust that is being put forward by the South African Government, it will be worth maintaining after the conflict that will take place. Putting into SWA now — for the sake of short-lived international popularity, through improper means — a government that will not maintain economic health and stability, will have a psychological effect on the southern African people."

Cont

Africa which will destroy it, which will make it die, very much as many parts of Africa are now dying."

Mr Botha's remarks have caused dismay in Western capitals. Some Western officials and diplomats suspect that he expects to be given a more sympathetic hearing by the incoming Reagan Administration in the United States, and that this has encouraged him to resist the pressure to agree to an early settlement in SWA.

According to a report in The Times yesterday, Mr Botha gave Lord Carrington an "impassioned and at times 'brutally frank' assessment of the present situation in Africa."

Mr Botha's basic standpoint appears to be that he accepts the principle of a conference on SWA, but that "there is no rush — the conference could be held within the next 12 months."

He said South Africa would not itself take part — the participants would be the SWA internal parties and Swapo.

He insisted that before a conference could be held under UN auspices, the UN had to prove its impartiality by withdrawing recognition from Swapo as the "sole authentic voice of the Namibian people."

By stating these conditions, Mr Botha has placed major obstacles in the way of an early settlement of the SWA issue.

Swapo insists that the only other party at the talks should be the South African Government and that if the internal SWA parties attend, they must do so as members of the South African delegation.

And the UN is unlikely to withdraw its present recognition of Swapo.

Mr Botha will join the French Foreign Minister, Mr Jean-Francois Poncet, for a working dinner in Paris on Saturday. The SWA dispute is expected to be the main topic.

RICHARD WALKER reported from New York last night that the final touches are being put to a UN report that will signal the go-ahead for multi-party talks.

The report, to be submitted by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, for Security Council approval, will cover last month's UN mission to Pretoria and the subsequent diplomatic efforts to match South Africa's extreme caution with African demands that any talks must be linked to a definite starting date for the implementation of the UN proposals.

It is understood the report will set a March date for starting the UN operation.

A long and winding road

Botswana's dusty little capital of Gaborone could briefly become the most important town in southern Africa. But there is one problem although diplomatic sources say speculation that Gaborone could be the chosen venue for the proposed all-party talks on SWA "is pretty well founded," there is still no guarantee the conference will take place at all. "Today's hopeful proposal can easily be tomorrow's scrap paper," the FM was told.

Considerable diplomatic muscle is being put into getting a conference underway. SA is moderately keen on the idea and the UN Secretariat seems to have accepted it — at least as a basis for keeping negotiations alive.

The UN's Martti Ahtisaari is thought to be pressing the conference proposal on Swapo and black African states — with some success if Swapo leader Sam Nujoma's reported statement that he expects "imminent" negotiations with SA means anything. But it is one thing to get general agreement that all-party negotiations are desirable, and another to get consensus on an agenda or even on the status of the different participants.

Any conference would probably be chaired by the UN Assistant Secretary General Brian Urquhart, and SA and Swapo would obviously be participating. But what would be the status of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), and other internal SWA parties?

Nujoma is on record as being quite prepared to talk to them providing they are only part of the SA delegation. Both SA and the internal parties will insist they should have the status of independent delegations.

SA is also unlikely to accept Swapo's attendance while still recognised by the US as the "sole authentic representative" of the people of SWA. At the very least it would want a statement by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to the effect that all the parties would enjoy equal status.

The agenda could also provide problems. The conference would presumably be on ways and means of bringing SWA to independence in terms of Security Council Resolution 435. But that resolution, together with subsequent proposals for a demilitarised zone (DMZ), was tied to the Western settlement plan accepted by both Swapo and SA.

Resolution 435 set up the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) to oversee the territory during elections for a constituent assembly. Unless the whole Western settlement plan is held first, it becomes a matter of valid speculation to wonder what Pre-

ern settlement plan is to be thrown out, the conference could do little more than consider SA's much-publicised reservations about the UN proposals — particularly the issue of UN impartiality.

If it is true that SA has told the UN it is prepared to implement the settlement plan in March, providing an all-party con-



Ahtisaari . selling the conference?

toria hopes the conference to produce

It could well be no more than a statement endorsed by all participants (including Nujoma) that all parties would be on an equal footing vis-a-vis the implementation of independence. This could provide the propaganda leverage to sell the idea inside SWA that Swapo is no longer the

spoilt child of the international community, with consequent harm to its electoral appeal.

At this stage it is unlikely that the Western settlement plan as a whole could be thrown out. To do so would set everybody back to square one and re-open that whole hornets' nest of problems overcome by the plan. So an all-party conference would have to differ significantly from the Lancaster House conference on Rhodesia, with which it is often compared.

Lancaster House concerned itself with constitution-writing as well as peace-making. The Western plan for SWA calls for the constitution to be written by an elected constituent assembly after the outbreak of peace.

Pretoria nonetheless obviously feels the organisers of Lancaster House have something to contribute to breaking the SWA impasse. Thus Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha's trip to London this week for talks with British Foreign Secretary (and Lancaster House chairman) Lord Carrington, and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Officials at the Department of Foreign Affairs were tight-lipped this week about the reasons for Botha's trip.

Nonetheless the spate of diplomatic activity, including reports of talks between SA and Angola, suggests some progress may be being made on the weary road to Namibian independence, particularly if there is any truth in reports that Pretoria has been negotiating with Luanda — with offers to drop support for Jonas Savimbi's Unita if Angola stops supporting Swapo.

Any threat to its Angolan facilities could bring Swapo to the negotiating table in a hurry. But it would be rough on Savimbi.

WHITE HOPES

The irony of the SWA ethnic elections is that the outcome will probably reflect just how unready the locals are for non-racial co-existence. The high white percentage poll, confidently expected to exceed 90%, confirms that all whites, regardless of party affiliation, are firmly convinced blacks belong in their own political areas.

At the same time, the almost total lack of interest shown by "ethnics" in their second tier elections bears mute testimony to their rejection of attempts to herd them into racial kraals. So, conceivably, as many as seven out of 10 South-Westerners reject the Turnhalle notion that tribal differences should form the basis

for self-determination and independence.

An analysis of white voting patterns will probably show that for every "verligte" who voted for Dirk Mudge's Republican Party there was a hardliner to vote for either Abraham du Plessis' SWA National Party or for Sarel Becker's HNP.

The fact that the RP looked set to win 11 of the 18 seats in the white legislative assembly is of academic interest, although the majority of SWA blacks would probably regard the RP as the least reactionary white grouping.

None of which bodes well for chances of putting together a strong front against Swapo in UN-supervised elections.

Mudge heads for defeat in SWA poll

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The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek,

Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party today headed for an election defeat that could have major repercussions in SWA/Namibia and beyond.

On the election for a white second-tier authority the Republican Party was trailing by three seats behind the National Party led by Mr A H du Plessis. The NP had won nine of the 15 seats announced and the remaining three were considered likely to go to the NP.

Seats won by the NP are Gobabis, Mariental, Tsumeb, Keetmanshoop, Outjo, Windhoek West, Pioneers Park (Windhoek), Khomas-Hochland and Warmbad.

The RP won Windhoek South, Klein Windhoek, Windhoek East, Luderitz, Otjwarongo and Swakopmund.

The HNP had won no seats at this stage.

Defeat for Mr Mudge's party in the election for a white second-tier authority would be a severe setback to attempts to eliminate racial discrimination in SWA/Namibia.

It would also hamper the efforts for an internationally recognised settlement in the territory.

A massive white vote of no confidence in Mr Mudge's party would, in the view of political observers, undercut Prime Minister P W Botha's moves towards verligte policies in South Africa.

A blow

The large vote against Mr Mudge's Republican Party means that the DTA can no longer claim to have broad grassroots support among the whites, the most important ethnic group in the territory.

The results were a blow to the RP's standing among black members of the multi-ethnic Democratic Turnhalle Alliance who are now questioning the value of his mandate from the territory's whites.

According to pre-election statements by black political leaders, some of the black parties in the DTA will now reconsider their position within the alliance.

As leader of the RP and the DTA, Mr Mudge has played an important part in the negotiations for an internationally recognised settlement through UN supervised elections.

The authorities elected in this week's elections will partly administer the affairs of ethnic groups, with the multi-ethnic National Assembly remaining the supreme political body.

Governmental decisions at the highest level will continue to be taken by the Administrator-General and the Assembly's Council of Ministers.

DTA will carry on —defiant Mudge

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By Don Knowler and Chris van Gass of The Star's Africa News Service
Windhoek

The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance is to meet next week to discuss taking part in an all-party conference on SWA/Namibia — despite the shock defeat of its white members in an ethnic election.

Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the alliance whose Republican Party suffered humiliating defeat to the SWA National Party, pledged yesterday that the alliance would continue

There are suggestions from informed black sources that some black parties might be reconsidering their position within the DTA but Mr Mudge declared that all DTA parties were firmly behind him

He conceded, however, that the victory of the right-wing SWA NP could complicate efforts to reach an internationally accepted solution to the SWA/Namibia question.

The SWA NP has won 11 of the 18 white seats, claiming about 46 percent of the vote.

Its leader, Mr A H du Plessis described the victory as "refreshing"

The results for elections for other ethnic groups will be known early next week

The DTA-dominated National Assembly and Council of Ministers were created following one-man-one-vote elections in 1978.

This week's poll was for second-tier ethnic administrations (or provincial councils).

Defeat for Mr Mudge means that, although his group and his DTA colleagues control the central government, he personally is without the majority of grassroots white support

A defiant Mr Mudge said that the composition of the national assembly and the ministerial council, would not be changed in any way because of the SWA NP victory.

The DTA would continue to fulfil its obligations internally and in the international political arena, he said

Frustrate

As far as current moves to bring about a settlement were concerned, Mr Mudge said that he was aware a final decision would have to be taken soon. He revealed that the DTA executive was meeting to discuss taking part in an all-parties' conference but said he had no idea when this might be, or where it would be held

"I don't think independence can be delayed indefinitely. That would frustrate the moderates (internal black leaders). They do not want self-government, they want independence

He said that the NP might now try to bring pressure on South Africa to listen again to its objections on internal developments away from segregation, and on the international situation.

"They (the SWA NP) could try to twist the South African Government's arm and this could have a delaying effect. I don't think we can afford unnecessary delay," added Mr Mudge

Mr Du Plessis said his party would stand by its Nations resolution 435 — decision for the implementation of United "but this is conditional to certain decisions we had put," he added without elaboration

Wobbling SWA parley teeters back on track

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By IVOR WILKINS
Political Correspondent

AN escalating series of events in the past two days caused prospects for a quick SWA/Namibia settlement to wobble off course, but informed sources said yesterday that the negotiations were again back on track.

It seems unlikely, however, that the December 1 date for the start of a multi-party conference will be met.

Early January is held out as a more feasible time to begin the conference, which is being termed "pre-implementation talks".

The settlement deal proposed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, in a letter delivered to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in London, this week proposed that the talks begin on December 1 with a March 1 deadline for a ceasefire.

Reputation for neutrality

However, with important issues such as a venue and the exact status of the participating parties still to be thrashed out, sources say it is unlikely that the talks will be in motion in two weeks.

According to informed sources, the chairman for the talks will be Mr Brian Urquhart, UN Deputy Secretary-General, who was the leader of the recent UN delegation to South Africa.

Mr Urquhart, more than previous UN negotiators appears to have established a reputation for neutrality, and has been described by sources close to the negotiations as the "logical choice".

Informed sources also say that the leader of the South African team will be Dr Gerrit Viljoen, former Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia and now Minister of National Education.

While this has not been confirmed, a reliable source said "That certainly is not to be excluded".

Until late this week, it had been almost agreed that the talks would be held in Gaborone, the Botswana capital, but informed sources said the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma, has balked at the idea for security reasons.

Freetown in Sierra Leone, now seems to be a strong possibility, while Ilha do Sal has not been ruled out — despite objections of its close South African links and doubts that there are adequate facilities there.

In the constantly shifting SWA/Namibia negotiations three major events at the end of the week had parties close to the saga holding their breath as yet again the fragile structure started to teeter.

These were the reports that the South African Foreign Minister had said South Africa would not be a party to the talks, the arrival on the scene of Dr Henry Kissinger, former American Secretary of State, and the shock defeat at the polls of Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party.

At a Press conference in London shortly after talks with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, Mr Botha reportedly said South Africa would not regard itself as one of the parties directly involved in prospects of a settlement immediately plunged, but at the United Nations in New York and in Pretoria South African officials were saying that there had been a misunderstanding. Informed sources said yesterday that Mr Botha had

Mudge the man in the middle

Tribune Africa News Service

WINDHOEK: Mr Dirk Mudge, the "crown prince" of SWA/Namibian politics, has his back to the wall following the defeat of his Republican Party in the white election.

Mr Mudge — who split from the National Party in 1977 to form the Republican Party and then engineered the creation of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, a moderate alliance of blacks and whites — can expect an onslaught on his position from both the right and left of the political spectrum.

Although the SWA National Party won 11 of the 18 seats in the second tier white authorities, this will not change the structure of the top tier multi-racial National Assembly, but it is certain to impede efforts to eliminate racial discrimination.

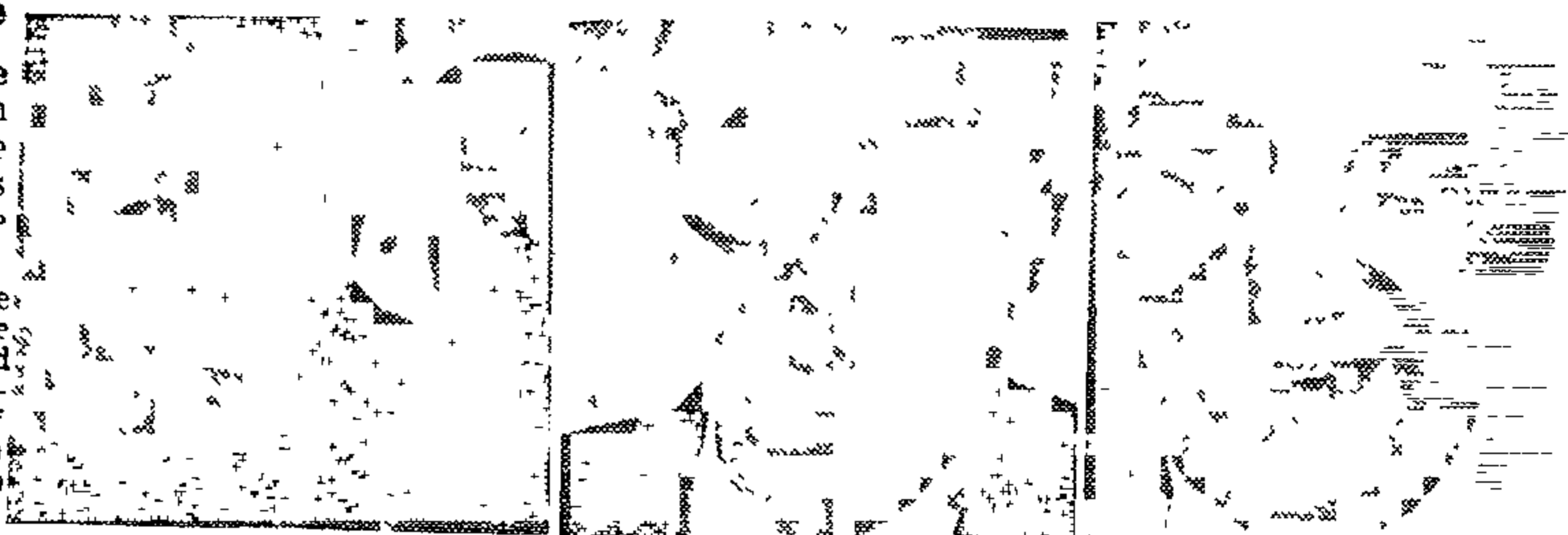
Mr Mudge will have to ward off a right-wing barrage about who represents the whites in the National Assembly.

But Mr Mudge, the chairman of the council, has said the DTA's mandate for governing the territory was the one man one vote election held in 1978, in which the NP Front, Aatur, had also participated. "We were elected by 400 000 voters during those elections," he said.

Mr Mudge admitted here that the result of the white ethnic election would not make his task any easier. . . but he also gave the assurance that what had already been done to dismantle discrimination would remain.

Although there have been suggestions that the NP victory could also complicate efforts towards finding an internationally recognised solution for the territory, the NP leader, Mr A H du Plessis, has said his party would stand by its acceptance of UN resolution 435 (which provides for a one man one vote election monitored by the UN), provided there was a return to the original Western plan.

The RP's defeat could weaken the DTA if the black groups in the alliance decide there is no longer any point in co-operating with the whites. On the other hand, they might feel it is even more important now that they co-operate with the substantial proportion of the whites who supported the RP and its policies of eliminating racial discrimination.



Nujoma

Du Plessis

Mudge

Backs to the wall for DTA

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The Herstigte Nasionale Party, the third contender in the white elections, split the vote to give the RP victories in three seats it might not have won otherwise.

Some observers believe the election result will cause rejoicing by Swapo's Sam Nujoma because it shows that the majority of whites resist the integrated society demanded by the outside world.

Nursing outcast may get key post in SWA

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Nursing outcast Mrs Anchen Parkhouse may land a key position in the nursing hierarchy of South West Africa if her black and coloured supporters win their way in elections this week.

She has been nominated to represent enrolled nurses, pupil nurses and assistant nurses on the 15-member board of the multiracial SWA Nurses' Association (Swana)

Mrs Parkhouse's election would be a bitter pill for conservative white hospital authorities who had a role in displacing her as Chief Matron at the State Hospital in Windhoek in August last year because of her "liberal ways"

But it could be her ticket to the influential position of president, because she could almost certainly rely on the support of black and coloured fellow candidates, at least six of whom are guaranteed seats on the board

Mrs Parkhouse is remembered by many black and coloured nurses for her campaign to equalise salaries. Many of them also owe their senior posts to courses she started.

Black spokesmen for a Windhoek-based branch association said yesterday they were confident Mrs Parkhouse's national reputation would win the day, despite a blunder which demotes more than 100 nurses at the State Hospital at Katutura, Windhoek, a vote

An executive member of the branch, who asked not to be named, said yesterday that by November 7, none of the Katutura nurses had received their ballot papers, which have to be in by Thursday.

The member said the secretary of Swana, Mrs H Krogh, had told her she had sent out about 1 160 ballot papers, including papers for the Katutura nurses, and that they would have to submit sworn statements that they did not get them

The member said forms for the sworn statements arrived last Tuesday, and gave nurses only two days in which to act. She said only about 20 nurses had submitted statements in time.

She said "If there is a deliberate campaign to stop people from voting for Mrs Parkhouse, we predict it will fail."

Observers believe the disqualification of Katutura nurses from voting could significantly improve the election chances of Mrs Parkhouse's opponents, Mrs M Greef, of Grootfontein, and Mrs A van Dyk of Windhoek. Both are supported by white conservatives

Mrs Parkhouse said yesterday she received a reply last Friday to a written request she made to the SWA administration on September 11 to visit voters at nurses homes

The new board, which will represent the territory's 2 600 nurses, will be announced on Friday

Top SWA nurse tells how she was ousted

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — One of South West Africa's best-known nursing personalities, yesterday told the Rand Daily Mail how she became a professional outcast after she crossed swords with the hospital authorities.

For the first time, Mrs Anchen Parkhouse revealed her side of the story surrounding the termination of her position as chief matron of the State hospital complex in Windhoek in August last year.

Although more than a year has passed since Mrs Parkhouse was forced to leave the hospital, black and coloured nurses there are still bitter about it and are campaigning to get her back into the mainstream of the territory's nursing affairs.

Meanwhile Mrs Parkhouse daily goes to her office in an building far from the hospital complex, which she has been warned is out of bounds. She

regards her clerical work for the Department of Health as a total waste of my time, talent and experience.

Her fallout with the hospital authorities began in 1978 when she campaigned for equal pay for equal qualifications. Black nursing sisters received less than half of what was earned by their white counterparts, she said.

I defied the hospital authorities and took the case to the then Administrator General Mr Justice Steyn. Next year salaries were equalised.

In 17 years of nursing Mrs Parkhouse has worked in nearly every hospital in the territory and has visited many remote clinics as a travelling community health nurse.

Early last year I first became aware of a whispering campaign against me among white staff at the hospital. She said she was branded as a communist, a Swango supporter, a liberal and an agitator.

Even her seven-year old black foster son, Fritz, was dragged into the whisper campaign she said. It was said I only took him in to save my white skin when Swango took over the country.

In August last year she was told by the former Director of Health in SWA, Dr J A Oosthuyzen, that a special committee of inquiry had investigated allegations against her. She had been found innocent but 'to save the hospital from embarrassment' it had been decided to remove her.

Since then a senior hospital administration official had told her not to visit the hospital premises.

She said she was studying for an honours degree in nursing education and intended to keep on studying until she got a masters degree. She planned to apply her knowledge on the board of the SWA Nurses' Association if she was elected this week.

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SA stalling in fear of Swapo win — paper

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'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — All indications were that the South African Government was trying to stall implementation of a United Nations-supervised election in South West Africa within the next year because it feared a Swapo victory.

That view was expressed yesterday by the Windhoek English daily newspaper, The Windhoek Advertiser

The "Advertiser", which favours the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said there had been signs for some time that Pretoria had become "edgy" and that this had become more evident during the past week

The paper — which has in the past taken a critical line on the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim — said yesterday that Dr Waldheim had gone a long way in July to meet objections raised by the South African Government on the SWA peace plans

"The prime purpose of the UN mission's visit to Pretoria

last month was to iron out the remaining difficulties

"The mission also wanted the South African Government to agree to a date to set the process in motion

"The South African Government tacitly agreed to give a date if an all-party conference was held"

And in a front-page editorial, the "Advertiser" said the DTA chairman and Republican Party leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, had a clear path before him.

He would have to lead SWA to true, internationally-recognised independence, create a framework capable of providing long-term stability, and see to the economic uplift of the country.

The implication of this was that a UN-supervised election would have to be implemented and that the DTA would have to do everything possible to win it.

The paper said this would require two adjustments by Mr Mudge and the RP, which was

defeated in last week's white ethnic election by the National Party of SWA. The changes were

- That much more recognition would have to be accorded black nationalism, and,
- That the RP would have to stop competing with the NP and Herstigte Nasionale Party, which championed white nationalism

"The reason is simply that black and white nationalism are inextricably opposed to each other

"The black vote is the one that will count most in a UN-supervised election, and it would be absolutely impossible to win it by simultaneously espousing white nationalism

"The RP's loss in the white election, it is hoped, has come as a rude shock to the DTA, and we trust that in entering a UN-supervised election it will be more realistic in its approach and will leave no stone unturned," the "Advertiser" said

SWA Nat knives out in election jockeying

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — Knives are already out in South West Africa's National Party for the election of the executive committee for the white Legislative Assembly.

It is also believed that Mr A H du Plessis, NP leader and chairman of its election front, Aktur, is keen to retire

The two strong contenders at the moment are Mr Eben van Zijl, who lost his seat to the Republican Party in last week's election, and Mr Jannie de Wet, former Commissioner-General of the SWA Indigenous People

In the white ethnic election, the NP members of the executive committee of the white Legislative Assembly — Mr Van Zijl and his brother, Mr Faan van Zijl, lost their seats.

The mouthpiece of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Republican Party in SWA, Die Republikein, said yesterday that the election of the MECs would result in discord in NP ranks and a split in the party.

The NP mouthpiece, Die Suidwester, came out strongly behind Mr De Wet, who beat his brother, Mr Wiid de Wet, in the election as the frontrunner to take over as chief MEC.

Die Republikein also said the NP would have to keep promises it gave to whites before the election. Among those are reinstatement of morals laws, allowing public amenities owners to do business with chosen clientele, and exclusive residential areas for whites

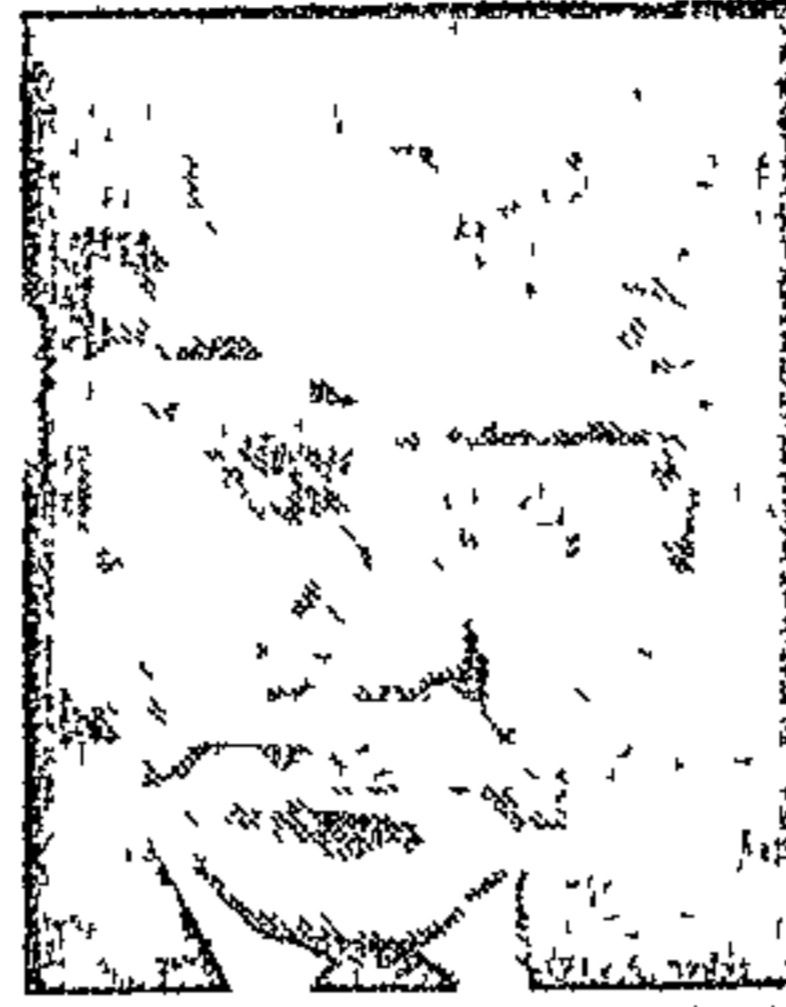
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warns:



Mr Pik Botha . . . today's picture.

sanctions coming

The Star's Africa News Service

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, called on South Africans today to accept that sanctions were going to be applied against the Republic. He was speaking at a Press conference on his return from Europe for discussions on the SWA/Namibia settlement question.

Mr Botha said there was intense pressure among EEC leaders for immediate implementation of the settlement plan for the territory.

In answer to a question, he said there had been no direct threat of sanctions but the sword of sanctions has been hanging over our heads all the time.

"It is time we must accept that sanctions are going to come, and our people must be made aware of this."

By creating an impression South Africa was afraid of sanctions the country became vulnerable to pressure on that front. It was important that fear of sanctions should not be seen to drive South Africa.

It should be remembered that other countries would suffer worse damage than South Africa through sanctions.

Mr Botha said when questioned about the National Party victory in the SWA/Namibia white elections that he would be surprised if this had much influence on international negotiations on the future of the territory.

Pressure

Commenting on his talks with European leaders Mr Botha said they were unanimous in pressing for a speedy solution in SWA/Namibia to avoid a bigger conflict.

Mr Botha said he had gained the impression they doubted whether South Africa was serious in its desire to achieve a speedy, internationally recognised solution.

Mr Botha added, however, that he would not give in to pressure simply because South Africa's assurances might not be believed.

The South African Government would push ahead through reasonable and patient negotiations and all doors remained open.

The Government had not yet had an opportunity to consult all the parties about further steps in the negotiating process.

He left open the possibility of alternatives to Security Council resolution 435 being explored.

Unhappiness

The territory was not yet an independent state and South Africa was still responsible for its international relations.

Tim Patten of The Star's London Bureau reports from Paris that the message Dr Henry Kissinger would take back to Washington is that South Africa is preparing to reject the UN proposals for a conference on SWA/Namibia.

After nearly two hours of talks with Mr Pik Botha in Paris yesterday, Dr Kissinger would fly home to report to the US State Department on South Africa's unhappiness with the proposals.

The United Nations has rejected a request by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance to take part in the General Assembly debate on SWA/Namibia on November 25.

SWA talks next

Freetown
tipped
as the
venue

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MONTH?

By Peter Sullivan,
Political Correspondent,
and Sapa

United Nations-sponsored multiparty talks on South West Africa/Namibia will probably start next month — but the venue is still undecided

Proposals for the conference to finalise implementation of the UN plan for independence elections are expected to be officially disclosed in New York later this week by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim

According to sources in New York, the UN Secretariat is now trying to gain final acceptance of the plan from African states

When the wording of Dr Waldheim's report to the Security Council has been cleared, the go-ahead for a conference could be given and talks could possibly be set up next month

Satisfied

Dr Waldheim is understood to be satisfied that South Africa accepts the principle of talks and now needs to convince black states that the conference would be worthwhile

No fixed date or venue has been decided, according to the sources

Botswana and the Cape Verde Islands have been discarded, and Freetown in Sierra Leone is being tipped as the main possibility, although some reports say South Africa has rejected this venue.

There is a distinct possibility that South Africa's delegation to the talks will be led by the former Administrator-General of the territory, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who was last month promoted to the Cabinet

Although officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs refused to confirm or deny this today, it is felt that Dr Viljoen would be able to represent all the internal parties in his capacity as former Administrator General

In South Africa last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, warned that sanctions were inevitable

But the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, warned that sanctions were "a double-edged sword"

Pressure

Mr Pik Botha said the Government would threaten the sanctions implementers with all the means at its disposal

"Our fear of sanctions is being used to wring concessions from us.

"We must no longer allow ourselves to be pushed around by this fear and accept that sanctions will come," Mr Pik Botha said

The latest developments on the SWA/Namibia front are expected to be discussed by the Cabinet, which met for its weekly routine meeting at the Union Buildings this morning.

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Another defeat for DTA

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance today suffered a second major defeat in a week with one of its black member parties losing the Damara ethnic election.

The Damara Council, a black nationalist group aligned to the Namibia National Front, won 23 seats in the second-tier Damara representative authority.

The DTA's representatives won only 16 in a relatively high poll.

This follows another blow to the DTA when the Republican Party of Mr Dirk Mudge was beaten in white elections last week by the SWA National Party.

These two setbacks for the DTA now mean there are at least three ethnic groups within the multi-ethnic DTA who cannot claim majority support. It also has the effect that four members of the SWA/Namibia Council of Ministers, or "Cabinet," represent minority groups on the second-tier level of government.

SWA election may bring DTA reshuffle

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A significant realignment of parties within the democratic Turnhalle Alliance can be expected here soon following the defeat of Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party by the right-wing SWA National Party in the white second-tier election.

Pressure from black groups within the DTA is expected to mount following other ethnic election results which could mean further embarrassment to the Alliance.

Among the groups apparently dismayed at the defeat of their white colleagues are the Hereros under Chief Kuama Riruako.

A point which has rankled them is that many white Government officials in the northern black areas had voted for

the National Party and disregarded the RP's position of seeking an accommodation with moderate blacks.

The appointment of an executive committee for the white second-tier legislative authority is accentuating a power struggle within the SWA National Party. This follows the defeat of two former sitting Executive Committee members, Mr Eben van Zijl and his brother, Mr Frans van Zyl.

Because of constitutional changes, the present chairman of the Executive Committee and leader of the NP alliance, Aktur, in the National Assembly, Mr A H du Plessis, cannot hold both positions simultaneously.

The former Commissioner-General of the indigenous peoples of the territory, Mr Jannie de Wet, has been tipped

by the NP mouthpiece, Die Suidwester, as a strong contender for a position on the executive committee — and possibly that of chairman if Mr Du Plessis opts for his national assembly.

The chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, has again sent a telegram to the United Nations, urging it to give the DTA equal treatment with Swapo in participation in the General Assembly debate on SWA/Namibia on November 25.

And the pro-DTA Windhoek Advertiser yesterday said the South African Government was apparently trying to stall the implementation of a UN-supervised election in the territory within the next year.

"It would seem the main reason is the fear of a Swapo victory," the report said.

Who funded RP asks Nat leader

The Star's Africa News Service

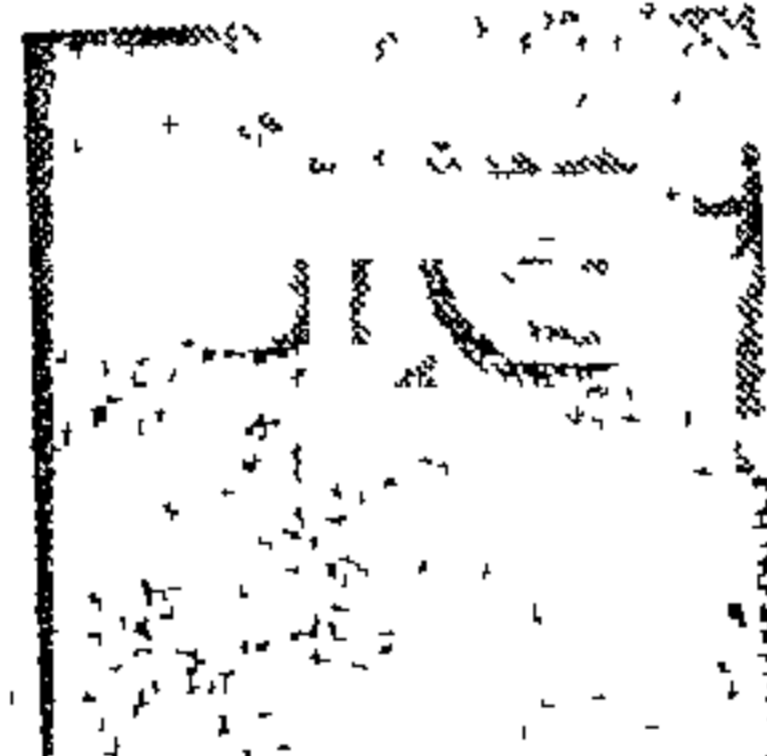
WINDHOEK — The leader of the National Party in SWA/Namibia, Mr A H du Plessis, has again questioned the sources of the funds behind the DTA-aligned Republican Party.

He raised the question in the party's mouthpiece, Die Suidwester, in reaction yesterday to the 11-7 seat NP victory over the RP in last week's election for a white second-tier legislative authority.

"One thing which amazes me in connection with the RP is that so many voters could vote for the RP not knowing where the finances come from," he said.

What he did know was that there were a number of people who would "bliver" if they were confronted with the truth, he said.

Mr du Plessis said the NP won 47.7 percent of the white vote. The RP had drawn 41.8 percent and the HNP 10.5 percent. It had come to his at-



Mr du Plessis... questioning sources.

attention that there was doubt and confusion, particularly among black people, about what the attitude of the white authority would now be towards black and brown people.

"To them I can only say that the impression left with them that the NP is anti-black and anti-brown, is totally without grounds," he said.

Turning to the future, Mr du Plessis said the NP would not act arrogantly. The party's doors would always remain open to the leaders of other race groups who wished to discuss the future.

SAVING OF ZIMBABWE FROM 'WORLD-NEGLECTED' STATUS

Samora Machel of Mozambique last night praised the Soviet Union as a reliable support for true revolutionaries on all continents

The Mozambique leader, who signed a friendship treaty with Moscow in 1977, arrived here yesterday for talks with Soviet leaders about southern Africa and economic aid.

At a Kremlin banquet, President Machel and Soviet President, Leonid Brezhnev, exchanged warmly-worded speeches, indicating that their past disagreements, mainly over Zimbabwe, were over.

President Machel helped ensure a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe which was opposed at the time by the Soviet Union.

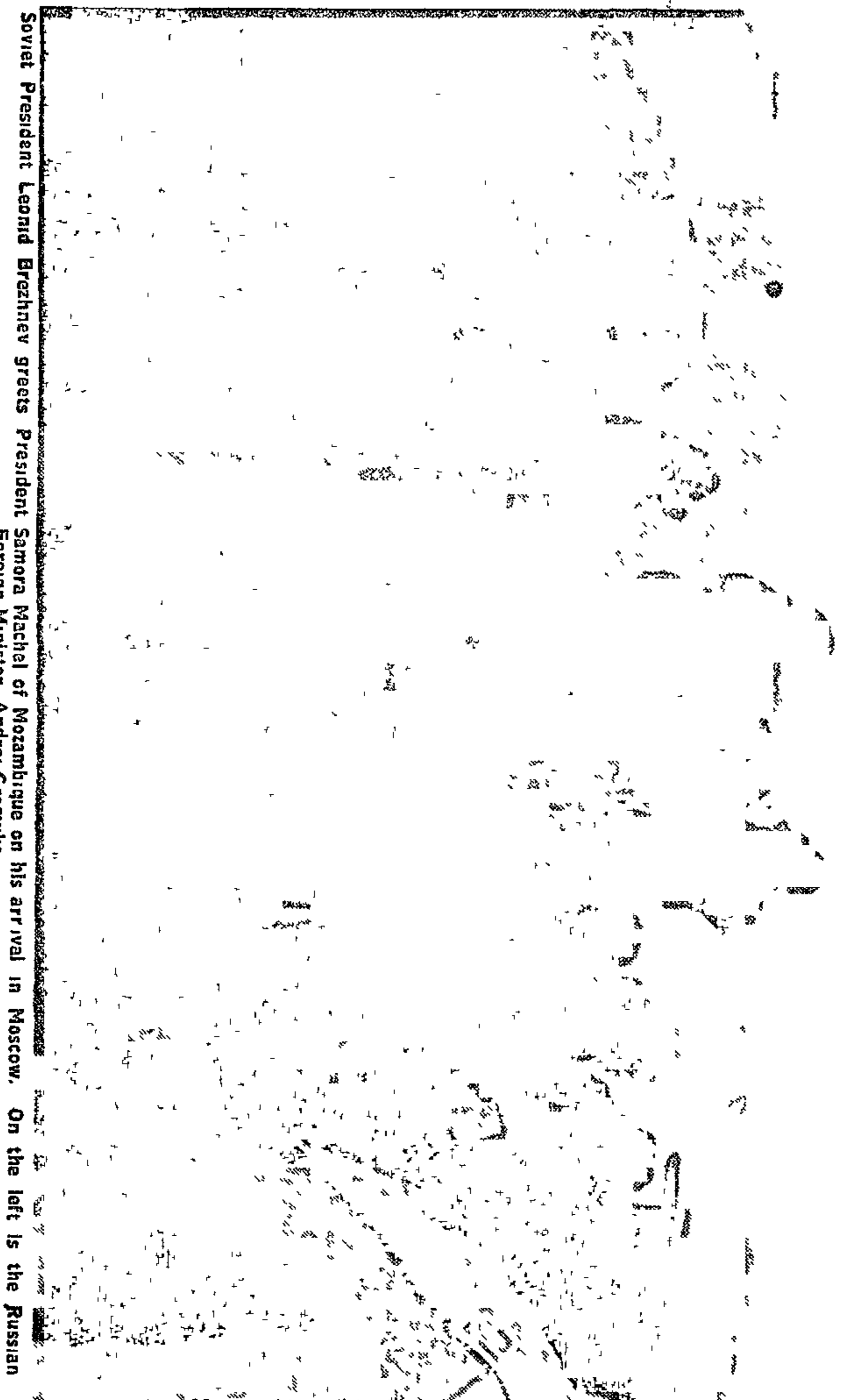
Tass news agency said Mr. Brezhnev told President Machel during the talks that the Soviet Union attached great importance to the victory of the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe.

"What is now on the agenda is the liberation of Namibia (South West Africa)," the Soviet leader said.

SWA/Namibia was thought to be one of the main topics discussed during yesterday's talks, with the Soviet side urging opposition to Western plans for a settlement.

The Soviet Union does not want Mozambique and the other "frontline" black African states to support Western plans for a settlement negotiated with South Africa.

In his speech, Mr. Machel said black rule in Zimbabwe was a stimulus



Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev greets President Samora Machel of Mozambique on his arrival in Moscow. On the left is the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko.

for the emancipation of SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

Mr. Brezhnev said the remaining white-ruled areas of southern Africa were "an aggressive and dangerous anachronism".

He for the five-day talks is the country's membership of Comecon, Mozambique also wants to attract more Soviet involvement in development projects.

The President is accompanied by his Foreign Minister, Mr. Joaquin Chissano, and the Ministers of Agriculture and Industry.

Also travelling with the party is the Minister-governor of the Bank of Mozambique, M. Viera.

Although the Soviet Union has supplied about 400 military technicians, particularly doctors, it has made less investment than Mozambique would have liked.

Mozambique is anxious to deal with other countries as an equal. From Sapa Reuter and The Guardian.

Election results undermine DTA support — experts

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The outcome of second-tier ethnic elections on SWA/Namibia — in which the DTA suffered two major defeats — has shown that further delays in reaching a solution for the territory can only undermine the DTA's support, observers here believe

They feel it is now time for the DTA to move quickly towards settling the SWA/Namibian issue because they would not improve on their grassroots support by delaying an internationally acceptable solution

"I do not think the DTA parties could do any better in future than they have done — I think they have reached their optimum strength," said Mr Bryan O'Linn, the leader of the Federal Party, which did not take part in the elections

Results from four other ethnic elections yesterday showed the DTA suffering yet another defeat at the hand of the Namibia National Front-orientated Damara Council.

Last week the Republican Party of the DTA chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, was outvoted by the right-wing SWA National Party

The results in the coloured, Damara, Kavango and Herero ethnic elections yesterday showed the DTA winning control over three of these four ethnic representative authorities

Although overall the DTA claimed that about 63 percent of all the voters who went to the polls sided with them, the two defeats in key political contests hold little satisfaction for the multi-ethnic group which controls the interim Government, National Assembly and Council of Ministers or "Cabinet."

OAU and 13 states to take part in talks

Political Staff and AP

Diplomats in London have leaked plans for an international multiparty conference in SWA/Namibia to start next month and lead to a ceasefire in March and independence by the end of next year.

The plan, drafted for the Security Council by UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim, is for all the SWA/Namibia parties to get together around the conference table with the representatives of a number of other nations in the first two weeks of December.

These are the "contact group" of five Western powers — America, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada — and the "frontline" states of Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania, the Organisation of African Unity delegates and also South Africa.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, last night told a dinner in Pretoria held by the Foreign Correspondents' Association of South Africa that consensus was growing on the idea of an all-party conference to direct the future of the territory.

But Foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria treated the plan leaked by the London diplomats with reserve.

Arthur Gavshon of Associated Press reports from London that the plan was revised to meet Pretoria's objections to a pro-Swapo bias in the UN.

Western diplomatic sources differed in their reactions to the report today, some claiming it was accurate while others labelled it premature.

Sources in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said none of the details for an all-party conference had been worked out yet and that, while there was consensus

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Plan for freedom

in SWA set by UN

that multiparty talks should be held, there were still differences over the time, place and procedure.

"Until Dr Waldheim's report comes out, this is all pure speculation," a source said.

The release of Dr Waldheim's report has already been delayed twice and is now expected either at the weekend or early next week.

Once the official report is published the various parties will still have to agree to its terms although it is believed South Africa and the UN are in close contact on the drafting of the final report.

Senior European authorities report that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was warned during his round of talks last week that Pretoria's rejection

of the plan could have explosive international consequences.

Specifically he was told the Western powers cannot much longer prevent African and other Third World countries from demanding UN sanctions against South Africa.

The stage of settlement of the military and political aspects of the peace plan would begin about

March 1 with a ceasefire supervised by an especially formed UN peace-keeping force.

Most of the arrangements for a military disengagement formation of demilitarised zones, concentration of opposing forces in defined base areas already have been agreed.

Within a defined period and with gun-carrying troops out of sight, elec-

toral campaigning would begin, again under the gaze of international observers.

Diplomats in Pretoria believe the Waldheim report when it is released will suggest a meeting in the first half of December.

The date of the March would be the last possible date on which implementation of UN Resolution 435 could start if an elec-

tion is to take place next year because the settlement plan allows for a seven-month run up to elections.

If everything else sorts itself out the venue for the talks is unlikely to be a problem and at this stage Kreetown in Steier Leone seems to be the most likely place.

Page 25 Minerals put SA in position of strength



DR WALDHEIM



MR PIK BOTHA

SWA church blasted ^{17/11/80}

WINDHOEK — An explosion occurred early today in the printing works at the Evangelical Lutheran Owambo-Kavango Church's headquarters at Oniipa, in Owambo, northern SWA/Namibia.

The leader of the church, Bishop Kleopas Dumehi, said sabotage was suspected. The blast happened shortly after midnight after two suspicious people had been reported in the vicinity by locals.

Only the building housing the printing works — worth about R350 000 with equipment — and lying between a church book store and the offices of the church newspaper, was destroyed.

In 1973 a similar blast razed the anti-South African Elok printing complex, about 50 m from the present building.

The explosion was heard many kilometres away.

DTA ^{from 19/1/82} wins all but two ethnic polls ^{ZZ} in SWA

WINDHOEK — South West Africa's ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance made almost a clean sweep of the territory's second-tier elections.

The final results announced in Windhoek yesterday gave the DTA six of the eight elections for ethnic representative authorities.

The DTA lost the white and the Damara elections.

In the Damara election, Mr Justus Garoeb's Damara Council ousted its DTA rival, Swapduf, from its position in the Damara Representative Authority.

The Damara Council is an influential member party of the black nationalist umbrella organisation, the Namibia National Front.

In the white election, the DTA chairman Dirk Mudge's Republican Party lost to the SWA National Party, which has maintained a majority in the white Legislative Assembly for 30 years.

The Damara Council won 23 seats in the Damara Legislative Assembly, Swapduf won 16 seats and the remaining seat went to Mr Kefas Conradie's Damara Executive Committee.

The DTA scored its biggest victory among the Hereros where Nudo, led by the DTA deputy chairman, Mr Kuama Riruako, took 34 of the 35 seats in the Herero Representative Authority.

The remaining seat was won by the Nudo Progressive Party of Namibia, a breakaway group from the DTA, which still supports DTA policy.

The coloured election was won by the Labour Party (DTA), which took 11 seats to the Liberal Party's four.

In Kavango, the DTA Kavango Party won a landslide victory over its only contender, the Namibia Christian Democratic Party. The Kavango DTA captured 19 of the 20 seats in the Kavango Legislative Assembly.

Among the Caprivians, Tswanas and Namas, the DTA's constituent parties — the Caprivi Alliance, the Seoposengwe Party and the Nama Democratic Turnhalle Party — were all returned

unopposed to their respective ethnic authorities.

The Basters, Owambos and Bushmen did not go to the polls.

There was a particularly high percentage poll among whites. This varied between 70% and 80% in most constituencies.

Among coloureds the voter turnout was 32,8%, among the Damaras 49,5% and among the Hereros 53,1%.

The Kavangos contested two of the five Kavango tribal areas and the percentage poll in the two areas in relation to the entire Kavango electorate was not available.

— Sapa

SWA unlikely to reject SA

By HELEN ZILLE

Political Correspondent
SOUTH AFRICA is unlikely to accept the plan for a multiparty conference on South West Africa if it is in the form leaked through diplomatic sources in London this week.

This is the view of informed observers on all sides of the SWA dispute.

The conference plan was crafted by the United Nations Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, after consultations with South Africa and the Frontline States.

A Sept-Reuters report from New York yesterday said that Swapo had rejected the leaked plan as a "master scheme".

Key elements of the plan are that SWA should be a party to a conference to be held next month to iron out the final details to international-supervised elections. The implementation process would then begin on March 1, with independence by the end of the year.

Though South Africa accepts the principle of multiparty talks which include the internal SWA parties, it is understood that serious problems have arisen on the details of Dr Waldheim's proposals.

Approached for comment on the Waldheim report, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said: "The process of consultation has not yet been finished, and nothing can be said until that time."

Diplomatic sources said the "precise language" of the proposal had still to be worked out, though the "general issues" in the draft had been correctly reported.

South Africa's major objections appear to centre on the proposed agenda, procedure and dates.

Mr Pik Botha, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, is understood to have raised these objections during a visit to Europe this month, at a meeting with stiff resistance and a warning that Western powers would no longer be able to veto a sanctions call in the Security Council if South Africa objected to Dr Waldheim's proposals.

Mr Botha met Dr Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, in London.

HOLDIT

SA may reject SWA plan

From Page 1

Indications are that South Africa is taking a tough line against this probability for several reasons.

South Africa would be faced with severe domestic political problems if it were seen to have paved the way for a Swapo victory.

That is why the Government is insisting that the SWA internal parties themselves must participate and agree to all further developments on the territory's future.

It is unlikely that the internal parties would agree to any plan which left them without constitutional safeguards — part of the reason why South Africa is pressing for a "flexible agenda".

There is also a strong belief in highly-placed circles that South Africa is not prepared to accept a Swapo victory under any circumstances, and wishes to avoid appearing the "wrecker" — by placing the internal parties in a position to block a settlement. In this way, the dispute could be dragged on indefinitely.

Much of the Government's resistance to Swapo is said to be based on security considerations, and an unwillingness to hand over a sophisticated infrastructure to a "hostile Marxist government".

The South African Government has strongly denied accusations that it is stalling. However, there are "strong doubts" in Government ranks whether a multiparty conference could be held in December, because of the planning and preparations

100 80 20

Government critics believe South Africa is anxious to delay the talks until the Reagan Administration comes to power.

Western countries, eager to avoid the sanctions issue at this stage, are extremely annoyed at the latest South African objections. Sanctions would pose problems for Western countries battling against slump economies and high unemployment.

For this reason, a sanctions vote would probably call for selective sanctions for a limited period.

Suggestions are that South Africa could suffer an air embargo — the complete cutting off of foreign air travel — or a communications embargo which would cut all telephone and telecommunications links with the rest of the world.

These forms of sanctions would do most harm to white South Africans, while keeping to a minimum the negative effects in Western countries and South Africa's neighbours.

The Sapa-Reuters report from New York on Swapo's reaction to the multiparty conference plan attributed to Dr Waldheim, said a statement by the organisation accused Dr Kissinger of joining a campaign to block it attaining its goal of independence for SWA.

The statement said "Swapo is dismayed about this mysterious meeting, about its timing, and what it portends."

It said Dr Kissinger was the author of a plan for an all-parties conference in 1976. Calling the proposal "fraudulent", Swapo said that then, and in its present "resurrection", it proposed to substitute puppets and local "racist surrogates for the Pretoria junta" to negotiate.

"Thus South Africa will get off the hook safe and sound, and international pressure be terminated," it said.

Parents Limited and/...

Foreign Affairs Minister
MR PIK BOTHA

Mudge will have to move fast

20/1/80 2pm (271)

By PETER KENNY, 'Mail' Africa Bureau



Mr Mudge his political survival lies in a sincere commitment to multi-racialism

WINDHOEK — On paper at least Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance came out tops in last week's South West African ethnic elections by winning three of the five contests

But the losses in the white election to the National Party of SWA and in the Damara election to Chief Justus Garoeb's Damara Council were a heavy blow to the DTA

Many whites voted for the NP hoping the abolition of apartheid could be reversed. But the NP has been put into the unenviable position of having a mandate from the whites that it cannot implement

Of the 95 770 votes cast last week, the DTA obtained 64% of the votes to 36% gained from the unco-ordinated anti-DTA opposition

Although the Republican Party, the white component in the DTA, lost 11 of the white Legislative Assembly seats to the NP and gained only seven, it gained 42% of votes cast. The NP gained 48% and the ultra-right Herstigte Nasionale Party captured 10% of the white vote

Ironically, the loss of the RP to the NP might mean the DTA can increase its rather suspect credibility with the black electorate in SWA

But Mr Mudge will have to move fast, and it might be too late under the present circumstances in the turbulent territory

At least Mr Mudge is not hamstrung by having to pander to a mandate from a conservative white electorate, and the NP, whose national electoral front, Aktur, is not in control of the National Assembly where the decisions concerning overall national importance are taken.

After his defeat Mr Mudge made it quite clear that there would be no turning back on the abolition of apartheid in the territory and that efforts towards an internally acceptable settlement for SWA would have to be speeded up if black aspirations were to be met

"The people of South West Africa want independence and not self government," he said impassively when discussing the DTA's white election defeat

Observers have rightly pointed out that the majority of white temporary personnel in the civil service, police, prisons and army voted for the NP, and inevitably they will one day cross the Orange River back to South Africa

The NP also received many special votes from former civil servants who have already returned to South Africa but were still eligible to vote under the one year's residency qualification

The DTA was hoping that Chief Justus Garoeb might join their side if his party won the Damara election, but Chief Garoeb said he had no such intention. He also said he did not see Swapo as an enemy, although he disapproved of their methods of operating

The Damaras are the third largest ethnic group in SWA after the Owambos (47% of the one-million population) and the whites (11%). The estimated Damara population is 85 000, about 9% of the total population

If the Damaras decided to back Swapo in a United Nations-supervised election, this would without doubt seal a Swapo victory, as the Owambos will probably back Swapo en masse.

Now that Mr Mudge does not have the support of the majority of whites he must look to serving the interests of his black electorate who put the DTA into power in the National Assembly in the non-internationally recognised one-man-one-vote elections in 1978

Mr Mudge's only hope of survival is to show he sincerely wants a genuine multi-racial state that is not a disguised form of apartheid

To do this he will have to drastically increase the amount spent on black education and genuinely increase job opportunities for blacks in the territory

With a sizeable number of whites backing the moderate policies of his DTA, Mr Mudge said his party had shown it had stuck to its principles and had not watered them down even though they showed to be unpopular with the majority of whites

As Mr Mudge cannot look to the white right for support he must look leftwards to his black constituents.

Miracles rarely happen, and Mr Mudge will have to hope he can achieve one in the short space of time before a UN election

Black aspirations will have to be met speedily if Mr Mudge is to survive at the top.

Not having to pander to the whims of the white electorate, the NP victory might be a blessing in disguise for the farmer who is at the helm in SWA to satisfy black aspirations

Trying to speed up the start of the UN election could help the DTA or, if the cause is already lost, it could speed up its ousting from power

The next few months will show the trend, with or without a UN election

Armed men seen before church press blasted

STAR
20/11/80

(221)

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The mystery bomb blast which destroyed the printing works of the Evangelical Lutheran Owambo-Kavango Church (ELOC) at Onipa, Owambo, yesterday, deepened today with reports of unknown armed men having been spotted in the vicinity of the explosion

The blast — the second in seven years to have hit the church's printing works — caused damage of about R350 000. It occurred shortly after midnight and debris from the force of the explosion was flung about 150 m away.

All the windows of the nearby ELOC headquarters and settlement were blown out.

"Suspicious movements" by armed men had been seen by locals in the moonlight.

INFORMATION

Bishop Kleopas Dumeni, leader of ELOC — the largest church group in SWA/Namibia — said yesterday at Onipa that "confidential information" had been passed to him by people who wanted to remain unidentified "because of security reasons," about movements before the blast.

"I confirm this information is the truth," he said.

He said about 9 pm on Tuesday night "army vehicles" had passed the ELOC settlement, about 10 km east of Ondangwa, and some "soldiers" were dropped at a nearby shopping complex.

Owambo is presently under a strict civilian dusk-to-dawn curfew.

Bishop Dumeni then referred in a written statement he has handed

to police who are investigating the blast, to the movements of "between two and eight armed men" in the vicinity of the church settlement and the printing works.

The explosion had occurred after some people had been sent walking away from the area along a concrete water channel at about midnight.

Bishop Dumeni said he could not say whether it was the same people who had been dropped at the shopping complex who were moving about.

EXPERTS

The destroyed printing works produced school textbooks, hymn books, church publications and the church newspaper, Omuukwetu.

The explosives must have been detonated by experts, because the printing works was sandwiched between two other buildings, none of which was structurally damaged.

Recently the editor of Omuukwetu, Mr Ambrosius Amutenya, fled SWA/Namibia after publishing allegations of a secret execution squad with a death list of prominent Owambo businessmen, eliminating them under the guise of "so-called terrorists."

Tensions also heightened between the church and the Owambo Administration following the shooting of a headman in an ELOC administered hospital.

A challenge was levelled at the church to explain where it stood on the matter.

As one ELOC church-worker cryptically remarked "The church has now been shot through the mouth. Its voice, Omuukwetu, is dead."

Still a chance

Despite all the threats and confusion surrounding the negotiations over SWA/Namibia, there is still a reasonable chance of an internationally acceptable settlement.

Although SA has been told officially by its Minister of Foreign Affairs to prepare for sanctions and the PM has rattled the sabre of reprisals at the world, all concerned are still talking to each other and the proposed all-party conference, probably starting in December and continuing in January, seems likely to take place.

Amid the confusion the following facts stand out:

- SA has accepted a March 1 1981 ceasefire as the starting date for a seven-month run-up to elections. This acceptance is subject to an all-party conference being held with satisfactory assurances on the status of the internal SWA parties and of UN impartiality.
- Despite his sabre-rattling, the PM has said there is growing consensus for an all-party conference.
- The UN Secretary-General has drafted a proposal for such a conference. Although details are vague, it is thought to be designed to meet Pretoria's doubts about UN bias — probably by giving some sort of supervisory role to the Western contact group of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Canada.

African front-line states are aware there is little chance of the West not vetoing a sanctions resolution in the Security Council and that this chance will become vanishingly small once the Reagan administration takes over in the US on January 20. Moving such a resolution would therefore give them a propaganda boost, but little practical advantage.

Pretoria genuinely wants the SWA problem out of the way — albeit on its own terms. Despite Pik and PW Botha's "come the four corners of the world in arms" rhetoric, Pretoria seems reasonably sure sanctions are not on at this stage. There is even talk in official circles of secret German studies showing that sanctions against SA would inflict unacceptable damage to West European economies, particularly in the vulnerable steel industries and their related sectors.

In the light of this, Pik Botha's "prepare for sanctions" statement appears as a negotiating tactic designed partially to frighten the West with the vision of actually having to implement sanctions, rather than just talk about it, and partially to bolster the government's political position within SA.

The Bothas' statements were neither diplomatic nor designed to bolster busi-

ness confidence (to say nothing of international confidence) in SA. At their best, they were risky brinkmanship — which is not to say they will not have an effect — particularly in the West. But the problem of going to the brink is that you take the risk of someone tipping you over it.

However, the talks are still on with this proviso: SA has served notice that it is prepared to take a tough line and even to risk sanctions rather than accept a settlement which it regards as unsuitable.

This is likely to concentrate minds wonderfully in those parts of the world which fear the consequences of confrontation power politics in southern Africa and are prepared to go out of their way to avoid them.

Pretoria hopes they will then come up with proposals which it will feel able to accept. The line being marketed is that for too long the UN and the West have reacted to Third World threats backed by Soviet arms and diplomacy and that it is time to remind the world that SA, too, has some formidable weapons in its economic arsenal which it is prepared to use when it comes to the crunch.

But even if the all-party conference gets off the ground there will be formidable problems to overcome. There is not even agreement between SA and the UN on the status of delegations and whether SA should sit as a delegation (as demanded by Swapo) or if the internal parties should negotiate independently.

But at least the chance for a settlement remains.

Hard-line attitude on Swapo may alienate friends of South Africa

STAR 21/11/80

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In a statement sharply questioning the Government's hard-line attitude towards Swapo and to sanctions, two of this country's top foreign affairs experts today warn that South Africa is in serious danger of alienating its Western friends.

"There is little chance of South Africa impressing the West with a posture of hurt innocence," say Mr John Barratt and Dr Deon Geldenhuys, director general and assistant director of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

South Africa's recent actions, they state, "may well have a negative effect on the country's already strained relations with the West."

Their comments come a few days after dire warnings by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, on his return from a visit to British and European governments, that South Africa must now confront the probability of international sanctions being imposed because of its stance in the negotiations for SWA/Namibia's independence.

The Government attitude that if it had to choose between "stability" and an internationally recognised Namibia, it would choose the former, is based on assumptions, the two men say.

The first is that a Swapo government would be marxist, allowing Russian influence and Cuban presence, threatening South Africa and foment-

ing instability in southern Africa. This, they say, ignores the various shades of opinion within Swapo.

Even were a Swapo government marxist, this would not bar peaceful coexistence with South Africa.

On sanctions, they state that "the Foreign Minister's and Prime Minister's statements give the impression that South Africa is not only ready for sanctions, but implicitly that the country in some ways would even welcome the challenge of sanctions," could ride them out and could retaliate enough to deter Western powers from imposing them.

"The assumption may be that, by taking a tough stand on sanctions, the Government can call the international community's bluff," they say.

On the "stability" of SWA/Namibia, they say that without international recognition, the guerilla war there must continue, Swapo will gain more international stature and South Africa will increasingly be exposed to sanctions. "Such circumstances are hardly conducive to stability."

The longer international settlement is postponed, the narrower South Africa's options become. Delay could lead to a less acceptable package for this country.

Swapo is a reality, they say, and South Africa must come to terms with it.

SWA compulsory army call-up starts

SIAC
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The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Military authorities in SWA/Namibia have started conscripting young men of all races under the new system of compulsory national service.

The general officer commanding the SWA territory force, Major-General Charles Lloyd, announced today that call-up instructions had been posted to "selected" young men.

The move comes amid strong criticism from black nationalist groups inside the country who claim that the national ser-

vice system would be tantamount to forcing "brother against brother."

General Lloyd noted that not all those eligible for training — men of all races between the ages of 18 and 25 — had been called up. He said people living in Kaokoland, Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi had not been included in the conscription.

More than half of SWA/Namibia's population live in these regions which constitute the "operational" area of the territory.

Maputo the likely venue

Star 21/11/80 (221)

Dr Waldheim report on Monday

By Kevin Jacobs, The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The Mozambican capital of Maputo is being considered here as the most likely venue for a meeting early in January intended to lift the curtain on a seven-month build-up to independence for SWA/Namibia

Waldheim
Time is running out for Dr Waldheim to propose what is being termed a "pre-implementation meeting" and he is expected to report at least on the possibility of such a meeting by Monday morning at the latest, when a scheduled debate on Namibia opens in the General Assembly

A favoured scenario for the proposed meeting would see internal political party representatives as a delegation led by the South African-appointed Administrator-General from the territory, and have the five nations Western "con-

tact group" and "front line" African Governments present as observers
The projected conference would serve a threefold purpose of assuring Pretoria of a UN commitment to fairness and impartiality — acquiescing in the South African Government's demand that internal parties have a voice in final decisions on the territory's future — and going some way to diminish mistrust and suspicion that separates Pretoria and Swapo
Sources say reports of an impending South African rejection of the talks proposal and a Swapo

statement interpreted as a rejection, are 'inconsistent' with indications both sides have given to the UN
Angola's ambassador to the UN Elisio de Figueiredo, met Dr Waldheim late yesterday in the course of "the process of consultation" according to a UN spokesman
Adnaan Eksteen, South Africa's UN envoy, met Dr Waldheim on Wednesday. He said later the suggested conference "may be a tool" to bridge "this enormous mistrust and lack of confidence"
UN officials and Western and African diplo-

rats are eyeing a March start to an independence programme.
LONDON — A delegation from the anti-apartheid movement will meet Foreign Office Minister Richard Luce today seeking assurances from the British government that it would stand by the UN plan for SWA/Namibia.
It would also ask the Government to "pressure" South Africa to ensure the plan's implementation, including the application of sanctions

Mr Eksteen enormous mistrust

SA may push for hearing in UN over SWA

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

THERE are strong indications that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, is pushing for a hearing in the United Nations General Assembly on the South West Africa issue

This was confirmed by sources in Pretoria yesterday. However, Dr Brand Fourie, director general of Foreign Affairs, could not be contacted for comment.

Diplomats believe Mr Botha has scant chance of getting his way, as South Africa was expelled from the UN in 1974 and any attempt by Mr Botha to address the assembly would meet with stiff resistance from the majority of the 153-member body.

If there is a wrangle over whether South Africa should be

given a hearing, there is a chance that the dispute could be further dragged out at a time when the Western powers and UN are eager to make progress towards a multi-party conference.

Mr Botha apparently raised the question of addressing the General Assembly during his meetings with Foreign Ministers in Europe last week.

If this request is rejected — as it is likely to be — the South African Government would probably use it as a further argument in its accusations of bias against the General Assembly.

The South African Government has made repeated charges of partiality against the General Assembly following its recognition of Swapo as

“the soul authentic representative” of the people of South West Africa.

Swapo has also been granted observer status at the General Assembly — and South Africa's aim is to win equal recognition for the internal parties of the territory.

This has emerged as one of the main stumbling blocks to the holding of a multi-party conference and the dispute on the issue is likely to drag on for some time.

Behind the scenes consultations continue at a feverish pace between South Africa, the Western Five and Swapo on the details of a conference.

Although a draft has been prepared, various proposals in it have met strong resistance from South Africa and Swapo.

SWA bid for employment code accord

Power is Swapo's aim — Mudge

By PETER KENNY
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — A major private enterprise initiative to draw up a code of employment practice and promote greater opportunities for the people of South West Africa was launched in Windhoek yesterday

The aim of the Private Sector Foundation (PSF) is to uplift the standard and quality of life among the "disadvantaged sectors" of the community in SWA.

The foundation was launched with an initial R750 000 commitment from the private sector for the first three years of its existence, the PSF chairman, Mr I R J Williams, general manager of Shell Oil SWA Ltd, said.

The objectives of the PSF are:

- To promote a comprehensive code of employment practice,
- To promote improved housing standards and home ownership;
- To co-ordinate and promote training; and,
- To improve the earnings potential of unskilled and semi-skilled manpower and small businesses.

Some of the largest companies in SWA, including several

multi-national mining and oil concerns, are initial participants and contributors to the PSF

The executive director of the foundation will be Mr Charles Truebody, at present Secretary for Water Affairs in SWA and former director of development

Mr Truebody said present urban and social problems among the disadvantaged, who are mostly black people, was "a critical area in terms of future social responsibility"

The PSF will research the problems and develop a programme of assistance with emphasis on self-help and free enterprise values. Mr Truebody said Once a code of employment practice is researched and drawn up, a programme will be developed to help employers implement the code.

The PSF will investigate problems and restrictions connected with the ownership and operation of businesses and will identify business opportunities.

The R750 000 commitment in cash and services, has been pledged by a wide spectrum of the territory's business sector

"This as a pre-launch commitment, to get the project under way, relatively few firms have become involved to this point," Mr Williams said.

WINDHOEK — Mr Dirk Mudge, Chairman of South West Africa's Council of Ministers says he is not surprised that Swapo has rejected a plan for an all-party conference

Commenting on a Swapo statement issued from the United Nations headquarters in New York, Mr Mudge said "Swapo is not interested in finding a solution to the problem of independence for Namibia

"The organisation is interested only in seizing power, even by force"

Mr Mudge, who also leads SWA's ruling multiracial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said Swapo co-operated in moves towards a solution only when things were going its way. When the direction changed, Swapo ceased to co-operate

This, he said, was precisely what happened when South Africa, which administers the territory, against UN resolutions, and the internal democratic parties had accepted the UN peace plan in 1978. Then, just as now, Swapo had come up with objections

In Pretoria, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha declined comment on the Swapo statement until he had had time to study its text — Sapa

Ex-matron ^{from 22/1/78} on board

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — A former Windhoek chief matron who was removed from office because of her liberal views, has been elected to the board of the Nursing Association of South West Africa

The election of Mrs Anchen Parkhouse has been welcomed by black and brown nurses in the territory. Many of them are still bitter about her removal from the Windhoek State Hospital last August

Observers say Mrs Parkhouse stands a strong chance of being elected president of the association on December 1

Mrs Parkhouse fell out of favour in 1978 when she successfully campaigned for equal pay for equal qualifications

Critics called her a "liberal" and said she had taken in her black foster son, Fritz, 7, "to save her white skin when Swapo took over the country"

For the past 18 months she has been doing clerical work

Germany objective, Genscher tells Pik

London Bureau

LONDON — The West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher, has told Mr Pik Botha his country is maintaining an objective position on the South West African situation but reserves the right to 'speak with equal frankness for all concerned'

Mr Genscher was replying to an accusation by the South African Foreign Minister in a letter dated November 3, that Germany's status as an honest broker might have been destroyed by a toast Mr Genscher proposed to the President of the Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma

The toast was delivered in Bonn on October 23. Mr Genscher said a free and independent SWA was in the interest of the Germans there and he called South Africa's "continuing reluctance" to meet its obligations under the UN plan "incomprehensible and dangerous"

Mr Botha said in his message, delivered both in Bonn and at the UN, that he had been "extremely shocked" by the tenor of the toast.

"Apart from your unjustified assertions blaming South Africa for delaying a solution, you hailed Swapo for its "great sacrifices" and condemned South Africa for its efforts to protect the people of SWA Namibia, without even referring to the suffering and destruction meted out by Swapo to the inhabitants of the territory," he said

In his reply, sent from Bonn on about November 10, Mr Genscher stressed that the West German Government was taking an objective position in the negotiations, "at the same time being deeply concerned about the peaceful future of the Namibian people," a spokesman for the German Foreign Ministry said yesterday

France's blunt apartheid warning

STAR
22/11/80

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From John Baggaley

PARIS — French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing issued a blunt, personal, warning to South Africa over apartheid and SWA/Namibia in a ceremony here which also confirmed France's growing interest in English-speaking Africa.

Although the President did not directly name South Africa, observers here believe that his words — at a meeting with the new Tanzanian ambassador, Mr Ephraim Mwafakafyuka — were a clear indication to Pretoria as to where France stands over human rights in southern Africa, and notably South Africa.

Receiving the Tanzanian diplomat's credentials yesterday, Mr Giscard d'Estaing told him: "We want to develop our dialogue with you, taking into account the contribution we intend to bring to solving crises, notably in southern Africa, with the determination to promote the right of all men to equal dignity, and that of the peoples there to make their own decisions."

Observers here saw the statement as a succinct warning to South Africa over apartheid and SWA/Namibia.

The Star's London Bureau reports:

Plans have been scrapped for a pro-South African conference here next week to highlight European ties with the subcontinent.

The European-Southern Africa Committee, who were organising it, said too many people had been drawn away by the Maputo meeting which has official EEC blessing.

SALISBURY: On the day the UN Secretary General's special delegation on Namibia left Pretoria last month, it was handed a single sheet of paper by Brand Fourie, head of South Africa's Foreign Affairs Department.

The contents of the paper, taken at face value, suggested that the 34-year-old controversy over the future of the former mandated territory of South West Africa was at long last on its way to being solved.

The South Africans had not conceded all that the UN delegation had sought, but their proposals narrowed the gap to a point that allowed for reasonable optimism.

The UN commissioner for Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari (a former Finnish diplomat), was authorised to take the South African proposals to the capitals of the six African Frontline states for their reactions.

His mission found a positive response from Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and, especially, from Mozambique. But, as the African leaders were giving the green light for a practical follow-up, South Africa appeared to be backtracking.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha visited a number of West European capitals most directly involved in the initiative to break the Namibian deadlock. He took a hard line suggesting his regime was no longer prepared to be pushed around.

On his return home, he warned South Africans to see themselves to face international sanctions over Namibia. His stance was completely at variance with the spirit of the note that had been handed over to the UN only a few weeks before.

What had gone wrong? The only reasonable explanation is that Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary General, had asked for some further clarification.

But was this enough to push South Africa back to the brink of confrontation with Africa and the Western Powers?

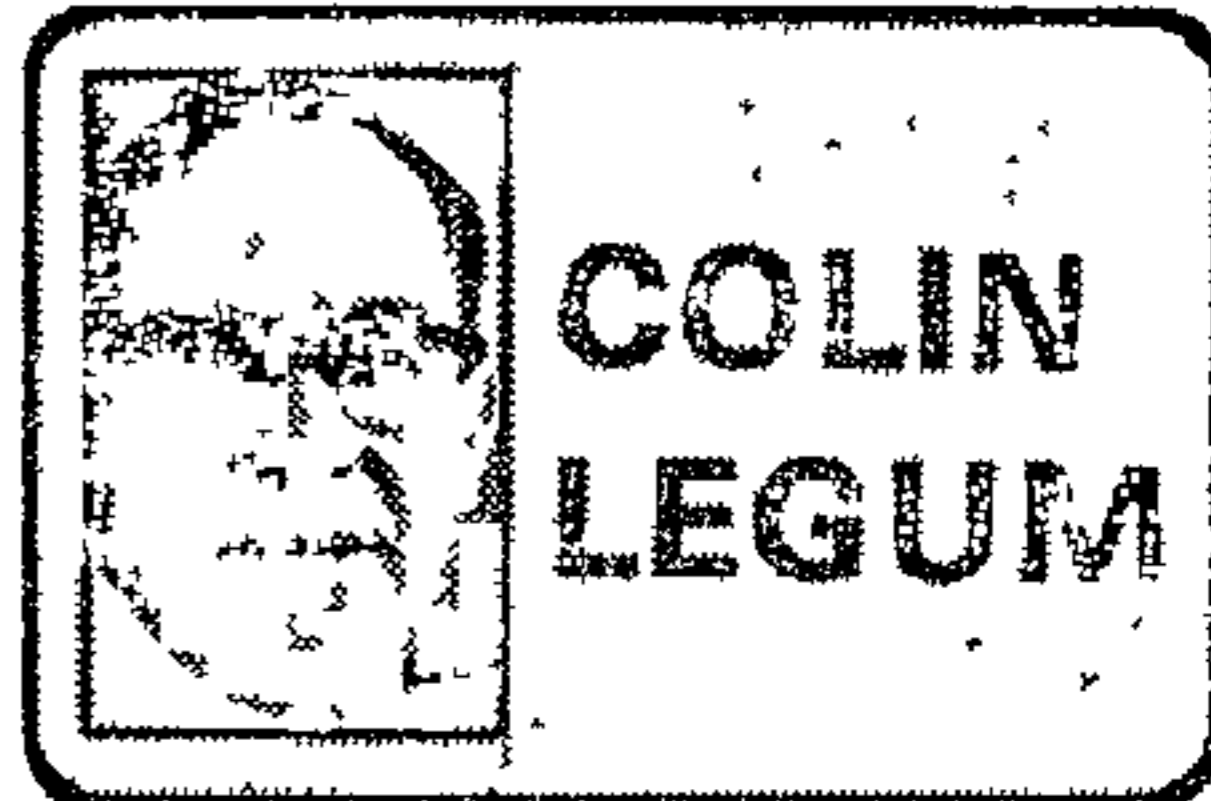
Or was he encouraged to believe that, once President Reagan was established in the White House, South Africa would no longer face concerted Western pressure over Namibia?

Those who believe in conspiracy theories suggest that Pik Botha changed his mind after private talks with Dr Henry Kissinger in Paris. But this suspicious view falls down on several grounds.

First, because Mr Botha had begun to take his hard line even before he saw Dr Kissinger. Second, if Dr Kissinger had suggested an easing of the American position, would Mr Botha have returned home full of dire warnings about the imminent possibility of sanctions?

It is possible to take a contrary view. Because Dr Kissinger had indicated no likelihood of a softening of the American line under a Reagan administration, the South African Foreign Minister realised there was

The Namibia commitment



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SUN TRIS



Ahtisaari ... saw frontline States

Kissinger ... what did he tell Pik?

Waldheim ... more clarification?

Fourie ... sheet of paper

nothing to be hoped for from that quarter. So, once again, South Africa's hatches had to be battened down.

The following were the main points accepted by South Africa in their last submission to the UN:

- Acceptance of a definite date for Namibia's independence by the end of 1981
- Agreement to begin to implement the UN plan for a settlement, as agreed under Resolution 435, by March, 1981, subject to settlement of the final details of a "pre-implementation" conference to be held in early December.
- Acceptance of UN chairmanship of such a conference, which would

be attended by South Africa, the Namibian internal political parties, Swapo the Frontline states and the Western Big Five.

The two most significant concessions by the South Africans were acceptance of UN Resolution 435 and a willingness to negotiate directly with Swapo. The latter condition had previously been strongly resisted.

One of the problems raised by the terms offered by South Africa was the need to persuade Swapo to come to a conference which would also be attended by representatives of the Namibian internal parties.

However, all the African Frontline states assured

Commissioner Ahtisaari there would be no resistance from Swapo on this issue. It was simply a question of "arranging the tables" at the conference so that South Africa and the Namibian internal parties would sit together on one side and Swapo on the other.

Angola's leadership strongly favoured the holding of all-party talks on the lines proposed by Pretoria. In fact, as I can now disclose, the South African regime has held three secret meetings with the Angolans in recent months, two of them in Cape Verde.

The Angolans have a special reason for wanting to see a settlement in Namibia. They play host to Swapo and have had to

face a steady campaign of cross-border strikes by the South African Army.

The South Africans appear to favour Gaborone, in Botswana. But Botswana's leaders have understandable fears about their ability to provide adequate security, especially for Swapo's leaders who remain deeply suspicious of South Africa's ubiquitous secret agents.

However, the problem of finding a suitable venue is a minor question. What matters is whether the South Africans are fully committed to attending all-party talks on the lines set out in their written note to the UN Secretary General.

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Namibia talks: Countdown begins

From Kevin Jacobs in New York

UNITED Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim this weekend is drafting plans for a crucial meeting that Western and African governments fervently hope will lead to sovereign independence for Namibia by the end of 1981.

Western diplomats and other observers at the UN believe that successful transition to independence under UN military and administrative supervision will significantly blunt Soviet aspirations in the southern African subcontinent.

But after years of acrimonious dispute over South Africa's administration of the territory and a roller-coaster diplomatic effort to draw an independence blueprint, a settlement has been reliably sighted as infrequently as a monster of myth and legend.

But this week it took shape, as top UN planners tried to set up a meeting that will for the first time bring the South African Government, Swapo and other political leaders from the territory face to face.

By Friday, Mozambique's capital of Maputo seemed the most likely venue.

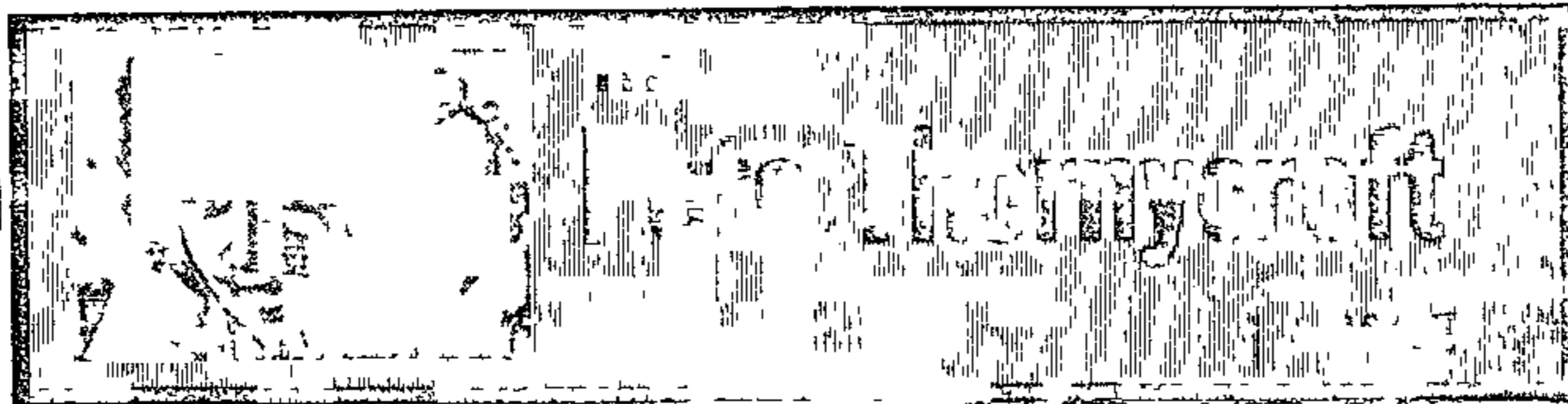
Ideologically, Samora Machel's socialist government supports Swapo and is vehemently opposed to South Africa's racial policies. But South Africa's trade and economic links with Mozambique suggest the port city would be an acceptable venue.

A successful "pre-implementation conference" will achieve for Pretoria its desire either to reduce Swapo to the level of a Namibian political party, or enhance the domestic groups to Swapo's current favoured status.

Mr Waldheim's aides are hoping to produce a report, likely to propose the "pre-implementation meeting" by early tomorrow to offset emotive argument in a scheduled General Assembly debate of Namibia.

Observers here believe the projected conference could be the lever to set an independent programme in motion. Of it could become yet another, perhaps destructive, forum for delay.

Branded: Anchen's 'a commie' — because she wanted to help



THERE IS really no way that Anchen Parkhouse can continue her interrupted nursing career in South West Africa — a country which needs nurses desperately — yet she is an excellent nurse

Anchen is branded She's "pro-Swapo", a "communist" She became a foster-mother to Fritz, a little Black boy

Not so long ago, Anchen was Chief Matron of the hospital complex in Windhoek — today she is pushing a pen in the offices of the Department of Health

To the White inhabitants of Windhoek, Anchen — a childless woman — did not just pity the homeless Black youngster but, they reasoned in a distorted sort of way, cared for the child only so she could ingratiate herself with the city's Blacks

The visible "crime" for which Anchen was, to all intents and purposes, fired from her job of running the hospital

and caring for the sick and injured of SWA was fighting for equal pay for Black nurses but it is obvious that as her concern for the young Black boy did not pass undetected, neither did her friendship with the underprivileged nurses or her antipathy towards the Right-wingers in the hospital administration

She was first promised another responsible job — but then an official of the department stepped in and said "No, you'll still be a troublemaker" — so one of SWA's most qualified nurses is now caring for a desk

Anchen can laugh off the daily insults and jibes — some of the time

But sometimes she drops her mask "This country is so short of people who can make a contribution to our well-being I could and was making a contribution, but look what they have done to me"

Anchen knows who her enemies are

This week, she spoke to the Sunday Express

"I had to get up to all sorts of tricks but I laid my hands on a report compiled about me when I was Chief Matron Now, I know who accused me of what"

The confidential report was compiled by a secret committee

It was put to the authorities in the territory but they found Anchen innocent of all accusations However — ostensibly to save face — she was relieved of her post

"I was given another job which could have been both constructive and in my field I was to have been the Director of Health Programmes The then Director of Health, Dr J A Oosthuysen, told me I could be very useful

"But then another person in a position of authority told me even as the Director, I would have been in a position to instigate trouble with the nurses, so he relieved me of the position"

She would not tell the Sunday Express who the official was

"He is such a dreadful person I can not even speak his name He knows what he has done," she said

But despite the determination of the authorities to exclude her from any aspects of nursing because she was told she would start trouble among the nurses, this week she was a successful candidate in the SWA Nursing Council Elections

Anchen succeeded without being able to canvass support because she was banned from the hospital grounds until last Friday, and in spite of 100 ballot papers going missing, in being elected to the council with an overwhelming majority

And the missing ballot papers would have certainly reflected more "Yes" votes for Anchen They were the ballots for the Black nurses, many of whom had nominated her for the position

Two sections of the nursing community in SWA were backing Anchen Both were groups of Black women, who had nominated her twice because they were worried in case feared something might "go wrong" with their first nomination

They wanted to make sure that this woman who had single-handedly supported their

© Mrs Parkhouse victimised for friendship to Blacks.

battle for equal pay and conditions alongside White nurses, would represent them on the council

"So what I agreed to the ballot papers" The White nurses received theirs

The Black nurses were given two days to sign affidavits to say they hadn't received their voting papers" Eventually 20 of the Black nurses were issued with duplicate voting papers

But this is not the only irony in Mrs Parkhouse's situation When SWA held its first elections, it was she who went to the Black nurses and told them that to abstain would be read internationally as a vote for Swapo

"I really campaigned hard at the time," she said "I knew we needed the support of the intelligentsia of the territory, which was another reason why I felt it was important for all nurses, Black and White, to be paid on merit"

Mrs Parkhouse's association with nursing goes back a long way For 20 years her mother, Mrs Antoinette Bremer, was chief nursing officer of the territory

"My mother and I have built up the standard of nursing here She, of course, did far more than I and knows South West Africa backwards What has happened has upset her very much, but we both try to accept that everything happens for a reason," Anchen said philosophically

But then she said "I don't think I will be able to stand another year doing this job"

"I must try to find myself work which can be a worthwhile contribution to SWA I want to be able to use my skills"

She expects to be fired as soon as her superiors have read this article "But, really, that won't worry me Sure I need the money but money isn't everything," she says

She chuckles at the accusations about Fritz, whose surname she asked not to be revealed

"Yes, they tried to use him, which is totally ridiculous They just made that up to suit

themselves because they all know the circumstances behind him coming to live with us"

Fritz was found in Katatura Township by nursing staff when he was 15 months old He weighed about 2 1/2 kg Mrs Parkhouse who was the community nurse asked the Damara couple who worked for her to take care of the child

"It meant I could keep a close eye on the boy," she explained

But the woman died and Fritz's foster father remarried

"He was terrified of the woman, who didn't like him He used to run away from her and come to my husband and I He started staying longer and longer at our house, and eventually we realised we had to make an important decision We either had to break Fritz's heart and send him away to yet another foster mother — or keep him

"It was tremendous problem for us We do not have children and were not used to them. At our age we realised we would have to make adjustments but honestly, we wouldn't be without him now At first we had a communication problem because he spoke his own language which we couldn't understand Now he speaks perfect Afrikaans"

Fritz who will be eight next year, attends school in Windhoek's Coloured township

He calls her Mama, her husband Papa, and her mother Oumie Sure if he is clever enough we will send him to university I have never had children so I can't compare but I am sure I love him as much as if he were really my own

"Perhaps the election results were a good thing It will mean that Dirk Mudge is going to have to go to the Black people for support, and just forget about the minority Whites"

She clicked her tongue "self-reproof "Ja, I've shot my mouth off again I suppose will be in trouble again on Monday but, frankly, too bad have nothing more to lose I'm only 40, and that's young enough to start again"

BLACKS' BALLOT FORMS DISAPPEARED — BUT THE WHITE VOTES WERE OKAY

Hough will lead the internal parties

The SWA/Namibia internal parties' delegation to the proposed multi-party meeting in January will be led by the territory's South African-appointed Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough

The South African Government will have a presence at the meeting proposed by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, but it will not be a formal participant.

It is understood that some officials from Pretoria will attend the meeting, but mainly in an advisory capacity

The decision to proceed with the meeting has once again boosted hopes the territory will be independent by the end of next year

It is believed Mr Hough will consult with the internal parties on how their delegation should be constituted

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Last lap for SWA: 'too late to turn back'

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The South African Government and Swapo have independently agreed that the years-long bush war between them could end within four months, setting SWA/Namibia on course for sovereign independence by the end of next year

The two sides will meet — still as battlefield enemies — round a conference table early in January, with other political parties from the territory to create a "climate of confidence and understanding" prior to an election programme

And the United Nations General Assembly, in a move probably unprec-

edented in its history of dealing with South Africa, is expected to agree today to delay a scheduled debate on SWA/Namibia until January 15

If by then the agreed January 7 to 14 "multiparty meeting" has begun momentum towards a formal ceasefire and the start of seven months of UN stewardship in the territory, the assembly may cancel the debate, cutting Swapo off from controversial UN funding

That would overcome a major obstacle to South African acceptance of an election process that will draft 7500 international troops under UN command and hundreds of

civilian UN administrators into the territory in a multimillion dollars task.

Maputo and Lusaka top the list of possible venues for the meeting announced yesterday in a report by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who stressed "It is of vital importance that the independence of Namibia should be achieved in 1981"

Another senior UN source, underscoring the belief that 1981 is a crucial year for the territory, said "There is a sort of inevitability about what is happening now. We are a very, very long way down the line (towards independence) now, and it is very hard for us to go into reverse"

WRECK

A vitally important factor in the projection of UN officials is the possibility of a South African general election next year, which could totally wreck years of negotiations if by then the UN task force is not in place in the territory

"We are all bound very much together" a UN source said today "It is very difficult to wriggle out of where we have to go to now."

Dr Waldheim's report seems to indicate clearly that the South African Government and Swapo have accepted his proposal for the independence exercise to start in March next year, without tying it to success of the "multiparty meeting"

DISTRUST

He says that "one of the main obstacles to progress in the negotiations has been acute mutual distrust and lack of confidence," and, he says, the South African government has told the UN that "if this obstacle can be overcome, the end of 1981 would be a realistic target date for the independence of Namibia"

The five-nation Western group which first proposed the election plan, and the "Frontline" African States will attend the talks as observers, as will the Nigerian Government and the Organisation of African Unity.

Swapo-D, NNF won't be part of an SA delegation

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Potential obstacles to the holding of the United Nations-sponsored conference on SWA/Namibia loomed today as at least two of the territory's internal parties questioned the basis on which they would take part.

Both the Namibia National Front and the Swapo Democrats said they would refuse to take part as members of a South African delegation

However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was reported to have said the South African Government would not attend the conference "as a participating party"

The SABC reported that he told them Administrator-General Mr Danie Hough "would be required to indicate whom he thought should attend the conference"

Mr Botha had said this was one of the more important points insisted on by the internal parties

It is not clear from Mr Botha's statement whether the internal parties will be invited to join a single

delegation, led by Mr Hough, or whether he would simply issue invitations to selected internal parties to take part in the talks in their own right and on an equal basis with Swapo

The NNF and Swapo-D were not aware of Mr Botha's statement when they reacted today to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's proposals for a multi-party conference early next year

Dr Waldheim deliberately left vague the question of whether the internal parties would be required to form part of a South African delegation as Swapo had insisted, or whether they would attend in their own right as South Africa apparently wants

He appears to hope that this issue can be resolved once the parties get to the conference table

The Swapo-D leader, Mr Andreas Shipanga, said today his party would "never" be part of a South African delegation

And the NNF insisted on being recognised "in our own right"

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New DTA
president 221

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The SWA/Nambian politician behind the move to switch the medium of education in Owambo from Afrikaans to English, Mr Peter Kalangula, was today elected president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance

He replaces Pastor Cornelius Ndjoba who was chairman of the Owambo executive committee, had to resign his seat in the territory's national assembly, and the position as DTA president

Mr Kalangula was elected to the post today during a meeting of the DTA executive

Namibia conference—SA is in too far now

The proposed United Nations-sponsored conference on SWA/Namibia has immense dangers for the South African Government, but having been drawn in so far it is now virtually impossible for it to turn back.

Like a hunter being drawn into the desert by the elusive gemsbok, South Africa is treading warily and cautiously as it approaches the crucial stage in the SWA/Namibia controversy — a conference to determine the territory's future. Don Knowler of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Windhoek.

The dilemma is simple. To turn back would be to invite world-wide condemnation and possibly sanctions, and continued war that cannot be won. To go forward means pursuing a prey (independence under a P.O. South African Government) that it cannot be sure of catching in hostile terrain. The current process could also bring in a radical and hostile black government, with all the repercussions at home that this would hold for Prime Minister P. W. Botha.

At this time in the delicate negotiations, the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) is at a distinct advantage. The guerrilla movement can go into the conference chamber on the offensive, fully backed by the majority of United Nations member countries.

Swapo has begun under pressure from the Frontline States — now including Angola which provides it with bases — to attend what is termed a "pre-implementation multi-party meeting".

Swapo has been in existence for about 20 years, 14 of them waging war against South African forces in SWA/Namibia, and time appears to be on its side.

Swapo, no doubt, would be supported by the Frontline presidents if it threatened a walk-out after making out a clear case that the South African Government was trying to use the conference to gain more time to build up internal support for the Pretoria-backed interim administration in the territory.

South Africa, on the other hand, cannot really afford to wait any longer. That is not to say a decision has been made to "offload" South West Africa at any cost, but a prolonged war in the territory can only do South Africa damage internally, and increase the very real threat of international sanctions.

The ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance is willing in principle to attend a conference to test UN impartiality, but ideally it would like more time to reap the benefits of non-racial government.

The DTA won a general election in 1978 for a national assembly and formed a ministerial council to eventually run the territory.

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and three of the DTA's 11 parties lost elections for second-tier administration on ethnic lines.

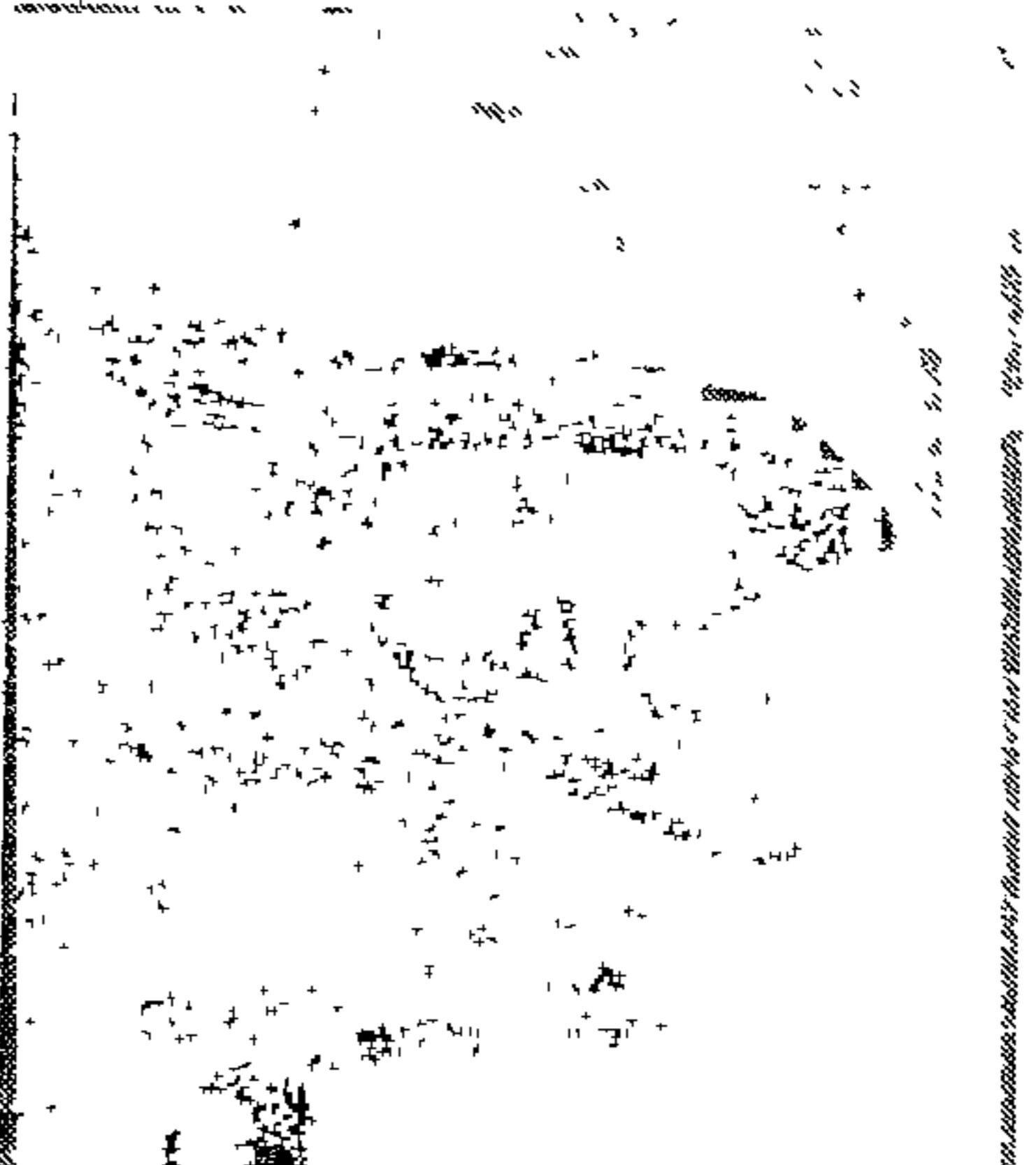
The question — even within some sections of the DTA — is being asked whether the alliance really represents the people of the territory overall.

This question becomes more relevant, say some observers, when one considers that Swapo did not contest the 1978 election.

If the DTA can meet Swapo head-on in its own right it would improve the image of the alliance at home and overseas and reinforce its assertion that it is not a "puppet" of the South African Government.

All the pre-conference posturing, from both Swapo and South Africa, has tended to act like a desert sandstorm in obscuring basic issues but not changing the face of them.

Vitality important is the



Young Bushman wrapped up against the weather all the pre-conference posturing has acted like a desert sandstorm obscuring the basic issues

movement free to draw up its own constitution and, taking into account its bitter war against South African "oppression," it might well exclude whites in the territory, who have traditionally welcomed South African military and economic support, from any say in the future running of the country. It is also noted in Pretoria that Swapo has had strong links with South Africa's main foe, the Soviet Union.

Already parties within the DTA have suggested that the coming conference should be turned into a full-blown constitutional conference on the lines of the Lancaster House one which paved the way for Zimbabwe's independence.

There are dangers in this for Swapo, however, because if it won an overwhelming victory it could find entrenched clauses in the constitution blocking some of its aims.

For this reason the constitutional issue appears to be a closed book until after the election, unless perhaps the South African Government can skilfully get it reopened at the conference table.

question of a constitution for an independent Namibia, and, strangely, this will not come up for discussion under present plans.

The conference is being called in terms of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council which sets out the procedure for a ceasefire, elections and then independence.

The resolution merely calls for elections to create a constituent assembly and it would be for this body to draw up the constitution.

Clearly there are great dangers here for South Africa and it seems likely the Government will demand some kind of safeguards if Swapo should score an overwhelming victory at the polls and clinch a majority in the constituent assembly.

This would leave the

Bill of Rights

proposed

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The concept of a "Bill of Rights" for all SWA/Namibians has been raised at the last session this year of the territory's National Assembly.

In terms of a notice issued yesterday, the Assembly will have to consider a motion calling on the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Danie Hough, to investigate the possibility of legislation setting out "fundamental rights for all inhabitants of the territory."

The proposal was made by Mr Richard Xoagub, a member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which dominates the central authority.

His notice of motion also suggested the introduction of a "constitutional court" and an "independent government commissioner" to supervise the upholding of these rights.

Also at yesterday's brief sitting, the DTA vice-chairman, Mr Kuama Riruako, proposed a motion that the Administrator-General be asked to establish the territory's own Supreme Court "as soon as feasible" by means of appropriate legislation.

The ethnic elections for second-tier representative authorities, earlier this month led yesterday to a shuffle of positions in the National Assembly and in the Legislative Assembly for whites, dominated by the SWA National Party.

The "crown prince" of the National Party, Mr Eben van Zijl, was nominated as a member of the authority's executive committee.

The leader of the National Party, Mr A H du Plessis, retained his position as chairman of the executive committee but has been forced by regulations to give up his seat in the National Assembly because he holds the executive committee chairmanship.

Mozambique offers to host talks on SWA

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The Star's Africa News Service

The Mozambique government has agreed to a United Nations request to host the January conference on the future of SWA/Namibia.

Hough not wanted as leader

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Two major SWA/Namibian political groups today rejected the concept of a delegation of internal parties led by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, to the proposed multi-party talks on the territory.

The Namibia National Front and the Swapo Democrats said they could not be part of a delegation led by the representative of the "colonial power."

But it is reliably learned that the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which dominates the territory's interim government, has in principle accepted the all-party conference.

It is not at this stage known, however, what the DTA's views are on crucial issues such as a South African-led delegation, or the agenda at the conference.

DTA MEETS

The DTA's executive are meeting today to formulate its response to the report of the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, and the proposals by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

It is understood that the DTA's first reaction to the all-party talks is "favourable." The feeling in the DTA is that the UN is for the first time showing signs of impartiality.

A spokesman for the NNF said today he welcomed the idea of an all-party conference to settle the remaining stumbling blocks for the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

"We cannot, however, even consider being part of a delegation led by the Administrator-General," he said.

The Mozambicans, however, have suggested that the conference should start next month and not as late as January 7, as proposed by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano said in Maputo yesterday that his government had informed the UN that it would be willing to host the conference.

He said Dr Waldheim had informed the Mozambique Government that both South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) had agreed to the conference being held in the Mozambique capital.

UN AUSPICES

"Mozambique considers this to be a conference between Swapo and South Africa and under the auspices of the United Nations, and according with the previous discussions of the Frontline heads of state," he said.

On the question of the starting date, Mr Chissano said: "January is too late. We would like it to start next month."

From the United Nations, the Star New York Bureau reports that the frontline States appear to have secured at least a temporary postponement of a possibly contentious and divisive debate on SWA/Namibia in the General Assembly.

Late yesterday, shortly before diplomats representing the Frontline governments and Nigeria were due to meet at the Mozambican mission's offices, one influential African ambassador said the delayed debate was unlikely to start today.

In Pretoria today, reports The Star's Political Staff, there was optimism in diplomatic circles that acceptance of the proposed multi-party meeting would put the SWA/Namibia independence negotiations back on track.

A Western diplomat said: "Things are definitely looking better now than they did a few weeks ago."

He believed that the turning point in the negotiations was the UN team's visit to South Africa under Mr Brian Urquhart, who has been mentioned as a possible chairman for the multi-party conference.

Govt steps on open road to SWA talks

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By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

ELABORATE behind-the-scenes negotiations appear to have cleared away major obstacles in the way of multi-party talks on the future of South West Africa.

This emerged yesterday as the Cabinet met to discuss the issue and the Government began to draw up its formal reply to the updated SWA plan of Dr Kurt Waldheim, the United Nations Secretary-General

And Mozambique announced yesterday it had agreed to a request by Dr Waldheim that the conference be staged in Maputo — adding that the UN chief had told Mozambique that Pretoria and Swapo agreed to this venue.

The new Waldheim plan calls for multi-party "pre-implementation" talks in January based on Security Council Resolution 435 "and other practical proposals", with implementation beginning in March and independence by the end of 1981.

The updated plan differs in the wording of certain crucial details, from the plan leaked in London last week — paving the way for South Africa's probable acceptance of it in principle.

The plan opens the way for a possible compromise between South Africa and Swapo on the three contentious issues that threatened a deadlock on the conference proposal.

These issues are the parties to be represented at the talks, the agenda, and the dates.

On the issue of representation at the talks, the compromise formula apparently accepted by both sides is that Swapo will meet a delegation headed by the UN Secretary-General, whose team will consist of representatives of the internal parties.

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The Waldheim plan makes it clear that this compromise was worked out after lengthy "bilateral discussions" behind the scenes, apparently involving both Swapo and South Africa.

The formula for representation enabled both sides to save face while entering into negotiations.

The South African Government will be able to claim it has withdrawn itself from direct participation in the

talks while Swapo can claim it is talking to South Africa's representative in the territory.

In addition, this proposal solves a potentially serious internal political problem for the Government, which could not be seen to be doing anything that could pave the way for a Swapo take-over.

The agenda could still be the trickiest part of the plan. South Africa is known to have pushed for a constitutional conference while Swapo insisted the talks be confined to working out pre-election details.

The Waldheim plan paves the way for a possible compromise through a very carefully worded paragraph which appears to allow for flexibility in discussions around the implementation of Resolution 435.

The paragraph suggests that a multi-party meeting could be based on the United Nations plan, in conformity with Security Council Resolution 435 and other practical proposals. Such a meeting could facilitate the implementation of that resolution by discussing relevant aspects of implementation with the purpose of securing the cooperation of all concerned.

Although the proposal rules out the holding of a constitutional conference — which will be the task of a constituent assembly following elections in the territory — the door is left open for discussions on the mechanics of this assembly.

Finally, the original Waldheim proposal for a December starting date has been amended. The new proposal is for a conference in January — something the Government has been pressing for.

According to the new plan, the internal parties will have to agree to every step made as a result of the conference.

Mudge favours multi-party talks mooted by Waldheim

By PETER KENNY
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Proposals for a multi-party meeting in January, made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, "looked positive"

So said the chairman of the South West Africa Ministers' Council and chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge yesterday

He was commenting on Dr Waldheim's report on the proposed meeting in January, aimed at sealing South West Africa's independence by the end of next year

According to Dr Waldheim's proposal, the "pre-implementation multi-party meeting will be held from January 7 to 14

under the auspices and chairmanship of the United Nations"

Informed sources in the SWA capital said the conference was likely to take place in Zambia or Mozambique

Mr Mudge said certain aspects of Dr Waldheim's report still had to be discussed by the DTA and he would comment on these later

Some black leaders however, expressed reservations about what they interpreted as the UN's insistence that SWA parties be regarded as part of the South African delegation

The leader of the Swapo Democrats, Mr Andreas Shipanga said one of the most confusing issues was the composition of the parties for the talks

"We are still not sure now how we will be represented, but one thing is for sure — we will not attend this conference as part of a South African delegation," he said

"We want to attend as an independent delegation. We are Namibians not South Africans," Mr Shipanga said

He also emphasised that it would be important for South Africa to be directly involved in the talks because only South Africa qualified to discuss certain unresolved military matters, such as the implementation of a demilitarised zone

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was reported earlier this week as saying South Africa would not be a delegate at a multi party

conference. The secretary-general of the Namibia Independence Party (NIP), Mrs Otilie Abrahams, said she had not seen the full report, but it reports were correct about the SWA delegations having to be under the wing of South Africa, she had strong reservations

The NIP first mooted a multi-party conference in May this year

"I can't see how the United Nations — the persons in authority in Namibia — can choose people to represent the colonial power," Mrs Abrahams said

"We are not fighting for South Africa, we are fighting for the independence of Namibia

Minister says talks must be impartial

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
London Bureau

LONDON — The Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers, last night clearly restated the South African Government's insistence that all parties to the South West Africa settlement conference be invited on the same basis as Swapo and be treated impartially

South Africa will not attend the proposed multi-party conference until Swapo and the United Nations agree to the conditions

Dr De Villiers was addressing the Italian Club of South Africa in Rome. In the speech released in London, he said the future of the peoples of SWA was at stake "and it is they who should decide it"

"The whole process is, however, jeopardised by the preferential treatment long and consistently accorded to Swapo by the General Assembly, Secretary-General and other UN organisations," he said

South Africa was not prepared to subject the South West African people to a Swapo government imposed by intimidation, undue influence and unfairness

Du Plessis re-elected in top SWA job

WINDHOEK. — The leader of the South West African National Party and former South African Cabinet Minister, Mr A H du Plessis, was re-elected chairman of SWA's white second-tier administration yesterday.

The newly-elected, white, Legislative Assembly convened briefly yesterday afternoon to elect a new Executive Committee to serve the territory's more than 100 000 whites.

With the exception of one newcomer, the five-member committee was returned unopposed. Mr Jannie de Wet, a prominent NP executive and former member of the National Assembly, was the new member elected to serve on the committee.

The other members are Mr Koos Pretorius, Mr Eben van Zijl and Mr Adolf Brinkman.

Neither Mr Du Plessis nor Mr Van Zijl are elected members of the Assembly. But the ruling party in the House is entitled to nominate outside members to serve on the committee.

One of the 11 new members of the 18-member Assembly, Mr Abraham Dawids, was elected leader of the opposition Republican Party in the House.

Before adjourning until February, the House approved an additional R8 450 000 budget for the financial period ending March 31, 1981. — Sapa

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance was not prepared to say whether it would definitely take part in a proposed multi-party meeting in January, probably in Maputo, the chairman of the South West Africa Minister's Council and chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday

But speaking at a Press conference Mr Mudge said that if the DTA interpreted the proposals spelt out by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, earlier this week, the DTA would be prepared to take part in such a conference

Mr Mudge made it quite clear however that the DTA would be going to the multi-party meeting in its own right

"We are prepared to go under the leadership of the Administrator-General of South West Africa. He will only be going as the leader though," Mr Mudge said

The DTA had been assured by the South African Government that the Administrator-General would lead the conference, and South Africa would only go to it as advisers.

The members attending such a conference should only come from those people who were elected members of the National Assembly in the one-man, one-vote election of 1978

The key issue at such a conference would be to restore confidence in the credibility gap that existed in dealings with the UN.

"Something will have to be done to save the efforts for a solution to the constitutional problems of this country," Mr Mudge said

Mr Mudge admitted that the authorities had been doing SWA harm by delaying the constitutional development of the territory and felt this must be speeded up as much as possible

When asked if it was possible for parties outside the National Assembly which boycotted the 1978 election to attend the conference, Mr Mudge said he did not think this was possible

He said it would be "ridiculous" if the more than 30 parties that existed in the territory attended such a conference

When it was put to him that some parties such as the Namibia Independence Party (NIP) might get individual invitations from the UN, Mr Mudge said this would change the whole scenario

"The DTA would then also expect an individual invitation from the UN," he said

The DTA leader said he believed the UN was committed to getting a solution for SWA, but the DTA was not impressed at the way they were trying to achieve it

● In Maputo yesterday, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs denied that the Mozambique capital had been agreed upon as a venue for the talks

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Mudge
puts DTA
view
on talks

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SWA election in danger, says judge

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The recent Damara second-tier elections in South West Africa could be in danger of being ruled invalid

This emerged in comments by a Windhoek Supreme Court judge yesterday when he granted an interim interdict preventing the swearing-in of the first elected Damara Legislative Assembly today

The interdict was sought by the SWA Peoples' Democratic United Front (Swapduf), which was defeated by the Damara Council led by Chief Justus Garoeb in the ethnic election earlier this month

Swapduf is a member of the

ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The Damara Council is a member of the Namibia National Front, which is outspokenly opposed to ethnicity

The interdict will remain effective until the court rules on Swapduf's application for the election to be ruled invalid because of alleged irregularities in the registration of candidates. The hearing of this application starts next Wednesday

Yesterday, Mr Justice Strydom said that at first glance it appeared that the publication of a list of Damara candidates in the official gazette of October 28 could endanger the election

The list includes the names of 14 Damara Council candidates who were not nominated

at a registration court a month before the election. There are also 37 changes in the order of names on the list

In an affidavit before the court, the vice-president of Swapduf, Mr Josef Max Harseb, said the name changes had given the Damara Council an unfair advantage by allowing it to replace relatively unknown candidates with well-known personalities

Respondents in yesterday's application included the Administrator-General of SWA, Mr Danie Hough, the chief election officer in the recent elections, Mr Pieter Keyser, Chief Garoeb and 22 other members of the Damara Council who were to be sworn in today

Kalangula new DTA president

'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Mr Peter Kalangula, former Owambo Minister of Education, was yesterday elected president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance by the DTA executive

Mr Kalangula replaces Pas-

tor Cornelius Ndjoba, the leader of the Owambo Legislative Assembly, who retired because of ill health and because, as leader of an ethnic representative authority, he cannot hold the post of president of the DTA

Earlier this year Mr Kalangula became embroiled in a controversy when, as Owambo Minister of Education, he instituted English as the language of instruction at Owambo schools from the beginning of next year

Living with Swapo

Foreign Minister Pik Botha may have called the West's bluff on sanctions. But that was perhaps the exception that proves the rule in international negotiations that it is seldom wise to adopt a position from which it is difficult to retreat. Which raises the question of whether Pretoria is wise to adopt a stridently anti-Swapo stance.

The wisdom of an anti-Swapo line might have seemed self-evident in the heady days of 1977-1978 when victory for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in internationally-supervised elections seemed on the cards. Things have changed since then and most observers are now agreed Swapo would win any territory-wide election.

So if an international settlement to the SWA problem is achieved, the SA government may have to find a way of living with a Namibian government dominated by Swapo.

This point was made pertinently this week, during the run-in to the Maputo conference on SWA, by John Barratt and Dr Deon Geldenhuys — director general and assistant director respectively of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

Swapo together with the frontline states, they say, are realities and it is in SA's interests to come to the best terms possible with them.

In a sharp critique of the government's total anti-Swapo attitude they pointed out that it was based on a number of questionable assumptions. One was that Swapo would undoubtedly be Marxist and, with Cuban soldiers and Russian influence,

would pose a threat to SA and to stability in the sub-continent.

This Barratt and Geldenhuys say failed to take cognisance of Swapo's essentially nationalist origins and aims, and its various shades of opinion.

Even if a Swapo government was overtly Marxist this would not prohibit peaceful, if strained, relations with SA — as Mozambique and Zimbabwe showed. "SA" they said, "is running the risk of painting itself into a corner as far as future relations between the republic and a Swapo-ruled Namibia are concerned."

They point out that "rather than ceaselessly voicing its objections to, and fears of, Swapo (which actually serves to build up Swapo's image in many quarters) the government might consider giving more positive emphasis to its declared preparedness to seek a *modus vivendi* with whatever government the people of SWA/Namibia choose in free and fair elections."

They suggest that while the government could not be expected to welcome a Swapo victory it could adopt a more neutral stance (at least in expressing its preferences) while still insisting that all parties be involved in the negotiating process and that the UN demonstrate its impartiality.

However, they point out that it is not unreasonable for the government to prefer a non-Swapo regime in Windhoek and that it is not surprising that SA should seek to stop Swapo having an advantage over other parties in the negotiations and the proposed elections.

"A Swapo victory would be a serious political setback and the economic and political consequences for Namibia could be very negative to say the least. At the best the future of Namibia would be highly uncertain. But this (possible) development cannot be avoided simply by refusing to deal with Swapo (except militarily)."



Swapo arms cache . . . from bullets to ballots?

A big step forward

After 34 years, aimlessly wandering in the constitutional desert, SWA has been brought to yet another milestone on its way to independence — a conference to decide how to implement the United Nations' peace plan

Is this, finally, the breakthrough everyone has been waiting for? Or will the parties once again snatch impasse and deadlock from the jaws of agreement?

Given the gaping divergence of the positions of the various groups and the degree of bitterness and mistrust that has been engendered by decades of dispute and 14 years of war, the odds must remain heavily stacked against an easy transition to independence elections under international supervision

The western plan is a fragile one, but it is still better than any solution that could be devised by powers behind the Iron Curtain. For this reason, a heavy responsibility rests on all the parties involved, as well as those who will be attending as observers and advisers, to exhibit steady nerves and keep cool heads in the crucial period between now and January 15

The potential for derailment of the new settlement strategy remains great. Doubts about the political will of the parties persist

Swapo's Sam Nujoma is not an able negotiator, nor is the DTA's Dirk Mudge, nor Akur's Abraham du Plessis. The other parties are either so small or wracked by internal dissension that they may be hard put to assemble a delegation. As a matter of fact, there are currently more than 30 political parties in the territory, most of which will probably want to go along for the ride

SA's attendance as a non-participating adviser/observer could present problems. As the *de facto* power in the territory, it has a crucial role to play in decisions relating to technical/military questions, as well as implementation of the proposed demilitarised zone

Yet it is precisely SA's reduced status at the conference which is so vital to the latter taking place at all. Its "non-participation" detracts from Swapo's status as a principal, but at the same time it elevates the status of the internal political groupings. Waldheim had to agree to this in order to comply with SA demands that all parties be accorded equal status in negotiations preceding implementation of the UN plan

It not only comes over as a demonstration of UN impartiality, reluctant as it is. It may also yet prove to be a handy face-saving device for the two Bothas to indemnify the PW administration against a hardline Nationalist backlash should the internal SWA parties agree to arrangements leading to elections which they subsequently lose to Swapo

The domestic importance of this device cannot be stressed sufficiently. There are at least 80 000 Afrikaners in SWA, nearly all of whom have kith and kin in SA. The strong resurgence of hardline Nationalists, which reflected in the defeat of Dirk Mudge's Republican Party at the hands of Abraham du Plessis' NP, was a warning the Botha administration could not ignore

At the same time, SA had to consider the human and material cost of the war in SWA. But, even more important, it had to come to terms with international pressures building up in France, Germany and Britain to get SA to release the logjam and give them scope to ward off attempts to assemble sanctions resolutions against the Republic in the Security Council

Nevertheless, SA's status should bear some practical advantages around the negotiating table. If Pik Botha is able, to some degree, to provide a guiding hand similar to Lord Carrington's at Lancaster House, the potential for break-up should be less

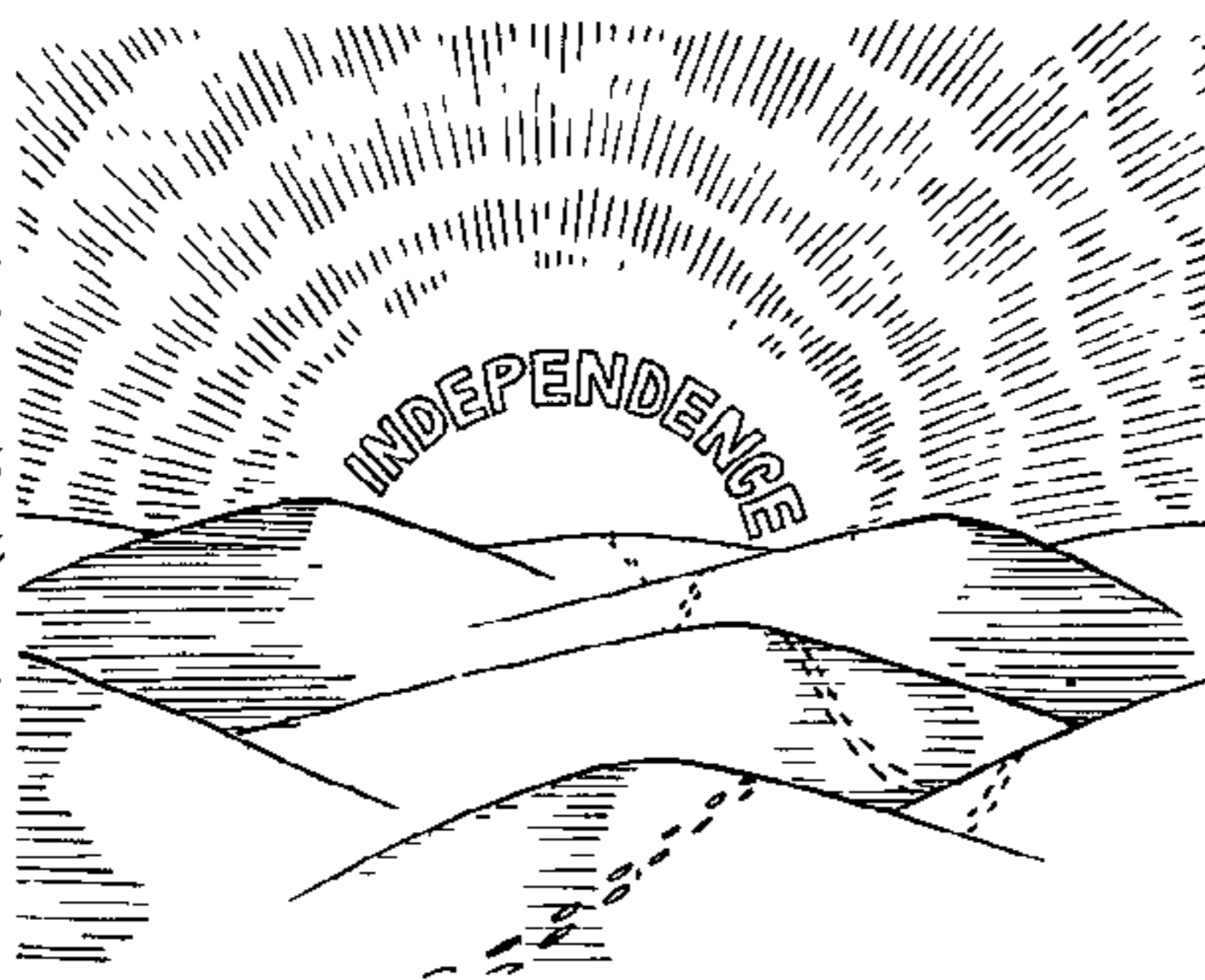
In this respect, too, the stiffening provided by an experienced and efficient bureaucracy in the background could be crucial. This, presumably, is what Pretoria will seek to provide

Carrington's block-building tactics at Lancaster House had much to do with the success of those negotiations. They aimed at agreement on one point at a time and the avoidance of disruptive extraneous issues. They required a high degree of diplomatic skill, patience and attention to procedural detail

Pik Botha's rather bewildering brand of blunt statecraft could have been an important factor in bringing about the proposed negotiations in their present form. But he may well require a touch more subtlety at the negotiating table.

Despite his bluster of recent months, there is a strong feeling in Western diplomatic circles that Botha has the necessary finesse to attune his personal style to the nuance of negotiations

If he does do so, there will be a much greater chance of some degree of consensus. In that event, even if the January conference is not the end of a weary road, it may well be one of the last milestones on it



29/11/80
KRM

Human rights Bill for SWA discussed

(221)

WINDHOEK — The new president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Mr Peter Kalangula, said in Windhoek yesterday that removing apartheid from the statute books was not enough for the majority of South West Africans.

Human dignity and fundamental human rights had to be protected and enforced by the territory's law courts, he said.

Mr Kalangula was speaking during a debate on a motion calling on the Administrator-General to investigate the drafting of legislation embodying a Bill of Human Rights, a constitutional court and the appointment of an ombudsman to safeguard the rights of the territory's people.

He said the DTA was committed to doing away entirely with racial discrimination in SWA.

An opposition member, Mr Eben van Zijl, of Aktur, said although he had misgivings about the practical application of a fundamental human rights Bill, he had no qualms about its object.

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Sarel Becker, said there was no necessity for additional legislation to protect the rights of the individual as existing legislation already made provision for that.

The debate continues on Monday — Sapa

SWA kry eerste dienspligtiges

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Caprivi
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Van JOHAN STRYDOM

WINDHOEK

SWART, bruin en wit dienspligtiges sal hulle tussen 6 en 12 Januarie in Suidwes aanmeld vir militêre diensplig. Hulle is die gebied se eerste dienspligtiges

Die skakelhoof van Suidwes se gebiedsmag, kmdt. Bill Murray, het dié week gesê dat swart, bruin en wit dienspligtiges opgelei gaan word met inagneming van die behoeftes van die gebied. Om die reaksiemag-bataljon en die gebiedsmag eweredig te voed, word beoog om die verspreiding tussen die onderskeie bevolkingsgroepe so na as moontlik eweredig te hou.

Oproep-instruksies is dié week aan „uitgesoektes” ge-pos. Om veiligheidsredes word getalle nie bekend gemaak nie.

Die dienspligtiges sal hul basiese opleiding in die Namib ondergaan

Gevorderde opleiding sal in Suidwes sowel as in Suid-Afrika geskied

Die gebiedsmag het besluit om nie nou dienspligtiges in Owambo, Kavango, Caprivi of Kaokoland op te roep nie. Jongmans in dié dele van Suidwes word wel gekeur as soldate vir die bestaande bataljons.

SUIDWES: NOUWIR JANUARIE

SA, Swapo sien sake anders

Deur THINUS PRINSLOO

DIE volgende belangrike skuiwe in die internasionale skaakspel oor die toekoms van Suidwes word vroeg in Januarie gemaak op die konferensie van al die partye wat by 'n verkiesing in die gebied betrokke gaan wees.

Die naweek was daar nog geen sekerheid in diplomatieke kringe in Suid-Afrika dat die belangrike konferensie van 7 tot 14 Januarie wel in Maputo gehou gaan word nie. Berrigte hieroor is as „holle spekulasie" bestempel, en berus blykbaar op 'n misverstand tussen die Mosambieke regering en VVO-ambassade.

In die verslag van dr. Kurt Waldheim, Sekretaris-generaal van die VVO, is nie uitsluitel

1977 as tussengangers begin optree het.

Die insluiting van Suidwes se binnelandse partye by die konferensie, soos dr. Waldheim in sy verslag in die vooruitsig stel, is die grootste enkele deurbraak vir die Suidwesters. Daarmee word hulle vir die eerste keer op dieselfde vlak as Swapo geplaas.

Dit is al klaar duidelik dat Suid-Afrika en Swapo sekere sinnesdes in die verslag van dr. Waldheim, wat vandeeweek in New York uitgereik is, verskillend vertolk.

As die globale posisie oor Suidwes onder oë geneem word, blyk dit egter dat Suid-Afrika belangrike deurbraake gemaak het in die uitgereikte onderhandelinge sedert die vyf Westerse lande in April 1977 as tussengangers begin optree het.

Die hoofmerk van die konferensie, soos blyk uit dr. Waldheim se verslag, sal wees om die onderlinge wantroue tussen die groepe te verwyder. Die twee vernamste

Afrikaanse waarnemers wees.

In ooreenstemming met Suid-Afrika se standpunt dat die mense van Suidwes self oor hul toekoms moet besluit, gaan daar dus in Januarie om die konferensietafel aangesit word.

Daar is ook selkundige munt uit die situasie te slaan. Die binnelandse partye van Suidwes onder leiding van die Administrateur-generaal gaan onderhandel as die room van Suidwes se politici, wat reeds hul slag op regeringssvlak gewys het.

Swapo kom as die groep wat in die oë rondhardloop en probeer om met wapengeweld 'n vasttrapplek te kry.

Die hoofmerk van die konferensie, soos blyk uit dr. Waldheim se verslag, sal wees om die onderlinge wantroue tussen die groepe te verwyder. Die twee vernamste

tegniese aspekte van 'n skikking — die samestelling van die Urtag-mag en sake rakende die gedemilitariseerde gebied — sal op die konferensie of elders uitgestryk moet word.

Nog 'n pluspunt in die onderhandelinge wat Suid-Afrika soms agter die skerm oor Suidwes gevoer het, is dat daar organisatoriese veranderinge in sekere opsette by die VVO gekom het, wat veroorsaak dat die wêreldorganisasie gevoeliger vir Suid-Afrika se standpunt is.

In die stadium kan daar nie in nader besonderhede hierop ingegaan word nie. Daar is egter 'n besef by die VVO dat daar geen skikking sonder Suid-Afrika se samewerking kan wees nie.

Sels in die buiteland kry Suid-Afrika se onderhandelars krediet daarvoor dat hulle daarin geslaag het om te keer dat 'n

ongunsige skikkingplan halsoorloop aan Suidwes opgedwing is.

In die onderhandelinge is daar ook voorkom dat Suid-Afrika en die internasionale gemeenskap mekaar kop teen kop loop — iets wat op die een of ander vorm van sanksies sou kan uitloop.

As die konferensie in Januarie heeltemal misluk, kan daar dadelik optrede deur die VVO volg. As Suid-Afrika alleen vir die mislukking geblameer sou word, kan die VVO baie sterk druk uitoefen vir verpligte sanksies.

As Swapo egter die skuldige sou wees, kan dit lei tot groter internasionale simpatie vir die Suid-Afrikaanse standpunt.

As niemand duidelik te blameer is nie en die konferensie is volgens algemene konsensus 'n mislukking, sal daar rede wees om nuwe stappe te ondersoek om die doelpunt uit die weg te ruim.

DR. KURT WALDHEIM Swapo vertolk sy verslag al sou Suid-Afrika ingewillig het dat die binnelandse partye net as 'n deel van die SA afgevaardiging sal kan onderhandel. Suid-Afrika sien die saak anders

STRIFE-TORN NAMIBIA AWAITS THE COMING OF SAM NUJOMA'S GOVERNMENT WITH IMPATIENCE AND FEAR

Namibia is a country in waiting — waiting for Swapo. And that means waiting for the revered and dreaded Swapo captain Sam Nujoma.

One of the most consistent trends I found in speaking to a wide range of Namibians representing all shades of the motley political and economic spectrum was an acceptance — sometimes eagerly expectant, sometimes resigned and fearful — that a Swapo government is on the way.

Windhoek's Press is not nearly as sophisticated as that of pre-independence Salisbury, but collectively it is far more open in informing its readers and more forthright in preparing them for what is to come.

Another trend almost as consistent that emerged from a week-long visit to this vast and sparsely populated country-in-the-making was a growing impatience with and resentment towards the last colonial parent in Africa — namely South Africa — for restraining it from attaining adulthood.

Namibians spanning the political spectrum of an incredible 40 political parties between the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Swapo are highly cynical about what they see as South Africa's obstructionist role in dragging out the settlement process for its own selfish motives.

The latest set underway in multiparty talks in Maputo, Mozambique, in January, has done little to disperse the cynicism. Most urban Namibians talk about independence coming in three to four years.

But overriding all other considerations in Namibia is the horror of the protracted bush war which touches the lives of the majority of the territory's population who live in the northern third of Namibia.

These people, mainly from the majority Ovambo tribe which forms Swapo's power base, are trapped in an inferno of violence with Swapo insurgents on one side and South African security forces and armed tribal homeguards on the other.

They are desperate for an end to the war and believe a Swapo victory is the only way to end it.

In Windhoek — geographically remote from the operational area — one is reminded of the guerrilla war by soldiers and army vehicles in the streets and body searches at supermarket entrances.

And, as the prospect of unsupervised elections becomes more of a reality again, resistance from the White Right is rearing its head again with gangs of White thugs assaulting Blacks in the streets and hurling abuse in mixed restaurants and bars.

Obstructionist tactics by South African civil servants,

Waiting for Sam

S. Eppins 30/1/80

22



JOHN BATTERSBY

Political Correspondent reports from Windhoek

who are and who constitute about 30% of the White population, are proving a major problem to the chairman of the DTA and leader of the National Assembly, Mr Dirk Mudge.

Speaking at the inauguration of the legislative assembly for Coloureds in Khomasdal this week, Mr Mudge gave his sternest warning yet to these officials, saying that if they were not comfortable in Namibia and could not live with the new dispensation they should reconsider their position in the territory.

The civil servants have a lot to lose by leaving. They would lose a special secondment allowance, a higher salary than they would get in South Africa, and better promotion prospects.

However, when the Swapo government finally arrives, it is likely there will be a mass exodus of these 12 000 officials and their families, leaving the newly independent government with a major manpower problem.

Ironically, it was these civil servants who were the key factor in swaying the recent ethnic elections in favour of Mr A H du Plessis' SWA National Party — a further setback for the reformist Dirk Mudge.

The odds are very much against his DTA which is being attacked from all sides.

After his election victory in the 1978 one-man one-vote elections Mr Mudge has been frustrated in his efforts to establish a liberation movement by the delaying tactics of Pretoria and the undermining tac-

tics of Pretoria's creation in the form of the SWA National Party.

The key factor in any settlement remains Pretoria's reluctance to be party to an agreement that leads to United Nations elections and a Swapo government.

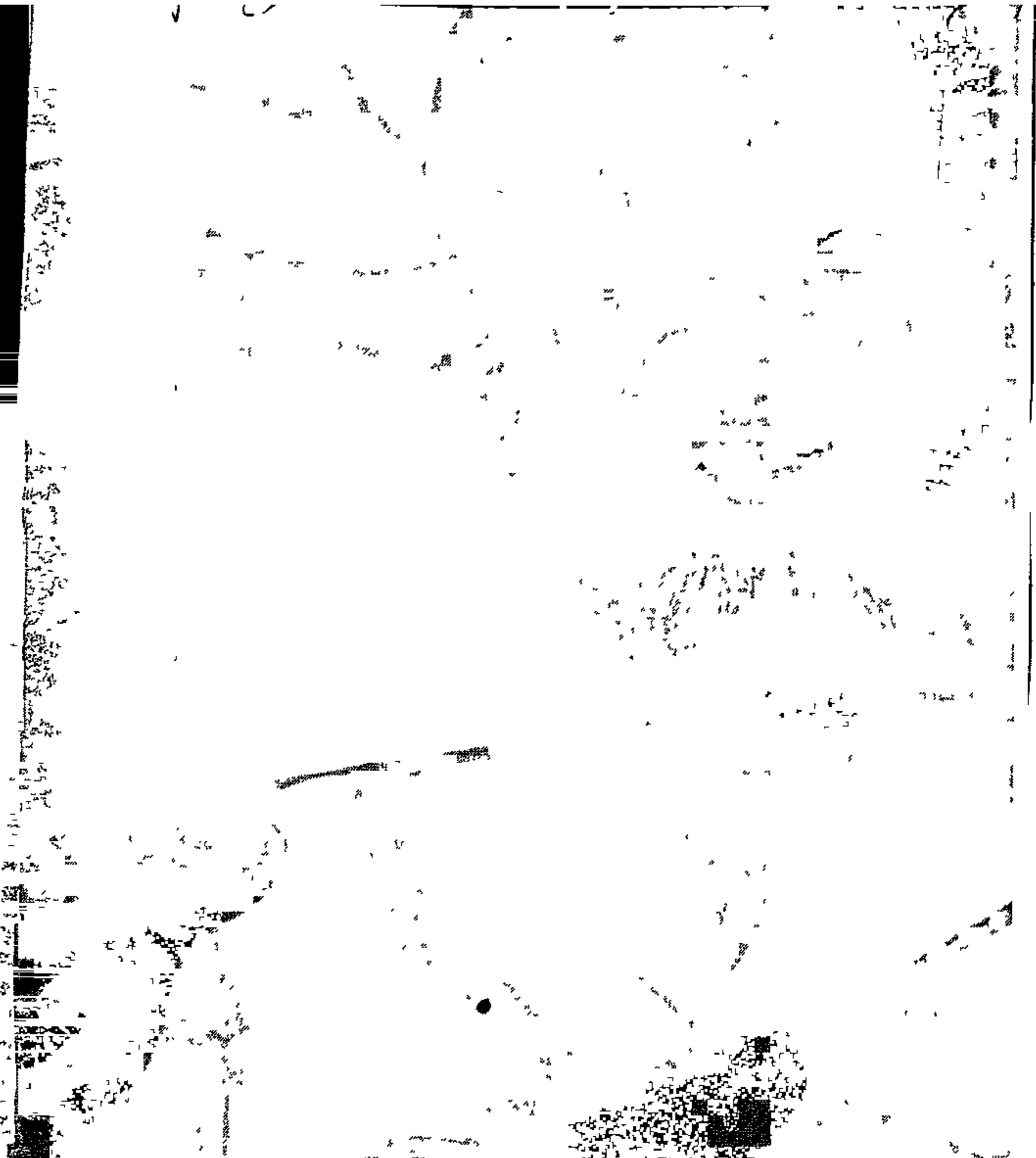
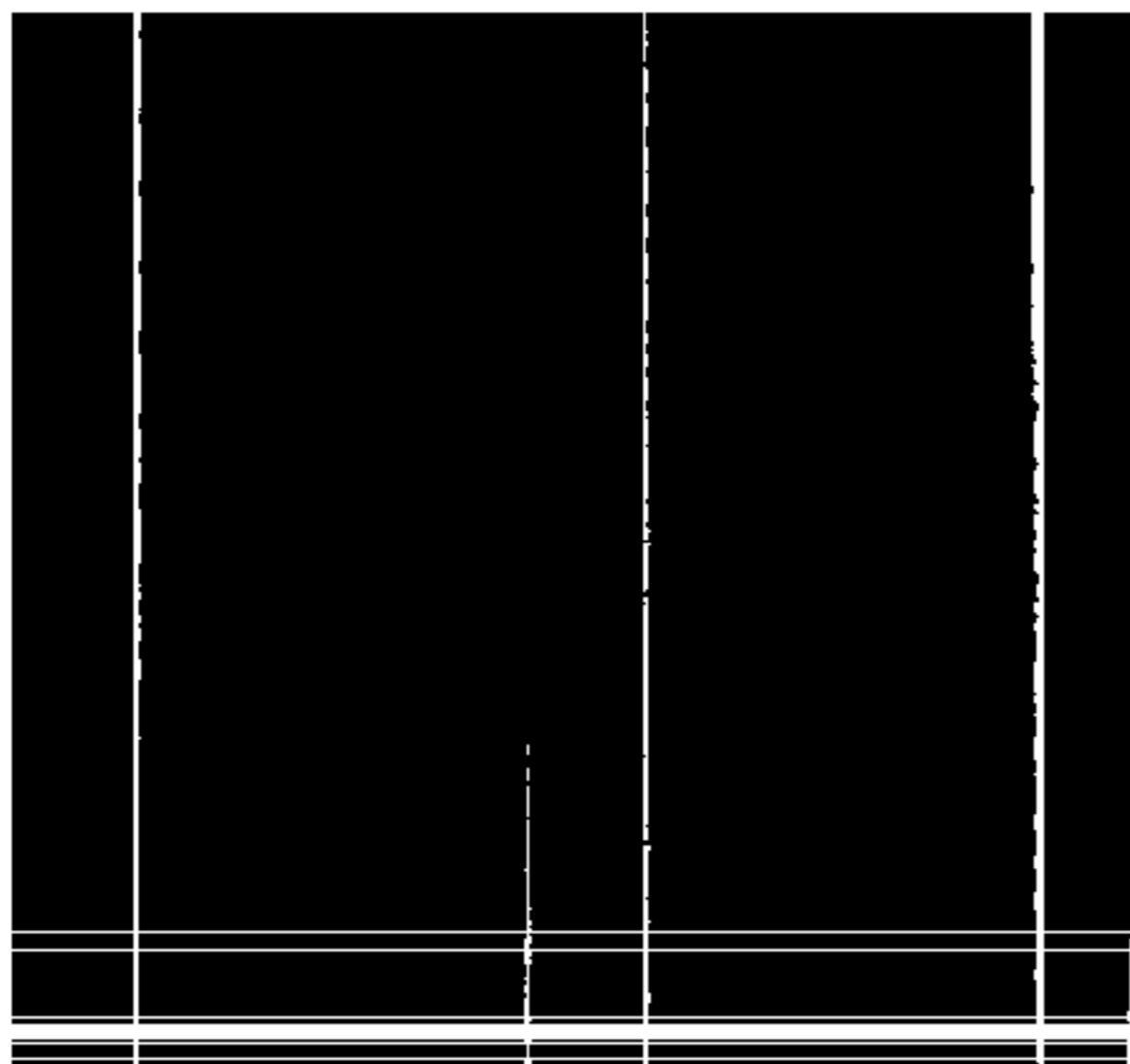
Now South Africa has set up multiparty talks in which it has manoeuvred itself out of the limelight and left Mr Mudge to carry the can under the flimsy protection of a low-key Administrator-General who will also have to take some of the rap from the South African electorate if UN elections lead to Mr Nujoma assuming office in Windhoek.

In the process of delay the forces of moderation have suffered badly.

The centrist alliance of pro-Swapo, but anti-Nujoma, parties has all but collapsed and the process of polarisation is gaining momentum.

Many Blacks in the DTA are disillusioned with the pace of progress and fearful of their future under a Swapo government.

But Mr Mudge has by no means given up the ghost.



● Sam Nujoma — the man some Namibians fear but others look forward to



During the past week the DTA introduced a motion in the National Assembly calling for legislation to set up a Bill of Rights based on the UN Charter of Human Rights

This week the DTA elected a dynamic new president, Mr Peter Kalangula, who commands widespread respect and has been at the forefront of progressive moves in education in his home territory of Owambo

There are also serious factors working against the DTA — the reviled system of compulsory military training for Blacks, ethnic schools, and the repression by South Africa of the internal wing of Swapo

There is a growing realisation that this is a short-sighted strategy which is creating an ugly legacy for an independent Namibia

Unlike the external wing of Swapo, which is largely out of touch with the real situation after many years in exile and mouthing revolutionary platitudes from the comfort of plush offices in Western capitals, the internal wing is motivated by a genuine desire for liberation and advancement

Namibia has a lot working in its favour. For example, unlike Zimbabwe, it has only one major liberation army, reduc-

ing the likelihood of post-independence civil war

It also has rich human and mineral resources, although its economy is heavily dependent on the mining sector and dogmatic moves towards hardline nationalisation could scare away foreign investors and wreck the economy

At the same time, the multinationals will have to work harder to counter Swapo claims of blatant exploitation of the territory's mineral and human resources and to give private enterprise a new face that can compete with the promises of marxist socialism

Cont.

Maputo conference: Cynics hold sway for multiparty talks

THERE is widespread cynicism in Windhoek about the chances of the proposed multiparty talks in Maputo in January making a significant breakthrough in the 34-year constitutional wrangle over the territory's future status.

Although it appears that the conference — or pre-implementation talks, as it has been labelled in Western Five diplomatic circles — will definitely get going on January 7 or soon thereafter, there are fears across the political spectrum that it will be an exercise in the two sides talking past each other rather than to each other.

Indications in Windhoek are that the delegation to be headed by South Africa's Administrator-General in the territory, Mr Danie Hough, will consist only of representatives of Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), widely recognised as the main party after Swapo.

At a Press conference Mr Mudge made it clear that the DTA would attend the talks as long as its interpretation of Dr Waldheim's report was correct.

He also made it clear that he regarded representatives elected to the National Assembly in the 1978 one-man-one-vote elections as the only parties entitled to attend.

As the majority party, the DTA did not intend to be humiliated by having to negotiate with smaller parties which had neither status nor support.

He added that it would not even be possible to include all the elected representatives in the delegation.

Although the DTA has an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly there are six other minor parties represented there.

The biggest of these is the National Party's Akhur which won the ethnic elections and has now resorted to playing



• Dark Mudge interpretation

largely a wrecking role in Namibian politics.

A key factor in the success or otherwise of the multiparty talks will be whether Akhur is included in the delegation. Mr Kosie Pretorius, MEC and a representative of Akhur in the assembly, said his party had not yet heard whether it would be invited to be part of the delegation.

"South Africa — presumably through the Administrator-General — will have to tell us what the situation is and then we will make a decision," he said.

Mr Pretorius gave an indication of what line Akhur would take if they did form part of the delegation.

"Akhur does not believe it is the task of political parties to find a constitutional solution. It

is not for SWA must take place between the elected leaders of the different population groups."

Meanwhile, several of the centrist parties, largely sympathetic to Swapo but opposed to the leadership of Mr Sam Nujoma, have refused to go to the talks as part of a delegation led by the A-G even if they are invited.

Western Five diplomatic sources have suggested that parties such as the National Independence Party (NIP) and the Namibian National Front (NMF) could be invited directly by the United Nations.

Mr Mudge, on the other hand, made it clear in reply to a question by the Sunday Express that if parties were invited directly by the UN, he would have to reconsider the DTA's conditional decision to attend the talks.

Ironically, the idea of all-party talks was mooted by Mrs Ottilie Abrahams, general secretary of NIP, in May.

A NIP delegation attended talks with a UN mission in Pretoria last month at their own expense to avoid being associated with South Africa.

Now Mrs Abrahams has written to the UN protesting against the arrangement whereby South Africa's A-G in the territory will lead a delegation, making it clear that her party will not attend under such conditions.

"The NIP cannot retain credibility and be part of a SA delegation," Mrs Abrahams told the Sunday Express.

Other centrist parties such as Swamu and Swapo-D feel the same way.

That South Africa and Swapo have agreed to the talks is being regarded as a major behind-the-scenes diplomatic coup achieved by intense and ongoing diplomatic activity between the UN, South Africa, Swapo, the Frontline States and the OAU during the weeks preceding the release of Dr Waldheim's report.

Western Five diplomatic sources also regard the decision to postpone the annual UN General Assembly debate on Namibia as a major effort, particularly by the Frontline States, to get the latest settlement initiative off the ground.

"The Frontline States are applying heavy pressure on the Soviet and radical Black elements in the UN so that South Africa will not be able to find further excuses to delay the talks," one diplomat said.

"To keep up that momentum they will have to be seen to deliver the goods, and South Africa is also going to have to play its part."

The sources believe the UN will be prepared to go even further than it has already in satisfying South African and DTA demands for a demonstration of impartiality.

The postponement of the Namibian debate is seen as a positive gesture in this direction, both by warding off a restatement of sole recognition for Swapo and requests for sanctions against South Africa.

Once the thorny issue of mistrust has been resolved, then differences over the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 will be discussed.

In terms of the Waldheim report, the agenda also allows

for other practical matters to be discussed.

This is seen as another compromise to accommodate the South African delegation which has been pressing for debate on a constitution for an independent Namibia.

Diplomatic sources believe this could go as far as reaching agreement on broad principles for a constitution, although in terms of Resolution 435 it will have to stop short of actually finalising a constitution. This will be done by the Constituent Assembly elected in terms of the UN-supervised elections.

There are hopes in DTA and business circles in Windhoek that the Maputo talks could be the first in a series of meetings leading finally to a constitutional conference and the abandonment of Resolution 435.

Mr Douglas Hoffe, resident director of Anglo American's Consolidated Diamond Mines, told the Sunday Express he felt that the ideal solution would be a coalition thrashed out in direct talks between Swapo and South Africa.

"Both sides would have to make major compromises in their political philosophies and reach a compromise constitution which would be administered by a coalition government formed by the colonial power and Swapo."

"I know it's wishful thinking, but by God I wish it," he said. He could not see anything coming of the Maputo talks. Nobody would be prepared to go ahead because of fear of losing the elections.

"It's a long kick for touch, but I'm afraid the wind has got the ball," Mr Hoffe said.

12/80 SWA FISHING HITS FEEDFOOD

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(c) COLLAPSE of the fishing industry in South West Africa put a brake on Fedfood's earnings, which rose 26 percent to R6,7-million for the half-year to September.

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The collapse of the fish industry, he says, and the increased seasonal tendencies of the group's business distorted traditional income patterns

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The white fish industry has outstanding long-term growth potential, say the directors

EXPANSION
Fedfood however is expanding its white fish business and in the last six months took over three additional quotas and three fishing boats. A small profit is already coming from this source

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Higher profits came from the group's maize-milling companies. Simba's factories were being almost fully used but Riviera Foods, the

snack group taken over, had a drop in earnings.
Turnover by Fedfood jumped 35 percent to R210 million and the dividend is being raised 15 percent to 15c a share.

Forecast for the rest of the year — higher profit growth than in the first half
Earnings by Sam Steele Holdings more than doubled to R1,3-million after tax for the year to August and another big rise is forecast for the current year

Turnover jumped 26 percent to R264-million. The final dividend is 75 percent higher at 3,5c making 6c (4c) for the year
Nampak is to spend R60-million on capital projects in the next three years. The chairman, Mr B Kaidol, expects this year's profits to improve on the R55-million before tax last year

A new insurance broking company with premium income of more than R150-million a year is to be formed by the merger of Barclays Insurance Brokers (SA) and C

T Bowring and Associates (SA).
Shares will be split equally between Barclays, Bowring and Anglo American Corporation
Genetral Erection is raising its interim dividend by 20 percent to 9c after an 11 percent rise in earnings to R2 million for the half-year
Tom Hood

Sources: (Table 1)
(a) 1960 Population Census: This does not have homelands areas identified, but it is possible to derive estimates of urban homelands and rural homelands on the basis of the principles of estimation discussed in Section 1.3. Metropolitan figures are given so 'white' urban - metropolitan - home-

Foreign reaction to death sentence

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STAR

The Star's Africa
News Service
WINDHOEK — The death sentence imposed on a Kavango farm labourer for assisting Swapo insurgents in an attack on a white farm in SWA/Namibia earlier this year has aroused international reaction.

Since Markus Kateka (40) was sentenced to death by Mr Justice Strydom in the Windhoek Supreme Court on October 13, numerous inquiries from various governments have been received about the case, according to his lawyers.

Kateka was refused

leave to appeal against the sentence — the first death sentence following from a Swapo attack in which nobody was killed.

Mr Pio Teek, who appeared for Kateka, said he hoped a petition seeking leave to appeal would soon be lodged with the Judge President of the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

He said counsel had been briefed in the matter. Since the death sentence was imposed he had had numerous inquiries from representatives of foreign governments, including a West German diplomat, he said.

It is also understood that a representative of the international committee of the Red Cross visited Kateka in prison about two weeks ago.

Kateka was found guilty of assisting the Swapo members who attacked the farm Goabes, belonging to Mr J F Louw, in the Grootfontein district in northern SWA/Namibia, during a Swapo infiltration into the white farming area of the territory in February this year.

He gave them food and drew a map of the homestead. During the attack about 100 rounds were fired, but nobody was killed or injured.

6 Swapo escapers are still at large

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Nine Swapo members captured in the security force operation at Cassinga in southern Angola in May, 1978, have escaped from detention near Mariental in southern SWA/Namibia.

This was confirmed here today by a spokesman for the SWA Territory Force, who said the men escaped yesterday. Three were recaptured.

None of the escapers was armed and military personnel and members of the police were today still taking the "necessary action" to recapture the six still at large he said.

The prisoners were in civilian clothes. The spokesman urged the public to report any suspicious people to the nearest police station, military post or base.

The Swapo members were being held in terms of an amendment to security legislation, Proclamation AG9, giving security forces the legal right to detain people captured as a result of operations for the prevention or suppression of terrorism, or for any other purpose, in terms of the Defence Act.

CODENAMES

After the Cassinga raid, about 205 Swapo members were detained, first at Oshakati, and later near Mariental.

The Cassinga prisoners were taken at the Swapo bases codenamed "Moscow" and "Vietnam" during a large airborne military strike on May 4 1978.

Defence force officials did not at the time release the number of Swapo killed, but documents captured at the camps showed that Moscow was occupied by more than a 1 000 people before the attack. Only a handful survived.

Swapo claimed its losses totalled about 800, with 200 of its members missing. Five South Africans were killed.

Nujoma reflects January talks on SWA

By RICHARD WATKINS

NEW YORK — A postcard from Mr. Sam Nujoma, the SWAPO leader, stated he would participate in the multiparty talks in January proposed by the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant. Waldheim said about the preliminary talks on South West Africa.

In a message from Luanda marked "Confidential" Waldheim pressed for the completion of the talks immediately after the General Assembly's return into the Waldheim report.

He said SWAPO had found no evidence in the report that South Africa would accept the UN administration plan and conduct. SWAPO categorically rejects the idea of multiparty talks which means that the SWAPO will not participate independently from the South African side. SWAPO views the report as unacceptable.

Point 19 of the report states "lack of confidence" is the obstacle to the achievement of order to achieve independence next year. Point 20 of the Waldheim report proposes "a pre-implementation multiparty meeting in which the parties concerned in the general elections would be included."

The Nujoma message is dated last Wednesday when

the African bloc defied Swapo and cancelled the General Assembly session but it occurred in New York only at the weekend — with copies addressed to the President of the UN Council for Namibia, leader of the African and non-aligned groups of nations, and the Assembly President, R. B. Storer, Washington.

Secretary-General U Thant was expected to be in Luanda.

The officials indicated surprise but sought to downplay the SWAPO's part of news.

The report to the various languages of the Waldheim report had been carefully crafted to address the concerns of the African and non-aligned groups.

The former SWAPO's UN spokesman, Mr. Theo Pheko, said he would be in Luanda to meet with the report's authors. He said there has been no contact with one of the authors.

The Western and African blocs began discussing the report for the meeting which will be held in Luanda.

The Mozambique Government, believed to have supported the plan in offering Mr. U Thant, President Mweru, said to have accepted the meeting plan only after a number of phone calls from Dr. Pheko — he thought to visit Pheko in Lusaka but not to attend.

This week the Assembly decided to be expected to formally propose a SWA debate in mid-January, right after the multiparty meeting.

WALTHEIM writes that the SWAPO government has refused to attend the talks in January. He said the SWAPO government has refused to attend the talks in January.

He said the SWAPO government has refused to attend the talks in January. He said the SWAPO government has refused to attend the talks in January.

It is clear that in Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana,

— and particularly Angola — support the idea of a conference, Swapo will have little option but to attend

Documents on Swapo murder

By ANDRE VILJOEN
Mail Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Documents found on a dead Swapo guerrilla proved he had taken part in the recent murder of an Owambo headman in his hospital-bed, the second-in-command of the South West Africa Territory Force, Brigadier Willie Meyer, said yesterday

His statement follows a report in Saturday's Windhoek Observer linking the recent destruction of an Owamboland church printing press in a bid to prevent publication in the church newspaper of the "true facts" about the murder

Brig Meyer said security forces clashed with Swapo insurgents near the northern border of SWA on November 8

On the body of an insurgent were personal documents of the murdered headman, Mr Lisias

Aluuma, including a travel permit, a firearm licence and the permit to travel with it, a National Democratic Party membership card, a trader's licence, a share certificate and a passport-size photograph

Mr Aluuma was gunned down in his bed in the Nakaye Hospital near Ombalantu on October 31

According to the Windhoek Observer, rumour was rife that the fortnightly newspaper of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Owambo-Kavango (Eloc), Amukwetu, would have published the "true facts" about the murder had its press not been blown up at midnight on November 20

According to the Windhoek Observer, while it has never openly supported Swapo guerrillas, it tacitly condoned their presence.

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African troops, complete implementation without delay of the decisions of the United Nations Organisation on SWA/Namibia, and a transfer of the power in the country to Swapo — the sole and genuine representative of the SWA/Namibian people”

The joint Press release appeared at the UN dated November 28. But it was originally compiled and publicised when the Mozambican mission left Moscow on November 22 — before Dr Waldheim formally proposed the all-party conference and prior to the public offer of Maputo as a venue

In London Swapo has said that it has information that South Africa is plotting to eliminate Swapo leaders before the proposed conference



Mr Dirk Mudge . . . change of heart.

Mudge calls for basic rights

WINDHOEK — No progress could be made in efforts to bring SWA/Namibia to nationhood peacefully unless there was a change of heart on the part of the people of the territory, the chairman of the SWA/Namibian Ministers' Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in the National Assembly yesterday

Speaking during a debate on a motion dealing with fundamental human rights, Mr Mudge said that as long as people were deprived of their basic rights, there could be no hope of peace in the territory

Human dignity had to be respected and upheld by all population groups in the territory

“If we want to build a future for ourselves, we cannot do it with money. Material things are far less important than the recognition of human dignity,” he said

Mr Mudge said the introduction of a fundamental human rights declaration would contribute towards restoring peace and goodwill among the territory's various population groups — Sapa

Aktur: questionmark over all-party talks

WINDHOEK — An opposition member in the SWA/Namibian National Assembly, Mr Frans van Zyl of Aktur, said last night that a big question mark hung over the UN-proposed all-party conference on the future of SWA/Namibia.

He said very little, if anything, was known at this stage about the proposed conference, which is set to take place next month.

There were a number of questions which still had to be answered before the internal SWA/Namibian parties could agree to such a conference, he said. Among the issues which still needed to be resolved, were the composition of the conference and the reason for holding it in the first place, Mr van Zyl said.

He had also wondered, he added, whether it was not just another ploy by the UN to give out that it was impartial as far as the SWA/Namibian independence issue was concerned.

“The UN has had years to do that, but so far it has failed to prove to us that it is impartial

“And if that is what they're up to now . . . we're not interested,” he said



Mr Robert Mugabe . . . a prime example.

Mr van Zyl said Aktur was also concerned about the composition of the conference and what stance would be taken by the various participants

“When one is at a dinner table with a cannibal one should know what the main course is going to be.

“And in the same way, when one sits around a conference table with Swapo, one has to know what the circumstances are”

A member of the SWA/Namibian Minister's Council and the territory's

ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Patrick Limbo, accused the African frontline states of dictating to SWA/Namibia when their own houses were not even in order.

Zimbabwe was a prime example of this, he said.

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, had offered to chair an all-party conference on SWA/Namibia when he could not even control his own people, Mr Limbo asserted

He said recent efforts by the international community to try and bring SWA/Namibia to nationhood had only proved that it wanted to “get rid of the SWA issue as soon as possible — regardless of at what cost it is done”

It was clear that the rest of the world, particularly the other African states, wanted to see another one-party state established in the form of a so-called independent SWA/Namibia, Mr Limbo said.

“But this country is for the people of this territory” — Sapa.

Mr Sam Nujoma . . . to meet British MPs.

SA favours Lusaka for all-party SWA conference but

Maputo

seems

likely

venue

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — United Nations officials are hoping to secure agreement by the end of the week on a venue for an all-party SWA/Namibia conference in January.

Maputo still seems the probable choice of UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and his SWA/Namibia planners, although the South African Government is thought to favour Lusaka.

The Mozambique Government's public offer last week of its port capital as host to the proposed conference was interpreted by some UN sources as evidence of the "Front Line" states' willingness to mute Swapo's public posture if the talks proceed.

The guerilla group has an office in Lusaka, but

The search for somewhere to hold the all-party conference on SWA/Namibia in January goes on with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, likely to favour Maputo. But a recent Soviet-Mozambican statement regarding the territory could have decided South Africa against the Mozambique capital.

no direct representation in Maputo, and President Samora Machel is said to have been a strong res-training influence on Swapo's leadership in negotiations for a UN settlement in the territory in the past two years.

But some sources at the UN suggest that Maputo could be compromised as a possible venue if the South African Government and major SWA/Namibian political parties take issue with a joint

Internal parties 'must attend the talks'

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The proposed multi-party talks on the SWA/Namibia settlement issue could not be held without participation of the territory's internal political parties, the Administrator-General, Dr Danie Hough, said in Windhoek last night.

He was reacting to a statement in Luanda by Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma, rejecting the internal groups' being given equal status to Swapo at the conference.

Mr Hough said the reasons for the talks fell away if Swapo did not attend. "Similarly there could not be a conference if the internal parties did not participate."

He said South Africa would participate in the conference in accordance with the report, on November 24, of United Nations Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim.

Two internal political groups told Mr Hough in separate 30-minute meetings last night that they could not accept going to the talks, planned for the January 7-14 period, as part of a South African delegation.

REJECTED

They also rejected his leading the delegation of internal SWA/Namibian parties at the conference.

Mr Nujoma said the relevant parts of Dr Waldheim's report were therefore unacceptable.

Mr Hough's reaction followed a Press statement last week, in which he said "Swapo categorically rejects the idea of a multiparty meeting if this means that the puppets will participate independently of the South African delegation, on an equal footing with Swapo."

He added "The only one who stands to lose is Swapo,"

Mr Hough said the reasons for the talks fell away if Swapo did not attend. "Similarly there could not be a conference if the internal parties did not participate."

He said South Africa would participate in the conference in accordance with the report, on November 24, of United Nations Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim.

UP TO SWAPO

2/2/77
Changes
in SWA
education

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — Sweeping changes which could revolutionise black education in SWA/Namibia, making it both compulsory and free, are contained in proposed legislation presented in the territory's National Assembly

The national education bill, tabled here yesterday, proposed that all community schools be transformed into State schools as soon as possible to speed the way towards a uniform national education system.

Among the proposals contained in the draft legislation are:

- free education for all
- compulsory education for children between six and 16;
- the creation of a national education board representing each of the ethnic groups in the territory

The new legislation will mean that the black education system which has been operating in SWA/Namibia under guidance from South Africa, falls away.

The bill conforms to the basic policy principles for education thrashed out during the Turnhalle constitutional conference.

It was accepted the education system at present left much to be desired.

The attempt to lessen metropolitan and urban dependence on contract labour is the most serious aspect of the Riekeret changes, especially in the light of an increasing proportion of the African population (resident in the homelands) becoming increasingly dependent on migrant ar

ready acted against 11] fines on employers who dramatise too much when 'The result of this to be horrifying. reduction in recruitment in urban areas record of men from or even years to They report that many places. Th means of survival] in so-called 'wh' Another means of informal sector This is not possible because the comm stricken. The merely pensioner

UN fights to clear SWA talks hurdles

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK — Prospects for next month's multi-party meeting on South West Africa dimmed yesterday as United Nations officials wrestled with the agenda and even the venue loomed as a problem.

On top of this, they were discussing the surprise communication from the Swapo president, Mr Sam Nujoma rejecting the guidelines for the meeting as "unacceptable"

Early yesterday (SA time) the UN Council for Namibia president, Mr Paul Lusaka of Zambia, called on the Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Wald-

heim, with a copy of the text of Mr Nujoma's message — which had been addressed to him and not to the Secretary-General.

At the same time, Dr Waldheim faced the news that Maputo had been ruled out as the site for the meeting — apparently on a veto from Pretoria.

It is understood that possible offshore sites, from the Cape Verde Islands to Mauritius, are now being considered.

Swapo officials at the UN were consulting with the UN team on SWA yesterday and were set to be closely questioned on Mr Nujoma's position.

In his message, he "categorically rejected the meeting 'if this means that the puppets will participate independently from the South African delegation, on equal footing with Swapo'".

Mr Nujoma's UN representative, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab suggested Swapo was actually seeking "clarifications".

UN officials would not comment and Dr Waldheim's spokesman said only that the General Assembly would almost certainly reconvene for the Namibia debate on January 15 — after the scheduled multi-party meeting.

Meanwhile, Sapa reported

from Windhoek that the SWA Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, was to consult internal political leaders yesterday and today on the proposed multi-party conference.

Mr Hough returned to Windhoek yesterday from Pretoria after discussions with the Government believed to have included the proposed talks.

Political observers in Windhoek said Mr Hough would also have to consider the composition of the SWA delegation should the talks take place.

The Government has proposed that Mr Hough lead the delegation.

SWA search for escaped detainees

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau
WINDHOEK — Security forces in South West Africa were hunting for six escapers from a special detention camp near Mariental in the south of the territory. The SWA Territory Force said

yesterday. The six, who probably included captured Swapo guerrillas, escaped on Monday with another three men who were recaptured yesterday morning.

The nine were held under proclamation AG 9 of 1977, in terms of which suspects in "security districts" could be held

for 96 hours. This meant they were not necessarily captured guerrillas, the spokesman said.

The men still at large were in civilian clothes and were unarmed. The public was asked to report anything suspicious to the police or defence force.

For security reasons, no more facts were released.

Earlier this year an International Red Cross delegation visited the camp near Mariental and filed a confidential report to the former Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. However, authorities have remained tight-lipped about the nature of the camp and the status of its prisoners.

STAR 4/12/80

Delegation to SWA talks still undecided

Conscription necessary, says Africa

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Some of the major political parties in SWA/Namibia seem likely to be excluded from the delegation led by the territory's Administrator-General to next month's United Nations-sponsored settlement talks.

After the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, had completed meetings with the internal parties yesterday a spokesman said that all of the parties invited to the meetings would not

necessarily be included in the official delegation.

He noted that some of the parties were opposed to being included in what they regarded as a South African delegation.

The spokesman said a decision on the composition of the official delegation would be taken later.

His statement indicated to observers that the meetings with Mr Hough did not produce a formula for bringing all the internal parties together under one umbrella for the UN-sponsored conference — if, indeed, any attempt

was made to find one.

However, observers here do not exclude the possibility that some arrangement may yet be found for the dissenting parties — Swapo Democrats and the NNF — to attend the conference with some other credentials

Both the National Party and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance last night refused to comment on their talks with Mr Hough saying they would first have to report back to their party executives before making public statements.

Mauritius is now being tipped as the most likely venue for the conference, due to start on January 7. The South African government is believed to favour this among a list of proposed venues including Maputo, Mbabane, Gaborone, Lusaka and Maseru.

Mauritius has adequate accommodation and conference facilities and its Government is regarded as more dispassionate than those of the other countries in its attitude to the SWA/Namibia issue.

A decision on the venue is expected to be announced within the next few days.

● Mr. Dirk Mudge, leader of the DTA in SWA/Namibia, and two of his colleagues, will be in London next week, arriving the day after Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma leaves.

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia could not remain militarily dependent on South Africa for ever and that was why conscription had had to be introduced in the territory, a member of the SWA/Namibian Council of Ministers, Dr Ben Africa, said in the National Assembly yesterday

Speaking during the additional budget debate, Dr Africa, who is also vice-president of the territory's ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said SWA/Namibia needed to be able to defend its own borders.

In order to achieve this objective, the territory needed a powerful defence force whose members were loyal and patriotic.

Dr Africa said the reasons for rejecting conscription were completely unfounded — Sapa

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DTA says
yes to
SWA talks

WINDHOLEK - The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance has agreed to attend a multiparty conference on SWA/Namibia's future but said the venue for the talks could be of crucial importance.

In a statement the DTA president, Mr Peter Kalonjula said Maputo was unacceptable to his party.

The venue chosen for the planned pre-implementation conference would be decisive in terms of free exchanges of views and honest debating.

He said the DTA would attend the talks subject to the aim and content of the discussions.

'We accept that the delegation led by the Administrator General will consist only of representatives of parties in the National Assembly who proved their support during the 1978 elections' said Mr Kalonjula.

New 2-pronged SWA initiative launched

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
London Bureau

LONDON — A two-pronged initiative to get a South West Africa settlement on the road has been launched

Yesterday the former United States Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, met British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, two weeks after Dr Kissinger's hush-hush meeting in Paris with South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Next week Lord Carrington is to meet, at his request, with the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, and the leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge

Suggestions in diplomatic circles are that South Africa has

put forward a compromise to achieve a solution to the protracted dispute over the future of the territory

Despite assurances by the British Foreign Office that yesterday's meeting was purely private, it appears that Dr Kissinger is relaunching his "shuttle diplomacy" of the Ford and Nixon eras. This led to talks with the South African Government in Pretoria and Geneva.

Dr Kissinger said after his meeting in Paris with Mr Botha, which lasted nearly two hours, that he would be reporting back to the US State Department and to the President-elect, Mr Ronald Reagan.

It has been suggested that the relationship that developed between Dr Kissinger and Mr

Botha during Mr Botha's period of duty in Washington is leading to optimism in South African Government circles that what he had to say in Paris has found a sympathetic ear in the Reagan camp.

One of the issues expected to be discussed when Lord Carrington meets Mr Mudge next week is almost certainly Mr Mudge's presence at multi-party talks with Swapo.

Swapo has consistently rejected the presence at talks of Mr Mudge, or any other internal party, as representatives of the South West African people.

But South Africa equally forcefully insists that the internal parties have a vital role to play in talks and that South Africa should be an observer.

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From DON KNOWLER

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Sam Nujoma's leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) could come under severe strain if jailed nationalist Herman Toivo Ja Toivo is released through the present initiative on South West Africa.

The publicity given to the proposed United Nations-sponsored conference on the territory has overshadowed a possible leadership crisis for Mr Nujoma as the final run-up to independence begins.

Although the Swapo executive regards Mr Nujoma as the undisputed leader of the movement, there is a body of black opinion in South West Africa and Africa which believes Toivo Ja Toivo should be given the chance to contest the presidency in a party election, if and when the South African authorities agree to release him from imprisonment on Robben Island.

Disgruntled

Mr Sam Nujoma



being found guilty on terrorism charges

The two men, according to people who knew them both, contrasted sharply in their approach to the 'liberation' of South West

that the proportion of people making a living from

in the 1960's and 1970's, real GNP per capita having risen faster than real GDP per capita reflecting the increasing

Statistics on to the 1970, the

Statistics on to the 1970, the

been rising

MAINTAIN A DREAM

JOHANNESBURG. — Herman Toivo-Ja Toivo is still regarded as the 'spiritual leader' of South West Africa's nationalists, but whether he will be able to convert this into concrete support on his release from Robben Island remains to be seen.

His 12 years' imprisonment since he founded the Ovambo movement in Cape Town cut him out of the most important nationalist campaigns under Swapo's banner.

But, Toivo is not a forgotten man.

His court pronouncement when he was sentenced to life imprisonment on being convicted of terrorism in 1968 are contained in a best-selling black writer's anthology *Forced Landings*, which was banned because it contained Toivo's remarks.

The book was later unbanned when it was pointed out the remarks had been published before in South Africa.

Toivo was born in Ovambo and began his education at Finnish Mission schools (Toivo Ja Toivo is a Finnish phrase meaning 'hope and hope').

During World War 2 he served in the Native Military Corps, then went back to school at the age of 21.

He worked on a gold mine on the Reef and

later became a policeman with the South African Railways.

It was while he was working in Cape Town that he founded the Ovambo movement, from which Swapo was built.

HIS DREAM

The dream he held for a non-racial state was contained in his address to the court.

He told the judge: 'I do not claim that it is easy for men of different races to live at peace with one another. . . we believe that by living together, people will learn to lose their fear of each other.'

'We also believe that this fear which some of the whites have of Africans is based on their desire to be superior and privileged and that when whites see themselves as part of South West Africa, sharing with us all its hopes and troubles, then that fear will disappear.'

Cont

Other South African nationalist sources say, however, that Toivo may not want to divide Swapo at this time with a bid for the presidency.

But the 56-year-old Toivo might still come under pressure from serving and former Swapo officials disgruntled by Nujoma's rule, which has come in for criticism from senior Swapo men in the past.

A pro-Nujoma Swapo official stated categorically recently that there was no question of a leadership dispute.

He conceded that Toivo, as he is known, founded the Ovamboland People's Organisation in the late fifties which provided the nucleus for the non-ethnic movement that was to become known as Swapo.

Banished

But it was Sam Nujoma, plus other nationalists, who actually founded Swapo in New York in 1960, after they had gone into exile.

During this period Toivo was banished to Ovamboland by the South African authorities and he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1968 after

case, this judgment of his moderate stance was opposed to Mr Nujoma's militant one is based on statements he made 12 years ago and his attitude may well have hardened since then.

Toivo is described as a man of intellect and stature. A moderate who was forced by his own sense of hopelessness and desperation to take up arms.

Resentment

The same is not said of Mr Nujoma, who is reported to still feel a deep sense of resentment over the way he was treated as a black when he worked for the South African Railways.

In private, many black politicians and diplomats are critical of Mr Nujoma's apparent arrogance but this criticism is not voiced publicly because promoting unity is the prime concern of such bodies as the Organisation of African Unity and certain United Nations agencies that give Swapo their wholehearted support.

2 court appeals after SWA polls

By ANDRE VILJOEN
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — Two South West African political parties have appealed to the Windhoek Supreme Court to set aside the results of last month's second tier ethnic elections.

Earlier this week, Mr Justice Strydom reserved judgment in an application by the South West African Peoples' Democratic United Front (Swapduf), to reject the results of the Damara elections because of alleged registration irregularities.

Yesterday he dismissed with costs an urgent application by the Nudo Progressive Party of Namibia for an interdict against yesterday's swearing-in of the first elected Herero Legislative Assembly.

The leader of the Nudo PPN, Mr Johannes Karuaihe, said the application was made on simi-

lar grounds to a successful bid by Swapduf last week to stop a Damara swearing-in ceremony last Thursday.

The Herero election was won by Nudo, a member of the ruling Democratic Turnhalle Alliance Swapduf, another DTA party, was defeated in the Damara elections by the Damara Council, a member of the Namibia National Front.

Mr Justice Strydom issued an interim interdict against the swearing-in of the Damara Legislative Assembly because of differences between a list of candidates nominated at a registration court in September and a list published in an official gazette a month later.

The whole Damara election could be in danger because of the differences, he said. The interim interdict will be effective until he rules on the application to reject the election.

Walvis Bay - strange island of apartheid

By PETER KENNY
Windhoek

WHILE apartheid has been almost totally done away with in Namibia, it is still fully operational in the South African enclave of Walvis Bay, halfway up the coastline.

Two coloured soccer players from the Sparta Club were only last week ordered out of a function held by the club in the town hall because they had not obtained the relevant permit to take part in the club's festivities

Walvis Bay, part of the Cape Province, serves Namibia as its port, but apartheid is still strongly enforced.

Two policemen arrived at the Portuguese Sparta Club's function to which the two coloured players had been invited, and asked them to leave

The two players, Alan Dixon and Peter Markgraaf, did so. Mr Jan Wilken, the enclave's commissioner, said this week "The hall is situated in an area which is subject to the provisions of the Group Areas Act, which stipulates that the special permission of the Minister is, *inter alia*, required before the hall can be utilised for inter-race functions

"Leasees of the town hall who find it necessary to invite persons other than whites must seek the written permission of the council well beforehand, and provided the invitations are on a limited scale, I will exert every possible effort to assist when such applications have to be considered," he said

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A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE

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'white' South Africa via commuter pay packets and migrant

Africans have been sharing in the rising real wages in

dependence of the homelands. In other words, homeland

Battling Namibia parties seek UK aid

By PETER KENNY
Windhoek

SOUTH West African political enemies — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, and Mr Sam Nujoma president of Swapo — wing their way into Europe's capitals this week on the diplomatic offensive

Both have appointments with the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Peter Carrington

Both are expected to have Press conferences to drum up publicity for their causes before they head for the proposed multi-party conference scheduled for January 7 to 14 in some African capital. At the moment, Mauritius is strongly tipped as the venue

On paper at least, the proposed talks — which have been dubbed PIM (Pre-Implementation Meeting) — are to discuss the application of United Nations Resolution 435 for an internationally acceptable solution for SWA

But, at present confusion reigns in the SWA capital among the internal parties about the true implications of the talks

For the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the talks represent the three-year-old political body's first chance to tackle Swapo openly in the international arena

For South Africa, the talks open a gap in the impending sanctions wave if no solution for SWA is found

But many of the more left-leaning internal parties, such as the Swapo-Democrats, the Namibia National Front and the Namibia Independence Party, view the talks with suspicion

The SWA Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, will find it difficult to choose the delegation if they all insist on going to the talks. There are estimated to be between 37 and 41 political parties in this huge territory with a population of little more than a million

The parties in the National Assembly this week attacked one another, accusing each of supporting their common enemy — Swapo

WHEN the Government sent Mr Barney du Plessis from Pretoria to Windhoek last year with the job of selling South West Africa's image, it could hardly have anticipated the way in which he did it last week.

In fact, Mr Du Plessis — seconded from the South African Department of Information as director of the SWA/Namibia information service — has stunned a lot of people with his 30-minute film "Face of Namibia (Promises of the Past, Achievements of the Future)"

The film contains searing attacks on South Africa's policies and racial attitudes, and caused a stir when it was shown to the Press at a special preview

It has also deeply angered the territory's Right-wing National Party, which had already accused Mr Du Plessis of trying to "break" their leader, Mr A H Du Plessis

The Sunday Express learnt this week that the Director of the Information service of South Africa, Mr Andries Engelbrecht, is calling for a copy of the film

Mr Engelbrecht told me that he had not yet seen the film and emphasised that the SWA/Namibian Information Service operated independently of the South African Information Services

"But I will definitely call for a copy and make a plan to see the film," he said

Among other things the film unequivocally denounces

- the pass system
- "atrocious" housing for Blacks
- racial discrimination
- economic discrimination against Blacks
- humiliating apartheid signs
- inferior training facilities for Blacks
- the shadow of Pretoria hanging over all State decisions in the territory

Mr Barney du Plessis warned guests at the preview that it was likely to be controversial

In an interview with the Sunday Express afterwards he did not try to conceal the fact that he found integration a far easier concept to sell than apartheid

"People don't always readily understand apartheid, but they accept the new model which is being implemented here. It is definitely an easier model to sell," he said

He said the film was a genuine attempt to present the changes which had been effect-

Namibian love story ... it's always having sorry

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7/12/80



JOHN BATTERSBY

Political Correspondent reports from Windhoek

ed in the territory and to counter Swapo propaganda that the changes which had come about were a result of Swapo pressure

Mr Du Plessis said that the previous Administrator-General in the territory, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was aware that the film was being made, but had warned him to be discreet and not to be melodramatic in portraying the changes that had taken place in the territory

He said that Dr Viljoen had seen the film along with civil servants in the territory and as far as he was aware he had no objections to it

Asked whether he had consulted Pretoria about the making of the film Mr Du Plessis said

"No I did not consult Pretoria. I never do. If I consult anyone it will be the A-G who

is South Africa's representative in the territory," he said

"I must emphasise that the SWA/Namibian Information Service is an autonomous body which has nothing to do with the Information Service of South Africa"

The film is intended primarily for local consumption and has already been shown on video screens at 90 different venues throughout the territory, including the operational area where Swapo's influence is most strongly felt

It had been well-received by moderate DTA-oriented Whites and by the vast majority of leaders of Black political parties

"The only negative reaction we have had is from Swapo and Right-wing Whites," he said

Mr Du Plessis said that the film was part of an information

project to counter Swapo propaganda in the territory

"It was also partly in response to a film made by Swapo which has been shown overseas and tries to show Swapo as the sole representatives of the Namibian people, ascribing all changes in the territory so far to Swapo pressure

"We have used some of the same tactics as used by Swapo in their propaganda film, but I think we have improved on them"

The film begins with an indictment of the racist legacy inherited from South Africa. There are flashbacks to the old apartheid regime accentuated by dramatic music showing the Black population labouring under the yoke of racist oppression

According to the film, all that started to change with the collaboration of the various population groups at the Turnhalle conference in 1975

"Life in SWA/Namibia before that auspicious date was hard and degrading for most of the population," the audience is told by the familiar voice of radio personality Mike Lovell

"Many were forced to carry the ubiquitous passes. Travel was restricted and the roads were empty

"For many, housing was atrocious. Entrance to hotels and resorts was restricted to Whites only

"Executive positions were out of bounds to Black and Brown people, and their remuneration was always far less

Cont

They are such suckers for punishment

ONE of my recurring joys in politics is, being able to say "We told you so," to Nat newspapers every so often. They're such suckers for it.

Do you recall, for instance, the indignant reaction from the party Press a few months ago when this newspaper and others reported that behind the scenes among the Nationalist hierarchy?

"Opposition daydreams", they assured their faithful readers "Wishful thinking by our en-

emies? Oh, they acknowledged a few minor differences among top men in the party, a slight difference in emphasis in certain areas, but no disagreement on matters of principle — certain question.

At yes? And since then, of course, Dr Piet Goosen has resigned as MPC in Waterkloof over his deep-lying, verligte-verkrampte differences with MP Tom Langley. Beeld itself has become embroiled in a lengthy battle with Dr Andries Treurnicht on pretty fundamental matters and Mr PW Botha goes around asking who is the cowardly assassin that has his dagger aimed at the heart of the Prime Minister.

You can bet your boots PW isn't talking about somebody outside the Nat Party, either. Believe me, it's hell in there just at the moment.

But never mind, I'm sure Perskor and Nasionale Pers will try to tell us it's all really nothing, just a little family lift. Tomorrow it will all be over — bar the smell of political corpses along the way.

□ □ □

SO WHITE parents will have to start paying more to have their children educated. I'm curious to know what value they'll be getting for their money.

Do you relish the thought of paying good cash for some of the views expressed in Mondstuk, official organ of the Onderwysersunie, over mixed sport at school level? According to Mondstuk, Afrikaners teachers are bitterly dissatisfied about this issue.

Now imagine how much that kind of attitude, conveyed to your child at an impressionable stage of his development and with all the authority that a teacher has, is going to help equip him or her for their fu-



ture in this country.

Frankly, if that is what we are supposed to pay for, I'll consider my money better spent buying a flat from Cham Wanner.

□ □ □

JOLLY bad luck on Black parents, though.

Just when they are on the verge of getting compulsory education for their kids — hey presto! The whole concept of free compulsory education goes by the board.

Oh well, you draw some, you lose some.

□ □ □

SO WHAT did you expect when PW came riding down the streets shouting "The new deal is coming, the new deal is coming!"

That Krugersdorp would open its town hall to all races? That the Arcadia sports ground in Pretoria would be-

made available for mixed soccer?

That Lotfus would desegregate? That Blacks would be able to feel secure in Pretoria's parks, that people like Dr Senekal of Bronkhorstspuit would start preaching the Christian ethic of love-thy-neighbour, instead of White domination from the pulpit? That Dr Andries Treurnicht would rip off his verkramp mask and reveal himself to have been someone other than Dr H F Verwoerd all the time?

That will be the day. All that happened — and quite predictably — is that everyone who heard the warning secured all their prejudices nicely under the bed or in a cupboard where they will be safe and sound and in no danger of being raped by anything as newfangled as racial equality.

□ □ □

I WOULDN'T dash over to SWA for a dirty weekend, if I were you.

From this week's Financial Mail I learn that the territory's new Immorality Act (21/1980), while not racist, proclaims right at the outset that "unlawful carnal intercourse between persons who are not married or partners in terms of traditional laws and customs. Moreover, the courts will presume that intercourse was illegal unless the contrary is proved.

Phew! If they are really serious about enforcing that, make way for a whole new generation of bedroom cops armed with binoculars, periscopes, drills for making peepholes in walls, cameras for photographing the guilty parties in flagrant delicto, and instant forensic kits for analysing bedclothes and

pyjamas and gathering other little bits of unsavoury evidence.

At the same time I'm sure the law will prove a tremendous shot-in-the-arm for local darts clubs that should multiply like rabbits.

Just one question, posed by the FM: what about sex between people who are married — but not to each other?

□ □ □

THE many different ways in which newspapers can report the same news item was graphically illustrated on Friday morning with Senator Owen Horwood's announcement on Civil Service salaries.

"State pay rises will be modest", announced the Rand Daily Mail with an opening paragraph that read:

"Senator Owen Horwood said last night that public servants would not receive pay increases before April — and hinted strongly that they would be modest.

"Cabinet gives increases", Beeld proclaimed boldly and in a smaller sub-head "Benefits coming on April 1".

And Die Transvaler became almost lyrical.

"Horwood gives Christmas promise", it warbled full of goodwill "More money on the way for many".

Not a word, until much later, about the qualifications and warnings that because of inflation the Government could not afford to pump a great deal more money into circulation, etc.

I leave it to you to judge, in the light of reaction from various sectors of the Public Service, whose emphasis on the news was the more accurate

● The heat is on and the enemy is waiting so you enter ~~the~~ be killed



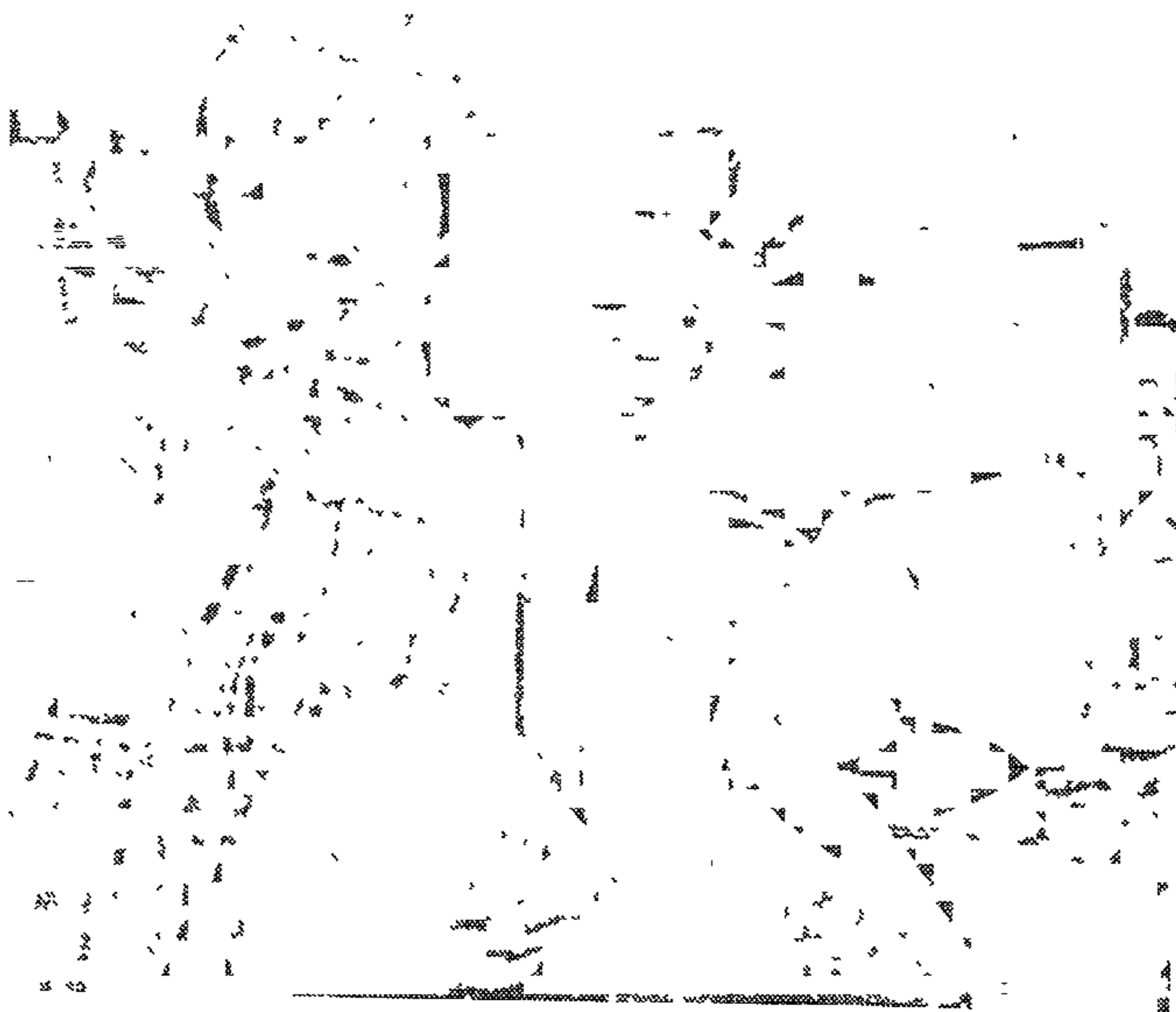
● The long and the tall the thin and the fat everyone is involved in the bush war on our borders

● The death of a Swapo terrorist is never pretty



● A national serviceman's leap from boyhood into manhood from life into death?

Fear that dominates



● The children of a war never discriminate no amount of love can be too much

ONE thing that all Namibians long for, perhaps even more than independence, is an end to the bush war being waged in the north of the territory

While politicians and diplomats play out their international chess game to achieve a settlement in the territory, hundreds of Namibians and South Africans are dying in a political war which can be ended only with a political solution

The majority of Namibians who live in the war zone — Owambo, Kavango, Caprivi and the Kaokoveld — are weary of the 11-year war

They find themselves trapped in a vice of violence with Swapo guerrillas on one side and the South African security forces on another

The tone of life-on-the-border for a South African soldier is captured by a former Sunday Express photographer Stefan Sonderling in his book *Bushwar — the Defence Force in Action*

There are widespread fears that if the current UN settlement initiative fails, the war could intensify sharply into a Vietnam-type situation

Pictures:
STEFAN SONDERLING

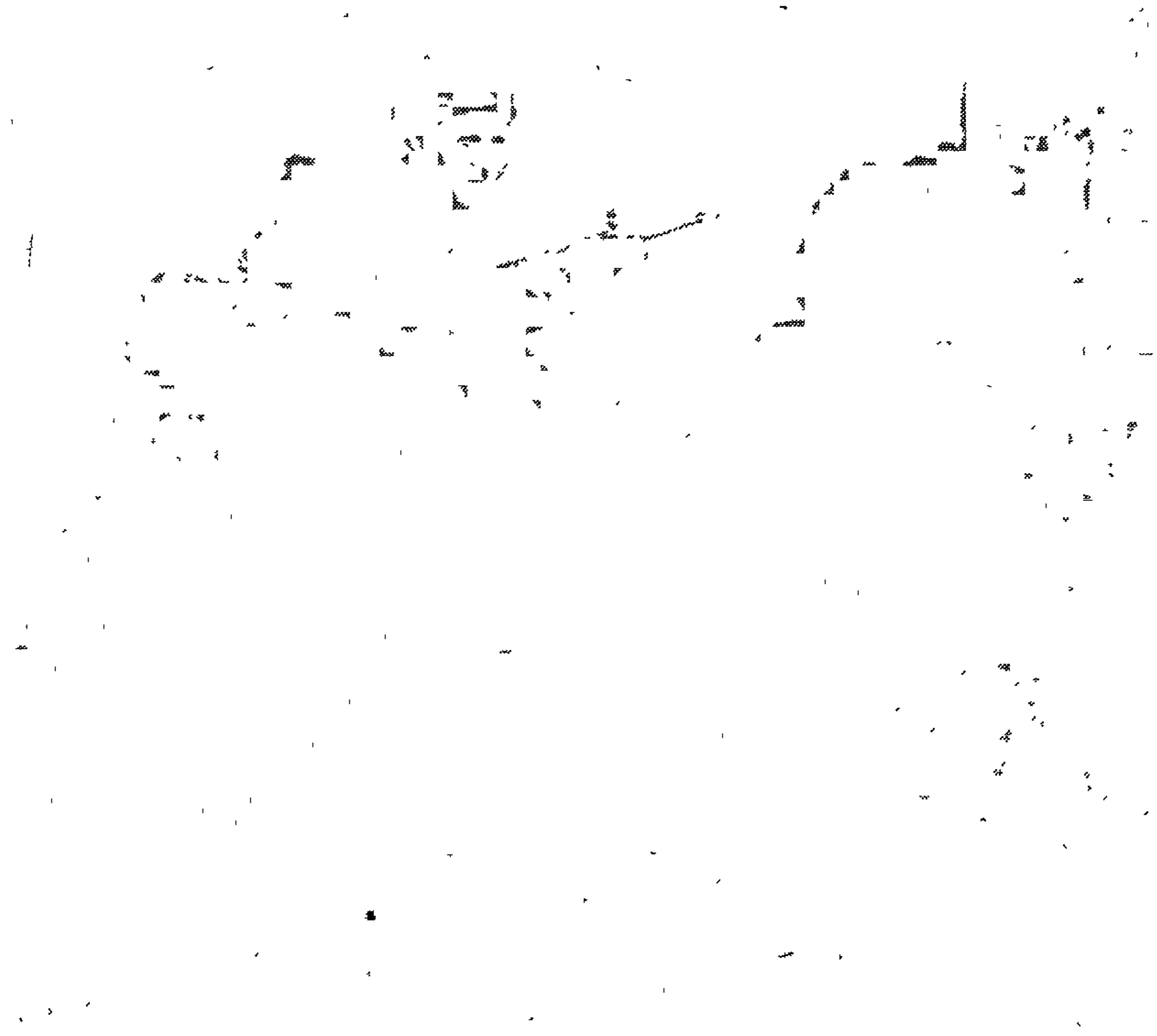
from his book *Bushwar* (Eyes Books)

Report:
JOHN BATTERSBY

Angola more than the other Frontline states is anxious to put an end to it because it is most directly affected by the war

And there are fears that if the current settlement bid fails Luanda could see an accelerated stream of heavy and more sophisticated military

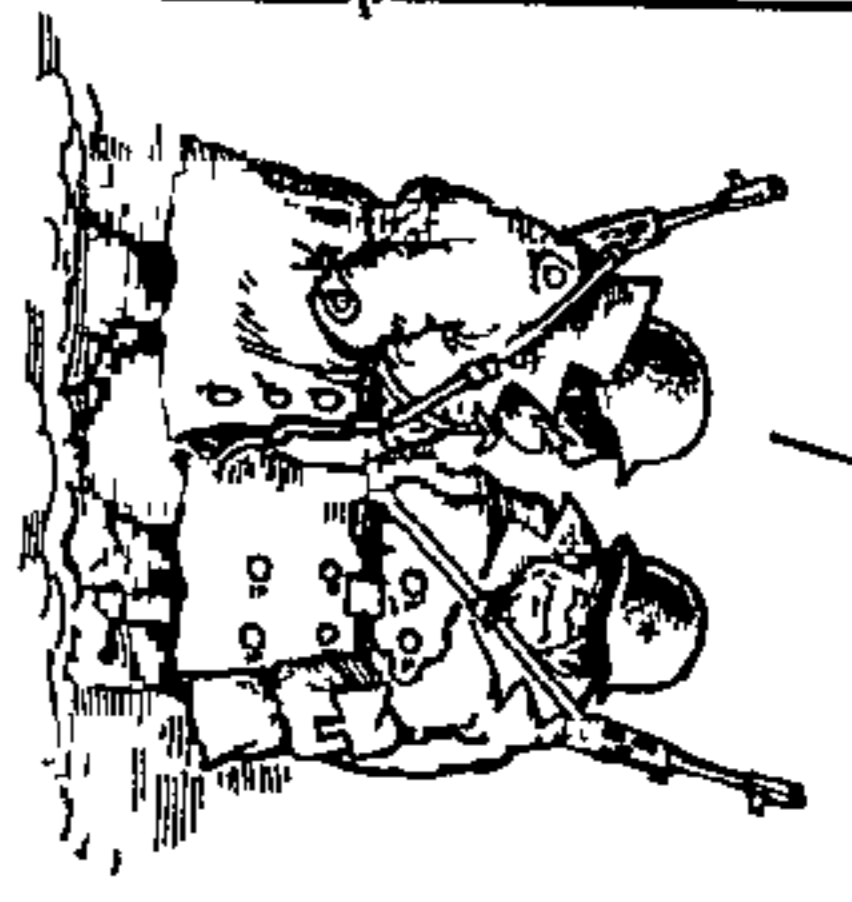
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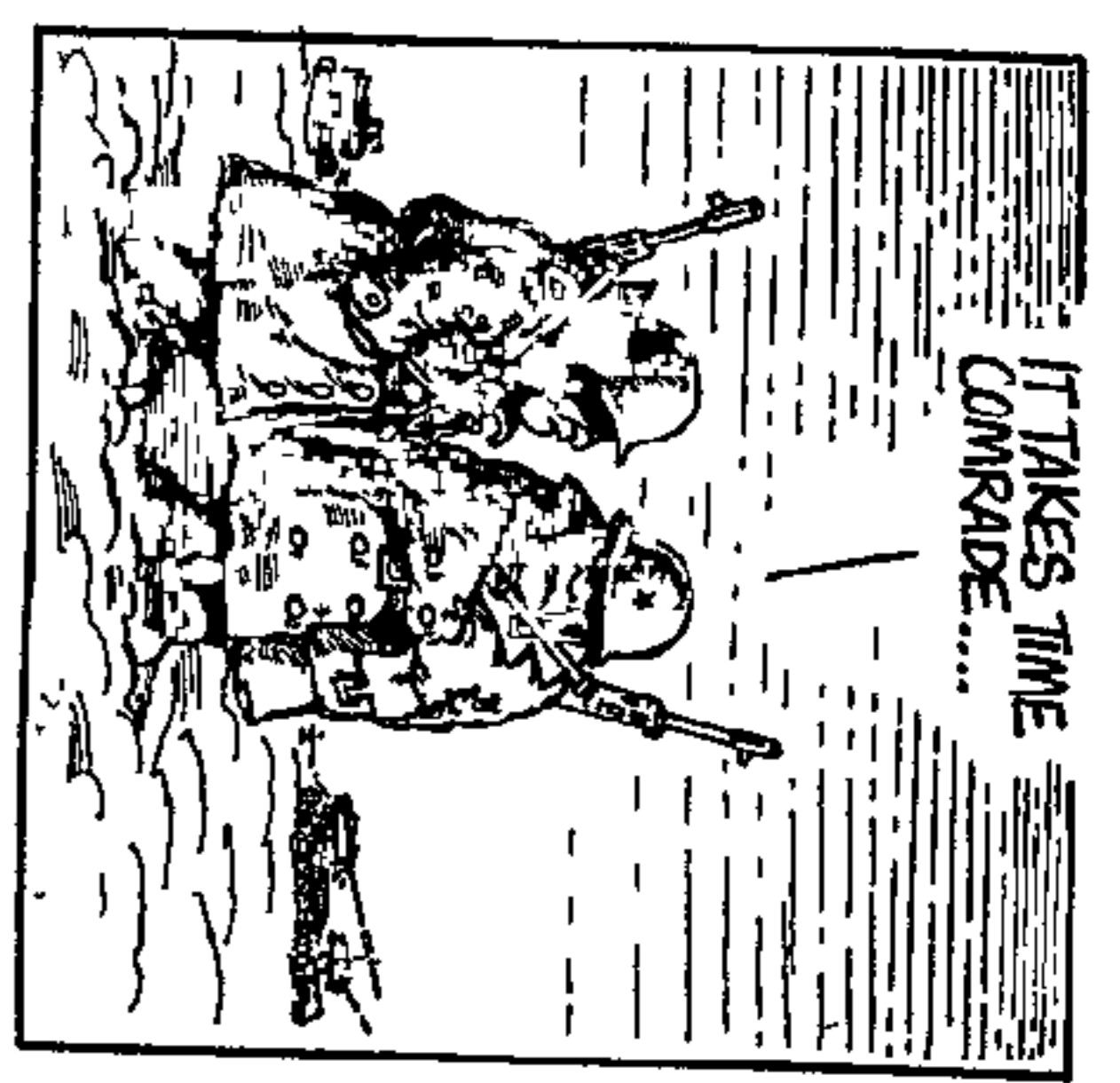
RICHARD SMITH GOES TO WAR OVER THE POLISH QUESTION



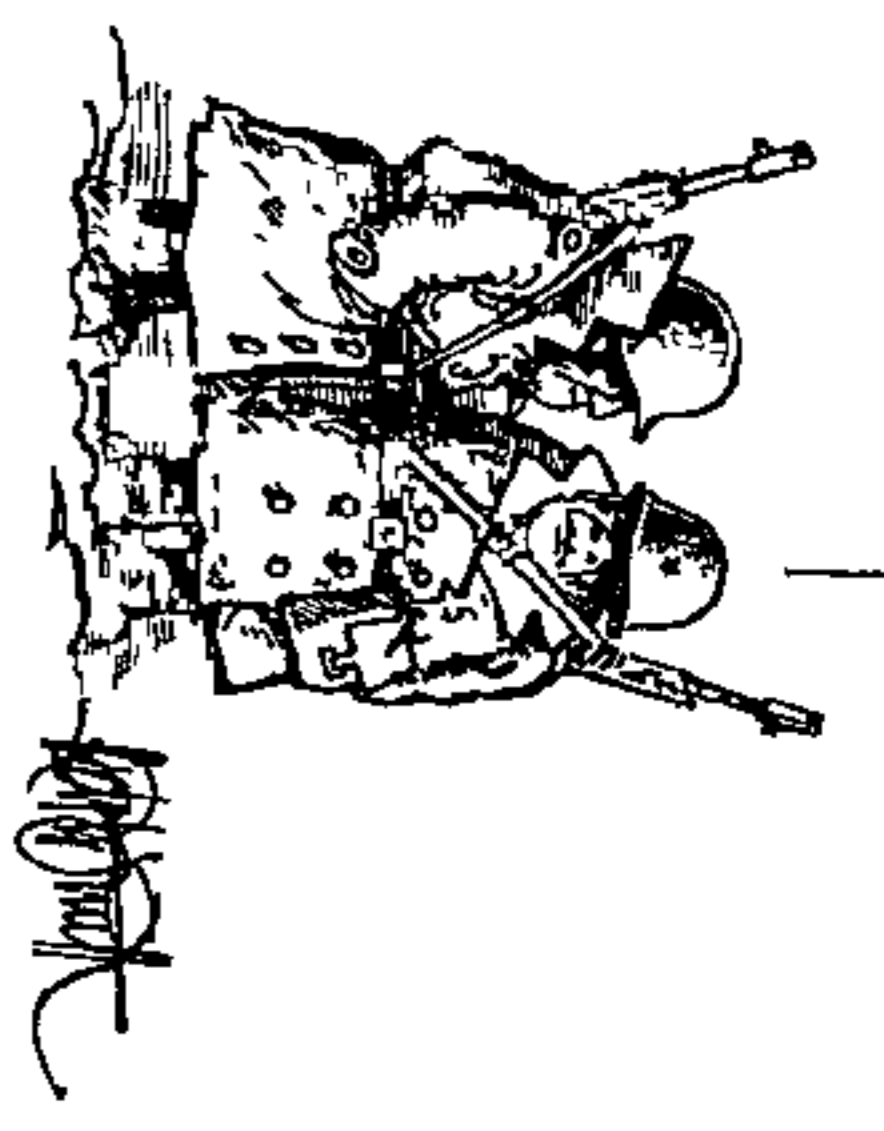
"JOIN THE ARMY AND SEE THE WORLD" THEY SAID...



...AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND AREN'T EXACTLY THE WORLD....



IT TAKES TIME COMRADE....



...THE WORLD ISN'T OURS YET....

to say you're

FILM BY SA INFO DEPT MAN STUNS THE TERRITORY BY ATTACKING UGLY APARTHEID

han their White counterparts. Training facilities were plentiful if you were White. If you weren't you could only stand and gaze in through an open window.

"The standard of education for most Black schoolchildren was far lower than for others. 'The army was only South African, as was the police. Many of the farmers struggled to make ends meet as no help was forthcoming from the government.

"All State decisions had to be referred to Pretoria. And all over the country there were those signs 'Whites here and non-Whites over there,' the script continues.

"Then the people stopped and made a decision to get together and plan the future together.

"Why not work together, say together, govern together? Why not indeed? A magnificent unity with resources that are the envy of most other countries in the world.

"And the greatest of all these resources people Black, Brown and White people Namibian people who had the courage to say let's get together, let's do away with prejudice and discrimination, let's do away with the embarrassments of the past and let's face the future together."

The film then proceeds to show the jubilation which accompanied the abolition of apartheid in every sphere of life.

Blacks sitting around a radio respond enthusiastically to a news bulletin which announces the scrapping of the pass laws.

"The first barrier was down and the joy of the affected people was unbounded. No more passes! People could now come and go where they liked and when they liked."

Then down go the apartheid signs, the ban on mixed marriages, the Group Areas Act and so on.

A former South African journalist now married to a Brown Namibian, are shown to

with their child in several scenes.

The home of Mr. Andreas Shwanga, leader of Swapo-D, is shown in the middle of a formerly exclusively White suburb of Windhoek.

The film concludes with the words "Just as the waters of a great river flow inexorably on under the golden glow of the life-giving sun, so does the pace of progress move to eradicate the inhumanities, the embarrassments and the discrimination of the past."

There is no question that it clearly highlights the diverging interests of Windhoek and Pretoria. It received a whipping from the National Party mouthpiece in Windhoek, Die Suidwester, and is likely to aggravate the already strained relations between the SWA National Party and Pretoria.

● A White South African journalist and his Brown Namibian wife with their child. The family feature prominently in the film.

BLACK FIGHT AND DIE SIDE BY SIDE WHILE THE POLITICIANS CARRY ON TALKING

(221) S. Express 7/12/80
both pages

bush war will grow Namibian thoughts

hardware passing through its port

Meanwhile, hundreds of Namibians are crossing the border to supplement the ranks of Swapo's military wing Plan — the People's Liberation Army of Namibia — and to escape the recent introduction of conscription of Blacks

While the installation of a Swapo government in Windhoek would certainly put an end to hostilities on the northern border, there are several factors which could jeopardise peace in an independent Namibia

The internal and external wings of Swapo are likely to take a while to find each other, although the existence of only one liberation army considerably reduces the likelihood of post-independence civil war

Another factor is the possibility of resistance from the minority Hereros most of whom support Mr Dirk Mudge's DTA

A small intellectual elite supports Swanu — the South West African National Union — which is said to have a fledgling army in Botswana

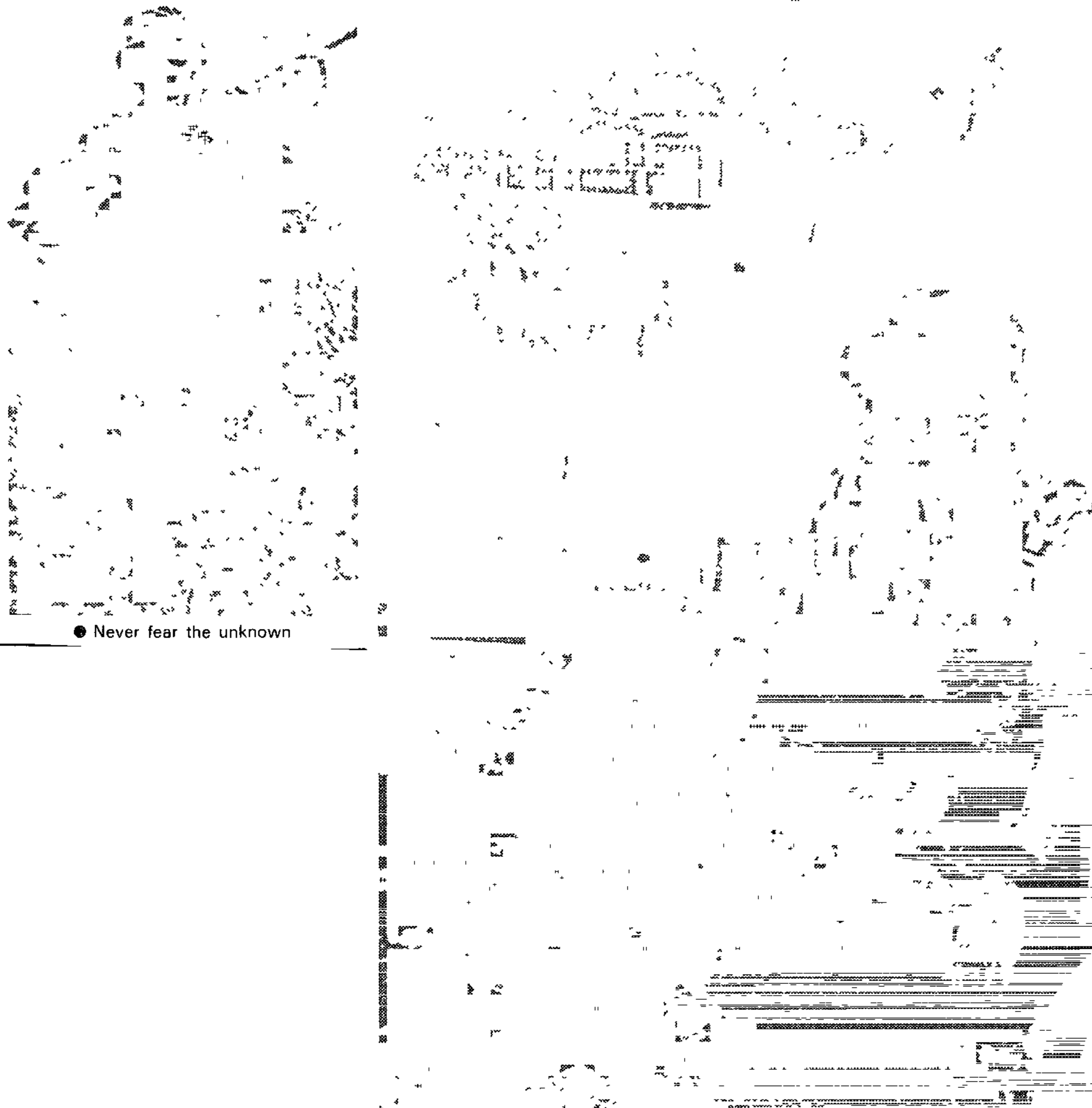
Then there is the question of fusing the emergent SWA territorial forces with the 10 000 Plan guerrillas

Another potential threat to peace is the possibility of violent White resistance to a Swapo government

The predicted mass exodus of Right-wing Whites, civil servants and frightened Black collaborators cannot be taken as a foregone conclusion

When I asked far-Right HNP leader Sarel Becker what his supporters would do if Swapo came to power he replied 'Then we will shoot'

He was quick to point out that he was only joking but this response nevertheless reflects the gut feeling of many Whites in the territory



● Never fear the unknown

● Flowers in a terrorist camp?

Nujoma — Leadership in danger?

8/12/80 S1 M 2-2-1

Mr. Sam Nujoma's leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) could come under severe strain if jailed nationalist Herman Toivo ja Toivo is released through the present initiative on SWA/Namibia.

The publicity given to the proposed United Nations sponsored conference on the territory has overshadowed a possible leadership crisis for Nujoma as the final run-up to independence begins.

Although the Swapo executive regards Nujoma as the undisputed leader of the movement, there is a body of black opinion in SWA/Namibia and Africa which believes Toivo ja Toivo should be given the chance to contest the presidency in a party election, if and when the South African authorities agree to release him from imprisonment on Robben Island.

Other SWA/Namibia nationalist sources say, however, that Toivo may not want to divide Swapo at this time with a bid for the presidency.

But the 56-year-old Toivo might still come under pressure from serving and former Swapo officials disgruntled with Nujoma's rule, which has come in for criticism from senior Swapo men in the past. A pro-Nujoma Swapo official stated categorically recently that there was no question of a leadership dispute. He conceded that Toivo, as he is known, founded the Ovamboland People's Organisation in the late fifties which provided the nucleus for the non-ethnic movement that was to become known as Swapo.

But it was Sam Nujoma,

plus other nationalists, who actually founded Swapo in New York in 1960, after they had gone into exile.

During this period Toivo was banished to Ovamboland by the South African authorities and he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1968 after being found guilty on terrorism charges.

The two men, according to people who knew them both, contrasted sharply in their approach to the "liberation" of SWA/Namibia but, in Toivo's case, this judgment of his moderate stance as opposed to Nujoma's militant one is based on statements he made 12 years ago and his attitude may well have hardened since then.

Toivo is described as a man of intellect and stature, a moderate who was forced by his own sense of hopelessness and desperation to take up arms. The same is not necessarily said of Nujoma, who is

reported to still feel a deep sense of resentment over the way he was treated as a black when he worked for the South African Railways (his first job).

In private, many black politicians and diplomats are critical of Nujoma's apparent arrogance, but this criticism is not voiced publicly because promoting unity is the prime concern of such bodies as the Organisation of African Unity and certain United Nations agencies which give Swapo their wholehearted support.

The coming to power this year of Mr Robert Mugabe in an independent Zimbabwe has perhaps exposed Nujoma to his most severe public examination to date.

Now, perhaps unfairly, Nujoma is being compared to Mugabe and he is seen to be badly lacking in intellect and charisma.

"He (Nujoma) is not a Mugabe and that's what



Sam Nujoma at a Press conference . . . he has an image problem.

Namibia is going to need," said one African diplomat.

A severe drawback for Nujoma in cultivating his image has been his faltering pronunciation when speaking English which at times makes him appear unsophisticated.

His problem here is that his second language,

after Ovambo, is Afrikaans, a language not accepted outside of South Africa and SWA/Namibia and one which he would not use out of principle.

The language problem may help to explain Nujoma's apparent arrogance and his tendency to be evasive when closely questioned by the Press but

what he may lack in charisma, in the eyes of the outside world, he makes up in ruthless determination to be at the head of the pack as far as Swapo is concerned.

It has been a long and lonely road to the top for Nujoma. He was born, in 1929 to peasant Ovambo farmers

and he is in the news at the moment, not just because of current initiatives to get a United Nations-sponsored conference off the ground.

His famous court pronouncements when he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1968 are contained in a best-selling black writers' anthology "Forced Landing" which was banned because it contained Toivo's remarks. The book was later unbanned when it was pointed out the remarks had been published before in South Africa.

Toivo was born in

prisonment on Robben Island has effectively cut Toivo off from the most important years of the nationalist campaign, he is not a forgotten figure.

During World War 2 he served in the Native Military Corps of the Union of South Africa Forces and then went back to school at the age of 21.

He worked on a gold mine on the Reef and later became a policeman with the South African Railways. It was while he was working in Cape Town that he founded the Ovambo movement and he later returned to SWA/Namibia to pursue politics fulltime.

He was convicted on terrorism charges after police had raided a guerrilla base in the territory and Toivo was implicated

Toivo — still a 'spiritual leader' for some

Herman Toivo ja Toivo is still regarded as the "spiritual leader" of SWA/Namibia's nationalists, but whether he will be able to convert this into concrete support on his eventual release from Robben Island remains to be seen.

Toivo, now 56, is com-

monly regarded as the founder of Swapo but, in fact, he founded an Ovambo movement in Cape Town that formed the nucleus of the enlarged organisation that Mr Sam Nujoma and other nationalists named Swapo in New York in 1960.

Toivo was always regar-

ded as a moderate and he appears to have been out of line with militants such as Nujoma who were becoming impatient in the late 1950s at the lack of positive action from the various movements in SWA/Namibia at that time.

Although 12 years' im-

in the distribution of dynamite and literature.

Part of Toivo's political philosophy, and the dream he held for a non-racial state in SWA/Namibia, is contained in his address to the court when he was convicted. He told the judge "I do not claim that it is easy for men of different races to live at peace with one another.

We believe that by living together, people will learn to lose their fear of each other.

"We also believe that this fear, which some of the whites have of Africans, is based on their desire to be superior and privileged and that when whites see themselves as part of South West Africa, sharing with us all its hopes and troubles, then that fear will disappear."

Toivo was born in

He was convicted on terrorism charges after police had raided a guerrilla base in the territory and Toivo was implicated

Ronald Reagan and his advisers may soon evaluate two intertwined African questions that carry potentially fateful consequences for both US alliance diplomacy and US relationships in Africa.

The issues of Namibia and Angola will represent one of the earliest tests of the Reagan Administration's ability to read just campaign rhetoric to the realities of the foreign policy challenges that the US faces

After years of painstakingly detailed diplomacy, virtually all substantive differences between South Africa and Swapo with respect to a Namibian settlement have been resolved

But the fundamental question remains whether South Africa will opt for an internal settlement that excludes Swapo and ensures continuation of the war rather than pursue an internationally acceptable solution based upon a United Nations-supervised election among all the parties to the current conflict

An unmistakable lesson that emerges from Rhodesia's transformation into Zimbabwe is the futility of imposing an internal settlement and systematically barring the participation of nationalist parties that have long struggled for independence and majority rule

Yet unless Mr Reagan makes clear his preference for an internationally acceptable solution on Namibia and his unwillingness to support an internal settlement, he may tip the political scale in favour of an internal accord.

A decision by Mr Reagan to acquiesce in the abandonment of an internationally acceptable agreement would have serious adverse consequences, not only for our African diplomacy but also for our alliance relationships as well

Our British and West German allies, with whom we have worked on the Namibian problem, would be deeply disturbed if we undermined the talks.

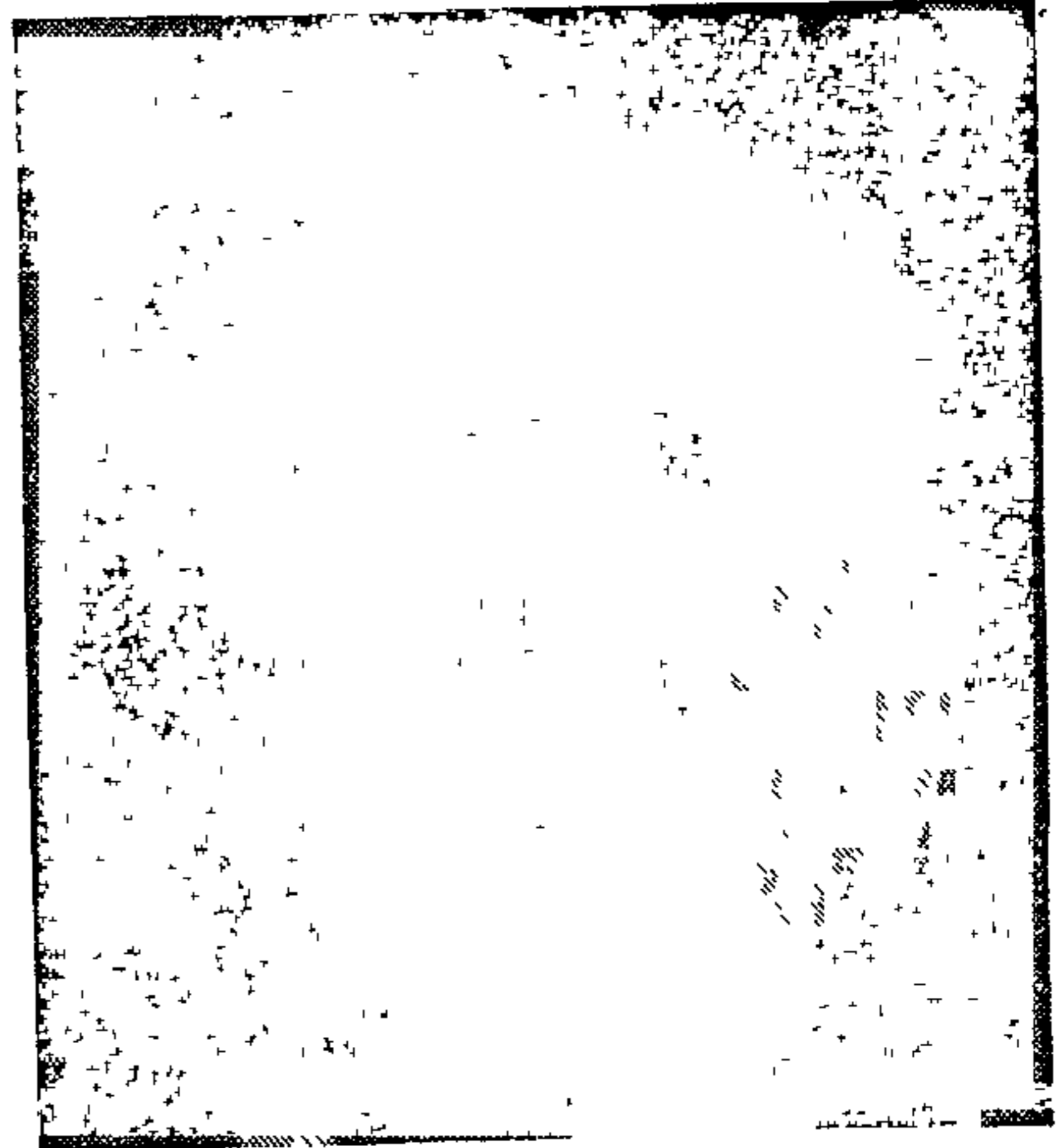
Mr Reagan has frequently addressed the need to strengthen the Western alliance, and any unilateral American repudiation of the Western and United Nations initiatives on Namibia would hardly augur well for Western European co-operation on such issues as the Persian Gulf and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation defence expenditures

In Africa, a move by Mr Reagan to recognise an internal Namibian settlement would generate severe resentment. The goodwill we earned through our role in bringing about a peaceful transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe would doubtless

US Congressman Stephen Solarz writes about the options over SWA/Namibia

Reagan's task in S Africa

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Reagan . . . the trick is not giving South Africa an excuse to go for an internal settlement.

dissipate in the wake of United States compliance with an internal settlement in Namibia

Instead, to the undisguised delight of the Soviet Union, the United States would once again be labelled in Africa a supporter of minority rule

Inseparable from our Namibian policy is the approach the United States will assume on Angola. Here Mr Reagan will come under heavy pressure to embrace an action that can undercut the Namibian talks — repeal of the Congressional ban against US military or paramilitary operations in Angola.

Given Swapo's reliance on Angola for sanctuaries and support, Angola plays a critical role in the Namibia negotiations, just as Mozambique and Zambia, the countries upon which the Rhodesian Patriotic Front was dependent, exerted decisive leverage in favour of the Zimbabwe settlement in London negotiations last year

Indeed, without the continued co-operation of the Angolans, the prospects for a Namibian settlement probably go down the drain. Yet, by signalling the Angolans that we may break upon covert operations to topple them from power, which is precisely how the Angolan

Government would interpret a repeal of the existing prohibition on military assistance, we could seriously jeopardise a Namibian agreement

A successful conclusion to the Namibia negotiations, on the other hand, is likely to result in a diminution or elimination of the Cuban troop presence in Angola. The Angolan Government has indicated that Cuban forces are in the country to help defend against South African attacks

Since those military strikes would presumably cease once Swapo left Angola and South Africa departed from Namibia, both events that would occur in the context of a Namibia agreement, there is real reason to believe that the Cuban military presence would be significantly diminished if there were a Namibian settlement

By opposing an internal settlement in Namibia and refraining from any precipitous military efforts to destabilise the Angolan Government, Mr Reagan would have a genuine opportunity to facilitate a peaceful transition to majority rule in Namibia, while at the same time helping to bring about a reduction of the Cuban military presence in Angola. — The New York Times

8/26/80 ST/10K
Order annulling
election rejected

221

WINDHOEK — An application by an SWA/Namibian political party, Swapduf, to have the recent second-tier election annulled, was rejected in Windhoek Supreme Court. Swapduf had alleged that the registration of the three parties which had contested the three-day election for an ethnic authority for the Damara had been irregular.

The party, a member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, alleged that a list of names of candidates read out in the registration court at Khorixas, Damaraland, on September 29 had conflicted with those published in the SWA official gazette.

Mr Justice Jan Strydom found that it was purely an administrative error. — Sapa

Damara election case is rejected

WINDHOEK — An application by a South West African political party Swapdul to have the recent second-tier election annulled, was rejected in the Windhoek Supreme Court yesterday.

Swapdul had alleged the registration of the three parties which contested the three-day election for an ethnic authority for the Damara was irregular.

The party, a member of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, alleged that a list of names of candidates read out in the registration court at Khorixas, Damaraland, on September 29 had conflicted with those published in the SWA official gazette.

It claimed 14 name changes had been made to the list in the gazette published on October

29. Mr Justice Jan Strydom found that although the registered list of candidates had differed from that published in the official gazette it was purely an administrative error which could not prejudice any of the parties concerned.

The Damara Council, a member party of the Namibia National Front, won the election.

Judge Strydom also annulled an order issued earlier by the court setting aside the induction of the 40 member Damara Legislative Assembly.

He ordered that the question of costs stand over until some agreement could be reached between the parties involved in the application. — Sapa

Code	Details	No. of Tuts
CA	Cash budgets	4
CB	Capital budgeting	8
CC	Contract costing	2
CL	Linear programming	5
CM	Marginal costing	7
CP	Probability	4
CS	Standard costing	8
CX	Miscellaneous	9

KEY TO COSTING TUTORIALS

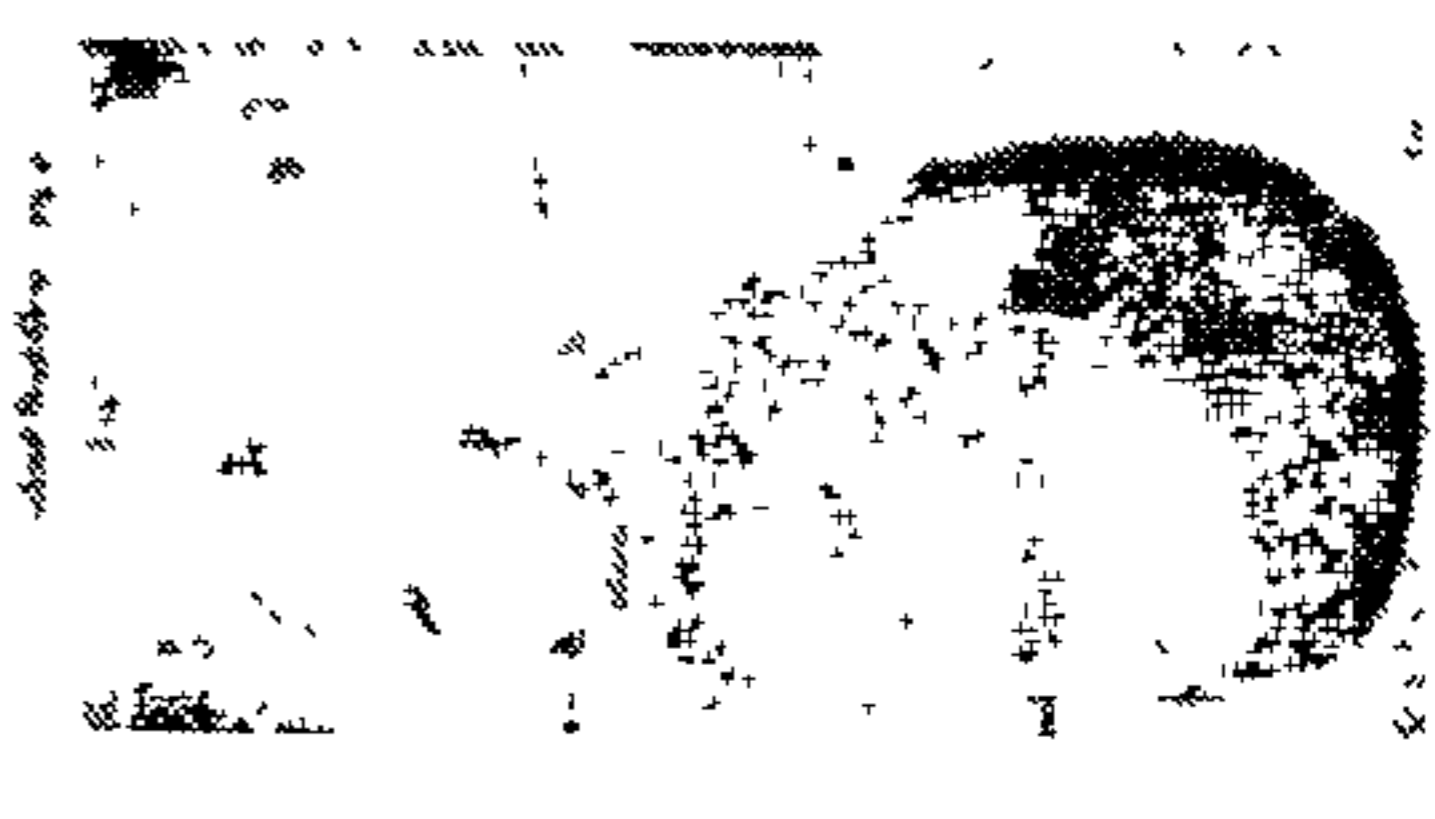
Mudge wants UN demonstration of impartiality

Own Correspondent

JOHN — Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the SWA/Namibian Council of Ministers, said yesterday that the United Nations Security Council and the Western powers must give a demonstration of impartiality, "if they were to overcome the technical problems that were blocking a settlement.

Mr Mudge told a news conference that this demonstration could consist of Western powers consulting UN General Assembly members on the sole and authentic representative the people of SWA/Namibia.

The biggest threat to a one-man one-vote settlement is the credibility of Mr Mudge said "We do not trust the United Nations and the Western powers as impartial arbiters." Mr Mudge said that the democratic Turnhalle Alliance wanted to attend the pre-implementation conference scheduled to begin on January 7 although he insisted that it held somewhere other than Maputo. "We insist that there



MR MOSES GAROEH . . . Out of our way to compromise.

SWA

By Kevin Jacobs, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Hope for a successful multiparty conference merging into an independence programme for SWA/Namibia is teetering as frustrated United Nations officials search for a venue acceptable to all major participants.

And in spite of a general desire to place the conference in Southern Africa — or at least somewhere in Africa — there are hints that dispirited

Swapo sets three conditions for a conference of two parties only

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo has set these conditions for attending the proposed SWA/Namibia conference next month.

That the meeting be primarily about implementing the UN settlement plan for the territory.

That only two parties, South Africa and Swapo, be invited.

That UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim or his appointee preside over the meeting.

Swapo's administrative secretary Mr Moses Garoeh told reporters yesterday that his organisation had no objection to the internal political parties attending the talks as part of the South African delegation.

Swapo renews its plea for bases

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Less than a month before the proposed United Nations conference on SWA/Namibia, Swapo has repeated its demand to have some of its guerrillas monitored by UN forces inside the territory.

This call by a high-level delegation visiting London has cast doubts on what has been agreed under the compromise demilitarised zone proposal.

Swapo central committee member Mr Hage Geingob said yesterday that the DMZ plan did not provide for Swapo guerrillas left inside SWA/Namibia when the ceasefire is declared.

The DMZ, he said, was designed to allow South African fears about infiltration into the territory during the run-up to elections.

Swapo wanted at least two bases or "assembly points" for its fighters inside SWA/Namibia during the transition, he said. But he did not say how many men would be involved.

Swapo's administrative secretary, Mr Moses Garoeh, backed up the demands with fighting talk.

"We accept confinement to bases," he said "but we don't accept being disarmed or being escorted out of the country."

Swapo would be prepared to talk to representatives of the internal parties if they were part of the conference table. But he thought emotions might flare up if they attempted informal talks in the corridors.

Swapo favoured Maputo as a venue for the talks, just as South Africa had done during the preliminary negotiations, said Mr Garoeh, but the organisation remained flexible.

He called Lesotho and Swaziland, venues being proposed by the South African Government, and was hardly within the next two days in the hope that the South African Government, Swapo and political groups domestic to SWA/Namibia would arrive to head off another crisis in the exercise.

There is a growing feeling that the January 7 starting date will have to be postponed if a venue is not finalised by the end of this week. And that would probably generate some anger among the African frontline states.

Waldheim may act arbitrarily within the next two weeks ago that finding a venue would present no major obstacle has given way at the UN to rumblings of discontent, largely suggesting that the South African Government is again "playing its old game" of stalling the exercise.

Swapo would not let the "good kidnapping grounds" but did not reject them.

Swapo would not let the venue become a make-or-break issue, he said, but would talk anywhere outside South Africa.

Sapa says Swapo made it clear the position of their forces inside SWA/Namibia after a ceasefire had not been finalised and said those inside the territory would remain armed and would not leave.

assembly points, or whatever they are called, is still there."

Swapo bases should equal the number allowed to South African forces.

Mr Garoeh is heading a delegation to London which will hold talks with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, today.

"South Africa is not ready to settle unless it can instal its puppets," he said.

The delegation will also meet leaders of the Labour Party, Communist Party, General Secretary-General Shindath Rampthal, Church leaders and representatives of organisations that support Swapo.

ADTA delegation led by Mr Dirk Mudge is due tomorrow and Mr Mudge is to meet Lord Carrington, probably early next week.

A senior official, Mr Hage Geingob, said "We will not be escorted out."

Geneva has not been seriously proposed yet, but Pretoria may find it acceptable, in spite of southern Africa's more tempting January climate.

"It is getting more difficult by the day," Mr Adriaan Eksteen said "getting more difficult by the day."

SWA talks deadlock on venue

By Kevin Jacobs, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Hope for a successful multiparty conference merging into an independence programme for SWA/Namibia is teetering as frustrated United Nations officials search for a venue acceptable to all major participants.

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Police and army will be ^{Star} disbanded, says Swapo ^{11/12/80} Support for ANC promised

LONDON — Swapo today spelt out how it would rule SWA/Namibia should it come to power and declared that the territory's military and police forces would be disbanded immediately.

The guerilla movement would also embark on an overhaul of the public service to "reflect the interests of the Namibian people as a whole".

But, in an interview, Mr Moses Garoeb, Swapo's administrative secretary, sought to assure whites that they had a future in a Swapo-ruled territory.

A Swapo government, he said, would adopt a pragmatic approach towards South Africa and would not provide a springboard for guerilla attacks against the Republic.

Whites should have no fears of Swapo rule and would have a "good future if they realise that it cannot be based on privilege or the colour of a person's skin".

He added "This talk of Swapo's president (Mr Sam Nujoma) being a marxist makes me mad".

"Remember Robert Mugabe was the reincarnation of Marx, Lenin and the devil all in one to the whites in Zimbabwe and overseas — but today they realise he is a practical and sensible man".

Swapo would disband the Namibian Territorial Army and the police immediately it came to power.

"We are going to have a new force that understands the situation and not these Boers".

A small element would remain, however.

"But the brutal and sadistic Boer police that I know as a black man we will of course get rid of".

Swapo's policy on the public service was that it would have to be dismantled but experience elsewhere in Africa had shown that the restructuring would have to be done gradually.

LONDON — The banned ANC of South Africa has been publicly promised the fullest possible support from a Swapo government in SWA/Namibia.

Mr Moses Garoeb, Swapo's administrative secretary, gave this assurance to cheering supporters of both movements at a rally here last night.

Mr Garoeb said independent Namibia would be in the "unique position" of having its former colonial power as a neighbour.

"But in spite of what may happen, an independent Namibia will continue to give the necessary support to the comrades of the ANC."

Mr Garoeb, who is seeing top British government, opposition and trade unions officials warned Swapo supporters that the proposed Swapo-South African conference next month might fail.

"In the event of its collapsing, — and there are very good grounds that it can collapse — the next stage of the struggle should be geared towards implementation of comprehensive sanctions against South Africa," he said.

Germany accused of SWA hostility

BONN — A leader of the SWA/Namibia Council of Ministers has accused West Germany of hostility and bias after the Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, abruptly put off a meeting with his delegation.

"There was no misunderstanding. Mr Genscher took an attitude which was hostile," Mr Kuama Riruako, black deputy chairman of the SWA/Namibia Council of Ministers, told a Press conference after the cancellation of the meeting, which

had been scheduled for today.

Mr Riruako said Mr Genscher had met Mr Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo in Bonn last month and ought to have met the white led delegation to officially demonstrate his neutrality.

He said he did not think West Germany would have any contribution to make to a multi-party conference planned for next month which will consider implementing proposals for a ceasefire and UN-supervised elections — Sapa-Reuter

Swakopmund — "Here I stand. I can do no other." The quotation from Martin Luther which adorns an old steam tractor stuck in the sands of the Namib Desert has a new significance for the mainly German community here.

With sardonic humour they are using the expression in the context of the locomotive to describe their Afrikaner neighbours, many of whom are rejecting the inevitable changes which are occurring in SWA/Namibia.

The stubborn old tractor, built in 1886, became bogged down a few years later when an entrepreneur tried to take it into the German colonial territory's hinterland. It has stayed in the same place ever since.

Similarly, the whole complex process to abolish discrimination in SWA/Namibia and open

Southwesters had never known such political division in the country. DON KNOWLER of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

the country up for all races is becoming bogged down now that a significant number of whites has voted to put a brake on change.

And what makes it more serious is that the world is watching internal political developments in the territory as momentum builds up for a proposed all-party conference on SWA/Namibia's future, sponsored by the United Nations.

In what was virtually a referendum on how far change should go, the Republican Party, which represents white interests in the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, was firmly defeated by the National Party last month in ethnic elections.

Mr Dirk Mudge, the RP's leader, was hoping

for a white vote of confidence to boost the overall image of the ethnic alliance in good time for the UN one-man, one-vote elections which are now predicted for late next year.

But like the steam tractor, a majority of whites thought otherwise (even if the verdict was distorted because of the large number of South African civil servants in the territory who were allowed to vote and whom, it is believed, mainly voted Nationalist).

It is ironic that it should be the German community particularly which was disappointed at Mr Mudge's defeat. Traditionally the Germans have aligned themselves, behind the Afrikaner nationalists, propagating the same

SWA/Namibia: a country divided against itself

22-1
27/11/80

viewpoints on rigid separation and ethnic and community identity.

The alliance with the Nationalists can be traced back to an intense distrust and dislike of English-speaking South Africans from the time of World War I.

Members of the German community — which now numbers about 19 000 out of the territory's 109 000 whites — were also interned during World War 2, and when the conflict was over the Germans looked to the National Party for protection.

Mudge has changed this in part. When he broke away from the Nationalists in 1977 to form his own party, the "Suidwester Lied," a German song, was sung at the end of the inaugural meeting. And Mudge, fluent in German, boasts at all his meetings that his is a "three-language party" (German, Afrikaans and English).

The softening of German attitudes towards general change can also be ascribed to the fact that the German community to a large degree has maintained its link with the "mother country".

This is evident from the exclusive shops in Windhoek's Kaiser Strasse that stock goods imported directly from West Germany, and from the travel agencies which many advertise package tours to Europe in their windows.

"Many Germans now go back to Germany periodically and they can view this place (SWA/Namibia) from afar," said a German businessman in Windhoek. "But the Afrikaners get only as far as South Africa for their holidays and they just can't understand the reality of the situation we now face."

Reality to most thinking Germans, and thinking Afrikaners for that matter, is the knowledge that the South West Africa they knew, in a cosy cocoon watched over by the might of South Africa, will soon be gone forever.

The dramatic events which overtook the old Rhodesia this year are sweeping SWA/Namibia's way and there is a realisation in some quarters here that the militant South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) might win a UN-

That may be too much for the old school of Southwesters to take, but South African Government and internal propaganda about SWAPO being "marxist", anti-white terrorists" has not entirely convinced people that there is no place for them in SWA/Namibia if SWAPO should come to power.

That is not to say that people are starting to gear themselves for a SWAPO government, though.

There is a bizarre atmosphere in Windhoek at the moment, not unlike that in Rhodesia's cities at the height of the bush war in that country when a visitor might not have realised there were a people at war, and facing an uncertain future.

It is about 9 pm at the showgrounds in Windhoek and a crowd has gathered to hear the result of the white vote for second-tier administration in the Windhoek South constituency.

Over a portable radio comes the news flash that the Nationalists have won another Windhoek constituency and Nationalist supporters and their children, wearing orange and blue caps, start jumping up and down with delight.

A young woman breaks into tears and says in Afrikaans: "These bloody Afrikaners. You just can't trust an Afrikaner to do the sensible thing..."

Southwesters had never known such political division in the territory. Brother stood against brother in one constituency. There were fights in bars, and a reporter from a Johannesburg Afrikaans newspaper was manhandled by Nationalist officials at a polling booth.

Despite the animosities and the mud-slinging in the local Press, the poll may well turn out to be irrelevant when the history of the birth of Namibia is finally written.

Although internal politicians cannot see it, or do not want to admit it, there is a parallel in what is happening in SWA/Namibia with Zimbabwe's modern history. In the old Rhodesia the white community was also split over issues involving black advancement, but that in a direct referendum on whether to accept the principle of majority rule.

The whites, however, voted for universal franchise which led to Bishop Muzorewa becoming prime minister. As in SWA/Namibia, the only black leaders to participate in this internal settlement were the ones not waging war, the guerrillas and their leaders remaining outside the country.

The government of Bishop Muzorewa, like the "government" or ministerial council in SWA/Namibia, was not recognised outside the country, and Rhodesian parties were forced finally to go to a conference, to hand over sovereignty to the British and to have fresh elections.

There are differences with the SWA/Namibia situation (namely the South African Administrator-General Arikian) who wields the real power in the territory) but the pattern of events is shaping up to be similar.

The same can be said for the war. Admittedly, it was far more intense in the old Rhodesia but there is a significant parallel in the amnesty campaign, launched in Rhodesia and SWA/Namibia for guerrillas to return.

This failed miserably in Rhodesia and, perhaps



home in the Herero quarter, is a black map of Africa, with SWA/Namibia and South Africa painted white. Pressure from blacks for a better deal and international pressure on SWA/Namibia over the changed the face of SWA/Namibia in recent years. In restaurants and bars blacks sit alongside whites and a few blacks are gradually moving into white suburbs.

It is vastly different from South Africa but discrimination is still practised to an unacceptable level in the eyes of the international community.

The public swimming pool in the city bars blacks. So does the public library in terms of by-laws enforced by the Windhoek municipality under the second-tier ethnic government structure.

Some individuals have also taken it on themselves to ban black people from their restaurants and bars, which is against the law. SWA/Namibia might now have a black face, but it is the whites who pull the strings," said a black student who said he was a SWAPO supporter.

A German visitor, eating Bavarian Black Forest cake in a tea garden, shakes his head in disbelief when he is told the people of the town still fly the personal standard of Kaiser Wilhelm II once a year.

It flies from a memorial to members of the German Marine Expedition Corps killed in the wars with the Hereros in 1904/5. The German wonders aloud what future the memorial has.

UN impartiality top of agenda, says DTA man

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49	39
52,6	79
	42,0

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Achieving United Nations impartiality will have to be top of the agenda at the proposed "pre-implementation meeting" on SWA/Namibia next month, says DTA vice-chairman Mr Kuaama Riruako

And the Herero chief wants items two and three to be the "de-recognition of Swapo" by the United Nations and the withdrawal of UN funding of the organisation.

His stance at a Press conference yesterday was in sharp contrast to that of DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge

Mr Mudge was obviously disappointed about the treatment of the DTA delegation by the West Ger-

man Government this week when it refused to see the delegates after a misunderstanding over who had requested the appointment

He carefully avoided putting the British Government in a similar position

The delegation would be seeing the Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington next Monday simply as Namibians, he said

"To us it is not important in what capacity we are seeing him. Our people are suffering and we want to solve the problem"

He criticised those who tried to make an issue of such details

Mr Mudge said the British Government now had a greater responsibility, after the West German Government's actions this week, to restore confidence and mutual trust and to ensure that all parties would be able to participate freely in the proposed UN-supervised elections

He called for a "new spirit" in the run-up to these elections. It would be a mistake to give Swapo a special place in the sun, he said

The DTA was optimistic in its approach to next month's meeting, but opposed the proposal that they be held in Maputo, said Mr Mudge

51	44
43,3	80
	35,6

F	M
Home Islands	Rural

Swapo in Ireland

The Star Bureau
LONDON — The Swapo delegation, led by Administrative Secretary Mr Moses Gaoeb, has had talks with Irish Foreign Minister Mr Brian Lenihan in Dublin

The three-man Swapo team travelled to Ireland yesterday after a four-day visit to London which included a meeting with

Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington

The Irish Foreign Ministry said yesterday's meeting lasted about 30 minutes and Swapo had set out its views on the SWA/Namibian situation

The Swapo men gave a press conference in Dublin and attended a rally of support groups

		Foreign		Domestic	
		Female	Male	Female	Male
102 269	6 407 407	56 308	8 243 480	102 269	6 407 407
45 530	10 868 816	56 308	8 243 480	102 269	6 407 407
10 530 715	10 868 816	45 530	10 868 816	10 530 715	10 868 816
Total		Foreign		Domestic	
Female		Male		Female	

TABLE 1: SUMMARY POPULATION STATISTICS 1960, 1970 and 1980

Table 1 presents summary statistics for the domestic (South African born) and foreign (born) African population in 1960, 1970 and 1980.

Durban employment. Here they are less securely placed than before.

In a rare official disclosure of SWA's national accounts — the first in six years — the Windhoek "interim government" is soon to publish a survey of territorial gdp showing that the economy grew at an astonishing average rate of 26,5% a year in the period 1970-1979. This implies a real growth rate of about 6%, which outstrips SA's performance.

At-factor cost current prices, 1979 gdp was R1 213,2m — suggesting a per capita annual product of around R1 200, which is probably second only to SA in Africa.

On the basis of the Windhoek survey, therefore, mandated SWA can look forward to sovereign independent Namibia with considerable confidence that its national housekeeping is in fair shape. Moreover, basic infrastructure, though still far from perfect, is a good deal better than that of most African states recently decolonised.

Although real growth rate this past decade seems extraordinarily high in view of the territory's vulnerability to recessionary pressures from the Republic for nearly half the past decade, the Windhoek Department of Finance study shows that mining contribution to gdp rose from R105,1m in 1970 to R596,2m last year, more than double the rate at which total gdp rose.

The lion's share of this phenomenal growth is accounted for by high yields of diamond sales and the development of Rossing uranium.

The survey shows that mining product rose from R191,5m in 1976 to R426,5m the following year, when Rossing began to approach capacity production of 5 200 t of yellowcake a year. In the same period construction and the fishing industry returned negative rates of growth, while other sectors grew marginally. Nevertheless, total gdp advanced 27,7% between 1976 and 1977.

Mining's contribution to gdp fell from 51% to 49% last year, due to lower dia-

No. of Units

1
2
8
4

year)

Heavy spending on water, power and gas schemes and increased government spending on non-residential construction in the ethnic "homelands" boosted growth in these two sectors by more than 25% last year.

Although the study confines itself to the formal monetary economy, the Department of Finance intends to widen the spread of its next survey to take in the informal sector. The results of such a survey could be sobering.

Whereas 1979 gdp implies a per capita income of about R1 200 it is no secret that at least 25% of the population operates outside the modern cash economy. Various estimates in the past, by economists like Sue Collett and Wolfgang Thomas, have suggested that the income gap between whites and blacks in the northern regions is of a ratio of roughly 25-1, compared to a white/black overall ratio of 12-1 and a white/black ratio of 18-1 (since shrunk) in the Republic.

These high disparities are likely to persist until government education and training equip blacks with skills to challenge for better jobs in the modern economy. The Windhoek "interim government" has been criticised for allocating only 9% of the current estimates of expenditure of R521m to education and training when a recent government survey shows that the backlog on spending for schools and hostels for blacks is more than R80m.

A burning question, and a very sensitive issue among Namibian nationalists, not touched upon in the survey, is the extent of the current gap between gdp and gnp. Because money flows between SWA and the Republic are not registered, it is probably impossible to quantify with any accuracy. The best informed recent estimates indicate the gap may be as high as 30%, which indicates a low level of self-sufficiency.

The predominance of primary extractive industries in the economy and their domination by SA and foreign corporations implies that there has been no reduction of the forces which cause the national product to fall well short of gdp, although the collapse of the inshore fishing industry may have narrowed the gap in that sector.

White south-westerners are as resentful of the gap as black nationalists. But as Collett points out, "The more dependent the economy on such sources of income (from primary extractive industries), the more open it is forced to be and the less self-sufficient it is able to be. The factors characteristic of the SWA economy (culminating in the 30% between gdp and gnp) make it unlikely that the country will achieve a degree of self-sufficiency comparable with that even of SA to date. Such an outlook is not necessarily poor, but there are distinct disadvantages, notably the vulnerability to international economic cycles. This is borne out by the fact that

1974 exports made up 66% of gdp, compared with 25% in SA."

But while the economic policies of Swapo and, say, the DTA are as divergent as African socialism and competitive capitalism, both agree that the current levels of the value of production that do not accrue to the Namibian economy are unacceptably high. But they may differ as to the method by which to bring gnp closer to gdp.

One thing the peripatetic Swapo leader Sam Nujoma seems to have learnt in his travels throughout the West is that large government and corporate investors respect the ethic of the common property resource and that the right to exploit the natural wealth of a country should command an economic rent which can be used to create human and material assets to replace depleting natural assets.

But no one believes in nationalisation because it is the most inefficient way of exploiting natural riches.

M	CX
S	CS
P	CP
M	CM
I	CI
C	CC
C	CB
C	CA
D	Code

and sales by CDM and stressed once more the economy's exposure to commodity price fluctuations in world markets. The fact that the second largest contribution to gdp came from agriculture, fisheries and forestry (R116,3m or 9,6%) illustrates yet again how narrowly based the

SWA economy is. But for high beef prices and increased production this sector would have been in serious trouble, for the value of production from fisheries has fallen nearly 70% since 1976 while Karakul realisations on foreign auctions have also dropped sharply ahead of deepening

recession in West Germany.

On the other hand, says the survey, "the establishment of the SWA/Namibia government service resulted in an increase of almost 22% at current prices in the government sector's contribution to gdp (from R81m in 1978 to R98,7m last

MINING RIGHTS (221)
Threatening claims

SWA's interim "government" may take steps to force owners of mining rights to develop claims and prospects on pain of forfeiture of their licences. A veiled threat to this effect is contained in an economic bulletin on territorial gdp due to be published soon.

The bulletin, prepared by the SWA Directorate of Finance, notes that mining's contribution to gdp fell two percentage points last year from 1978's 51%. This was due mainly to a fall in CDM's diamond profits. Rossing uranium's "excellent" performance, however, stemmed the slide and was largely responsible for the fact that the value at factor cost of the mining sector's production rose from R579,7m in 1978 to nearly R600m last year. Production at Rossing is running at about 5 200 tons a year and gross revenue from sales is reckoned at about \$280m.

Even so, the official paper is critical of smaller mining companies "who in all probability can make a much larger contribution to gdp and the creation of job opportunities in SWA/Namibia".

It complains that "several companies are not making use of exploitation rights in their possession". This prevents other people who might have exploited these minerals, from doing so. This type of behaviour, the directorate warns, "does not promote the national interests".

"It has now been confirmed by a case of appeal that mining rights are only tenable for six months, cannot be extended and so all mining rights have provisionally been frozen. This positive step should show results even in the near future and should encourage development in the mining sector in the long run."

Mining companies, some of which have been holding on to undeveloped claims for 60 years, are unlikely to take kindly to official attempts to compel them to develop prospects at a time when international mineral prices are rock bottom.

Owners of undeveloped rights say they cannot see the point of committing heavy development capital to start mining when returns would be negative. Would companies acceding to forfeited rights be any more likely to invest heavy sums to go into production when international metal markets are depressed?

Moreover, owners say, it is hardly in the national interest to sell off finite reserves of metals and minerals into depressed markets, rather than leave reserves in the ground until markets recover.

The reason for official anxiety is easy to see. The mining sector accounted for R55m of the country's gross domestic fixed investment of R360m last year — a fall of about 47% due to the fact that the yellow cake production plant at Rossing mine is nearing completion.

Elf-Aquitaine, the French energy corporation which owns a rich uranium prospect north-east of Rossing, is reportedly still deliberating on the timing of sinking \$300m-\$400m into mining development. Uncertainty about the political future of the territory and not so much the depressed state of world uranium markets may be the reason for this delay. SA owners of uranium prospects are holding fire for the same reason.

Miscellaneous	CX
Standard cost	CS
Probability	CP
Marginal cost	CM
Linear program	CL
Contract costing	CC
Capital budgeting	CB
Cash budgets	CA
<u>Details</u>	<u>Code</u>

operating on the mines, most important of which is the White Mine Workers' Union. Nevertheless, it can be inferred from some of these figures presented that conditions for labour as a whole are not very satisfactory with respect to ARD's. In some areas, e.g. compensation, it can be seen that there is substantially better remuneration for white labour. It is that of a weak and divided labour situation of mine labour as a whole.

Most research activity is done by the State is no independent or union-funded research. Not even the White Mine Workers' Union research the research bodies' editorial boards, all participate in commissions of inquiry.


The penalty for infringement of the regulations under the Occupational Diseases in the Mines and Workers' Act, 1973, is a maximum fine of R400 which is a small sum of money.

D.1.1.11 MANUFACTURE LEVELS OF EXPOSURE

The position with respect to asbestos exposure is complicated manufacture. Exposure at the workplace is covered by two acts of parliament. Asbestos workers fall under the list of schemes processes in the Atmospheric Pollution Prevention Act No. 45 of 1965. An air pollution control officer attached to the Department of Health is responsible for setting guidelines for asbestos levels and for enforcing this limit. The level is agreed upon the factory owner and the officer and applies both inside and outside the factory and is a condition for issuing a certificate of registration in terms of the act. The principle of the 'practicable means' of reducing pollution is applied to the determination of the asbestos level. The cost to industry of reducing pollution is taken into account when determining the 'best practicable means' and this highlights the arbitrary nature of exposure levels from the point of view of health and safety.

People who live in the vicinity of asbestos factories have been found to experience a higher risk of mesothelioma than expected. Construction, demolition work and wear and tear leading to disintegration of asbestos products in buildings may expose many

He is believed to be in Natal
where he is due to give secret
evidence on a coalmining deal



George Osseman is believed to have 'topped off' US funds

U.S. order to jail Osseman

(22)

By MARTIN WELZ
A WARRANT for the arrest of Mr George Osseman, American tax lawyer whose mysterious scheme to finance a group of black politicians in Namibia was revealed in the Sunday Times earlier this year, was issued by a Boston court last week.

Mr Osseman believed to be in South Africa failed to appear at a grand jury hearing in the US District Court in Boston and was described as a 'fugitive from the law'.

Together with his partner, Mr Paul Garfinkle, and nine others, Mr Osseman has been ordered by the Boston grand jury to face charges of fraud and contravention of US tax laws.

Time magazine reports in a full page article this week that the charges against Osseman and Garfinkle relate to a fraudulent coal tax shelter scheme in America. US Federal investigators are also investigating several other tax shelter schemes, including a diamond mine tax shelter.

schemes could have cost American investors up to \$1 billion dollars (about £300 million), making it the largest swindle operation in America since the Home State Oil scandal in 1971. Well-known personalities alleged to have been involved in the scheme are Robert F. Kennedy, model Margaret Thompson and John P. Costello who as the single largest investor is said to have sunk \$250,000 (about R400,000) in the scheme.

Tax shelter

One of the off-the-record registered companies named in the court papers as having been used by Mr Osseman and his partners in the scheme is Imperial Finance.

According to documents in the possession of the Sunday Times, Imperial Finance spent more than R200,000 on around-the-world tours for Namibian politicians, organized by Mr Paul Garfinkle, New York representative of the Herero party in the DTA.

Mr Summers was fired by the Herero leadership earlier this year for allegedly failing to transfer money from American donors to Namibia.

According to the Times report, the US Internal Revenue Service sent a geologist to Namibia to investigate the diamond mining scheme there. The geologist found that in the two years of its operation the Namibia mine had produced 'only five diamonds, each the size of a pinhead, worth no more than R10'.

Informal sources yesterday told the Sunday Times that Mr Osseman was somewhere in Johannesburg or Durban together with his South African partner, Le Even businessman Mr Herb Wolf.

Mr Osseman, Mr Garfinkle and Mr Wolf are all due to give evidence to a secret commission of inquiry ordered by the Natal Supreme Court into a deal involving a Natal coalmine.

(221) RDM 15/12/80

SWA meeting is against forced military training

By PETER KENNY,
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — About 3 000 people attended a Swapo rally in Windhoek's Katutura township yesterday to protest against proposed compulsory military training for the whole population of South West Africa from next year.

The rally was organised by the Windhoek youth branch of Swapo of Namibia.

Earlier this year the National Assembly called for compulsory military training for all population groups.

Up to the end of this year, only whites have been liable for compulsory military service.

One of the speakers said the

people should consider who they would be fighting against.

"The so-called enemy is your own brother who was forced to leave the country because of oppression.

"The enemy of the South African Army is Swapo. Who is Swapo? Swapo is the people," he said.

The people of South West Africa would be committing national suicide if they joined the army, the speaker said.

Large sections of the crowd shouted "No, no, no" to the proposed call-up system.

About 30 policemen, some of them in camouflage uniforms, observed the meeting from behind the crowd.

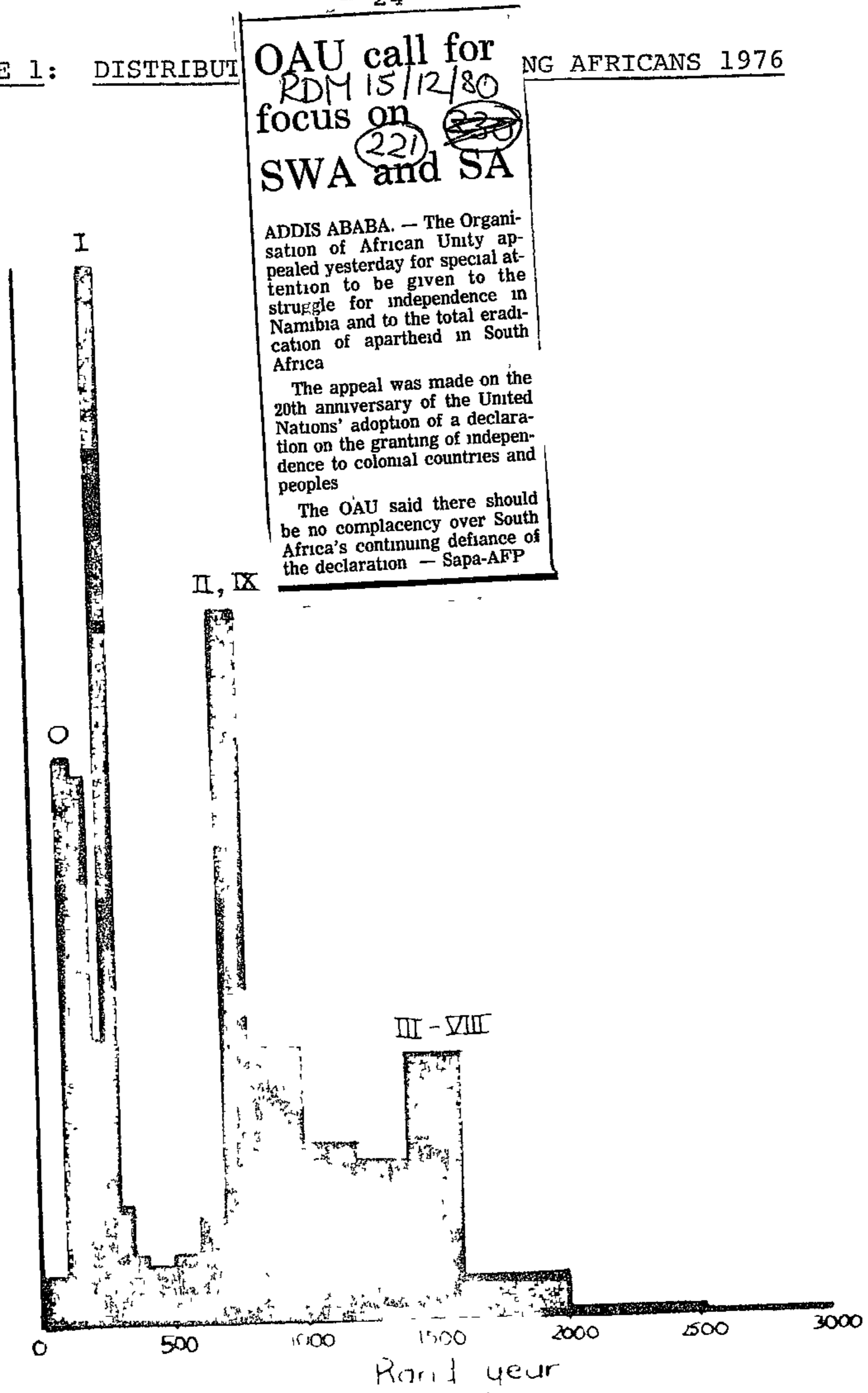
Considerable confusion has arisen about the question of compulsory military training and a number of Ovambo-speaking residents have apparently left Katutura because they fear they will be called up.

SWA Territory Force headquarters in Windhoek have confirmed, however, that the Ovambo, Caprivian, Kavango and Kaoko sections of the population will not be subject to selective call-up since they have voluntary battalions of their own.

According to the military authorities, these battalions have enough volunteers at present.

The compulsory military call-up begins next month.

FIGURE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES AND EARNINGS OF AFRICANS 1976



Source: Simkins, 1979b Figure 2.

Figure 1 is a histogram representing transfer incomes and earnings of Africans. Leaving aside the transfer earnings (pensions, unemployment insurance, maintenance and disability

NEWS

UN hopes SWA talks will be held in Geneva

STAR
15/12/80
221

Own Correspondent

GENEVA — UN officials said today that talks on SWA/Namibia would most probably take place in Geneva early next month — with January 7 a possible starting date

UN headquarters in New York had asked if conference accommodation would be available at the Palais des Nations, the UN's European headquarters. Palais officials said rooms and other facilities such as interpreters would be available at the envisaged time.

They said UN headquarters was likely to make an announcement today or tomorrow.

In Pretoria the Government has started fullscale preparations for the proposed multiparty conference

The conference is intended to prepare the way for the process which could lead to the territory's independence by the end of next year

South Africa's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Riaan Eksteen, has been summoned from New York for consultations in Pretoria.

He is expected to arrive within the next few days and to return to New York immediately afterwards in view of the hectic diplomatic activity surrounding the SWA/Namibia issue at the UN.

South Africa will not be formally represented at the talks. It has been confirmed that neither the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, nor the Director-General of his department, Dr Brand Fourie, would attend.

But some Foreign Affairs officials will attend in an observer's capacity.

Hough names 26 for SWA talks

STAR
16/12/80

221

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — SWA/Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, has included at least eight political alliances or groups in the delegation of internal "democratic" parties who will attend next month's multiparty

conference, expected to be held in Geneva

Mr Hough has announced that 26 representatives of various political groups — 14 of them from the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance — had been invited to make up the official internal delegation he will lead.

Final negotiations on the venue for the pre-implementation conference, set down for January 7 to January 14, were still being conducted with the United Nations, Mr Hough said

An announcement of the venue could be expected from the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha "shortly"

In announcing his delegation Mr Hough said he had considered proven support at the polls in determining which parties would be included

A criterion for this was the composition of the National Assembly, which is dominated by the DTA

Only two parties, the Federal Party and the Namibia People's Liberation Front, are not represented in the National Assembly, but have been told they can send one delegate as part of the South African party

Mr Hough said parties such as Swapo Democrats, the Namibia National Front and the Namibia Independence Party, had not been prepared to form part of his delegation

The leader of Swapo D, Mr Andreas Shipanga, said there was "no way we would agree to be led to the conference table by a colonial Governor-General"

Those invited were DTA (14), the National Party Front, Aktui (3), the Namibia Christian Democratic Party (2), the Liberation Front (2), the Liberal Party (2) The Nudo Progressive Party of Namibia (1), The NPLF (1) and the Federal Party (1)

Mudge must persuade DTA to go to Geneva

By Jean-Jacques Cornish
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Dirk Mudge and his DTA colleagues arrive back home today with a difficult task before them

They have to persuade their hardline colleagues in the alliance that it is necessary to attend next month's pre-implementation meeting (PIM) in Geneva even though the conditions are not ideal for them.

Mr Mudge will not have any concrete demonstration of United Nations impartiality to lay before the Council of Ministers meeting in Windhoek this week

He has to try to satisfy them with his impression that Britain at least is principally in favour of a strictly impartial run up to the proposed elections in SWA/Namibia next year under United Nations supervision

Mr Mudge was clearly

satisfied with his 50-minute call at the Foreign Office yesterday during which he and the delegation saw the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carington, for 20 minutes

They agreed that the PIM was the best way of moving towards a settlement.

Mr Mudge went on to impress upon Lord Carington how important it was to get a tangible show of impartiality from the Western powers and the United Nations at this stage

Later he explained to reporters that according both "wapo and the DTA equal status at the PIM would meet this order exactly

But the DTA needed cut and dried agreements

"We do not want to get there and be forced into a position where we have to pull out That would leave a bad impression," he said

Big int internal parties invited to SWA talks

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

SWAKOPMUND - The Administrator-General of South West Africa, Mr Dame Hough, has invited eight of the territory's internal parties to next month's multi-party talks, likely to take place in Geneva.

The talks, from January 7 to 14, are to discuss the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for a SWA solution.

Mr Hough said he had decided to invite all parties interested in attending.

The Swapo Democrats, the Namibia National Front, the Namibia Independence Party and the Herugie Nasionale Party had indicated they did not want to take part.

Mr Hough, who will lead the SWA Party as part of the South African delegation, has so far

selected 26 representatives for the talks.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, with 14 members, will form the largest bloc of the delegation.

The opposition in the National Assembly, Akur, will have three members, while the Namibia Christian Democratic Party, the Liberation Front and the Liberal Party will each send two members.

The Nudo Progressive Party of Namibia, the Namibia People's Liberation Front and the Federal Party will each send one representative.

Mr Hough has decided that any other requests for parties to attend the talks will be considered on merit.

Meanwhile, the chairman of the SWA Ministers' Council and chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, returned to Windhoek

yesterday with three other members of the DTA after a diplomatic sortie to West Germany and Britain.

Mr Mudge was accompanied by the president of the DTA, Mr Peter Kalangua, and two other members, Mr Billy Marais and Mr Fanuel Kosunguzi.

He said they had been well received in Germany and Britain and had had fruitful talks with the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington.

Mr Mudge said the DTA had decided to attend next month's proposed talks as members of the interim government and the National Assembly.

They would be attending as part of the South African delegation under the Administrator-General because an Administrator-General was included as part of UN Resolution 435.

BRUCE STEPHENSON reports from London that Mr

Mudge has called on the United Nations to accord all parties to the South West African pre-implementation talks equal status before the talks begin.

After a 20-minute meeting with Lord Carrington on Monday, Mr Mudge claimed British support in principle for equal status of all parties.

But he stopped short of saying the DTA would not attend the talks if the UN did not comply with his request before January 7.

Mr Mudge and his delegation appeared optimistic after their meetings with Lord Carrington and the Minister of State for African Affairs, Mr Richard Luce, in Whitehall.

The Foreign Office described the meeting as "friendly and useful," but would not comment on Mr Mudge's claim that Lord Carrington in private sup-

ported equal status for the internal SWA parties at the talks.

Asked what action by UN Secretary General Dr Kurt Waldheim would satisfy his party, Mr Mudge told a Press conference: "All they need to do is say that 'up to now, for technical reasons, Swapo had to talk to South Africa and vice versa'."

Internal parties were only briefed and treated as part of a South African delegation.

"But seeing this will be the last meeting before the conference actually starts, now we are going to accord equal status to all parties involved."

Without this, he said, the conference would start on a false note and jeopardise efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem. "We don't want to get there and be forced to pull out," Mr Mudge said.

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If you cannot get anyone at of the University of the We or one of the training coll called a media officer who ask for advice, either abou if someone says your work i to be re-written. Or maybe So take it elsewhere.

The best way to do a book i knows how to work a typewri 'stencil' which is then run this way, and if you can use it will probably only cost

The following is a list of printed or published, if it SRCs at:
University of Cape Town
University of the Western C
Hewat Training College

For poetry and articles:

Staffrider
C/o Ravan Press
PO Bos 31134
BRAAMFONTEIN

Harris and Todaro (1970) have developed a two sector model of rural-urban migration which assumes a minimum urban wage substantially higher than agricultural earnings. In the model 'migration proceeds in response to urban-rural differences in expected earnings with the urban employment rate acting as an equilibrating force on such migration' (Harris and Todaro, 1970:126).

The mechanism is this: the urban labour force consists of permanent urban dwellers plus rural migrants. When the labour force exceeds employment a process of periodic random job selection is assumed, so that the expected urban wage becomes the fixed minimum wage multiplied by the proportion of the urban labour force actually employed. Migration proceeds and urban unemployment rises to the point where the expected urban wage equals agricultural earnings. The system then reaches equilibrium (shown by Harris & Todaro, on certain assumptions, to be stable) where every individual has made an economically rational choice, yet the system as a whole (because of unemployment) is in a suboptimal state. Without rede-

veloping any of the Harris-Todaro formalism, one may imagine the mechanisms at work in an economy with more than two sectors and in particular one with the four that we have been considering through-

out this study. In all the sectors, except the one where earnings are the lowest (homelands) unemployment being highest (metro-politan areas). And indeed Swapo is recognised by the Assembly as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. — Sapa-Reuter.

The decision means that Swapo's representation here will be maintained at the same cost as during 1980. The decision means that Swapo's representation here will be maintained at the same cost as during 1980. The decision means that Swapo's representation here will be maintained at the same cost as during 1980.

STARK
Swapo get UN support

NEW YORK — The General Assembly last night decided, without a vote, to spend R184 400 in 1981 to support the New York office of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

o note two things:

Yet to explain Table 9 in

UN funds spell trouble

221
7/12/80
S.M.K.

Sources:

RSA, Dept of Statistics, Quart
Pretoria: The Department. St
p 27.3 of 14 5 1980.

Note:

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The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — United Nations funding for Swapo is likely to become a major argument at the proposed all-party conference on independence for SWA/Namibia.

UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim has reluctantly set Geneva as the venue after failing to find a southern African city acceptable to the South African Government and Swapo.

In a move termed "provocative and unnecessary" by South Africa's ambassador to the UN, the General Assembly yesterday agreed to fund Swapo's New York office in 1981 out of the regular UN budget.

The South African Government has vociferously criticised the favoured role accorded Swapo by the Assembly, specifically through its recognition of the group as the "sole and authentic representative" of the people of Namibia

UN funding has been a major part of the South African argument that the UN's impartiality and credibility as a mediator is compromised.

South African ambassador Adriaan Eksteen said yesterday "The obvious conclusion one must draw is that the Assembly consciously wishes to jeopardise the forthcoming meeting on Namibia, since its action is entirely inconsistent with the purpose of that meeting — to create mutual trust and confidence.

istics, March 1980
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SIGNAL

In a clear signal of the probable tone of argument at the projected conference, he said the UN plan for independence could not be implemented "unless the United Nations is prepared to demonstrate its impartiality and until all the parties in the proposed elections are treated as equals"

Some UN officials had hoped the African group decision to shelve a debate on Namibia would avoid the provocation of Swapo funding

FICTION

Dr Waldheim and Western diplomats who drafted the UN independence plan have urged the Government to differentiate between the executive fuction of the Security Council, which mandated the plan, and the politically-oriented decisions of the Assembly.

But Mr Eksteen said "Neither the South African Government nor the people of Namibia accepts the fiction that the General Assembly may follow one policy and other organs of the United Nations another."

that the true value of the
a 95% confidence interval

JHR 17/12/80
221

We go to Geneva as a government, says Mudge

The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK—The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance would attend next month's multiparty conference in Geneva as the representative of the "interim government," the chairman of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday.

On the return to Windhoek from Europe of a DTA delegation, Mr Mudge, the organisation's chairman, added that Geneva was an acceptable venue for the proposed pre-implementation talks.

The talks are scheduled

from January 7 to January 14, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Mr Mudge said his group would be part of the delegation led by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, and that it would represent the territory's National Assembly.

MAJORITY

"Swapo can say what it wants, but they will come up against the DTA as the majority party in the National Assembly at the conference.

It doesn't matter to us in which capacity other political parties will at-

tend the conference."

He said the DTA wanted absolutely equal opportunities with all parties participating and demanded there should be no preference shown to Swapo.

He also asked for equal status for all parties at the pre-implementation conference.

The DTA believed the election campaign in SWA/Namibia had already begun and it was no longer necessary to fight for independence.

● Page 33: UN Funds spell trouble.

Mudge has 'doubts' over attending SWA talks

18/12/80
221

The Star's Africa News Service
WINDHOEK — The SWA/Namibian Council of Ministers or "Cabinet" has expressed "grave doubts" about attending the proposed multi-party conference in Geneva early next month, according to its chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge.

The Council sat until late yesterday discussing aspects of the pre-implementation talks, to be held in Geneva from January 7 to January 14, making no final decision on participation.

Mr Mudge, who is also chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which dominates the Council of Ministers, said in a radio programme last night that a meeting of the DTA head executive had been called for January 2 to discuss the participation issue.

He listed as his party's main objection the fact that there was no clarity on procedures and agenda of the talks.

The composition of the delegation under the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, was unacceptable to the DTA, he said.

The DTA had gained the impression that the conference was "heading towards a futile exercise if clarity is not obtained on the various issues raised."

Mr Mudge added that the pre-implementation talks were a unique opportunity for the United Nations to repair the lack of confidence in it.

"But this has not yet happened. The United Nations has failed miserably to demonstrate its impartiality," said Mr Mudge.

The leader of the National Party of SWA, Mr A H du Plessis, has also expressed disquiet on the composition of the delegation under the Administrator-General.

Eksteen's return postponed

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The South African Government has postponed ambassador Adriaan Eksteen's formal return to Pretoria from his current post at the United Nations.

Mr Eksteen will still leave New York tomorrow, as had been scheduled, but flies to Pretoria for consultations on SWA/Namibia prior to the proposed January conference in Geneva.

He said yesterday that he would probably attend the conference called by UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to facilitate agreement on a cease-fire and elections in the territory.

Mr Eksteen said the move "shows our determination to work with the Secretary-General

Illegal export?

The Transvaal Nature Conservation division is still investigating court action in the case of an SAA pilot who flew from Jan Smuts Airport to Hong Kong with a suitcase full of rhino horn. It is illegal to export rhino horn without a permit, and no permit had been issued in this case. The rhino horn did not belong to the pilot.

Oct 1951 and "The Structure of the American Economy", Scientific American, April 1965

HANS, F H. The Notion of Equilibrium in Economics. (Inaugural Lecture)

+ DENEY, D., 1975 Microeconomics The Analysis of Prices and Markets O U P

This will be a half course which will start at the beginning of the year and run through until the end of May. Its focus will be on the problems of unemployment and of employment creation. In order to deal adequately with one of the areas of most active research and writing in South Africa at present we shall be inviting a number of guest lecturers to talk from their particular specialist perspective

+ STIGLER, G. : "The Division of Labour is limited by the Extent of the Market". JPE, 1951

8. General Equilibrium

Revision

The Definition of Partial and General Equilibrium
General equilibrium system of equations
Money and general equilibrium
Input - Output analysis : the circular flow

8 Imperfect Competition. Staffa, Joan Robinson and Chamberlin

9 Keynes and his Contemporaries Hautrey, Robertson, Hayek, Myrdal and Kalecki. Evolution of Keynes' Theories - Hicks' contribution Keynesian Fundamentalism

10 More Recent Trends: Keynesian Growth and Distribution theory - Harrod and Kaldor Chicago Neo-Quantity Theory and Rational Expectations Mathematical General Equilibrium Arrow, Debreu, Neo-Ricardian and Neo-Marxian economics New Cambridge School

Recommended Reading

BLAUG, M Economic Theory in Retrospect (Generally very solid)

DORR, M : Theories of Value and Distribution since Adam Smith (Exceptional Marxist account)

Swapo-D interest in Geneva summit

RDM 18/12/80
(22)

WINDHOEK — The labour secretary of the Swapo Democrats party, Mr Solomon Mifima, said yesterday his party was interested in attending next month's conference on the future of South West Africa, but not as part of the Administrator-General's delegation.

"We would be only too happy to attend if the conference is going to produce something conducive to resolving the situation and providing that we are invited by the convenors of the conference," Mr Mifima said.

He was reacting to a statement by the Administrator-General, Mr Dame Hough, that Swapo-D would not be represented in the SWA delegation to the multi-party conference because it was not interested in going.

"We did not say we were not interested in going. Nor did we refuse to attend the conference," Mr Mifima said.

The SWA representatives at the Geneva talks will be part of the South African delegation, headed by the Administrator-General.

Pretoria, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed that the South African Ambassador to the United Nation, Mr Riaan Eksteen, had been summoned to Pretoria for consultation with a view to next month's multi-party conference.

The conference is scheduled for Geneva from January 7 - 10.

which is often the result of a change from a single class teacher to many teachers. The Education Authorities are unlikely to change this, because the teaching system is aimed at producing specialists. And from standard 6, schooling is by specialists. But the younger kids need older people to identify with, and standard 9 and 10 pupils should organise teach-ins with the younger pupils. These could be informal, they could discuss anything that was of interest to most of the people there, and it would not be necessary to stick only to school subjects. It could be a sharing of experiences — Sapa

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Front ask to attend Geneva talks on SWA

RDM
19/12/80

WINDHOEK — The South West African black nationalist political group, the Namibia National Front, yesterday sent a note to the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, requesting him to enable the NNF to attend pre-implementation talks on the territory in Geneva

The note, sent by the NNF secretary-general, Mrs Nora Chase, said the Front had "noted with grave concern the steps to turn the proposed multi-party conference into a bipartite conference between Swapo and South Africa and "those parties serving its (South Africa's) interests"

Mrs Chase requested Dr Waldheim to use his good offices to find a formula "which will make it possible for the NNF to attend without committing political suicide."

In an accompanying Press statement, released in Windhoek, Mrs Chase reiterated the NNF stand that it was still interested in attending the proposed talks on January 7 saying it was a misrepresentation that the Front had told SWA's Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, during consultations that it was not interested in the conference

The NNF was not only interested, it was "very concerned" about the future of the territory. It had been the first political party to welcome UN Resolution 435 which called for a demilitarised zone and free elections in SWA, she said

The NNF had always insisted that it be included in all deliberations on SWA

She said the NNF had taken the stand in consultation with Mr Hough that it was a representative of the oppressed and colonised masses in the territory

The NNF delegation had said it would be tantamount to political suicide to participate in talks towards decolonisation as part of the delegation of a colonial power — South Africa

There was no way in which a liberation movement such as the NNF could join the Administrator-General's delegation to Geneva

The 35th UN General Assembly session recessed on Wednesday for a month, after three months of rhetoric and resolutions that accomplished lit-

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Third World member states
Also on the Assembly's agenda
when it reconvenes will be a
Third World proposal to in-
crease the membership of
the Security Council from 15
to 21 members, the election
of two new judges to the
International Court of Jus-
tice, and a debate on SWA.
Although the past session had
its lively moments, diplo-
mats, including United
States Ambassador, Mr Don-
ald McHenry, felt it was
"rather quiet" compared
with other years
Arab delegates pushed through
a number of resolutions con-
demning Israel, recognizing
the Palestine Liberation Or-
ganisation as the leader of
the Palestinian Arabs, and
one suggesting sanctions
against the Jewish State.
Similarly, black Africa had the
Assembly pass a total of 18
resolutions blasting South
Africa's apartheid policy and
demanding a line of punitive
measures which would total-
ly isolate the white-minority-
ruled country. — Sapa-UPI

THE HOMELANDS

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SWA/NAMIBIA

1/12/80 JJC

The amnesty plan under which only 38 Swapo members returned peacefully to SWA/Namibia this year has been described by a senior security force officer as a "big success".

He said the offer, made by the administrator-general of SWA/Namibia in January this year, had had a dividing effect in Swapo ranks in Zambia and Angola.

35 Caprivians accepted SWA amnesty offer

Of the 38 who have been granted amnesty, 35 were Caprivians and followers of former Swapo vice-president Mr Mshake Muyongo, who was expelled from the movement earlier this year.

The officer said Caprivians belonging to Swapo were now faced with the choice of returning peacefully to the territory or being persecuted by Swapo, which is dominated by Ovambo people, in co-operation with Zambian authorities.

Caprivian's first became involved with Swapo on a large scale in 1964 when members of the Caprivian African National Union left the territory to join Swapo later that year.

The move arose from a yearning among the Caprivian youth to help "liberate" the people of SWA/Namibia from "colonial" South African rule.

Their desire to take part in the conflict was spurred on by independence developments in neighbouring countries, particularly Botswana and Zambia.

The leaders of CANTU at that stage felt the movement would get more support and recognition if they joined Swapo which had been established for some years.

Reports reaching security forces in SWA/Namibia show that most CANTU members left Zambia for other countries at the end of the 60s. But a few, including Mr Muyongo, remained.

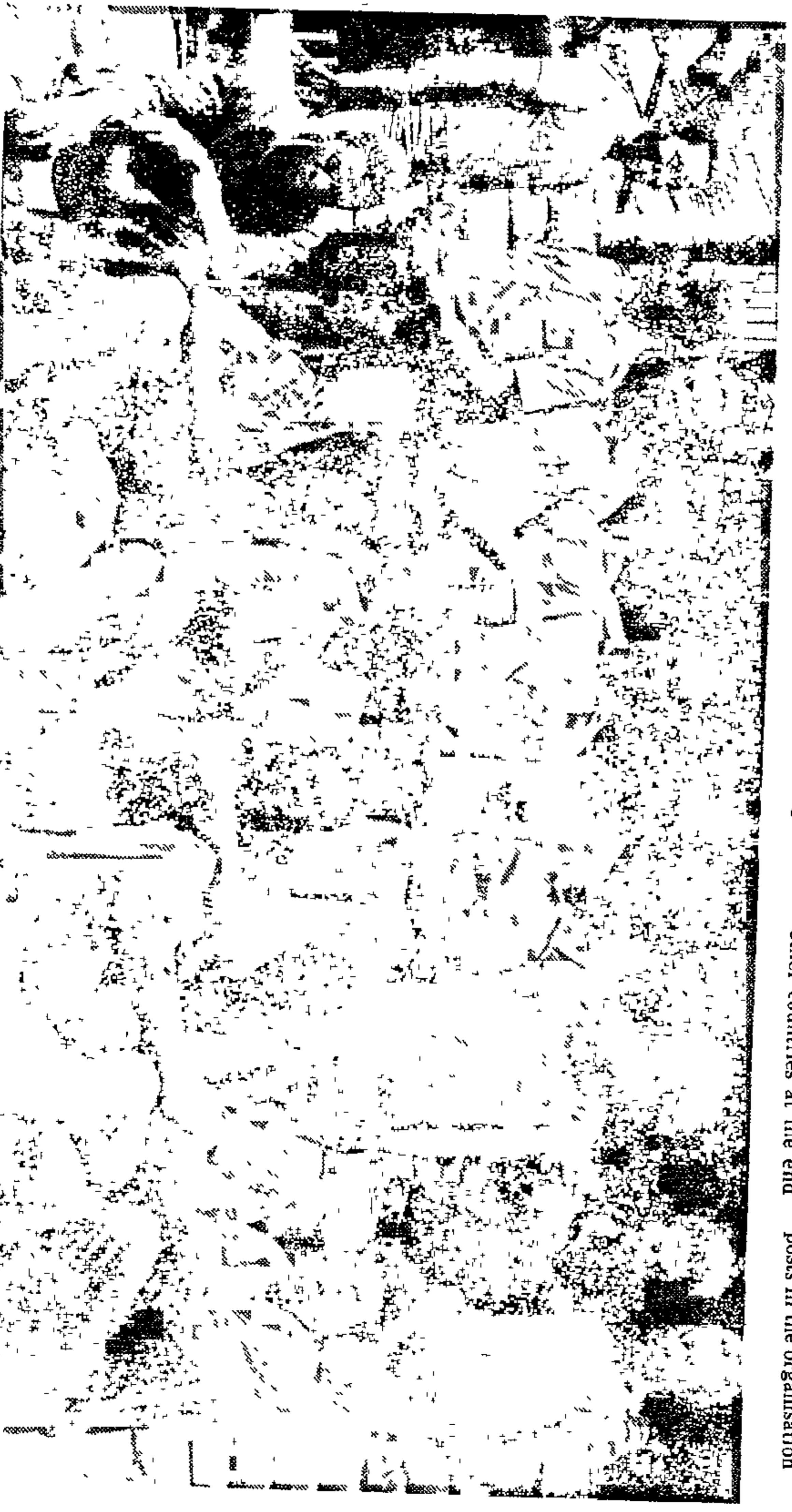
ALAN DUNN of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Katima Mulilo.

Fear for lives of those held by Swapo

Military authorities in SWA/Namibia fear for the lives of hundreds of Caprivians being held by Swapo in Zambia and Angola.

The officer said that raises the children as Ovambo people, regardless of their roots, to boost Swapo's numbers.

A security force officer said in Katima Mulilo that it was known that at least 85 Caprivians — including children — had been taken up the "dramatically" increased in recent weeks because



Members of the group of 25 former Swapo "refugees" who have returned to SWA/Namibia with reports of tough treatment at the hands of the movement and the Zambian authorities.

Cont

— were being held in various so-called "refugee camps" following a bloody tribal split in Swapo.

Caprivians are being murdered and maltreated there regularly and it does not look at this stage that there is much hope for their return alive, he said.

ASSISTING

The officer noted that Zambian authorities were openly assisting Swapo in rounding up Caprivians who had fallen foul of the Swapo movement.

The spokesman was briefing newsmen at a display of 25 Caprivians, all former Swapo members, who have returned to SWA/Namibia in the last three weeks.

The refugees surrendered to security forces in the territory in terms of a year-old amnesty offer to Swapo members by the administrator-general of SWA/Namibia.

The group returned with reports of a breeding camp in Zambia where couples are expected to produce children which are, at the age of about seven months, removed to a "kindergarten" which

tion" in Swapo cadres

"There remains little for the Caprivians in Zambia. Many have been summarily liquidated by Swapo

PREFERENCE

"The organisation gives preference to Ovambo people in training, rank and the issuing of arms. Caprivians are being forced to learn the Kwanyama language of Ovambo — they are told it is the language of the future," he said.

The spokesman said reports indicated there were about 350 Caprivians in Angolan Swapo camps, many of them children who had little hope of returning to SWA/Namibia.

About 275 Caprivians were being kept at a "refugee camp" near Lusaka — "It seems the Zambians are waiting for the opportunity to send them across to Angola," the officer said.

There were also about 30 adults and 80 children in a "refugee camp" near Lusaka in the care of the United Nations high commissioner for refugees.

Ex-members say ideal corrupted

Swapo has changed in recent years to a "radical and corrupt" movement which falls short of the ideal of "liberating Namibia," say a group of 25 former Swapo members who have returned to the territory.

"I simply did not see myself being instrumental in liberating my people as a member of Swapo," said one.

"Swapo has been known throughout its history as a supporter of socialism. It has now swung across to hardline communism

and the physical elimination of people," said another.

These reports of disillusionment were expressed in private interviews with the former Swapo members at Katima Mulilo last week.

Although their "stries" English well. Their average age was about 26, some having been members of Swapo and exiles from SA/Namibia for up to 16 years.

Although their stories of what happened in Zambia and Angola were similar, some were more outspoken than others, claiming they were now "sworn enemies" of Swapo.

ACTIVE

All said they left Caprivi to help fight white domination and colonial rule. Some left SWA/Namibia as Swapo supporters to become more active in the conflict. Others left for Zambia with their families for non-political reasons, later joining the movement. The group included Mr James Mutwa, trained in Russia and son of Chief Mora-Liswane, leader of the Basubia tribe in the Caprivi.

All spoke of 15 "comrades" forced at gunpoint from Lusaka on May 3, and taken to Nyango — a settlement and Swapo base, about 480 km west of the Zambian capital — and from there into Angola to an unknown destination.

We later received word that 11 of them had been killed. If any are still alive, Swapo must return them to Caprivi as proof," said one.

DEPARTMENT OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

No R 2608

7335 19 December 1980
MUNICIPALITY OF WALVIS BAY—NATIVE HOUSING LEVY AND CONTRIBUTIONS ORDINANCE, 1961 (ORDINANCE 33 OF 1961) (SOUTH WEST AFRICA)—REPEAL OF GOVERNMENT NOTICE 251, DATED 1 SEPTEMBER 1976 (SOUTH WEST AFRICA)

I, Pieter Gerhardus Jacobus Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, hereby repeal, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by sections 2 (2) and 4 of the Walvis Bay Administration Proclamation 1977 (Proclamation R 202 of 1977), read with section 2 (1) and (3) of the Native Housing Levy and Contributions Ordinance, 1961 (Ordinance 33 of 1961) (South West Africa) Government Notice 251, dated 1 September 1976 (South West Africa), with effect from the first day of the month following the date of publication of this Government notice

P G J KOORNHOF, Minister of Co-operation and Development

(File A1/4/2)

DEPARTEMENT VAN SAMEWERKING EN ONTWIKKELING

No R 2608

19 Desember 1980

MUNISIPALITEIT VAN WALVISBAAI—ORDONNANSIE INSAKE HEFFINGS EN BYDRAES VIR INBOORLINGBEHUISING, 1961 (ORDONNANSIE 33 VAN 1961) (SUIDWES-AFRIKA)—HERROEPING VAN GOFWIRMENTSKENNISGEWING 251 VAN 1 SEPTEMBER 1976 (SUIDWES-AFRIKA)

Ek, Pieter Gerhardus Jacobus Koornhof, Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling, herroep hierby, kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikels 2 (2) en 4 van die Proklamasie op die Administrasie van Walvisbaai 1977 (Proklamasie R 202 van 1977), gelees met artikel 2 (1) en (3) van die Ordonnansie insake Heffings en Bydraes vir Inboorlingrehuising 1961 (Ordonnansie 33 van 1961) (Suidwes-Afrika), Goewermentskennisgewing 251 van 1 September 1976 (Suidwes-Afrika) met ingang van die eerste dag van die maand wat volg op die datum van afkondiging van hierdie Goewermentskennisgewing

P G J KOORNHOF, Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling

(Lêer A1/4/2)

No R 2609

19 December 1980

REGULATIONS UNDER THE CONTRIBUTIONS IN RESPECT OF BLACK LABOUR ACT, 1972 (ACT 29 OF 1972)

CONTRIBUTIONS PAYABLE WITHIN THE URBAN AREA OF WALVIS BAY AND AMENDMENT OF GOVERNMENT NOTICE R 2488, DATED 28 DECEMBER 1973

I George de Villiers Morrison, Deputy Minister of Co-operation, acting on behalf of and by direction of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, by virtue of the powers vested in him by sections 2 (1) and 7 of the Contributions in respect of Black Labour Act, 1972 (Act 29 of 1972)—

(1) hereby declare that each employer of each Black employee and each Black who is, in terms of the Black Labour Act, 1964 (Act 67 of 1964), or the regulations made thereunder, permitted to work as a casual labourer, or to perform any work on his own account in any remunerative activity or as an independent contractor within the urban area of Walvis Bay shall with effect from the first day of the month following the date of publication of this Government Notice in the Government Gazette, pay the contributions set out in the Schedule, and

(2) hereby amend, with effect from the first day of the month following the date of publication of this Government Notice in the Government Gazette, the Schedule to Government Notice R 2488, dated 28 December 1973, by the substitution for the words

No R 2609

REGULASIES KRAGTENS DIF WIT OP BYDRAFS TEN OPSIGTI VAN SWART ARBEID 1972 (WIT 29 VAN 1972)

BYDRAES BETAALBAAR BINNE DIE STADS- GEBIED WALVISBAAI EN WYSIGING VAN GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING R 2488 VAN 28 DESEMBER 1973

Ek George de Villiers Morrison Adjunk-minister van Samewerking, handelende namens en in opdrag van die Minister van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling, kragtens die bevoegdheid hom verleen by artikels 2 (1) en 7 van die Wet op Bydraes ten opsigte van Swart Arbeid, 1972 (Wet 29 van 1972)—

(1) verklaar hierby dat elke werkewer van elke Swart werknemer en elke Swarte wat kragtens die Wet op Swart Arbeid, 1964 (Wet 67 van 1964) of die regulasies daarkragtens uitgevaardig toegelaat word om as 'n los arbeider te werk of om vir eie rekening in 'n winsgewende bedrywigheid of as 'n onafhanklike aannemer werk te verrig binne die stadsgebied Walvisbaai met ingang van die eerste dag van die maand wat volg op die datum van afkondiging van hierdie Goewermentskennisgewing in die Staatskoerant die bydraes soos in die Bylae uiteengesit moet betaal, en

(2) wysig hierby, met ingang van die eerste dag van die maand wat volg op die datum van afkondiging van hierdie Goewermentskennisgewing in die Staatskoerant, die Bylae by Goewermentkennisgewing R 2488 van 28 Desember 1973 deur die

STAATSKOERANT, 19 DESEMBER 1980

No 7335 3

"Administration Board or Commissioner" wherever they appear therein, of the words "Administration Board, Commissioner or Municipality of Walvis Bay"

G DE V. MORRISON, Deputy Minister of Co-operation

(File A1/4/2)

SCHEDULE

1 By each employer—

(1) 50c per month in respect of—

(a) any employee accommodated in the hostel known as the Ovambo Hostel, reserved for migratory labourers, and

(b) bona fide domestic servants exempted in terms of section 9 (2) (e) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945);

(2) R1 per month in respect of—

(a) any employee exempted in terms of section 9 (2) (f) of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (Act 25 of 1945), and

(b) female bona fide domestic servants residing in the Black residential area

(3) R3 per month in respect of each female employee not mentioned in paragraphs (1) (a) and (b) and (2) (a) and (b) above

(4) R9 per month in respect of each male employee not mentioned in paragraphs (1) (a) and (b) and (2) (a) and (b) above

2 By each Black who is, in terms of the Black Labour Act, 1964 (Act 67 of 1964), or the regulations made thereunder, permitted to work as a casual labourer, or to perform any work on his own account in any remunerative activity or as an independent contractor—

(1) 50c per month in respect of female bona fide domestic servants or washing women, and

(2) R9 per month in respect of all other employees

woorde "Administrasieraad of Kommissaris" waar dit ook al daarin voorkom, deur die woorde "Administrasieraad, Kommissaris of die Munisipaliteit van Walvisbaai" te vervang

G DE V MORRISON, Adjunk-minister van Samewerking

(Lêer A1/4 2)

BYLAE

1 50c per maand ten opsigte van—

(a) 'n werknemer wat gehuwes word in die tehuis bekend as die Ovambo-tehuis, gereserveer vir trek-arbeiders en

(b) bona fide-huisbediendes wat ingevolge artikel 9 (2) (e) van die Swartes (stadsgebiede) Konsolidasiewet, 1945 (Wet 25 van 1945), vrygestel is,

(2) R1 per maand ten opsigte van—

(a) 'n werknemer wat ingevolge artikel 9 (2) (f) van die Swartes (stadsgebiede) Konsolidasiewet 1945 (Wet 25 van 1945) vrygestel is en

(b) vroulike bona fide-huisbediendes wat in die Swart woongebied woon

(2) R3 per maand ten opsigte van elke vroulike werknemer wat nie in paragraaf (1) (a) en (b) en (2) (a) en (b) hierbo bedoel word nie

(4) R9 per maand ten opsigte van elke manlike werknemer wat nie in paragraaf (1) (a) en (b) en (2) (a) en (b) hierbo bedoel word nie

2 Deur elke Swarte wat kragtens die Wet op Swart Arbeid, 1964 (Wet 67 van 1964), of die regulasies daarkragtens uitgevaardig, toegelaat word om as 'n los arbeider te werk of om vir eie rekening in 'n winsgewende bedrywigheid of as 'n onafhanklike aannemer werk te verrig—

(1) 50c per maand ten opsigte van vroulike bona fide-huisbediendes of wasvrouens, en

(2) R9 per maand ten opsigte van alle ander werke

Ahtisaari RDM 20/12/80 re-elected

as UN's SWA man

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — Mr Martti Ahtisaari has been re-elected to a fourth year as United Nations Commissioner for Namibia — on the private understanding he can immediately drop the role if a South West African settlement gets under way.

The General Assembly confirmed the diplomat's new term without debate or dissent just before adjourning until mid-January.

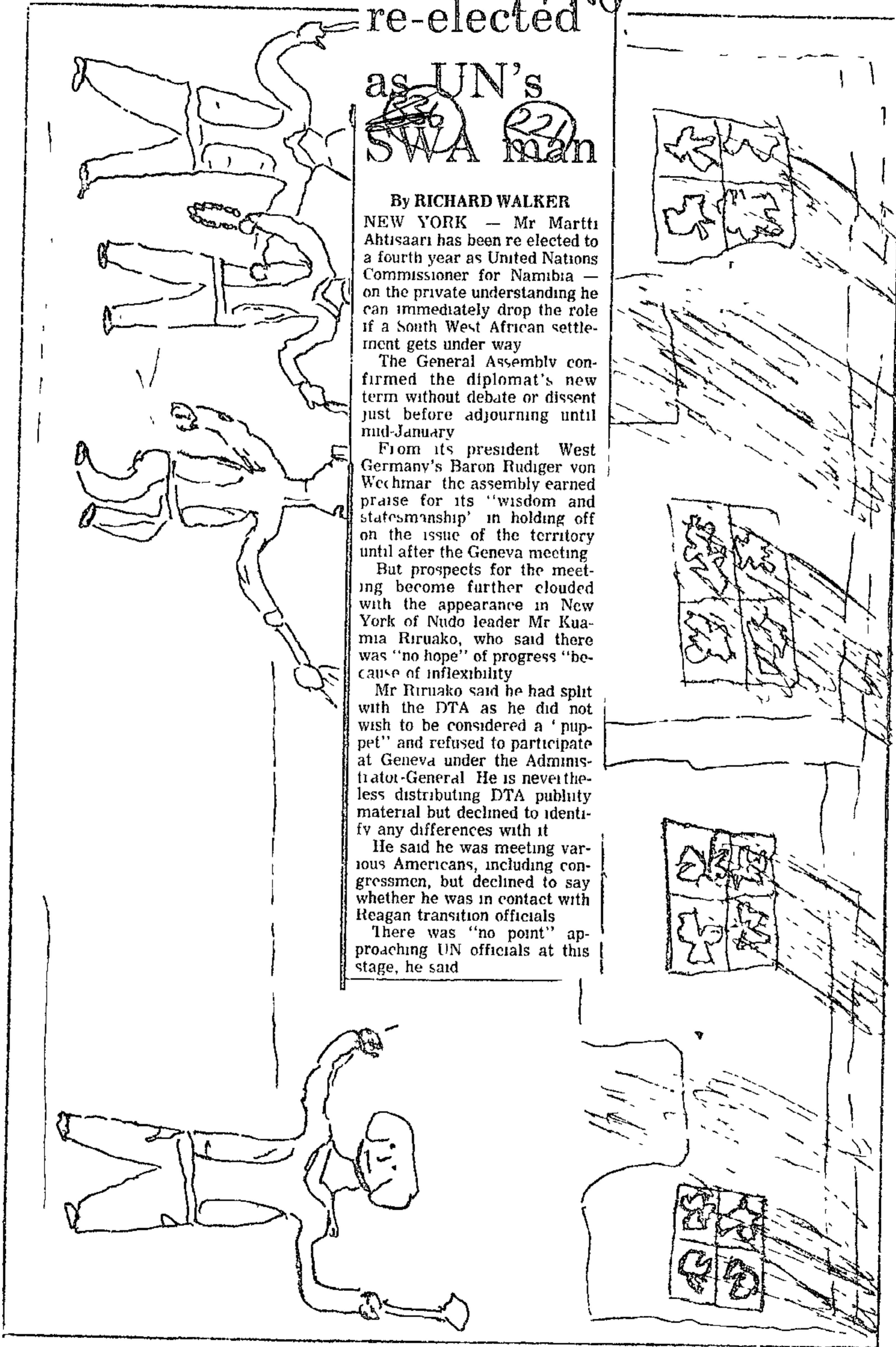
From its president West Germany's Baron Rudiger von Wechmar the assembly earned praise for its "wisdom and statesmanship" in holding off on the issue of the territory until after the Geneva meeting.

But prospects for the meeting became further clouded with the appearance in New York of Nudo leader Mr Kua-mia Riruako, who said there was "no hope" of progress "because of inflexibility."

Mr Riruako said he had split with the DTA as he did not wish to be considered a "puppet" and refused to participate at Geneva under the Administrator-General. He is nevertheless distributing DTA publicity material but declined to identify any differences with it.

He said he was meeting various Americans, including congressmen, but declined to say whether he was in contact with Reagan transition officials.

There was "no point" approaching UN officials at this stage, he said.



SWA talks now up to internal parties

RDM 20/12/80 (22)

By BRUCE STEPHENSON
London Bureau

LONDON — The fate of the crucial South West African re-implementation talks in Geneva is now in the hands of the territory's internal parties, highly-placed United Nations sources said in Geneva yesterday

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, chaired by Mr Dirk Mudge, has told UN officials it will announce only on January 2 whether or not it will send a delegation to the all-party talks

The talks are scheduled to

begin at the Palais des Nations, a mere five days later, on January 7

In London last week, after his meeting with the British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, Mr Mudge called on the United Nations to display its impartiality towards all parties attending the talks

Although he did not make a show of impartiality a precondition to DTA representation in Geneva, he made it clear that if Swapo in any way belittled the presence of the internal parties, he would not discount a DTA pullout

It has been planned that the DTA attend under the leadership of the SWA Administrator-General, Mr Daniel Hough. This meets the Swapo condition that it would only meet directly with the South African Government and not with the internal parties

Mr Hough fulfils both roles in being the South African Government's appointed representative in the territory and the person most acceptable to the DTA as their leader at the talks

The January talks are aimed at settling any remaining dif-

ferences between the South African Government and Swapo to the implementation of the UN peace plan for the territory, starting with a UN monitored ceasefire and elections

Observers at the talks will represent the Organisation of African Unity, Nigeria, the Frontline States of Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and the five Western members of the UN Security Council — America, Britain, Germany, France and Canada, which has been the contact group for both South Africa and Swapo in the drawn-out negotiations

RDM 20/12/80 (22)

Mudge meets Hough on DTA objections to talks

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The chairman of the South West African Minister's Council, Mr Dirk Mudge, met the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, in Swakopmund yesterday to express his Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's dissatisfaction over the composition of the delegation of internal parties for next month's multi-party talks in Geneva

Earlier in the week Mr Mudge warned that the DTA

was not prepared to attend the conference — from January 7 to 14 — unconditionally

Mr Mudge said last night he had no comment to make about his meeting with Mr Hough, but said the DTA's standpoint was receiving the Administrator-General's attention

At an executive meeting of the DTA on Wednesday, individual parties within the alliance are said to have expressed dissatisfaction over the representation of Mr Hough's delegation for the talks on a solution for the territory

It was felt that the parties outside the DTA were being over-represented in terms of the votes they had obtained in elections

Meanwhile Sapa reports that the South West Africa National Party yesterday announced the names of its representatives to attend next month's multi-party conference in Geneva on the future of SWA

They are the NP leader Mr A H du Plessis, the party's deputy leader Mr Eben van Zijl, and Mr Percy Niehaus

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which is often the result of a change from a single class teacher to many teachers. The Education Authorities are unlikely to change this, because the teaching system is aimed at producing specialists. And from standard 6, schooling is by specialists. But the younger kids need older people to identify with, and standard 9 and 10 pupils should organise teach-ins with the younger pupils. These could be informal, they could discuss anything that was of interest to most of the people there, and it would not be necessary to stick only to school subjects. It

Namibia key to West's outlook on SA

Schedule F

THE CERTIFICATE

ACCOUNTANCY

Standard Four
the Certificate
(during Article

YEAR 1 Commercial Law
Economics 1B
Statistics 1c
Statistics 1a

YEAR 2 Accounting A
*Management Accounting
Company Law
Commercial Law

YEAR 3 Accounting B
Auditing A
Taxation & Est
*Essentials of
Introduction to

FINAL YEAR (Part-time or

YEAR 4 Accounting C
Auditing B
Taxation & Est
*Integrated Top
Insolvency

By DAVID JACKSON

BLACK and White South African opinion-makers have made their mark at an important overseas "think-tank" conference on South Africa

A 14-man multiracial group swapped ideas with influential strategists and writers close to the decision-making process in Britain

The London conference — focusing on change in South Africa and the implications for the West — was jointly organised by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and its South African counterpart

One of its main themes was that the need for meaningful negotiations between the Government and credible black leaders was the crucial issue in finding a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems — rather than the drawing up of constitutional blueprints

The meeting was also attended by an observer from the British Foreign Office.

Mr John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, who got back from London this week, said the conference stressed the importance of the Government negotiating with representative and credible black leaders.

Among the black representatives were Mr Moses Maubane of the African Bank, Professor Pali Mohanoe of the University of the North, Mr Siphon Sepamla, director of the Federated Union of Black Arts, and Mr Peter Davidson Director of Future Marketing. He is also an executive member of the Inkatha movement

Accountancy

Criticism

The whites included Mr Dawid de Vilhiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Dennis Etheredge, Anglo American's gold and uranium division chairman; Professor Willie Esterhuysen, verligte Stellenbosch university academic, and Mr Naas Steenkamp, a general manager of the General Mining group.

The British side included Adam Raphael, political correspondent of the Observer, Bridget Bloom, Africa editor of the Financial Times; Colonel Jonathan Alford, deputy director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and leading business, church and academic representatives

Said Mr Barratt: "There was from all sides in the South African group considerable criticism of Western attitudes, especially the tendency to make critical statements without doing anything to affect the situation in South Africa"

"The British response to this realistically was that there was very little the West could do and that it was up to South Africans themselves to resolve their own problems

"There was also a recognition that South Africa was not currently a matter of high priority — that the West was preoccupied with other international issues such as Poland."

Namibia was the exception, said Mr Barratt

"Namibia was seen as something which could escalate during 1981 and that this low priority could change very quickly if there was some disturbance in South Africa"

Access

Management

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2 3/4

RDM 22/12/80
221

SWA to start TV station

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK — The South West Africa Minister's Council has decided to start SWA's own television station from next year.

This was announced yesterday by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, who said the scheduled switch on date for a cassette service was July 1 and the intention was to start SWA's own fully fledged service on October 1.

The chairman of the board of the SWABC, Mr Piet Venter, said it was proposed that the service be independent of the SABC.

But programmes would be obtained from the SABC at the beginning and would be bought from from German and English-speaking countries.

The programmes would first be received in Windhoek, Oshakati and Ondangwa, reaching 300 000 people — about 30% of the total population.

Nujoma to lead Swapo team to Geneva talks

RDM 23/12/80 (221)

LUANDA — Mr Sam Nujoma, leader of Swapo, said in Luanda yesterday he would lead his organisation's delegation to the multi-party talks on South West Africa in Geneva next month.

South Africa had said it feared Mr Nujoma would send lower-ranking officials to the conference in an attempt to undercut it.

Mr Nujoma said Swapo would do all it could to make the conference a success and Pretoria would be to blame if it failed to make progress on the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for SWA.

South Africa was trying to create obstacles and still wanted to make a "Bantustan" out of Namibia rather than a truly independent state.

Mr Nujoma said his group was going to Geneva to discuss

the Security Council resolutions calling for elections under UN supervision leading to independence for the territory.

He said the UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, had suggested the truce take effect in March and Swapo would be at the disposal of the UN monitoring force.

But he stressed his men must stay in SWA and not be withdrawn to bases in Zambia or Angola. This point remained to be settled.

South Africa and Swapo have agreed on a number of other points, including the establishment of a demilitarised zone along the Angola-SWA border and the continued basing of South African troops in SWA during the period leading to elections.

Mr Nujoma said he would like to see elections held a year from now. — Sapa-AFP

RDM 24/12/80 (221)

Security clamp for talks

LONDON — A big security clampdown will be imposed in Geneva after the Christmas and New Year holidays as delegates gather in the Swiss town for the United Nations-sponsored settlement conference on South West Africa starting on January 7.

UN and Swiss authorities have assigned security men specially for the conference, and in addition the South African and Swapo delegations are expected to bring their own bodyguards.

"When you try and get people who have been shooting it out for years round a conference table, you've got to be careful," said a senior UN official.

"Much of the security will not be visible, but it will certainly be there."

Swapo has claimed that South African "killer squads" have been ordered to assassinate leaders of the guerrilla movement before the conference.

Mr Sam Nujoma, Swapo's

president, recently cancelled a visit to London on security grounds.

Swapo's information officer for Western Europe, Mr Peter Manning, said "I can't say anything about it for obvious reasons, but we will certainly be taking security precautions in Geneva."

Similar security precautions were taken during the abortive 1976 Rhodesian settlement conference which was held at the same venue, the Palais de Nations. — Sapa

Saboteurs wreck SWA pipeline

RDM
24/12/80
221

By PETER KENNY, "Mail" Africa Bureau

OSHAKATI.

SWAPO saboteurs have blown up the pipeline supplying water from the Cunene River at Ruacana on the Angolan border to Owambo.

This was confirmed yesterday by a spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force

The line was damaged in five places and many of the people of Owambo now face water rationing during the dry Christmas period.

The explosion took place early yesterday morning

Department of Water Affairs officials are using water wagons to supply affected areas

Government officials and construction workers are hastily trying to repair the pipeline, but it is not known how long it will take, or how many people at this stage will be affected by the break

Before the Cunene hydroelectric power project was shut off by the Angolans in 1975, the pipeline was intended to supply a canal system distributing water to the whole of Owambo

The present system distributes a more limited supply to the area from hippo pools from which it is pumped

One of the breaks in the pipe caused by the sabotage was made 5km west of Ruacana

Owambo is poised for attacks or sabotage during the Christmas and New Year period and it is believed that a number of Swapo infiltrators have slipped into the northern part of the territory from Angola

Security Force patrols appeared to be out at full strength in many parts of the northern war-torn area yesterday

The Swapo push is expected because of next month's multi-party talks on the future of SWA scheduled to take place in Geneva

Job bars go (221)

In a significant but oddly unpublicised move, the interim government of SWA has eliminated the last remaining piece of statutory job apartheid in the mining industry Discriminatory work reservation

and other racial exclusions in the territory's Mines and Works Ordinance of 1968 have been repealed by administrative fiat in Proclamation 179/80

Although SWA has been governed by a political grouping committed to statutory desegregation for nearly two years, the removal of apartheid provisions in the mines and works law was treated gingerly because of fears that their repeal could have repercussions among white mineworkers. For a long time therefore SWA mine owners were allowed to operate under a system of exemptions, applied somewhat arbitrarily according to some owners

The 1968 ordinance contained a number of provisions which effectively blocked black job advancement in the mining industry. By employing a familiar "catch 22" device, vertical advancement was blocked by a number of clauses with a preamble to the effect that if the owner of a mine was a "European" holders of key posts all the way down the line would also have to be "Europeans"

The range of job exclusions described in the ordinance started with manager and ran to underground and sector manager, shift boss and mine overseer, ganger, engineer, surveyor, winding-engine driver and signaller. Blacks were also barred from mining because they were prevented from obtaining blasting certificates

Workplace apartheid was also enforced by regulations forcing owners to provide

separate toilet and changing facilities while security regulations exempted white from body searches (presumably where precious stones, stores and equipment were concerned). Blacks were also discriminated against in respect of employees' records, time tickets and first aid in friction (now all workers have to attend first aid classes)

The exclusion of blacks from key posts had long gone unnoticed because the mining industry's labour force was based on the recruitment of migrants from the northern regions. There was not a great deal of job continuity, or security for that matter, so the scope for advancement was limited. Although exemptions were granted in many cases, it was done in such an arbitrary manner that it inhibited owners from introducing formal training schemes for black workers

Since 1973 however when BTZ began to develop its uranium prospect at Rossing, owners appear to have been honouring job apartheid in the breach. There are no records of owners having been prosecuted. Progressive owners introduced formal training schemes to equip blacks with skills for top jobs. This they did without unseating a single white

Earlier this year owners petitioned the DTA, the majority party in the National Assembly, to repeal discriminatory provisions in the Mines Ordinance, cautioning that public exposure of their existence on the statutes could be highly embarrassing

not only for the DTA but also for multinationals operating in the territory

If white mineworkers and officials are aware of the scrapping of their job protection they have not protested against it. The repeal notice (AG 179/80) was published a week after the recent white elections

- 1. Many of the above sections contain further requirements additional to the passing of a special resolution.
- 2. Special resolutions are also required in terms of S57, 100, 258, 344, 349, 389, 390 and 422, but these are not considered of significance.
- 3. Special notice is required for ordinary resolutions for the removal of directors (S220), or of the auditor (S279). Note that a three-quarter majority is required for removal of an auditor appointed at the A.G.M. (but not for an auditor appointed by the Registrar or the directors). Note also that "representation" may be made under S220(3) and S279(2). See S186(b) for requirements for special notice (basically 28 days' notice).

Mudge flies to Cape for top-level Govt talks

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The Star's Africa
News Service

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WINDHOEK — The chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, has left for Cape Town for talks with top South African Government officials on his party's misgivings about the talks on SWA/Namibia in Geneva next week.

It is understood he will raise the question of the DTA's "grave doubts" about certain aspects of the talks.

One of the main points Mr Mudge is expected to discuss is the inclusion of political groups outside the territory's National Assembly, in the delegation led by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough.

Mr Mudge flew to Cape Town yesterday to meet senior members of the Government. A meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, is possible.

The DTA-dominated Council of Ministers or

"Cabinet" has expressed unhappiness at the composition of the delegation from SWA/Namibia. It is believed this has led to serious problems within the Council.

A meeting of the DTA's head executive has been called for January 2 to discuss finally the issue of participation in the delegation to Geneva.

Observers here say it looks as though the conference is developing into something far more significant than talks on a settlement for SWA/Namibia — perhaps even a southern Africa summit.

They said indications were that "almost everybody" with a stake in the southern African situation would be in Geneva for the conference.

The sources speculated the past with tumultuous among those present could be the expelled vice-president of Swapo, Mr Mishake Muyongo, political groups in SWA/Namibia who rejected a delegation under the chairmanship of the Administrator-General and, possibly the rebel Angolan movement Unita.

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those wishing to qualify as attorney legal advisers (see also the chapter on the Legal Profession)

those wishing to qualify as teaching subjects

There are seven basic first-year curriculum streams. All the curriculum streams are major. There are options with minimum Mathematics and Statistics, and these optional second majors, along with Economics.

The Curriculum structure is detailed in the

Curricula are designed in such a way that the student acquires the background knowledge for his final year in his first and second years. For example, a knowledge of commercial and company law is essential for the final-year courses on accounting, taxation and auditing.

Notes

Economics 1A & 1B

Students intending to proceed to Economics II should take Economics 1A. Economics 1B is a terminal course and does not lead on naturally to Economics II. However, students who wish to change to another curriculum after their first year may apply to the Head of the Department of Economics for permission to proceed to Economics II after Economics 1B.

The High Mathematics/Statistics curricula are intended for students with a good background in mathematics. The attention of students interested in these curricula is drawn to the entrance requirements for Mathematics I, as detailed in the entry of the Department of Mathematics in the last section of this prospectus.

LABOUR ECONOMICS.

(Lecturer : Michael De Klerk)

Most economic problems can be analysed in more than one way. The method chosen determines both the content of the analysis and the conclusions to be drawn from it. Usually these will differ significantly between approaches.

"Labour problems" are no exception to this rule. For this reason the course starts with a brief comparison of methods of analysis. Two or more such methods are then used to analyse labour issues which are particularly pressing in South Africa at present. Amongst others, these include unemployment, discrimination, collective bargaining, and minimum wage legislation.

A basic knowledge of South African labour institutions is assumed. Students who have completed courses such as Industrial Sociology I or Commercial Law should have acquired such a knowledge. Others should read the summaries of the Industrial Conciliation Act (1956), the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act (1979), the Wage Act (1957), the Black Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act (1973 and 1977), and the Black (Urban Areas) Act (1945) which is available on short loan in the Leslie Library (see TUESA and Black Sash in the suggested reading list).

Suggested ReadingBLACK SASH, 1974 : Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control.CHERRY, R., 1980 : Macroeconomics. Addison-Wesley.ERWIN, A., 1977 : An Essay on Structural Unemployment, S.A. Labour Bulletin, 4(4).GERSON, J., 1980 : The Question of Structural Unemployment in South Africa. UCT (unpublished).GERSON, J. & KANTOR, B. 1980 : An Analysis of Black Unemployment in South Africa, Studies in Economics and Econometrics, 8.GREEN, F. & NORE, P. 1977 : Economics: an Anti-Text. Macmillan.HOWARD, M. & KING, J., 1975 : The Political Economy of Marx. Longman.KANTOR, B., 1980 : Is there an Unemployment Problem in South Africa? Businessman's Law, 9(4,5).KING, J., 1980 : Readings in Labour Economics. Oxford.LIPTON, M., 1980 : Minimum Wages and Botswana's Unemployment Crisis. S.A. Labour Bulletin, 6(1).MARSHALL, F., CARTTER, A. & KING, A., (4th Ed.) 1979 : Labor Economics. Irwin.SIMKINS, C., 1980 : Reply to Lipton, S.A. Labour Bulletin, 6(1).ECONOMICS (HONOURS)

Conveners : First Semester : S F Archer
Second " : F.A H. Wilson

Mudge hits at UN 'double standards' over Namibia

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The chairman of SWA/Namibia's Council of Ministers, Mr Dirk Mudge, has said on the eve of the pre-implementation talks in Geneva that he was becoming convinced the territory's problems would not be solved through the United Nations.

He said in a New Year's message that the UN practised "double standards" and did not have the interest of SWA/Namibians at heart

Mr Mudge met senior members of the South African Cabinet in George yesterday to discuss the SWA/Namibia issue, specifically the pre-implementation conference under the chairmanship of the UN in Geneva next week

Some of the problems he is likely to have raised at the Cabinet meeting are those about which the DTA-dominated Council of Ministers has expressed "grave doubts" the agenda at the Geneva conference, the participation of parties other than those

in the delegation led by the Administrator-General and the composition of the delegation.

It is reliably understood that the inclusion of parties outside the National Assembly in the delegation has caused serious problems within the Council of Ministers

Mr Mudge stressed in a statement after yesterday's meeting the DTA would only take its final decision on participating in the Geneva Conference, at a meeting of the DTA caucus on January 2.

Observers in Windhoek, however, say it is likely the DTA will go to Geneva, in spite of their reservations.

Present at yesterday's meeting were the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha, Mr Fanie Botha, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Dr Nak van der Merwe, General Magnus Malan, and Dr Brand Fourie, Director-General of Foreign Affairs and Information.

● The Namibia Independence Party, which has rejected participation in a delegation to the talks under the leadership of the Administrator-General, will be sending a delegate as an observer.

Students must have Economic History of Economics of one or other of admission to required to complete and as part of to take Mathematics course.

Students who have passed in Economics by special permission

Students who have statistics must Econometrics for Honours in

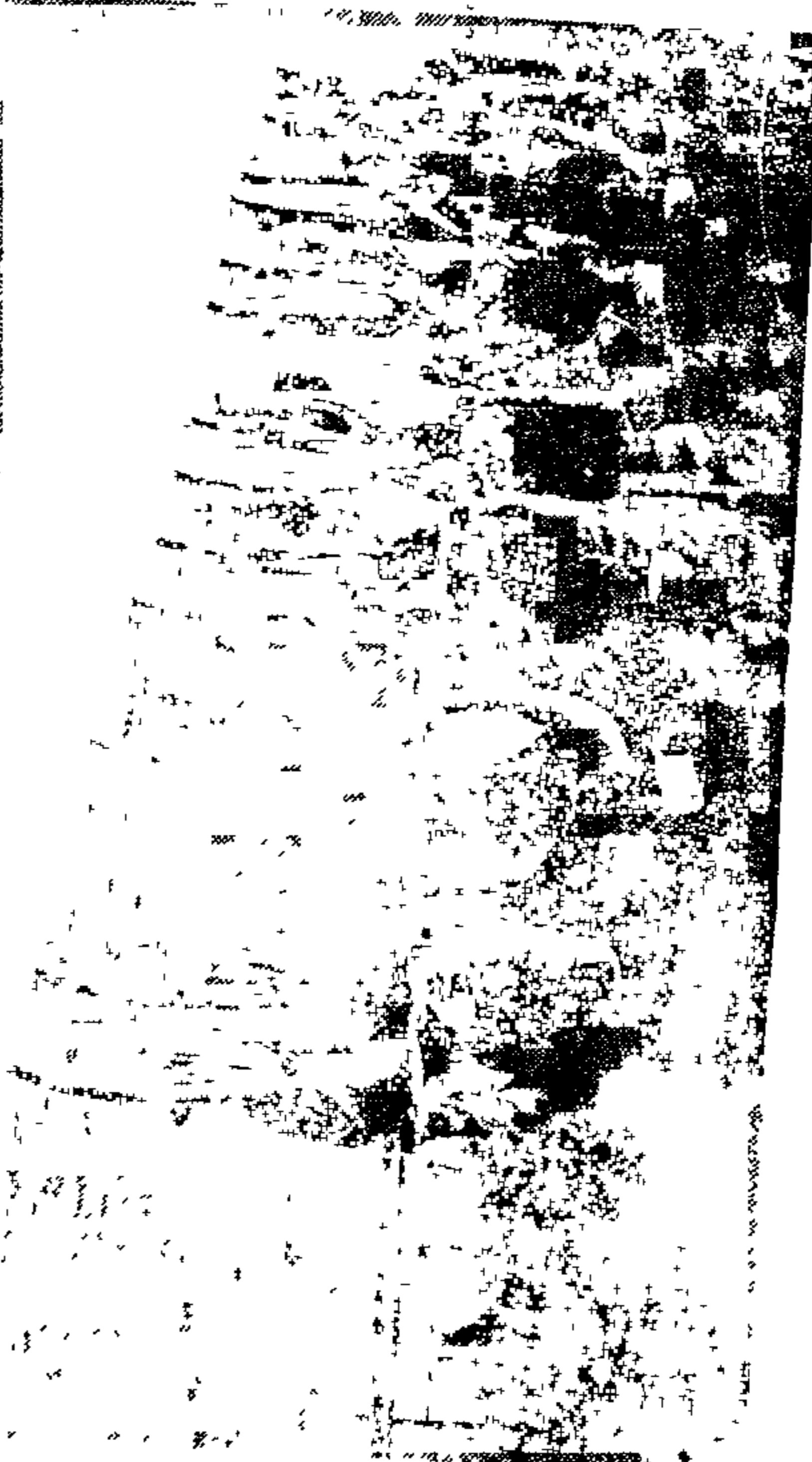
GENERAL INFORMATION

Students intend School of Economic Monday, 9 February

This paper must be submitted to the supervisor not later than Monday of the second quarter. The second complete written draft of the paper, which will provide a basis for discussion in class must be submitted to the supervisor not later than the first Monday after the

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Ovambo yearn for the end of SWA border war



Men of the Ovambo home guard — known as the "bad ones" to some Ovambos who accuse them of intimidation.

By Chris van Gass,
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The people of Ovambo — almost half of SWA/Namibia's population — are hoping more than anyone else that the peace conference in Geneva next month will succeed.

They are caught squarely in the middle of the war being waged between the security forces and Swapo.

For these civilians, who are increasingly being affected by violence, a United Nations presence in the territory and an end to the fear and violence have become probably the most important thing in their lives.

As the largest population group in SWA/Namibia the Ovambo also hold the key to the outcome of any UN-supervised election. Their votes will decide who wins the election and whether the territory is to be ruled after independence by Swapo or some other party or coalition.

The effect the violence has had on their political views is difficult to assess. But there is no doubt they have had enough of the war.

"People must not think we want all this fighting," said a black Ovambo administration official. "We are tired of war and shooting."

Civilians are caught in the middle

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Almost all these deaths are related to the war and show a marked increase on the total for 1979 of 265.

But the pressures from both sides of the conflict — Swapo on the one hand trying to increase its grassroots support while other try to counter what they see as Swapo intimidation — have left their mark.

They have turned the once open and friendly Ovambo into suspicious people who will not reveal their true feelings to strangers.

Officials blame Swapo intimidation for this while church leaders and some of the people themselves blame unruly elements of special black security units.

The situation is man-

ifested in the ways locals refer to the groups. The Swapo men are called the "amaati" — the sons — while the black special units are known as "omkaka-kakinja" — the bad ones.

The problems created by the black units are recognised by the authorities. An indication of their extent is given by the number of members of the units who have been convicted of crimes of violence involving firearms.

Since the beginning of the year more than 40 have been sent to prison without the option of a fine for such offences.

In Ovambo today security forces are winning the military battles but the political war — the fight for hearts and minds — is apparently being lost.

reference to South African minerals
Write a critical assessment of the 1981 budget.
Suggest possible strategies for raising the real incomes of the 25% of black South Africans on 'white' farms

The course on Economic Problems (with particular reference to Southern Africa) is compulsory for all students.

The final, typed draft must be submitted to the course convenor not later than the beginning of the fourth quarter. In marking these essay projects, staff will look particularly at (a) ability to write coherent and clear English; (b) theoretical foundations and analytical grasp of issues discussed; (c) originality. Although not compulsory, willingness to go out and do field work is encouraged. Students are also urged to see their projects as forming the basis of a possible publication e.g. as a SALDRU working paper or as an article in the American Economist.

3. BAUMOL, W.J., (4th Ed.) 1977 Economic Theory and Operations Analysis. Prentice-Hall Chapters 21 and 24.
4. ASIMAKOPOULOS, N., 1978. An Introduction to Economic Theory Microeconomics. OUP. Chapter 11, 18
5. ROWLEY, C K & PEACOCK, A.I., 1975 : Welfare Economics: A Liberal Restatement Martin Robertson Paperback. (This is not a textbook as such, but individual pages may be cited).
9. SEN, A., 1973 On Economic Inequality. Oxford University Press Paperback. (Page references will be supplied)

Mudge RDH hints at 31/12/8 DTA (22) going to Geneva

By PETER KENNY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance appears certain to attend next week's multi-party talks on South West Africa in Geneva after the organisation expressed strong doubts about going last week.

The chairman of the SWA Ministers Council and of the DTA, Mr Dirk Mudge, returned to Windhoek last night after having talks with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and other Cabinet Ministers.

Speaking at Windhoek's J G Strydom Airport, Mr Mudge said the talks had been held at his request and had been most fruitful and frank. A number of matters had been cleared up.

Last week, Mr Mudge and the DTA expressed serious misgivings about the composition of the delegation selected by the Administrator-General, Mr Danie Hough, to attend the Geneva talks.

Mr Mudge met Mr Hough in Swakopmund last week but appeared to be at loggerheads with him.

Mr Mudge said he had also and had talks with some representatives of the Western Five. They had told him that if the DTA did not attend, the talks would not be a success.

He said he was not optimistic that Geneva conference would be successful because of the bias of the United Nations.

But he said "It will be a tragedy if after all these years, it fails."

He ruled out the possibility of an internal settlement — or creeping UDI as it is known in some quarters — and said the inhabitants of SWA would have to stand together and hammer out a settlement.

This, said Mr Mudge, could only be an internationally acceptable settlement.

Strong UN team for SWA talks

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The United Nations is assembling a strong team of senior officials for next week's SWA/Namibia conference in Geneva in the event that the talks will merge into a truce by the end of 1961. Some sources here say — without final confirmation — that UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim may be in Geneva at least for a formal opening statement before the conference reverts into private sessions that could project another major change in the geopolitical map of southern Africa.

The conference — formally proposed as a bridge building task by Mr Waldheim to facilitate the start of a UN-supervised ceasefire and election period — is scheduled to open at the UN Palace, New York, on January 7 and run through January 14.

The UN General Assembly, where majority opinion favors UN supervision of the African Government as an

illegal occupier of the territory, is set to convene on January 15 to consider South Africa's perceived refusal to comply with international demands for withdrawal.

By then, observers for the "Frontline" African Governments and the Organisation of African Unity must be sufficiently convinced of progress in Geneva to prevent the assembly concluding that the South African Government is merely stalling.

That could once again reduce momentum towards settlement to demands for mandatory sanctions.

Senior UN officials see a single fundamental purpose for the conference — general agreement between the South African Government, Swapo and political parties from SWA/Namibia to open the territory to an international UN military force and administrative transition group that would conduct and endorse an election.

Mr Waldheim wants the R300-million operation to begin in March, to achieve internationally acceptable independence by the end of October.

The UN team to Geneva will be led by Mr Brian Urquhart, the senior Under-Secretary-General in charge of political affairs, and no stranger to the South African Government during the past three years of fluctuating negotiations.

Mr. Ahtisaari, who would be the senior resident UN official in the territory, and Lieutenant-General Prem Chand, designated head of the UN military contingent, will be directly involved in the conference as Assistant Secretaries-General.

"It must be one of the most high-powered UN delegations ever seen on paper," a source said here. "In bureaucratic terms, it probably is one of the most high-powered delegations we have sent anywhere."

Mudge will pass on Botna ideas and tips to DTA

By Alan Dunn,
 The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The chairman of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr. Dan Mudge, said last night he had received explanations from South Africa for "many" of the objections his party had in attending the Geneva talks next week.

He said the Prime Minister, Mr. F. V. De Vries, and other Cabinet members had dispatched a group of the DTA problems in connection with the conference and had tried to do away with the party's objections.

Speaking at a news conference on his return from the meeting at George, Mr. Mudge stressed that his own as a clear note of optimism on the DTA taking part at the pre-implementation conference.

"They tried to do away with our objections, putting forward ideas and giving tips which I will pass on to the DTA groups on Friday."

"We will hopefully get those objections hoped out at the caucus meeting I personally am not 100 percent satisfied with all the answers, assurances and explanations I received but explanations were received for many of the problems," said Mr. Mudge.

The aim of his meeting with Mr. Botna had been to set out DTA views and doubts about taking part in the conference. These included the composition of the dele-

gation from SWA/Namibia under the chairmanship of the Administrator-General, Mr. Hough, the agenda and procedure at Geneva.

Mr. Mudge noted that Mr. Botna and the other Cabinet Ministers were not indifferent to the DTA objections. "I found they realize that the DTA has a most important role to play, as well as the National Assembly and Council of Ministers."

On the question of SWA/Namibia political parties who have refused to join the delegation, now joining the conference, Mr. Mudge said he had received definite assurances from Mr. Botna and from Western leaders that such groups would not be able to take part in the talks.

"If there is such an attempt from the chairman (of the conference) then there will be no better reason for me to leave the talks immediately," he said.

The meeting with Mr. Botna took place at Mr. Mudge's request and the DTA chairman said he had discussed the same problems as he had with Mr. Hough.

Asked if he held out any hope for an international settlement arising from the conference, he said "How can I be optimistic when we have to deal with a very biased United Nations organization?"

"The UN and member countries are mainly interested in solving their own problems and getting the Namibian question off the agenda," he added.

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"The UN and member countries are mainly interested in solving their own problems and getting the Namibian question off the agenda," he added.

Boy sent for milk seized

things

Camp Report

An Aberdeen boy, 11, was seized as he tried to push a milk can into a motorway. The boy was taken to hospital and is recovering.

Things

A report from a camp in the north of Scotland says that the camp is now open for business. The camp is now open for business.